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Jaan Kross and Russian Culture



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INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITOR

The creative works of the eminent Estonian writer Jaan Kross (1920–2007) have long attracted the members of the Department of Russian Literature at the University of Tartu with their rich opportunities to delve into the intersection of Russian and Estonian cultures and into the poetics of this acknowledged master's historical novels. This focus became a priority within the research project “The Reception of Russian Literature in Estonia in the 20th Century: from Interpretation to Translation”, which began in 2009. This research project has resulted in the collective monograph offered here to readers. The works contained herein are the fruit of collective effort in the direct sense of the word — not only because they are all devoted to one author (the prose, dramaturgy, and poetry translations of Jaan Kross), but also because the contributing scholars strive for common goals and follow the similar methodological principles¹.

This monograph is composed of three parts. The first contains concentrated research into the *historical and literary sources* for those of Kross's historical works that are directly or indirectly connected with Russian culture. In studying any single layer of the fictional text, it inevitably becomes necessary for the scholar to describe the text as a whole. Consequently, this part of the monograph attempts to analyze several general characteristics of the *poetics of Jaan Kross's historical prose*. While in no way claiming to provide comprehensive coverage of the structural features of Kross's works, the articles' authors, nonetheless, strive to identify the key, *dominant* features of the analyzed texts. The second part of the monograph analyzes several constants in the *poetics of Kross's poetry translations* from Russian. In the third part, the supplement, the autobiographical story of the prototype of one of Kross's protagonists, the artist Johann Köler, is published for the first time.

According to Kross himself, his acquaintance with Russian literature in its original language occurred rather late. In 1938 he finished the Jakob Westholm grammar school in Tallinn, and in the same year entered the Law Department of the University of Tartu, where he became a lecturer after completing his studies in 1944. In 1946 Kross was arrested and given a sentence by the NKVD, under which he spent the next several years in a labor camp in the Komi ASSR, and at the end in Krasnoyarsk region, from which he was freed only in 1954.

¹ To the present, this is the third collective effort focused on the creative work of Jaan Kross. See also: *Metamorfiline Kross*. Tallinn, 2003; *Jaan Kross: bilan et découvertes*. Paris, 2011.

On the basis of Kross's recollections², one can conclude that his mastery of the Russian language in every stylistic register happened specifically during this period (people from various social levels were serving sentences in the camps; their intellectual and educational levels were also varying).

In Kross's memoirs and other semi-autobiographical works, evidence of his acquaintance with and attitude toward Russian literature is quite terse³. On the basis of these meager inclusions it may be concluded that his interest in classical Russian literature began even before his time in the labor camps.

Kross's recollections hint that before his second arrest on January 6, 1946⁴ and subsequent detainment in the Tallinn NKVD prison, he was acquainted with the Russian language only through works of classical Russian literature: "...at first I had no idea what the Russian word *shum* [noise] meant. Because I had encountered this word only in Lermontov's poem "The Prophet"⁵, where it is used in the phrase *dubovyi shum* [oaken rustling]; that is, the sound of oak groves, and I didn't guess that *that* was the same *shum* that King Kong [the nickname of one of the prison guards] accused us of making"⁶.

Here also, Kross relates how in the camp (in Aban) he began to translate the poetry of Alexander Blok⁷. Bear in mind that the choice of this poet was connected, apparently, not only (and, possibly, not so much) due to Kross's literary sympathies with the "political criminal," but because by the 1930s Blok was already canonized in the Soviet literary scholarship as a poet who welcomed the October Revolution. Nonetheless, Kross was unsuccessful at getting these translations published, although he tried⁸.

A more serious mastery of Russian literature and culture by the writer began later in his well-known historical novels, written in the 1970s and early 1980s.

² See: Kross, J. Kallid kaasteelised. Tallinn, 2003. Kd I.

³ Thus, for example, in the novel "The Wikman Boys" ("Wikmani poisid", 1988), the autobiographical hero Jaak Sirkel's mother's range of reading includes Dostoevsky's "The Brothers Karamazov": "'You're going out again? What for?' asked mother, sitting in the corner of the couch and looking up from her reading of the second tome of 'The Brothers Karamazov', which she had brought from the bedroom" (Kross, J. Wikmani poisid. Tallinn, 1988. Lk 60).

⁴ Kross was arrested the first time during the German occupation, on April 21, 1944; on September 19 of the same year he was released.

⁵ In Lermontov's "The Prophet" there is no such phrase. Apparently, Kross meant a different poem by Lermontov, "I go out on the road alone..." (Compare: "Would that above me ever green / Dark oaks bowed and rustled").

⁶ Kross, J. Kallid kaasteelised. Lk 196.

⁷ Apparently, Kross was referring to his translation of Blok's "The Scythians" (1918). The year after his return to Estonia, Kross had already published his first translation in "Looming" magazine (*Blok, A. Sküüdid // Looming*. 1955. Nr 11. Lk 1327–1328).

⁸ Kross, J. Kallid kaasteelised. Lk 405.

It is in this period that Kross appealed to those historical materials that were of greatest interest to him. In his novels “The Czar’s Madman”, “Professor Martens’ Departure”, the mini-novel “The Third Range of Hills”, the novella “Michelson’s Matriculation”, and the play “A Hard Night for Dr. Karell” the action takes place in the 19th or 20th centuries within the Russian empire, which at the time included Estonia (then called Estland and, in part, the Livonian province). In each of the works listed, the author’s attention is focused on a protagonist of Estonian origin. They are: the peasant Jakob Mättik, who attained a high level of education in a short period of time; the native of the lower classes Friedrich Frommhold Martens, who became a world-renowned attorney; the peasant Ivan Michelson, who was promoted to the rank of general and suppressed the Pugachev rebellion; and the “farmhand’s son” Johann Köler, who became the founder of Estonian national painting and professor in the Imperial Academy of Arts.

The first-person narration in the novels and the character structure of the dramatic work allow Kross to occupy an “objective” position in the text (it is the characters that “speak”, not the “author”) without inserting direct judgments. This narrative structure always presents difficulties for the researcher: there is a danger of ascribing the protagonist’s opinion to the author. The choice of such a narrative strategy is due, at least from our perspective, to two circumstances.

First, this structure is found in the compositions of world-renowned fiction writers, whose tradition Kross took into account in his creative work. For example, in Thomas Mann’s novel “Doctor Faust”, the story of Adrian Leverkühn is told by another character, Serenus Zeitblom, while in Dostoevsky’s “The Adolescent” the novel is “written” by the already-grown protagonist, Arkady Dolgoruky. In both cases, the author’s position must be reconstructed and does not coincide with the protagonist’s point of view.

Second, the distancing of the author from his characters, undoubtedly, is the result of the spirit of the time in which the above-listed works were composed. The “brave” thoughts and actions of Kross’s characters that expose the inhumanity and hypocrisy of imperial power, of course, were secretly directed at modern powers. But the chosen form of *Icherzhälung* did not give Soviet censors the direct opportunity to accuse the author of the seditious pronouncements made by his heroes.

Kross depicts active Estonian protagonists, whose actions are capable of influencing the development of events and even the course of history: the artist Köler, who collected donations for Estonian peasants; Doctor Philipp Karell, who facilitated Emperor Nicholas I’s exit from life; General Michelson, who pacified Emelyan Pugachev’s uprising; and the attorney Martens, whose efforts

laid the foundation for modern international law and, as a result, civilized, peaceful relations between nations. His choice of heroes and their development in each text witness to the fact that Kross was consciously oriented on the mythologization of his main characters.

Kross's subtlety and thoroughness as a historical novelist lies in the fact that he studies every historical source available to him at the time of writing and understands well how they reflect historical reality. But for his novels he either selects from the memoirs, biographies, and epistolaries individual *passages* or entire lines of narration which affirm his intentions (regarding Kross's use of S. Y. Witte's memoirs in the novel "Professor Martens' Departure" in just this way, see, for example, the article herein by Timur Guzairov), or deliberately changes the source to suit the ideological concept of the novel. And so, Ljubov Kisseljova's article about "The Czar's Madman" discusses how Kross, contrary to historical reality, strips the character Bock of his Russophilia, or love for Russian culture, and makes the protagonist Jakob Mättik write his diary in Estonian, again a fully deliberate anachronism; see also the same author's article about Kross's "The Third Range of Hills", where the artist Köler views his rise on the career ladder and professional successes as a betrayal of his nation. As Kisseljova demonstrates, this interpretation of the character is not historically accurate, but is completely convincing from the perspective of the work as a creative whole. Kisseljova's "Biography of Professor Köler" presents an image of the historical artist Johann Köler which only partially corresponds to his portrayal in the novel. The biography was written down by a stenographer from his own words in the presence of Mikhail Semevsky, editor of "Russkaya Starina" magazine. Köler is proud of his democratic origins and of belonging to the Estonian nation, but the artist's story contains no traces of the "guilt" before his compatriots described in such detail in "The Third Range of Hills".

In addition to the historical sources of the works analyzed herein, the authors of this monograph were interested in Kross's literary sources. It must be emphasized that the writer's intertextual field of prose works is extremely broad, reflecting his multifaceted literary erudition. At the same time, Kross's references to direct or hidden quotes from authors of other nationalities (in particular, classical authors) are targeted at the inclusion not only of his own work, but of all Estonian literature on the stage of world literature.

The quotation of works of Russian literature in Kross's compositions "Michelson's Matriculation", "The Czar's Madman", "The Third Range of Hills", and "Professor Martens' Departure" also has a special (internal) function: it forms the reader's impression of the depicted epoch and culture, seeming to stylize them.

This feature clearly manifests in “Professor Martens’s Departure” (see the article by Lea Pild). In this piece, Kross refers to the works of Leo Tolstoy as a great contemporary of the main character, the renowned attorney F. F. Martens. Several images of Tolstoy’s prose and journalism become key themes in Kross’s novel, while Tolstoyan psychology (the correlation of the character’s actions with several internal motives that arise in his consciousness almost simultaneously) is one of the foundational methods used by Kross to build the protagonist’s inner monologues, his penitential confession. In this case it is appropriate to speak not so much of literary “influence”, but of Kross’s deliberate inclusion of the reader in the atmosphere of the era depicted: in Russian culture at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, Tolstoy was the greatest moral authority, which is precisely why Martens’s moral judgment of himself occurs from a Tolstoyan position.

Quotes from Russian writers play a similar role in “The Czar’s Madman”, where the action takes place primarily in the first third of the 19th century. Quotes and reminiscences from the poetry of Pushkin and Zhukovsky-Schiller (and other authors, not only Russians; see, for example, the quote from “The Book of Songs” by Heine) construct the literary context that would have been relevant for educated people of that time.

Finally, Kross’s references to many texts of world literature allow him to use some of them as myths (regarding the neomythological elements of Kross’s novels, see L. Pild’s article “The Poetics of the Leitmotifs in Jaan Kross’s ‘The Czar’s Madman’”).

As noted above, the second part of this monograph is devoted to Jaan Kross’s translations from Russian literature. This book covers only a small number of them: his poetry translations of Russian poet David Samoilov, who lived in Estonia in 1975–1990 and was, for a time, friends with Kross and his wife Ellen Niit; and his translation of Alexander Griboedov’s comedy “The Misfortune of Being Clever”⁹. His translation of *Misfortune* was published in 1964, and he translated Samoilov’s poetry from the 1960s through the 1980s. As Tatiana Stepanischeva’s detailed analyses of Kross’s poetry translations and their publication alongside the original texts reveal, to a large degree Kross focuses more on the form of the translated text (that is, on the reproduction

⁹ Regarding the characteristics of several of Kross’s translations (including those from Russian), see: *Talviste, K. A Dispersed Monument: Jaan Kross’s Translations of Poetry on the Landscape of Estonian Literature // Interlitteraria. 2009. 14(2). P. 369–382.* Kross translated not only Russian poetry (A. Pushkin, M. Lermontov, A. Blok, A. Akhmatova, S. Yesenin, V. Mayakovsky, D. Samoilov, B. Slutsky, B. Akhmadulina, Y. Yevtuschenko, A. Voznesensky, K. Chukovsky, S. Marshak and many others), but also prose (I. Goncharov) and drama (A. Griboedov).

of its metrics, rhyme structure, and phonics) than on its content (historical, daily-life, cultural, and literary realities). Another distinctive feature of Kross's translations is his orientation toward the Estonian reader — his translations are characterized by a marked allusiveness to the modern historical situation. This same characteristic is found in Kross's translation of Griboedov's comedy in poetry, "The Misfortune of Being Clever", as demonstrated by Dmitry Ivanov and Maria Tamm.

The authors of this monograph view the research presented herein as a part of the greater body of research on Kross conducted over the last several years by literary scholars in Estonia and Western Europe, and as an indispensable dialogue with those scholars who have analyzed other or similar aspects of the works of Jaan Kross.

Lea Pild

POETICS OF THE LEITMOTIFS OF JAAN KROSS'S NOVEL "THE CZAR'S MADMAN"*

LEA PILD

No one has yet written about the leitmotifs¹ used by Jaan Kross in "The Czar's Madman" (nor about the micropoetics of his novels as a whole). This article will make the first attempt at such an analysis, which will provide not only for greater understanding of the architectonics of the writer's artistic world as a whole, but also for the concretization of a complete series of features related to the composition of Kross's works that have already been broached by literary scholars and critics.

In accordance with literary tradition, "leitmotif" in this article is understood as a repetitive element in the text (words, phrases, parallel scenes, etc.), which, through its repetition many times over, forms a distinctive compositional structure in the novel. Repeating motifs (or leitmotifs) are a means of structuring a narrative (a type of composition) that inevitably leads to the appearance in the text, alongside empirical imagery, of conditionally symbolic details, scenes, or episodes.

Just such a narrative organization is found in "The Czar's Madman", which, like some of Kross's other historical novels, such as "Between Three Plagues" and "Professor Martens' Departure", approaches the genre of 20th century neomythology. Neomythological texts² are works into whose structures ancient or biblical images are incorporated, constituting an independent, symbolic layer in the text and lending an "eternal" character to its subject; "The Czar's Madman"

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¹ Regarding the leitmotif technique in the novel of the 20th century and its inherent connection to the musical dramas of Richard Wagner, see: [Мелетинский]. Regarding the functional mechanisms of leitmotif in prose, see: [Гаспаров].

² Regarding the 20th century neomythological novel, see: [White; Мелетинский; Минц].

is included in this genre not only due to its technique of leitmotif, but also due to Kross's consistent reference to Old and New Testament symbolism, overlapping historical and conditional/symbolic layers, deepened psychology, including descriptions of subconscious processes, and narrative focus on the inner monologue.

This article does not touch upon the question of whether Kross was influenced by his literary predecessors, those prominent representatives of this genre in western European and Russian prose — James Joyce, Franz Kafka, Thomas Mann, and Dmitry Merezhkovsky, among others — although this question must undoubtedly be addressed in one way or another by literary scholars sooner or later. This article also will not address the *specifics* of Kross's neomythology; that is, the ways in which the use of this feature in his novels differs from that of the works of his predecessors.

The creative space itself of "The Czar's Madman" is organized in a special way. Although Kross describes a concrete, objective world and, to some degree, the landscape surrounding the characters, each image in it bears a second, symbolic meaning. Thus, for example, one key motif is that of the border, which is represented in the text by the images of *doors, windows, walls, hedges (hekk), shrubbery*, and so on. The narrator, Jakob Mättik, describes in his diary the spaces that are particularly marked by their borders. Borders between different rooms are noted not only in the descriptions of estate buildings in Võisiku and Kivijalg³ (such as the mezzanine, where Timo writes his memorandum and Jakob his diary), but also in descriptions of the space in Moier's house in Tartu (the low ceiling), and the bath house in which important characters meet for particularly serious discussions, etc. Bock's estate is described as *divided* into *separate* plots; the house as *divided* into *separate* spaces (this *segmentation* and *disconnection* proves to be more important to Jakob than the *unity* of the manor space). In part, such a perception of space by the protagonist is spurred by Jakob's lack of self-confidence in the unfamiliar, "gentlemanly" home in Võisiku; thus, he wants to separate and *dissociate* himself spatially from the owners: "On the first floor of the house there were sixteen rooms and the kitchen; in the mansard were another four rooms where the servants lived and commoner guests were housed. I asked of Eeva one of these rooms for myself. Although she herself intended to settle me on the first floor, and even in two

³ In one case after another, not only the borders between spaces are emphasized, but also the *divisions* within the rooms themselves: "One whopper of a pipe passes through the middle of my room... I stuck my hand in a *narrow hole in the ceiling* and felt there a *hollow space, like a box* two cubits long and two or three handspans wide" [Kross: 11]. From here on, citations of this edition of the novel's translation are noted by page number only.

rooms. But I preferred to stay upstairs. Because there I was *isolated*... For the sake of greater *isolation*: living upstairs, I did not necessarily have to, upon entering the house, or leaving it, use the main entrance and make my way through all the Bocks and Rautenfelds..." [23]. However, Jakob's diary writing and his subsequent discovery of Bock's memorandum provide additional reasons for his search for privacy and, consequently, *isolation* from others in the house. Võiõsiku is plagued by incessant eavesdropping and spying; thus, for the inhabitants of the house (and above all, for Jakob and Timo), separation from others is of highest import⁴. At times the protagonist himself is compelled to eavesdrop, hiding behind an impenetrable shrubbery: "*Through the acacia thickets, still wet with yesterday's rain, I saw that Timo stood ten paces from the hedge. Wearing a green housecoat, a pistol in his right hand, his hand extended, he at that moment took aim... Through the wet bushes I saw Laming come out from behind the trees... I did not want to be in Laming's company. But the conversation between Timo and the manager I heard perforce*" [46–47]. Clearly, the spatial isolation of the characters from one another is connected with their *inner lack of freedom*, which, in turn, is caused by an external lack of social and political freedom.

Finally, it must be noted that Jakob pays particular attention not only to empirical (real, objective) space (his *borders*), but also to the conditional and symbolic interpretation of space⁵ attributable to the training he received first from Pastor Masing and then in the army under the command of Colonel Tenner: the cartography of particular locations, or else the copying of maps. Thanks to this work, after marriage and with the help of Colonel Tenner, Jakob obtains a surveyor's permit⁶ and for some time serves in this capacity.

Accordingly, the repeating images of impenetrable or closed (locked) spaces in the novel are always concrete; they do not break the day-to-day or psycho-

⁴ The two lovers' necessity of *separating* themselves from the others is emphasized in the words of Pastor Masing to Eeva and Timo, who plan to marry and experience quite understandable difficulties as a result: "With such trust in each other you can easily hide from all this fuss, as if, let's say, in a round pearl shell! Let there be any kind of storm, what can it do to your shell? It will only sway pleasantly" [21].

⁵ Compare, for example: "Human destiny, and possibly the destiny of the whole world (if it is indeed separable from the fate of man), is nothing but a miniscule movement in space: a stroke of the pen, a loud word, the turn of a key, the whistle of an axe, the firing of a bullet..." [58].

⁶ It is possible that Jakob Mättik's occupation has a literary source. More than likely, when Kross wrote this novel, he was already familiar with Franz Kafka's work "The Castle", which was published in German in 1926 (it appeared in Estonian translation only in 1987). The protagonist of "The Castle", a surveyor, is reminiscent of Jakob Mättik not only in profession, but in the characterization of his intellectual world: he is constantly in limbo and ignorance ("teadmatu"). Regarding the influence of Kafka's work in Estonian literature, see: [Krull].

logical plausibility of the narrative. At the same time, these images bear other, generalized symbolic meanings, which extend beyond the merely physical.

These same two layers of meaning can also be found in descriptions of the landscape. The novel contains essentially no developed, independent passages depicting nature. From the first few pages the setting is extremely laconic. For example, the protagonists' travels from Petersburg to Võisiku at the beginning of the story is noted by only one very short (pseudo)sketch of the landscape: "The wagon, shuddering, moved forward, *and the shadows of the wayside birches slid across Eeva's face*" [9].

Nonetheless, the world of plants is significant both for the narrator and the author himself of "The Czar's Madman". Images of *wild roses* (thickets of wild rose bushes signify the *border* between the old, nobleman's home in Kivijalg and the rest of the world)⁷, *rowan trees*⁸, and *plum* fruits are important symbols in the novel that repeat throughout whole passages or even the whole text. The symbolism of these images is particularly connected with Estonian folklore. This correlation emerges most clearly in, for example, the following ("summary") utterance by Eeva, who has recently lost her husband: "Eeva tore a branch from the wild rose bush growing near the bench.... 'Timo wanted to be an iron nail in the side of the empire. Sometimes he spoke loud words, to prove his right to say them... I thought: maybe I'm within my rights to want... that I could be... do you know what this plant is called in Estonian? It's *slave's whip* — *Sklavenrute* — yes! I could be a slave's whip to the body of the empire, while I live...'" [306]. Kross was undoubtedly aware that in Christianity, the wild rose symbolizes Christ's passion⁹, and the synonym used by Eeva (*orjavit* — slave's whip) is found specifically in Estonian folk tales (see: [Tuisk]).

⁷ See: "The house is fifteen yards long and five wide... And all of this is right in the park under old willows and among such thickets of wild roses that now, at this time of year, the scent of roses takes one's breath away" [82].

⁸ See Timo's words to Eeva when he argues his refusal to flee the country: "I don't know whether you have experienced how powerful the sense of taste can be. And precisely in that moment when the taste of oranges arose in my memory, I had in my hand rowan berries from that tree, and I unconsciously put them in my mouth. Suddenly I felt in my mouth and throughout my whole body their expected sweetness and unbelievable bitterness — that same flavor, only in the berries it was incomparably more bitter and powerful... *I can go nowhere because of those berries...*" <author's italics> [248].

⁹ Christian symbolism and the image of Christ play an important role in the novel. In this regard, Kross as a *historical* novelist not only precisely portrays the religious and ethical priorities of the era he depicts, but also the realistic contours of the worldview of Bock's historical prototype. In "The Decembrists' Contemporary T. G. Bock" A. Predtechensky writes: "Religion in Bock's view is so very sacred that he rejects any non-religious treatment of Scripture" [Предтеченский: 40].

The image of the rowan, which in the novel symbolizes the possibility of recovery both for Timo and, more generally, for the nation (this has already been noted in Estonian literary criticism, see: [Kivimäe: 306]), is also closely associated with Estonian folk beliefs, in which, as in the folklore of many other European peoples, it is ascribed magical properties (see, for example: [Viires]).

Plums are mentioned in those episodes depicting the celebration of Timo's birthday and his son Jüri's birthday. Eeva brings dissonance into the Bock family tradition of baking a plum cake for birthdays by her attempt to continue it on the day of a lunch with the Bocks, the children of the Võisiku tenant and Timo's sister's husband, Peter Mannteufel: "And near the end Eeva served her that very baked plum cake, as if someone in the family were having a birthday" [285]. Each of the mentioned episodes portrays the Christian symbolism of plums; the plum fruit represents faithfulness and independence; correspondingly, the plum cake at Timo's birthday is baked by Eeva, who is distinguished by precisely these characteristics, while for Jüri's birthday, it is baked by the Bocks' devoted servant Liisa¹⁰.

Leitmotif repetitions in the novel (of which there are not many overall) consist also of images of color. A particular series of these images is represented by the colors (or *patterns*) of the Bocks' clothing and home furnishings. For example, a plaid blanket is repeatedly encountered, as not only Timo, but also his son Jüri cover themselves with it (and, as it turns out, are sheltered by it): "Timo and Eeva sat together on the couch behind a small round table.... Timo's legs under the table were covered with a plaid blanket, Eeva poured the coffee into cups of blue Põltsamaa porcelain" [28]; "I looked around: little, tanned, snub-nosed Jüri slept soundly on the seat of the carriage, curled up under a plaid¹¹ blanket..." [9]. As is well known, in the culture of the novel's setting, plaid fabric was associated with noble birth.

Another set of repetitions is found in depictions of the eye color of characters both main and secondary. For example, Timo's eyes and those of the medical student Faehlmann (whose character is based on the historical figure of the doctor, writer, and folklorist Friedrich Robert Faehlmann) are both gray: "No, no, no!" cried Bock, looking at his father with shining, pale, pale *gray*¹² eyes" [14]; "Doctor Faehlmann looked at me excessively with large, dark *gray*

¹⁰ Interestingly, varieties of plum were quite rare in Livonia at the beginning of the 19th century; according to specialists, they grew mainly in greenhouses — that is, only in the holdings of people of means [Viires: 178; Hueck].

¹¹ In this sentence the original Estonian word, "plaid", is used, rather than the adjective chosen by Russian translator Olga Samma, "traveling".

¹² Here again the original Estonian word is referenced, as in translation it was changed to "light blue".

eyes" [53]. The Biblical symbolism of this color is connected with repentance (Timo, in fact, is the repentant nobleman), mourning, and death and spiritual immortality; this color parallel implicitly underscores the similarity between Timo and Faehlmann, who also sacrifices himself for the sake of others and thus secures himself a place in the memory of subsequent generations¹³.

Red is repeated in the descriptions of Anna (first Jakob's lover, and then his wife) and the interior of her home. Red symbolizes here not only the passion (*sensual* love), but also the tragedy (destructiveness) of Jakob's relationship with Anna, whom he does not truly love [170, 172].

Motifs found throughout the novel also inform the characterization of its protagonists by pairing them with world literary traditions and well-known Biblical stories. Thus, one of the most important recurring images, which correlates primarily with the narrator, is that of the mirror (or reflection)¹⁴. Jakob Mättik is a reflective person, analyzing not only the world, but himself as well. It is easy to uncover the deep kinship of the meaning of "reflection" held by all cultures (thought and mirrors are joined by the concept of cognition) and this attribute of Jakob. From the very beginning of the novel the image of the mirror is directly connected to the narrator, in Jakob's diary entry of June 4, 1827: "I went to Rõika to see Mr. Amelung's mirror factory. The director gave me (of course, out of obsequiousness) a large mirror with a frame of stained birch" [28]. On the one hand, this characterizing theme emphasizes Jakob's secondariness and lack of originality. For example, Timo wants to make him a *copyist* of Lehrberg's biography, and while serving in the army under the command of Colonel Tenner, Jakob *copies* topographical maps, rather than drawing originals¹⁵. The self-knowledge and understanding of the world gained by Jakob during his first years of study under Pastor Masing become, in a certain sense, a "reflection" (doubling) of Timo's intellectual world (and, in part, of Bock's teacher, Lehrberg, future academic and historian). Timo supplies Jakob and Eeva with books that he himself read during his years of study under Lehrberg: "It became clear that Timo had sent with us two or three boxes of books, the best of his juvenile library. In the books were annotations and explanations written in Lehrberg's hand, and several parts were underlined. Lehrberg was a teacher and governor to Timo and his brothers and sisters, and I knew then that Timo held

¹³ It is well known that the selfless conduct of Doctor Faehlmann during the epidemic shattered his health and became one of the causes of his death from tuberculosis. Regarding Doctor Faehlmann, see: [Bertram].

¹⁴ For another interpretation of the mirror motif in "The Czar's Madman", see: [Kirss; Valgemäe].

¹⁵ Nevertheless, even before serving in the army Jakob did draw "original" maps, when he surveyed Masing's parsonage [20].

him in highest esteem" [19]. According to N. Lyzhin, this hero's historical prototype, August Christian Lehrberg, was a particular admirer of Friedrich Schiller (see: [Лыжин: 62–63]) and introduced to him his pupil — von Bock, Timo's historical prototype. Kross, familiar with Lyzhin's article (and probably with other sources that characterized Lehrberg's views), evidently is suggesting in the novel, however indirectly, that both Timo and Jakob are characterized by an interest in Schiller's "rebellious" work¹⁶.

This involvement in Timo's world (or Jakob's "reflection" of Timo's thinking and behavior) manifests itself in one of the most critical moments of Jakob's life: the moment when he refuses to continue his relationship with Jette, having discovered the true nature of her informant father. This is a highly important episode, not analyzed previously in the critical and research literature, in which Jakob repeats, in his own way, Timo's rebellion against autocracy, even though he as yet knows nothing of the contents of Timo's memorandum: "I stood on the stone slab in front of the fireplace. I closed my eyes tightly and turned to face the fireplace. When I opened my eyes, I saw between the candlesticks someone's portrait made of fragments of colorful stones in a very fine, round, bronze frame; if I am not mistaken, it was a portrait of Peter the Great, the Sovereign with a sharp little moustache and bulging eyes. I don't know when or how it got there. I grabbed it without looking. I squeezed it until I felt a sharp pain in my hand. Then I hurled the portrait to the stone floor and stomped on it hard with my iron-buckled heel. But it didn't break. I pounded it with my heel. I ground my heel into the imperial face and the iron grated against the fireplace. I gripped the stone slab and attempted to lift it, in order to increase the pressure. I remember gasping, 'Let it be damned! Let it be damned! The *violence!*' <italics Kross's> until the portrait broke into crunching¹⁷ powder" [64]. This passage describes the symbolic rebellion of the protagonist against autocratic violence in the Russian government. Although Jakob commits this act in the heat of passion and not publicly, it nonetheless main-

¹⁶ Y. M. Lotman (see: [Lotman: 69]) pointed out the Schiller theme in Kross's novel. In his article, "New Materials about the Beginning of the Period of Acquaintance with Schiller in Russian Literature", Lotman writes about the perception of Schiller's work in Russian at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries: "Schiller impressed with his rebelliousness, his revolutionary pathos, which allowed one to see him as a champion of the ideas of equality and brotherhood, successor to the traditions of the 18th century and contemporary of the revolution" [Лотман: 9]. In his diary entry of June 4, 1827, Jakob notes that he had laid Schiller's "Wallenstein" on the table and opened the play to the third act just before Laming entered his room [17]. The reference is to Schiller's trilogy, written in 1797–1799; possibly, Jakob opened to the third part of the trilogy, "Wallenstein's Death", which resonates thematically with the events taking place in Timo's life.

¹⁷ In the original: "crunching stone powder".

tains its similarity to Bock's relationship toward autocratic power. The above quote has overt plot similarities to a famous episode from Pushkin's poem, "The Bronze Horseman" (1833), in which the "poor" Yevgeny threatens the autocratic sovereign, Peter. Both Jakob's rebellion (having transformed the "wretched Finn, contrary to the assessment presented in Pushkin's poem) and the rebellion of Pushkin's "poor" (and "mad") Yevgeny, who has lost his beloved, are directed against the violator-emperor, who symbolizes inhumane power. Compare: «Кругом подножия кумира / Безумец бедный обошел / И взоры дикие навел / На лик державца полумира. Стеснилась грудь его. Чело / К решетке холодной прилегло, / Глаза подернулись туманом, / По сердцу пламень пробежал, / Вскипела кровь. / Он мрачен стал / Пред горделивым истуканом / И, зубы стиснув, пальцы сжав, / Как обуянный силой черной, / «Добро, строитель чудотворный! — / Шепнул он, злобно задрожав, — / Ужо тебе!..» [Пушкин: 262].

In addition to plot references to Pushkin's poem, the above passage from "The Czar's Madman" also contains lexical allusions to it, beginning with the *bronze* frame of the miniature portrait of Peter and ending with the repeated image of "iron" in the "iron-buckled heel", and "the iron grated along the fireplace;" compare in Pushkin: "O powerful ruler of fate! / Have you not above the very abyss / To the heights, with *iron* reins / Reared Russia to its hind legs?" Compare also the image of the portrait *crushed to smithereens*¹⁸, which actualizes, in the mind of the informed reader, the lines from Pushkin's "Poltava": "Thus the heavy hammer, / *Crushing* glass, forges steel" [Пушкин: 169]¹⁹.

In addition, the image of the mirror fulfills another important function: as a symbol of magic, it connects Jakob with the world of his sister, Eeva, who, despite her intelligence (rationality) and integrity, like Timo, is considered by Jakob to be "insane". Both brother and sister belong to the world of folk beliefs (Eeva to a much greater extent, Jakob less so). Jakob happens to be nearby when Eeva brushes her hair (a famously magical activity in folklore, connected with wish-making) and looks in the mirror before her trip to see Empress Maria Fyodorovna: "In the evening Eeva ordered that I be called up from my bay room to her bedroom in the main house. She sat before the oval mirror between the flames of two candles and brushed her coal-black hair, to the color of which I still could not become accustomed" [130]. Before his trip to his future wife, Anna, Jakob also brushes his hair at a mirror: "...I stand in the

¹⁸ In the original: "crushed".

¹⁹ It must be emphasized that the layer reminiscent of Pushkin characterizes not the consciousness of the narrator, but the author's position in the novel's text.

morning in my shirt and socks in the middle of the room...arranging my hair with a comb and looking into the little fifty-kopek mirror hanging on the bleached log wall... And in the mirror I see my mother paused at the threshold of the open door, looking at me" [177]. This occurs while Jakob is visiting his parents and distinctly realizes that he has had no real home for a long time. This episode also portrays another symbolic meaning of the mirror: the possibility of deepened self-knowledge. Refusing to allow his mother to polish his boots for him, Jakob suddenly discovers with fear that the reason for his refusal is not only the pain and shame arising from his estrangement from his parents, but also fear that his mother will rub his boots with lard, as is customary among peasants²⁰: "... I feel that her willingness to clean the boots of her once tattered little boy is one quarter proud joy for that boy and three quarters bashful pain for his estrangement. And right then I asked myself (the question arising suddenly in some latent part of my brain): in my refusal, did not some kind of vulgar undercurrent of apprehension flash by that she would rub my boots with pork lard, when I myself have already long cleaned them with Schreiber shoe polish?" [177–178].

The theme of *doubt* plays an important role in the characterization of Jakob, as it is one of his dominant emotional states. Doubt arises as a result of insufficient knowledge (*understanding*) of current events (Jakob was long in the dark about the secret of Timo's arrest) and as a result of the *uncertainty* of his social status²¹. Jakob begins to keep his diary in order to better *understand* the goings-on in Võisiku after Timo's return from the fortress. Most of all, Jakob doubts the insanity of Timo, or rather, his normality. Recall also that doubt is the immediate cause (the psychological undercurrent) of the break between Jakob and Jette: "And I felt *doubt* flood me <italics original>, as if my collar were splashed with cold water and all my clothes were soaked through" [62]. Characteristically, the change in Jakob's regard toward Bock (and toward the contents of his memorandum) occurs when Bock begins to need Jakob's help and grants him great *trust*: "'My problem lies in the fact that Kitty believes I am healthy'. I replied, especially based on yesterday's conversation, almost truthfully: 'But you are in fact healthy'" [160]. After this confession, Jakob rereads

²⁰ The simultaneous description of several psychological motives for the character's action, followed by a "moral rebuke" from the narrator, can be traced most closely back to the psychological prose of Leo Tolstoy [Гинзбург: 287–288]. This same technique is found in a highly developed form in Jaan Kross's novel "Professor Martens' Departure", which gives cause to note Kross's attentive study of Tolstoy's creative methodology. Regarding the "Tolstoyan" layer of this novel, see: [Pild].

²¹ Regarding the uncertainty of the narrator's social status in this novel, see: [Laanes].

the memorandum and realizes that Timo was speaking the truth²²: “I came to the conclusion that everything that Timo writes here is pure truth, and that truth is clear, if not to everyone, then at least to many. The lie is only *what* he did with it. ... But, clearly, there was no insane act by Timo” [160]. In this moment Jakob’s doubt disappears — not so much his doubt in Timo’s sanity, but in himself. When Jakob gives Bock the advice to *believe* himself healthy, rather than ill, because it will be better for those close to him, he acquires, for a short time, mental balance and confidence in himself: “And so I suggest to you: if you are healthy, it will be appropriate to confirm that... If you are still ill, it will be appropriate, with the best of intentions, to deceive the whole world, and yourself”²³ [163]. Thus, in addition to bringing on agonizing self-awareness, Jakob’s doubt also plays a constructive role as it facilitates the improvement of his intellectual and emotional world.

Another important leitmotif, related to the just-discussed theme of doubt, involves images of “*swinging, swaying, and rocking*”, which, depending on the context, characterize the inner world of the narrator in both literal and metaphorical ways. These themes are connected by the general theme of uncertainty

²² The theme of “*truth*”, interwoven throughout the novel, is intended particularly as an allusion, in the mind of the Estonian reader, not only to the title of Anton Hansen Tammsaare’s novel “Truth and Fairness”, but also to the difficult searches for truth and *fairness* (historically unattainable for the Estonian people at the beginning of the 19th century) by the main characters of Tammsaare’s novel. It is as if in Kross’s novel, Jakob Mättik, as one of the pioneers of the Estonian intelligentsia, continues these searches for truth and fairness during the difficult process of forming an Estonian intellectual elite.

²³ Jakob’s reading aloud of Heinrich Heine’s poem from the collection “Buch der Lieder” (1827), brought from Tartu by Eeva (see [164]), becomes the direct impetus for his courageous behavior. Jakob quotes three lines in the original German from the second poem of the sub-cycle “Bergidylle” (the section “Aus der Harzreise”): “Jetzo, da ich ausgewachsen, / Viel gelesen, viel gereist, / Schwillt mein Herz, und ganz von Herzen / Glaub ich an den heiligen Geist. // Dieser tat die grössten Wunder, / Und viel grössre tut er noch; / Er zerbrach die Zwingherrnburgen, / Und zerbrach des Knechtes Joch. // Alte Todeswunden heilt er, / Und erneut das alte Recht: // Alle Menschen, gleichgeboren, / Sind ein adliges Geschlecht...” (quoted from: [Heine]). Jakob is unaware of Heine’s poetic world (he admits that he doesn’t remember who authored “Buch der Lieder”). Both Jakob and Timo were raised on the texts of high Romanticism. They take seriously all that happens and see, above all, the tragic side of events. Comedy and irony almost never determine their reactions to events. Jakob is freed for some time from his worry about his socio-cultural status not only by the real help he provides to Timo, but also by Heine’s poem, which, on the one hand, ridicules Christian ideas, but on the other hand, ironically ascribes people of any and every descent to the noble class; he feels inner freedom: “I fell silent and held my breath. I heard the sparrows twittering on the snow-covered hedge; I smelled the especially invigorating scents of horse manure and straw wafting from the open gates of the big barn across the snowy courtyard; morning coffee, shoveling snow, and those verses — ein adelich Geshchlecht — seemed to itch within me” [164].

or instability. The theme of rocking (which has a distinctly erotic connotation) arises in the novel in relation to the appearance of Anna — first Jakob's lover, and then his wife. Hiding from prying eyes, Jakob and Anna glide (*rock*) in a boat; surrounded by water, both the reed beds and this closed world become a unique reflection (or adaptation) of the image already noted above of the "pearl shell", which, according to Pastor Masing's words to Timo and Eeva, symbolizes the space occupied by two people connected by love and trust who are escaping the world of people hostile to them (in Jakob and Anna's case, it is also an escape from inner loneliness): "Naked in the greenish twilight of evening or night, we find ourselves in a rocking, isolated world" [180–181]. In the dream Jakob describes in his diary on November 2, 1828, he floats (rocks) in a boat, now not only with Anna, but with Jette and Emperor Alexander I, the main antagonist of his love-life drama (recall that Jakob breaks up with Jette, whom he loves, to avoid marrying a daughter of the spy Laming, Alexander I's double; but, by a twist of fate, marries one anyway — Anna, whom he does not truly love, is Laming's illegitimate daughter). When he has this dream, Jakob is not yet married to Anna and does not know that she is Laming's daughter. The dream turns out to be prophetic, foreshadowing later events. In describing it in his diary, Jakob compares himself to the prophet Moses. The comparison (which, according to his notes, came to Jakob in his dream) arises as a result of the association with the Old Testament story of the baby Moses floating down the Nile in a basket, where his mother had laid him to save his life: "And then I understood that it was a rectangular basket woven from green reeds. I'd never seen one like it in my life, but I remember imagining in my childhood just such a basket for the baby Moses, thrown into the reeds of the Nile" [193]. This comparison to Moses is critical for an overall understanding of Kross's conceptualization of Jakob Mättik's character. The author himself wrote a statement characterizing the protagonist-narrator of "The Czar's Madman". The conditional author (storyteller) of that statement describes Jakob somewhat condescendingly, but Kross himself, as author of the novel (actual author), also emphasizes Jakob's "metamorphosis", the deep changes that take place within the character throughout his narrative (see: [Kross 2003: 32]).

Thus, this character seems to be measured in two ways, the second of which, connected with metamorphoses (that is, inner changes), gives him a certain magnitude. The novel's projection of Jakob onto the prophet Moses is deeply meaningful. According to the Old Testament story, the prophet Moses, who led his people out of Egyptian slavery, nonetheless never saw the promised land, since God punished him for his disbelief (doubt). Possibly Jakob, too,

is punished (by Providence?)²⁴ for his doubts in Jette (who truly loved him) and refusal to join his life to hers. In addition, Jakob, like Moses, is undoubtedly one of many representatives of his people who gradually “led out” (in a spiritual sense) his people from “foreign captivity” (not only Russian), at the same time experiencing deep *doubt* in his thoughts and actions. And so, the fundamental themes characterizing Jakob (the mirror, doubt, and rocking/swaying) are internally unified in meaning, as they all interface with the image of Moses in one way or another, on whom the character of the narrator is oriented, however opaquely.

The image of Timo, the other central character in “The Czar’s Madman”, is also more deeply developed as a result of the interaction of several motifs. One in particular is presented in the very title of the novel. The word “madman” and its many derivatives (“insane”, “crazy”, “out of his mind”, “idiot”, “irrational”, “joker”, etc.) are used to characterize Timo by a wide variety of characters (beginning with Emperor Alexander I and Peter Mannteufel, who infuse the word with a deeply negative meaning, and ending with Eeva, sympathizing with her spouse, and even by Jakob, trying to find in these terms different faces and shades of meaning). As Jakob comes to deeply understand the true meaning of Bock’s memorandum, his interpretation of the mental condition of its author changes²⁵. In his diary entry of June 6, 1827, Jakob, assessing Timo’s idea about a possible union between the Baltic nobility and local peasants, calls his ideas childish and infantile. However, after Jakob learns of the oath given by Bock to Emperor Alexander, in addition to the image of “childishness” (“child”) in the original Estonian another adjective appears: “idiot”²⁶, synonym to “madman”.

The significance of this characteristic is deepened further if one takes into consideration the fact that Jakob and Bock heard a lecture by Professor Gustav Ewers in Tartu about the history of medieval Europe. Accordingly, he could have been aware of the meaning of the Greek-based word “idiot” in the middle ages: a person endowed with ideal features and deep spirituality (see: [Докровский 1974: 394]). It is also worth noting that Jakob Mättik, like Bock, is a man of the Romantic era. It was the German Romantics that first upheld the

²⁴ To speak of Jakob’s disbelief (that is, his lack of faith in God) is rather difficult, despite the open skepticism he expresses in regards to religious questions. More than likely, he should be described as one who “doubts” (that is, who is inclined toward agnosticism).

²⁵ Regarding the shift in Jakob’s opinion of the contents of the memorandum, see: [Kisseljova 2010: 323].

²⁶ In the Russian translation, this important to Kross lexeme (italicized in the original text) is for some reason translated as “fool”. It is rather difficult to agree with the several Estonian critics who also consider “foolishness” to be a synonym of “madman” as it characterizes Kross’s Bock.

child as the ideal creature, devoid of the defects and deficiencies inherent in adults. The pairing of the images of "the idiot" and "the child" (of course, on an authorial level, not in the characters' consciousness) points to Dostoevsky's novel "The Idiot"²⁷. Clearly, Timo, with his high religiosity and notion of Christ as an indisputable ideal, calls forth associations with Prince Myshkin, the "Christ Prince", as Dostoevsky dubbed his protagonist in his draft manuscripts of the novel; "the positively perfect man". "The Idiot", like many other works by Dostoevsky, was, of course, well known to Kross. Bock is also pulled closer to Prince Myshkin, "The Poor Knight", by his high opinions of the ethical and behavioral norms guided by the ideals of medieval knighthood, as well as by the obvious authorial projection of Bock onto Don Quixote.

It is well known that Cervantes' Don Quixote is one of the fundamental literary prototypes of Lev Nikolaevich Myshkin²⁸. In one of the beginning stages of familiarizing himself with the memorandum, Jakob characterizes Timo's behavior as "quixotic": "My God, did Timo really not understand that even if he could quixotically offer some kind of protection to the peasants (until he himself was freed), then the rest of the landowners — ninety-nine out of one hundred, well fine, ninety-five out of one hundred — would each in his own way be oppressor, thief, torturer and bloodsucker par excellence?" [104]. More than likely, "quixotic" was already an abased adjective, rather than a "lofty" one, in European culture at the beginning of the 19th century²⁹. Jakob, having read the works of the German Romantics, and particularly the works of Friedrich Schlegel, would have gleaned from them an interpretation of the image of Don Quixote that highlights the "idealism" of Don Quixote's behavior in the serious sense of the word. Heine³⁰ interpreted the image of Don Quixote ironically; however, recall that Jakob "forgot" Heine's name (that is, by all appearances, he read nothing by Heine except "The Book of Songs"). One more possible source of Jakob's word choice remains: the compositions of Russian poet Gavrila Derzhavin, which Jakob himself admits to having read, despite his poor knowledge of the Russian language. One of Derzhavin's most famous compositions is his "Ode to Felica" (1782), dedicated to Empress Catherine II. It is this poem

²⁷ The connection between the plot structure of "The Czar's Madman" and another of Dostoevsky's novels, "Humiliated and Insulted", was noted in an article by Paul Rummo (see: [Rummo: 20]).

²⁸ In Dostoevsky's opinion, Prince Myshkin is Don Quixote himself, but serious, not ridiculous [Достоевский 1974: 312].

²⁹ See: "The myth of Don Quixote is a product of the Romantic era, and above all of the German Romantics..." [Багно 2011: 34]. Regarding the reception of Cervantes' "Don Quixote" in Russia and Western Europe, see: [Багно 1988].

³⁰ Heine's conception of the image of Don Quixote is presented in his "Introduction to Don Quixote" (1837). For more about this, see: [Mühlmann].

that contains the verb “to wax quixotic” («донкишотствовать»), meaning “to behave erratically, wildly, recklessly” (and formed from the noun «донкишотство», in modern Russian «донкихотство»): “You do not much like masquerades. / And you never set foot inside a club; / Keeping your habits and customs, / You never wax quixotic” [Державин: 98]³¹.

Returning now to Dostoevsky, it is of note that Kross’s novel pays attention to the consequences of Timo’s actions, which, according to the narrator, bring not order but chaos and destruction to the world around him (at least at first): “...he wanted to amaze the enemy, but thereby cost his loyal man an eye. Later he wanted to make his beloved woman unprecedentedly happy, but he made her unhappy. And he, desiring to destroy blindness, vulgarity, and injustice in the Russian Empire, raised his hand against the very Emperor — and instead destroyed himself” [187]. Jakob comes to this conclusion after he finds out from his friend Tiit, Bock’s former orderly, that he had gone blind after Bock accidentally struck him. Approximately the same thing happens in Dostoevsky’s novel: the level of disharmony in their relationship increases significantly after the Christ-Prince’s arrival in Petersburg (see: [Обломиевский]).

Another correlation with Dostoevsky’s artistic world is found in two parts of Kross’s novel (based on the repetition of several images, the metaphorical image of “the baths” and the image of a “circle”) in which Timo relates the most frightening events of his imprisonment. First and foremost, the imagery of these passages ascends to the “hell” of Dante’s “The Divine Comedy” where the protagonist, led by Virgil, passes through the circles of hell, meeting famous historical figures along the way. The “circles” Timo runs around his prison cell metaphorically correlate to these circles of the hell in “The Divine Comedy”. Timo devises this activity in order to give meaning to his imprisoned existence, which is profound torture for him, full of bloody horrors and nightmarish analogies to “The Divine Comedy”, which he recalls³². Additionally, the correlation of the repeating images of “baths” and “the circles of hell” remind readers

³¹ However, Jakob undoubtedly could have simply heard this word somewhere; for example, in Moier’s house in Tartu.

³² For example: “One circle is one year. I began with the birth of Christ... eight circles is one warm-up, nothing comes to memory ... The ninth circle: the Cherusci Arminius in the Teutoburg forest are routed by Publius Quintilian Varus... Varus falls upon his sword... yes, yes. Just like his father in the battle of Philippi. A Varus family weakness, from which the Romanov family obviously does not suffer. The next five circles: the last years of old Augustus. Dying, he orders that he be declared a god. He, at least, waited to do this until his dying hour... his body begins to tingle. His forehead dampens... Tiberius is already the emperor... Oh! Endure, endure... Seneca kills himself on the emperor’s orders, Lucan kills himself on the emperor’s orders, Petronius kills himself on the emperor’s orders... Why are they all so weak? Why do they obey?!” [126–127].

of the passage from Dostoevsky's autobiographical "The House of the Dead" (1860–1861), in which the actual bath house in which the convicts bathe is likened to Dante's hell³³. The inclusion of this important subtext in "The Czar's Madman" gives the novel a broader perspective in time, which allows Kross's contemporaries to see in Timotheus von Bock not only Dostoevsky, who suffered under autocratic violence and was imprisoned from the end of the 1840s through the first half of the 1850s, but also, potentially, the inmates of the prisons and labor camps of the Soviet regime³⁴.

Another motif characteristic of Bock and found throughout the novel is *piano playing*, a metonym for the wider and more significant concept of *music*. In contrast to his historical prototype³⁵, the Timo of Kross's novel is an excellent musician (performer), but he does *not* compose. This change appears to be intentional, because the talent for composition has been redirect to another character — to La Trobe the "cosmopolitan by calling", who expressed his readiness to become a spy or informant when necessary. La Trobe is a deeply dual-natured character. He sympathizes with Timo and his wife, but only in those situations where he himself is not threatened. According to Kross, La Trobe's particular sphere of activity — music — is equally dual-natured. For example, Eeva suggests that La Trobe play the piano to defuse a tense situation arising in Moyer's house in 1817 after Timo gives an ardent speech regarding the Baltic aristocrats' lofty calling to free the Livonian peasants: "I saw that it was unpleasant for Eeva to hear all of this.... She took Timo by the hand. She said, with an almost happy smile, 'Today you have paid your debt'. And turning to the others present, 'Gentlemen, Monsieur La Trobe would like to play his new composition for us...' [36]. In this episode, on the one hand, piano playing is called to soften the possible conflict between Timo and his fellow noblemen. On the other hand, the "transcendent" nature of the pieces played seems to negate and dispel not only the lofty register of Timo's speech, but the very topic of the speech, making it appear an unnecessary reminder of the pettiness of the day-to-day.

³³ For example: "When we opened the door to the bath itself, I thought we had entered hell... There wasn't a handspan of floor space not covered with crouching convicts, splashing out of their basins. Others stood upright between them and, holding their basins in their arms, washed standing up, dirty water dripping from them straight onto the shaved heads of those sitting below. On the shelf and all the ledges leading to it sat, huddled and crouched, the already washed [Достоевский 1972: 98].

³⁴ Regarding allusions in the novel to the 20th century, see: [Kross 2003: 88–89].

³⁵ Compare: "Clearly, Bock himself was acquainted with the works of Russian writers, artists, and musicians (he was an avid lover of music, played the piano and composed)..." [Предтеченский: 19].

The duality of the image of piano playing also appears in one of the novel's key episodes, in which Timo relates how Emperor Alexander I "granted" him a grand piano in his cell at Schlüsselburg fortress³⁶: "Later, when he sent me the pianoforte, I touched it... I could not resist this temptation" [110]. Playing the "imperial" piano undoubtedly helps Timo survive in the fortress; however, this is the one situation in which the protagonist, characterized by outstanding courage and resilience, succumbs to the emperor's onslaught. In this way, the "transcendent" and lofty realm of music becomes, for the duplicitous Emperor Alexander (as he is portrayed in the novel), a means of manipulation and a weapon of influence against his "up-start" subject.

Finally, the work of Ludwig van Beethoven, composer of "Missa solemnis", is ambiguously understood by Bock and La Trobe in a scene in which the latter shows his true two-facedness as he tremulously tries to convince Bock to read his denunciations — of Bock himself. While La Trobe is inclined to ignore the "rebellious" and "heroic" essences of Beethoven's compositions, these are the precise elements of the German's music closest to Bock: "And although La Trobe said that he wasn't particularly fond of Beethoven ('mighty, but for the most part rather uncouth!'), after lunch he nonetheless played us 'Closeness to the Beloved', as he said, in memory of the Great Lover"³⁷; "at which Timo said that great lovers are also the greatest rebels, and that he wanted to play for us in honor of Beethoven, the great rebel" [148]. Significantly, as one of the most important realms of art, music is presented in "The Czar's Madman" in a Romantic light; that is, in the spirit of the German Romantics, it is simultaneously attributed a connection to both good and evil. Thus, La Trobe's comment that "God plays Beethoven"³⁸ is called to bear witness not only to "God's wrath", as if illuminating La Trobe's human baseness, but also, possibly, to the fact that "wrath" is realized simultaneously with both "good" and "evil" intentions (not without reason does the resilient and courageous Timo fear

³⁶ The original Estonian specifically references a grand piano.

³⁷ In Russian translation: «Близость любимого» и «Великий любимый». It appears that such a translation of the play's name (the title, apparently, invented by Kross) contradicts the context, as later in the novel there is mention of the unrequited love of Beethoven for Therese von Brunswick. As to the second phrase, in the original it is stated directly: The Great Lover (Suur armastaja).

³⁸ La Trobe utters these words in an attempt to soften the impression of those around him regarding his new role as an informant who has agreed to spy on Timo: "Uh oh, the Lord God is playing Beethoven!" This was in reference to a clap of thunder that resounded overhead. 'Don't you see... I'd like to speak with you!' He looked at Timo and Eeva" [106].

storms). Hence follows the idea that the Divine origin is dual in nature and inseparable from the diabolical³⁹.

Another group of motifs that define Bock's symbolic characteristics is related to the image of Christ. The correlation of Timo with Christ (by several characters) is found throughout the novel⁴⁰. Specifically, there is the episode of Jakob's dream about the impending crucifixion, in which Jakob unexpectedly finds himself to be Timo's double: "If I were sure that I were he whom they want to crucify... if I were sure, I would shove Timo away from me and yell, what is this nonsense! But I am ashamed to shout and protest, because, maybe, Timo is the one who should be crucified. And I, I in fact, do not know whether it should be Timo after all, perhaps I ought to suggest that they crucify me instead.... And although it would be unbearable pain and a slow death, to be crucified is honorable⁴¹. I don't know what to do" [229–230]. This passage demonstrates the closest symbolic and psychological connection between the two protagonists. On the one hand, this episode demonstrates the link to the series of motifs describing Jakob as Moses (one of the forerunners of Christ). On the other hand, here Jakob himself practically takes on the role of Christ, evincing not only high nobility and courage (his readiness to take on suffering

³⁹ The opinion that the nature of the Almighty is dual also characterizes Johann Köler, the protagonist of Kross's novella "The Third Range of Hills", who begins to see clearly a demonic beginning in Christ (for more about this, see: [Kisseljova 2011]). In this Kross follows the tradition found in Estonian folklore and literature (see, for example: [Undusk: 393]). The idea of music's dual meaning and its possible connection with Evil enters the novel with Thomas Mann's composition "Doctor Faust". Both the author and the narrator, Jakob, note the dual role of music in the lives of Timo and especially of La Trobe, in contrast to Timo himself, who is inclined to ignore this contradiction. Defining music as the "most ambiguous of the arts" [Mann], Adrian Leverkühn, the protagonist of "Doctor Faust", expresses the opinion of the author himself, Thomas Mann, that music can become a weapon of Evil if it is used to force the will of others to submission. The interrelation of Kross's novel with the prose of Thomas Mann has already been explored in the literature (see, for example: [Laanes]). This parallel is not unfounded, but deserves thorough research, given that Mann is one of the most famous writers of the "mythical novel" or the neomythological novel of the 20th century (worth mention above all are the works "Joseph and his Brothers" and "The Magic Mountain").

⁴⁰ By way of direct character speech, the text contains several hidden quotes from the Gospels that further strengthen the leitmotif of Bock as Jesus Christ. For example, the scene in which the peasants come to wish Timo a happy birthday (November 13, 1827) is projected onto the famous commandment of Christ: "Timo stood from his chair and accepted the gift. He thought for a moment and ordered Kasper to bring a candle. Kasper retrieved a wax candle from a drawer in the buffet. Timo lit it from the one already burning on the table and placed it in the candlestick he had been presented. Holding the candlestick with the burning candle in his hand, he turned to the men: "Thank you all. I promise, I will use your candlestick. Although I do not know whether it will be of very great benefit to you or to me" [143]. Compare to: "And, having lit a candle, do not place it under a bushel, but in a candlestick, and light everyone in the house" (Mark 4: 21).

⁴¹ In the original: "a matter of honor" ("aushi").

in place of Timo), but also his inherent deep integrity (crucifixion is also an honor, and in Jakob's opinion, only Timo is worthy of honor).

The groups of leitmotifs described herein not only deepen the projection of Bock's character onto Christ, but also draw his character from the context of world literature (Cervantes' Don Quixote and Dostoevsky's Prince Myshkin), thereby expanding the historical associations of the image beyond a certain time period and underscoring its "eternal" nature at the symbolic level of the narrative.

As has been demonstrated, Kross has creatively interpreted the fates of both Jakob Mättik and Timotheus von Bock in both the specifically historic dimension and in symbolic terms: all that happens to each character is projected onto the eternal. "The Czar's Madman" can be considered a neomythological text precisely thanks to this quality, achieved primarily through the use of leitmotifs.

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RUSSIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE IN JAAN KROSS'S NOVEL "THE CZAR'S MADMAN"*

LJUBOV KISSELJOVA

"The Czar's Madman", one of Jaan Kross's most famous novels, was published in 1978 and has been translated into many languages. It first appeared in Russian print in 1980 in the journal "Druzhba Narodov" («Дружба народов»), and as a separate publication in 1984, as translated by O. A. Samma¹.

This article is concerned with an aspect of this large and complex text that on first glance appears peripheral, but which is closely interwoven with the novel's primary theme: the fate of Estonians under foreign oppression. The point, perhaps, is not so much in the historical era described by Kross, when Estonia was incorporated into the Russian empire and was divided between two Baltic provinces, Estonia and Livonia, where the aristocracy consisted of Baltic Germans, while Estonians were, on the whole, peasant serfs. First and foremost, Kross is interested in how the Estonian nation springs forth from a downtrodden, illiterate people caught between two foreign and antagonistic powers (their Baltic landlords and their Russian governors). Thus, along with the protagonist, who is based on the real historical figure of Timotheus Eberhard von Bock, a Livonian nobleman and colonel of the Russian Guard who was imprisoned in the Schlüsselburg fortress by Emperor Alexander I in 1818 for his "outrageous" letter, there appears a fictional narrator, Estonian Jakob Mättik, the brother

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¹ Olga Samma (nee Levina, first married name Smolyan; 1912–1985), a German Studies specialist, student of Y. G. Etkind, author of research on F. M. Klinger and Schiller, and German translator, was an associate professor of Herzen State Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad until her retirement. In 1965 she married the famous Estonian literary figure Otto Samma (1912–1978) and moved to Estonia. She mastered Estonian to such a fine degree that she became the foremost translator of Kross's works into Russian. Kross himself highly regarded Olga Samma's translations [Kross 1982].

of Bock's wife, Ekaterina. Eeva, the former serf peasant who becomes Ekaterina von Bock, has a real prototype. However, so little is known about the real Kitty, as she was called by her husband, that this heroine can be considered the offspring of the author's creativity.

When "The Czar's Madman" was written, Malle Salupere had not yet solved the mystery of this surprising marriage. Her research, which in many ways clarifies and corrects the factual foundation of the novel, was published only in 1990 ([Salupere 1990]; republished: [Salupere 1998]; in Russian: [Салупере]). However, in a well-known article about Bock [Льжин]², one of those on which the novel was based, N. Lyzhin wrote that Timotheus was in unrequited love with a particular girl for 13 years, and compared his feelings to the love of Novalis and Zhukovsky. Salupere has established that the object of Bock's desire was Julie Catherine von Berg (1786–1817), who was married to Karl von Bock, Timotheus's brother, in 1813, and who died in 1817 [Salupere 1998: 76]. Her maid was an Estonian, Ewa, who was by no accident renamed Ekaterina upon her conversion to Orthodoxy (her name was recorded as Ekaterina Petrova at her marriage to Bock at the Church of the Dormition in Tartu): her name reminded Bock of his lost love [Ibid: 81].

Kross didn't know the name of Bock's beloved, but the story of his unrequited love was known to him in general strokes. This is why his handling of the marriage of Timo in the novel is so "ideological", as a gesture of the prototype. There is no doubt that Bock's marriage to a peasant, solemnized only a few months after the death of his beloved lady (the death on March 14, 1817, the marriage on October 12, 1817) and during a period of deliberation on his political memorandum, became an integral part of his social program: "I see a compatriot in every Estonian" [Бок: 193³; from here on, citations of this edition of the novel's translation are noted by page number only].

As author of a book about the Estonian's lot in life, it is important to Kross that the Estonian peasants Eeva and Jakob are able to become educated people in a short amount of time, and that Kitty makes herself not just a wife but a companion to Timo, as well as a real aristocrat, possessing all the charm of beauty, wit, and social grace, without losing her hard-working peasant roots. She is equally open to interaction with peasant women and the university intel-

² The title of Lyzhin's article focuses on the conditions of censorship in the 1850s and is intended to hide the name of the protagonist.

³ There appears to have been a change in Bock's feelings toward his wife later. See the draft of a letter to Alexander I, published by A. V. Predtechensky in his book on Bock: "With each day I am more attached to my wife — she is pregnant and persecuted by all. I could disappear, and then her fate would be terrible" [Предтеченский: 81].

lectual elite of Dorpat. And, of course, the Timo and Kitty of the novel are joined by deep mutual love. For Kross, the choice made by the Baltic nobleman for the benefit of the Estonian peasants must confirm in the eyes of the reader a pride in the Estonian people and confidence in their great potential. The transformation of yesterday's peasant into the peers of Parrot, Moier, Ewers, Zhukovsky, and others is emphasized repeatedly, and the heightened reaction of some of the characters (such as the Empress Maria Fyodorovna), who perceive the transformation as an unprecedented "miracle", can be interpreted as ironic (see: [Kross: 147]).

Jakob Mättik is not at all just a "simple land surveyor", nor is he a person who loses his Estonian identity to gain another (as researchers sometimes write). This serious, reflective character, in his new and ever-tenuous class status, affirms his *Estonian-ness*. To Jakob (and to Timo), breaking class boundaries does not mean losing one's nationality. For exactly this reason, contrary to historical fact, Kross's Jakob writes his diary in Estonian. In the preface, which relates the history of the manuscript supposedly acquired by the author from an enthusiast of Estonian antiquity, who found it in blockade Leningrad, the question of language is specifically addressed:

The Estonian language of the diary is punctuated with passages in other languages, French and German <implying the copying down of sections of Timo's writing by Jakob. — L. K.>, these parts are translated by me into Estonian, and the whole text has been unified, in order to make it accessible to the modern reader [Kross 1978: 6].

Meanwhile, researchers have noted that both in the beginning and in the second half of the 19th century, German was the language of educated Estonians:

The Estonian language at the end of the last <the 19th. — L. K.> century was not developed enough to be used to exchange ideas in science, literature, art, and so on. Even in the Estonian students society, a stronghold of Estonian-ness, knowledge of the Estonian language in the 1890s was "very inadequate". The requirement to become fully fluent in Estonian within the first semester was added to the constitution of the SES only in 1900 [Karjahärm, Sirk: 194].

Of course, Jaan Kross knew all of this perfectly well, but something else better served the concept of his novel. That is why among the characters a number of educated Estonians appear or are mentioned: Friedrich Robert Faehlmann (1798–1850), a doctor and Estonian linguist and folklorist, General Karl Tenner (1783–1860), a famous topographer, and Otto Wilhelm Masing, Estonian minister and linguist (true, ethnically he was half German). Each by his profession shows that Estonians can match the level of European education, if only the door to learning is opened just a crack. No wonder Jakob's percep-

tion of Timo's memorandum changes when he reaches the thesis stating that all classes are equal before the law and that "knowledge equalizes the right to hold office" [Kross 1978: 132].

How are Russian history and culture presented in Kross's novel? In order to answer this question, we must first understand how the historical Timotheus (Тимофей Егорович) von Bock (1786–1836) treats them in his imagined speech to the Livonian Parliament, which he sends to Alexander I in the form of a memorandum.

Although Bock wrote his text in German and later translated it into French for the emperor⁴, he spoke exquisite Russian (proven by his letter to Zhukovsky, published by M. Salupere [Салупере: 65–66]) and belong to a group of Baltic-Russophiles, who called each other by names with Russian diminutives: Timosha (T. von Bock), Fedinka (the future General Field Marshal Friedrich Berg), and Lusha (Karl Lilienfeld) [Salupere 1998: 73]. Accordingly, the choice of language in which to write to the emperor is also a sign of the author's independence, a gesture that puts him on the same level as his addressee. This must be emphasized, because Bock sees himself as Russian, and Russia as his fatherland⁵: "Livonia was always my native home, the dearest place on earth to me, but it was never my fatherland" [193]. Bock believes that the Livonian nobility must become "an integral part of the Russian nobility;" if not, it will be "just a small foreign colony"⁶. "We should be Russian, we can be Russian, we will become Russian", he proclaims to the Livonians.

This position has two explanations. The first is that this is a glorification of the Russian people resulting from the experiences of 1812:

Even if Russia did not have a noble class, her people would all the same stand out among other civilized peoples. Anyone who has had reason to compare the lower classes of different countries has found that the Russian peasant holds first place in Europe in piety, love of the homeland, good-heartedness, effort, and acumen. Unfortunately, we lack a third class, and as a result, despite our great efforts, we con-

⁴ The text was published in Russian translation by A. V. Predtechensky. Regarding the manuscript, see: [191].

⁵ M. Salupere notes that Bock attended lectures by A. S. Kaisarov at Dorpat (Tartu) University. More than likely, he remembered the famous "Speech about Love for the Fatherland", presented at Dorpat and then printed in "Syn Otechestva" («Сын Отечества») (1813. № 27). Similarities between the texts are clear.

⁶ Bock's logic is truly striking. Referring to the Baltics, he says: "We who have been deprived, because of the way things have gone, of the comfort of religion — our churches are temples of indifference — <...> how unhappy would we have been, if we hadn't even had a fatherland?" [193]. His criticism clarifies his idea to make of the Orthodox church dominant in a new, reformed Russia as "a temple of the gospel, of the people, and of tolerance" [200].

stantly fall in the mud. But what prevents us from establishing a third class? With the Russian nation's remarkable capacity for improvement this could be done in no more than 20 years [194].

The use of the pronouns "we" and "us" is particularly characteristic in this discussion. Bock feels that he is a part of the Russian nation: "My heart belongs entirely to that great people alone, in close union with whom I undertook to make that which is most beautiful in the world" [193].

Of course, in using the word "nation" Bock implies not ethnicity, but citizenship and involvement in Russian culture. Bock demonstrates his deep knowledge of Russian culture by admiringly listing the names of outstanding poets (among whom he doesn't forget his friend Zhukovsky), sculptors, artists, composers, and actors⁷, and confirms the existence in Russia of "statesmen with great merits, capable of solving tasks of a European scale" [194]. Bock does not forget the Orthodox clergy: "And although the government has weakened the clergy as a whole, the voice of Platon <Metropolitan Platon (Levshin) of Moscow. — *L. K.*> is heard with all the more strength" [Ibid].

Against this backdrop, Bock's criticism of the government, and particularly of the emperor personally, sounds especially harsh and uncompromising. Despotism and slavery are the vices of Russia. Bock asserts: "Demagogy and pharisaism have always been the first satellites of tyranny" [196], and he denounces Alexander I for precisely these vices. In his memorandum Bock produces a lofty rhetorical text of great accusatory strength. He calls the czar a Tartuffe: "vanity, insignificance, and despotism are his deities, to which he brings the country as a sacrifice" [198]. Alexander loves parades "because a parade is the celebration of insignificance" [Ibid] — the list of such accusations in the text is quite impressive. Of course, the vengeful czar never pardoned open discussion of the assassination of his father Paul I, nor criticism of his military settlements, nor protest against the mysticism of the Holy Alliance or the "prostitute" Krüdener⁸, nor accusation of "betrayal of the homeland" [199] in relation to the Polish Question.

⁷ Compare: "Russians will go even further, but anyone who knows Derzhavin, Dmitriev, Ozerov, Krylov, Batyushkov, Zhukovsky, anyone who has studied Karamzin, seen Minin and Pozharsky <referring to the monument by I. Martos. — *L. K.*>, the works of Tolstoy, Yegorov and Utkin, anyone who has heard the liturgy of Bortnianskiy, who has seen Shusherin, Bryansky, Semenova and Danilova on the stage, anyone, gentlemen, would justly glorify these names, and will be all the more willing to do so if he is familiar with the ancient world" [194].

⁸ Referring to Alexander and the Baroness Krüdener, Bock derisively writes: "Suppose there were an emperor who was not ashamed to enter into relationship with a prostitute, or a maniac, or a professional deceiver presenting herself as the chosen one of God..." [195].

Let us return to the second reason that Bock calls the Baltic Germans to join the "national nobility". In his opinion, the Baltic nobility possesses ancient constitutional rights, and can lead the Russian nobility in the fight against despotism and outrage. This utopian and aristocratic position had much in common with the views of Pushkin at the beginning of the 1830s, when Pushkin put his hopes in the feelings of independence and honor of the old Russian nobility and its ability to resist bureaucratic arbitrariness. Thus Bock imposes a grand mission on the Livonians in the reformation of Russia.

The positive program of Bock is the demand for reforms that would unify the nation: representative government, a constitution, public trials, respect for the rule of law, etc. He sees the nobility as the leaders of reform, since "they alone are civilized in the whole empire" [200]. In turn, the nobility "by demanding of the emperor justice, order, and civil freedom, guarantees these same rights to their own subjects", that is, to the peasants. By calling slavery "an institution that is as senseless as it is outrageous" [192], Bock puts forward a rather ambiguous question: "Is it in the interests of the noble class and of the country as a whole to separate the peasants from ourselves?" [193]⁹.

Returning now to the novel: in his interview about "The Czar's Madman", Y. M. Lotman [Lotman] has already noted several literary and historical parallels that are important to Kross's text: Pushkin's use of historical narrative in "The Captain's Daughter", Schiller's "Don Carlos" (which is significant specifically in the Russian context), Griboedov's "The Misfortune of Being Clever", and the parallel between the fates of Bock and Chaadaev. Lotman insightfully notes that "'The Misfortune of Being Clever' by Griboedov is Bock's story" [Lotman: 70]. Additionally, Kross translated Griboedov's comedy into Estonian in the early 1960s [Gribojedov], so he remembered well how Chatsky was declared insane because of his radical views. Obviously, Kross's translation work informed his own creative work.

It would be tempting to presume that Kross was aware of Y. N. Tynyanov's article "The Plot of 'The Misfortune of Being Clever'" [ТЪНЯНОВ], first published in 1946, in which the theme of alleged insanity received a wide historical-political context (parallels to the slander against Byron and to Chaadaev's situation), but we cannot confirm that he knew it. Similarly, we don't know for sure whether Kross read Y. M. Lotman's 1975 article "The Decembrist in Daily Life" [ЛОТМАН], in which Bock's memorandum is also cited. Meanwhile, Timo's code of conduct as it is presented in "The Czar's Madman" has striking parallels to Lotman's analysis of the everyday conduct of the Decembrists.

⁹ In the novel, Jakob Mättik constantly returns with perplexity to this thesis.

In his interview, while discussing insanity as a form of protest, Lotman refers the research of Michel Foucault entitled “Madness and Insanity: History of Madness in the Classical Age”. The book could have been known to Kross, since it was published in 1961 and reprinted several times in many languages before the 1970s. But, once again, we do not have the answer to this and other questions, and we cannot rule out that even the opening of Kross’s archives might not clarify the matter. Kross was more inclined to cover the tracks of his creative searches than to direct researchers to their sources¹⁰.

It seems that in the above cases we may deal only with typological parallels that speak to Estonian novelist’s exceptional level of historical intuition and to his deep insight in to the Russian and European context at the beginning of the 19th century.

We turn now to how Bock’s “Notes” is reworked by Kross in “The Czar’s Madman” and how the Russia of Alexander I and Nicholas I appears to the novel’s reader. Interpretation is given on two levels:

1) The level of plot — the arrest of Timo, his disappearance (his family doesn’t know where and for how long he was taken), then his release and life as a “madman” under house arrest;

2) The level of ideology — the reception of Timo’s ideas. In the story, Jakob Mättik finds a draft of the memorandum in the safe at Bock’s estate at Võisiku, begins to study it, and copies it into his diary with his own commentary, which shifts from sharp rejection to gradual understanding of his brother-in-law’s opinions¹¹.

The novel’s version of Timo’s memorandum often differs from the published original “Notes” of Bock. It was **created** by Kross according to the standards of the historical novel genre. Sometimes it is an arrangement of different parts of “Notes”, but often contains significant additions and semantic shifts¹²; some very large sections are inserted by Kross from other sources, including, in part, S. M. Solovyov’s “The History of Russia from Ancient Times”¹³.

¹⁰ While speaking on “The Czar’s Madman” in his lectures entitled “Autobiography and Subcontext”, presented at the University of Tartu in 1998, Kross said practically nothing about his sources for the novel. See: [Kross 2003: 84–90].

¹¹ Regarding this character’s evolution during the course of reading the memorandum, see: [Laanes].

¹² Compare, for example, Timo’s letter to the emperor [Кросс: 93] with the text of the real letter: [Предтеченский: 80–81].

¹³ A tour through Russian history in the era of Empress Elizaveta [Кросс: 96–97] is copied almost word-for-word from the corresponding chapter of S. M. Solovyov’s “A History of Russia from Ancient Times”: “All three Lopukhins and Anna Bestuzheva punish by death, break them on the wheel with their tongues cut out. Ivan Moshkov, Alexander Zybin, Prince Ivan Putyatin, and Sofia Lilienfeld punish by death — Moshkov and Putyatin draw and quarter, Zybin and Lilienfeld

Following is a striking example of semantic shift. Timotheus von Bock writes about Paul I:

Paul paid with his life for his violence against the nobility, and if new examples of slavery have appeared since then, the desire for a peaceful and decent existence is felt all the more fiercely now (when the nation has declared its unity and strength) [194].

Here is how Kross "clarifies" this somewhat obscure passage:

... The Emperor Paul paid with his life for his violence against the **rights of the nobility and against humanity**... and if since that time there is still **tyranny** and slavery, then the dream of a **lawful** and honest life today, when **the people have realized** their unity and strength, has become even more powerful [Kross 1978: 95–96] <Emphasis mine. — *L. K.*>.

We can see how the novelist underscores the anti-tyranny element of the text.

Let's look at one of many examples of interpolation. Kross has added to Timo's text a story about the cowardly conduct of Konstantin Pavlovich before Bautzen and his swearing at the hussars: "You bulls, the only thing you know is fighting!" [Ibid: 96]; what is more, in the Estonian text these words are written in Russian as follows: "Вы, быки, вы умеете только драться!" ("You, bulls, you know only how to fight!")¹⁴. This phrase is necessary for the support of the perturbed remarks of Timo (that also exist in the original from Bock): "Gentlemen, mud must flow in the veins in place of blood in order to swallow such an insult <... > I ask you: who are we? The Romanov family's cattle?" [Ibid].

The exaltation of Russian culture present in Bock's writing is preserved in Timo's memorandum. Kross's novel contains scenes with a sympathetic portrayal of Zhukovsky (regarding this, see: [Киселева, Степанищева]), as well as numerous extremely positive references to the Decembrists as honest and courageous fighters against tyranny. But on the whole, criticism of despotism and

behead for not reporting when they heard dangerous conversations. Chamberlain Lilienfeld, for his negligence regarding what he heard from his wife, deprive of his titles and exile him to the country; Deputy Captain Lilienfeld, Lieutenant Akinfov and Adjutant Kolychov place in the army regiments; the nobleman Rzhnevsky flog with the lash and send to the navy. The empress changed this sentence thus: the three Lopukhins and Anna Bestuzheva flog with the knout and, having cut out their tongues, send into exile; Moshkov and Putyatin flog with the knout, Zybin with the lash and send into exile, Sofia Lilienfeld, while she is pregnant, do not punish, but only pronounce that it is ordered that she be flogged with the lash and sent into exile" [Соловьев: 228].

¹⁴ It appears that the source of this phrase is a scornful remark made by Konstantin Pavlovich to the Guard Jaeger Regiment, which met the Grand Prince at the beginning of the foreign campaign at the end of 1812 in "non-parade" clothing. The remark is related by N. Turgenev in the book "Russia and Russians": "These people only know how to battle!" [Тургенев: 27]. Regarding the question of bravery and cowardice of the Grand Prince, see: [Кучерская: 112].

of the despot sooner or later turns to Russia itself, a country ruled by slavery and repression. Accordingly, Timo, in contrast to his prototype, does not urge the Livonian nobility to become *Russian*. For Kross, this is conceptually important.

From the very beginning, the narrator Jakob Mättik judges those around him from the point of view of an Estonian peasant, for whom *every* nobleman, and above all, Germans (the local landlords), is an enemy. However, little by little he is instilled with the logic of his brother-in-law, that “thorn in the side of the empire”, as Timo calls himself. As events unfold (the arrest, search, chase after the freed “madman”, and denunciations), they become the impetus for the gradual broadening of his socio-political perspective. Consequently, Jakob begins to reflect on his own relationship with sovereign power, and the position he himself, his former supervisor, the Estonian Major Tenner, and Timo and Eeva’s son, Jüri, should hold in relation to it.

As the narrative unfolds, Jaan Kross successively develops for the reader an image of the empire, where not honesty is sought, but obsequiousness, where service to the government easily turns into lies and even treason.

For just this reason, Kross makes almost no distinction between the Russia of Alexander and that of Nicholas. The gendarmes that arrive in Võisiku to arrest Timo [Kross 1978: 60] become one of the symbols of Russia. In a strict sense this is not an anachronism. Jaan Kross relied upon a published letter of Alexander I to the Livonian governor Paulucci, which refers to the possible sending of, truly, a gendarme¹⁵.

The half-squadron of Gendarme Guards, dressed in blue uniforms, was established in 1815, and these were different gendarmes than those who later became subordinates to Count A. Benkendorf; their original function was to maintain order in the army. What is more, neither the above-mentioned half-squadron, nor the Gendarme regiment that was soon formed, later joined the Special Corps of Gendarmes, which arose during the reign of Nicholas I and truly became political police. But for the reader of “The Czar’s Madman” the word “gendarme” should bring to mind only one association, so Kross resorts to this word many times in the novel. Not without reason “The Bee” («Пчела») is referenced; that is, the odious newspaper “The Northern Bee” («Северная пчела»), although it had not yet come out in 1822, when the action takes place. As with the gendarmes, even an educated reader of the novel who recognizes the name of the newspaper is not expected to remember that its publication

¹⁵ Compare: “Send Mr. Bock with the messenger sent to you, giving to this last, if need be, one gendarme to help” [Три письма: 115].

began only three years later. It was important to Kross to fill his text with symbols and signs that establish a firm impression of Russia as a police state.

We will not multiply the number of examples. In conclusion, we will attempt to explain the function of this image of Russia, although it is relatively clear. Kross's treatment of Russia is on two levels: historical and contemporary. Historically, the novel is about the empire during the era of Alexander I and Nicholas I, which truly was a despotic government. Obviously, it is significant that imperial Russia did not arouse particular sympathy from Soviet authorities or from the censors, and this made Kross's fairly sharp novel more "passable". But, like any true historical novel, it has a second level.

Of course, as a novel about a political dissident who, having challenged the authorities and paid for his bravery with nine years of solitary confinement and civil death, refuses to flee the country in order to remain "a thorn in the side of the empire", "The Czar's Madman" was perceived as very topical in the USSR on the cusp of the 1970s and 80s. Lunatic asylums where Soviet freethinkers were imprisoned (including Estonians) for political dissent; physical methods of abuse in these special hospitals, prisons, and labor camps; the problem of compromise with authorities, before whom appeared, sooner or later, every thinking Soviet citizen; the question of fleeing the country (voluntarily or under duress) versus continuing life "under pressure;" the experience of informing and cooperation with political investigations — all of these Soviet realities are easily seen in the subtext of "The Czar's Madman"¹⁶.

Clearly, Kross does not utilize any primitive allusions in his novel¹⁷. Rather, as a genuine historical novelist, he uses his text to answer those questions that concern his contemporaries and himself. The reader recalls that the Russian empire was not eternal. This provides yet another — this time, optimistic — subtext for the novel. It gives hope. Thus, it is certainly not an accident that "The Czar's Madman" pays so much attention to "the fate of Estonia".

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¹⁶ In his lectures, Kross spoke of the "historical rhythms" between the 1820s and the 1970s: [Kross 2003: 88–89]. R. Veidemann writes that the presentation of the Estonian intelligensia in 1980 against the Russification of Estonia, known as "The Letter of 40", was, in part, inspired by the actions of the protagonist of "The Czar's Madman". See: [Veidemann: 323].

¹⁷ Compare to Kross's own admission: [Kross 2003: 84].

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WORKS OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE AS COMMENTARY ON JAAN KROSS'S NOVELLA "MICHELSON'S MATRICULATION"*

TIMUR GUZAIROV

Jaan Kross's novella "Michelson's Matriculation" was written in 1970 and included in the collection "Under Clio's Gaze" ("Klio silma all"), published in 1972. With the exception of the novella "Two Lost Sheets of Paper", the collection presents a unified conceptual field; in each of the collection's remaining three works the author constructs and analyzes a conflict in the life of a successful person representative of the Estonian people.

Kross delves into the relationship between idealism and practicality, the limits of internal compromise with power, compromise between honor and duty, and the impossibility of adhering to a single, immutable moral code. This central ethical conflict is reinterpreted in each novella. Kross reveals a variety of concepts by placing different characters from different times in various ethically ambiguous situations while simultaneously creating a polyphonic composition from the characters' monologues.

This article discusses the ideological structure of "Michelson's Matriculation" from a new, intertextual point of view¹, via the detection and interpretation in Kross's novella of the "code" of Russian literature.

The novella's protagonist is Johannes/Juhann von Michelson, or Ivan Ivanovich Michelson, a Major General from, per Kross's conceptualization, an

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¹ Regarding "Michelson's Matriculation", critics focus on the overall conceptual layers of the text, problems, and fundamental plot moves (see, for example, the following articles: *Kaplinski, J.* "Jaan Krossi teine tulemine"; *Ivask, I.* "Jaan Kross: Eesti kultuuriruumi kroonik ehk Mitmepõlvipidaja Klio silma all" [Metamorfiline Kross]). The novella appears never to have been analyzed from a literary perspective.

Estonian peasant family, who has achieved a brilliant military career that began with the suppression of the Pugachev rebellion. Michelson, former valet to the Baltic German Baron Joachim von Rosen, is travelling to Revel with his Estonian orderly and his parents, Estonian peasants, on the occasion of his personal matriculation; that is, the inclusion of his name in the book of lineage of Estland hereditary nobility. The characters' reflections on this event and on the identity and actions of Michelson form the texture of the story.

The main moral conflict of the novella is expressed via maternal questions:

<...> how was it after all with my Juhan's great victory over that very cursed Robber? <...> Did not my Juhan, who won victory for the gentlemen in that war, did not he stand in that war on the wrong side? <...> what would happen if it really came to it, and if the Empress really sent our Juhan here to put down an uprising of the people? <...> But answer me in all honesty: are your hands clean in your life and your affairs, is everything in order? [Имматрикуляция: 132–134].

The ideological structure of the novella is comprised of the dichotomy between moral duty and military honor, and reflections on how (and whether it's possible) to fulfill one's duty while maintaining personal dignity and respect in one's own eyes and the eyes of others, all without denying one's roots.

In his introduction to the novella, Kross indicates that his source of information about the matriculation of Michelson was the notes of Friedrich Russov in the feuilleton section of "Revalsche Zeitung". Kross adds his own conflict-producing detail to the information — that Michelson brings his parents, Estonian peasants, to the matriculation ceremony in Revel. The narrative ends with a section entitled "Explanations for those for whom commentary gives particular pleasure".

The first part of the commentary provides translations of foreign language phrases, explains historical facts and local place names characterized by historical figures. The second part contains a short reference to Pushkin's "The History of the Pugachev Rebellion", information about Count Karl Friedrich Toll and his letter to Pushkin, and concludes with a letter from Pushkin to Toll written just before his fatal duel, dated January 26, 1837. These sources form a historical and literary "code", a lens through which the reader is invited to comprehend the novella's story and issues.

Kross has used Russian literature in other compositions as a code to indicate additional overtones of meaning. Here are two examples. The first is from the novel "Professor Martens' Departure". Martens, a renowned attorney and specialist in international law, while sitting in the waiting room of Chancellor Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov, recalls an epistle from Pushkin to Gorchakov.

kov. Later, Kross quotes verses from Pushkin that shape Martens' opinion (and the reader's) about the Chancellor's character. The second example is from the novella "Two Lost Sheets of Paper", in which a student arrives in St. Petersburg and places his notes in a basket that disappears during the flood of November 6, 1824. Not historical documents, but passages from "The Bronze Horseman", illustrate the well-known disaster. For Kross, Pushkin's text is a historical source, and Pushkin's point of view becomes an authoritative prism through which historical facts and figures are evaluated.

In "Explanations for those for whom commentary gives particular pleasure", Kross indicates one source for "Michelson's Matriculation": "Here, I think, is the most appropriate place to introduce the reader to one document not previously referred to concerning the protagonist. As you know, A. S. Pushkin's 'The History of the Pugachev Rebellion' was released in 1834". Thus the author provokes the curious reader to look up the work by Pushkin and explore the correlation of these two texts in their views about Michelson's character. "The History of the Pugachev Rebellion" and Friedrich Russow's notes in the feuilleton section of "Revalsche Zeitung" are equally historical sources; however, it is Pushkin's text that is included in the novella. Kross presents a series of facts that refer the reader to "The History of the Pugachev Rebellion". The novel mentions General Alexander Ilyich Bibikov and Count Pyotr Ivanovich Panin, reflects on military tactics, and recalls military maneuvers and events (such as the submission of Michelson's corps to Generalissimo Alexander Vasilyevich Suворov). From a conceptual point of view, the novella's setting is important, as it is a creative retelling (in the form of the protagonist's monologue) of Pushkin's apology of Michelson:

Kross's Text:

Clouds like the thick, swirling smoke of artillery fire <...> Exactly like the fire in Kazan. Like that time, when they said that I purposefully gave Pugachev time to rob the city fully, so that there would be more booty to steal from him. The mindset of sycophants... [Имматрикуляция: 80].

Pushkin's Text:

History must refute the slander which has been frivolously repeated by Society: they affirm that Michelson could have predicted the taking of Kazan, but that he deliberately gave the rebels time to rob the city, so that he could, in turn, profit richly from the booty, preferred over any kind of glory, honors or imperial rewards that awaited the savior of Kazan and the suppressor of the uprising! [Пушкин: IX (1), 67].

The reference to Pushkin's work is not dictated by the author's need to establish an authentic and convincing historical backdrop for the novella. In Pushkin's mind, the main role of the historian is to restore the reputation and honor of the protagonist. This explains one of the peculiarities of the composition

of Kross's commentary: the reason that Pushkin's pre-duel letter to Toll is reproduced at the end of the novella. Pushkin is the undeniable authority in the laws of honor, who spoke against slander and insults coming from a foreigner. In the passage cited above, Pushkin introduces the key theme for Kross: the standing of one man against society as affirmation and defense of personal dignity against "foreign" injustice.

The compositions of literary Russians, predominantly by Pushkin, but also by Gavriila Romanovich Derzhavin, reveal underlying meanings in one of the central scenes of the novella: Michelson's meeting with Pugachev. The fact of this meeting is not mentioned in "The History of the Pugachev Rebellion". In his text, Pushkin relates with regret that there was one source unavailable to him, of which Kross could take advantage — "Derzhavin's Notes". In his letter to Pushkin (not one presented in the novella by Kross), Count Toll quotes Derzhavin from the poem "My Idol": "Achievements ripen in the coffin". This indicates that Derzhavin's texts were probably in Kross's field of vision as he worked on "Michelson's Matriculation". "Derzhavin's Notes" in particular confirm the fact of the possible meeting between Michelson and Pugachev:

Count <Panin>, saying nothing, asked proudly, "Did he see Pugachev?" Derzhavin answered respectfully, "He saw him on horseback under Petrovsky Bridge". The Count, turning to Michelson, said: "Order Emelka to be brought in". After a few minutes the Imposter was presented, with heavy chains around his hands and feet, in a greasy, shabby, wretched wide coat. Upon arriving, he fell to his knees before the Count <...> The Count asked, "Are you healthy, Emelka?" "I don't sleep at night, I cry all the time, Your Excellency the Count". "Trust in the mercy of the Empress". And with that word he ordered that he <Pugachev> be taken back to where he was held [Державин: 67–68].

Kross departs from documented facts in constructing key scenes of "Michelson's Matriculation". However, it is not Derzhavin's text, but "The History of the Pugachev Rebellion" that is pertinent in the fictional Michelson's recollection of the meeting between Panin and Pugachev, since the references to Pushkin's composition and the underscoring in the "Explanations" of his status as a source of information shape and direct the reader's perception. From Pushkin:

Pugachev was brought directly to Count Panin in the courtyard <...> "How did you, thief, dare to call yourself Emperor?" continued Panin. "I am not a raven <ворон>", protested Pugachev, playing with words and speaking metaphorically, as was his habit. "I am but a little crow <вороненок>, for a raven can also fly" <...> Panin, noticing that Pugachev's audacity impressed the people crowding near the courtyard, struck the imposter on the face, drawing blood, and tore out a tuft of his beard [Пушкин: IX (1), 78].

The fundamental characteristics of the meeting between the Count and the imposter are mutual lack of understanding and respect for each other and Panin's aggressive behavior aimed at humiliating Pugachev's personal dignity. The rhetorical aspect of their dialogue is particularly significant from both the ideological and the historical and literary perspectives. Panin expresses resentment; Pugachev either loses courage (in Derzhavin's version) or defends himself by responding impertinently (in Pushkin's version) [Гузайров 2010: 142–145]. On the road to Revel in Kross's novella, Michelson recalls the dialogue he had with the robber:

I asked him, "Emelyan, do you know me?" "No. Who are you, Your Excellency?" "I am Michelson". He started. Paled. Lowered his gaze. He didn't say a word. Then he looked up. For a minute we looked at each other. He didn't praise my military wisdom. Not right to my face, not like he praised Panin's wisdom to him. Because he was honest with me. Out of respect. He didn't say anything. And I was silent [Имматрикуляция: 106].

An absence of insults, mutual understanding, and acknowledgement of one another — these are the inherent features of the characters' meeting in the novella. Kross, by combining Pushkin's text with his own scene, contrasts Panin and Michelson as representatives of two kinds of behavior: that based on humiliation and that based on respect of moral dignity. Pushkin's Panin fulfills his prescribed duty to the Empress, and his actions are motivated by desire for glory. He seeks self-respect through the suppression and humiliation of another. Kross's Michelson, though a brutal warrior who honestly fulfills the duty given to him, nonetheless needs internal self-respect, and this dictates the logic of his behavior, both in his meeting with Pugachev, and in the midst of a military confrontation:

But (whatever anyone might say), while fighting against Pugachev, I desired that even he — hahaha — that even he would feel respect for me. And I not only won victory over him, but also gained his respect. That I know. (I admit, galloping at full speed in the dark, in one elusive moment, I suddenly felt that my self-respect was still not the way I would have liked it...). The respect of Pugachev. Yes. That I know <...> If anyone, anyone in the whole empire has business with him, then that person is me! And he <Pugachev> looked at me <...> **But his face looked nothing like my father's.** Thank God... [Ibid: 105–106].

The second to last sentence, regarding Pugachev and Michelson's father, is an allusion to Pushkin's "The Captain's Daughter" (a donated fur coat and a snowstorm appear later in the novella, obvious markers of Pugachev's first meeting with Grinyov). The reference to "The Captain's Daughter" allows one to delve

deeper into the question of why Michelson seeks Pugachev's respect. Pushkin's scene, which depicts the presenting of the rabbit skin jacket, precedes Grinyov's dream:

Instead of my father, I see that a man with a black beard lies in the bed, looking at me merrily. At a loss, I turned to my mother, saying to her, "What does this mean? This isn't Father. And why on earth should I ask a blessing of this fellow?" [Пушкин: VIII, 289].

Grinyov's gratitude toward the coachman-Pugachev and honorable behavior with the imposter² rescue first Grinyov himself, and then his fiancé. Grinyov's understanding of duty and honor arouse respect in Pugachev toward him. Each understands the impossibility for the other to follow any other moral standard.

The conflict in the novella is increased due to the fact that both Pugachev and Michelson (as Kross presents him) come from the peasant class. Michelson (in contrast to Grinyov) himself seeks respect from Pugachev, not to gain admission of defeat by his military achievements, but for his own self-respect, to make heartfelt peace with himself, and to find the answer to the haunting question posed by his mother: is he fighting on the right side? Duty (his oath to the Empress) determined his choice, but Michelson needs Pugachev's respect as evidence of understanding of his "honor" and the conditionality of his actions (for which the hereditary nobleman Grinyov feels no need).

Turning now to the final occurrence in Michelson and Pugachev's meeting:

The two "bastards" looked one another in the eye. For a long time. For so long that Runich coughed. Runich was a hereditary nobleman and in the near future would be a senator. I turned away. I stepped away and began to study the rivet studded iron doors. I heard how Emelka said to the guard in an undertone, "I should have asked him for his fur coat. After all, he took more of them than he can wear". Had he asked me directly, I would have sent him a **fur coat**. Brrrr! The **snowstorm had blown up** again [Имматрикуляция: 106–107].

This passage is built on the ideological pairing and creative reinterpretation of the following situation from Pushkin's "The Captain's Daughter": "I was, however, vexed that I could not thank the man who helped me out of, if not serious trouble, then at least a very unpleasant situation <...> 'Give him my rabbit skin jacket'" [Пушкин: VIII, 291].

² Grinyov declares to Pugachev: "I am a nobleman by nature, I am sworn to the reigning Empress: I cannot serve you <...> You yourself know that this isn't my will: they ordered me to go against you. I'll go, there's nothing else to be done' <...> My honesty amazed Pugachev" [Пушкин: VIII, 332–333].

It is known that Grinyov and Pugachev's relationship in "The Captain's Daughter" is built upon universal Christian laws, and Pushkin's characters are capable of following this behavioral model because, in part, each occupies from the very beginning his own "right" (and only possible) side. Kross underscores the impossibility for Michelson and Pugachev of achieving Pushkin's moral principles, (the fur coat remains ungifted). Michelson's submission, though he is of peasant roots, to the hereditary nobleman Runich, his choice of the "alien", incorrect side — this is what causes the breakdown of contact based on trust, gratitude, and mutual understanding.

The scene of the meeting with Pugachev is contrasted with the events at Michelson's matriculation ceremony, which has become, in the words of the protagonist, "a dubious triumph". The appearance of Michelson's peasant-class parents and Michelson's demand that respect be shown to him and his mother and father by the hereditary Baltic German nobility is the former servant's revenge. Michelson's actions in Kross's novella are motivated by ideas of what makes up a true gentleman's honor.

Recall that the end of the last chapter is from Pushkin's unfinished work, "The Guests Went to the Dacha", from the discussion of a Russian representative of the "noble blacks" with a Spanish hereditary nobleman:

We are so practical-minded that we stand on our knees before the accident of the moment, before success and before ... well, in any case, no fascination with antiquity, no gratitude for past accomplishments, no respect for moral virtues exists among us <...> Mark my word, a lack of respect for one's forefathers is a fundamental indication of barbarity and immorality [Пушкин: VIII, 42].

This codex of Pushkin explains Kross's insertion of the historically impossible fact of the presence of Michelson's lower-class parents at the matriculation. In describing the historically impossible situation and thereby emphasizing the key theme of respect for one's roots, the author underscores the fact that Michelson, having suffered internal conflict and compromise with himself, is guided throughout the novella by his understanding of the laws of "honor" (although his actions may be utterly unacceptable to others).

Here arises the question of the purpose of Kross's inclusion of Pushkin's pre-duel letter to Toll. The figure of Count Toll appears once in the novel, at the reception for Michelson's matriculation:

Jakob walks ahead. Father and Mother follow behind him. I come last. An adjutant, Lieutenant von Toll, joins us in the corridor [Имматрикуляция: 110].

From Toll's letter to Pushkin, which is not cited by Kross, but which he retells in part in a footnote, it is clear that the Count

had the personal trust of General Michelson <...> He <Michelson> in conversations with me often told of his actions against Pugachev, and bitterly complained about the intrigues with which they wanted to overshadow his service [Пушкин: VIII, 219].

The absence of Toll's letter to Pushkin in the novella is marked; it provides for a different perspective on Pushkin's reply: not a documentary reading, but an artistic one, conceptually linked to Kross's novella. From Pushkin's letter:

I was no less pleased to hear your Excellency's opinion of Michelson, too much forgotten by us. His services were eclipsed by slander <...> I regret that I was unable to include a few lines of your letter in my book for the complete justification of the honored soldier [Ibid: 224].

In Kross's text, Pushkin's answer sounds like an ethical assessment interwoven in a complete, ideal "History". Pushkin, on the eve of a duel (to settle a matter of honor), becomes the moral authority Kross uses to voice two essential ideas: first, that any deed based on the idea of "honor" is worthy of respect (regardless of which side is chosen — thus the moral conflict of Kross's Michelson resolves itself); and second, that the writer's task is to depict the conflict between "one's own" and "others'" worlds, and to restore the reputation and historical memory of a figure worthy of respect.

Russian literature, and Pushkin's writings in particular, are relevant and important to Jaan Kross from both a creative and an ideological point of view, and serve as a historical and literary code and as commentary to his text. The intertextual analysis of the novella "Michelson's Matriculation" presented here allows conclusions to be drawn regarding the compositional and conceptual structure of the text. The author's "Explanations" are an integral part of the text as a whole, and interact in complex ways with the main narrative text: they introduce another perspective, reveal the hidden meaning of various scenes, introduce additional, new historical and cultural stories (such as Pushkin's duel) — all of which is inherent in Pushkin's notes to "The History of the Pugachev Rebellion" [Гузайров].

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THE PROTAGONISTS OF JAAN KROSS AND THEIR PROTOTYPES (as exemplified in the Novella “The Third Range of Hills” and the Play “A Hard Night for Dr. Karell”)*

LJUBOV KISSELJOVA

Jaan Kross was excited about people associated with one of the most sensational actions of the period of Estonian national revival: the building of the Kaarli church in Tallinn. Two of them — Johann Köler, father of professional Estonian painting, and Philipp Karell, an esteemed doctor whose treatment methods are used to this day — were simultaneously members of the circle of “friends of the people” or “Petersburg patriots”¹ and prominent individuals in the Russian imperial court.

The basis for Jaan Kross’s historical novella (or short historical novel) “The Third Range of Hills” (“Kolmandad mäed”), published in 1975², was the documented history of the construction of the alter frescos in Kaarli church in 1879. The main character is the frescos’ author, Johann (in Russian, Ivan Petrovich) Köler, professor of the Imperial Academy of Art. The text encompasses many episodes from the life of this artist, a wonderful social activist and fighter for the rights of the Estonian people. The court doctor Philipp Karell, also depicted in “The Third Range of Hills” and mentioned several times in the novel “Professor Martens’ Departure” (1984), is the main protagonist in Kross’s historical play “A Hard Night for Dr. Karell” (“Doktor Karelli raske öö. Ajalooline näidend”, see: [Kross: 239–293]). The play was commissioned by the Finnish

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¹ Regarding the activities of this circle, see: [Karjahärm, Sirk: 26–29], and regarding Estonians in Petersburg in the 1850s: [Ibid: 20–22].

² Olga Samma’s Russian translation was released in 1976, in the year of Köler’s 150th birthday.

National Theater, and was first performed under the direction of Estonian director Mikk Mikiver on the Finnish National Theater stage in Helsinki in 1991. Three years later, in 1994, under the same director, the production was transferred to the stage of the Estonian Dramatic Theater (starring Ain Lutsepp), but was published only in 2000 in the series “The Looming Journal Library”. Although they were written by Kross at different times, the plot-canvases of these two texts are closely intertwined.

When an author writes a novel or a play, in other words, a fictional narrative, how significant is the text’s correlation to reality outside of art? This question inevitably arises when analyzing any artistic text, and is particularly relevant when the text in question has a historical plot. The freedom of the *historical* author or dramaturge is, by definition, conditional³, and is even more so when the author’s setting is based on the restoration of the cultural and historical landscape of Estonia, about which Jaan Kross writes directly in the foreword to “The Third Range of Hills”. However, Kross purposefully stipulates that the cultural-historical map of Estonia lacks not only objects, but colors. In “The Third Range of Hills” he is interested in just such “colors”, in service of which he occasionally and fully consciously sacrifices historical details⁴. One of the goals of this article is to give practical commentary to several interesting episodes in the compositions of Kross. “Discrepancies” between fiction and fact do not decrease the artistic merits of a text as a fictional narrative, and imagery does not lose its persuasiveness and depth. Practical commentary elucidates the poetics of historical narrative and the goals of the author. Thus, the ultimate goal of this research is the study of the poetics of Jaan Kross’s creative works.

Strictly speaking, the action in the historical novella takes place over the course of two days, during which Köler’s fresco showing “Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden...” is sanctified on July 29, 1879; however, a significant part of the protagonist’s life passes before the reader. “The Third Range

³ Academic Ea Jansen wrote wonderfully about this problem as it applies to Kross: [Jansen: 136].

⁴ We must consider that some details, apparently, simply remained unknown to him, while others he considered necessary to specify. For example, the protagonist opens the latest issue of “Revalische Zeitung” containing articles about the trial of Vera Zasulich — but the trial had occurred a year and a half earlier! We propose that this is a deliberate anachronism that can be explained as a subtle move by the author, calculated on the attentive and knowledgeable reader. Vera Zasulich shot the governor of Petersburg, chief of police and adjutant-general F. F. Trepov. In “The Third Range of Hills” there is a scene (with a documented basis) in which Köler appeals to Trepov after he is searched. Here, Kross needs an internal “rhythm” to the scenes, even if it isn’t noticeable to all readers. In the structures of artistic works such “rhythms” play a significant role.

of Hills” is written as Köler’s internal monologue, which immediately makes a real historical figure into a fictional character — Kross’s Köler. Kross has created not just a historical novel, but a modernist text about the artist and about the nature of art. Rarely does the direct speech of other characters invade this internal monologue. The most significant interpolation is a letter, received by Kross’s Köler at the moment he finishes his work on the fresco, from an old acquaintance, the landowner from Hiiumaa (Dagö) Rudolph von Gernet (the real name of the owner of the Vaemla estate, which the real Köler indeed visited in 1863 — but the character is constructed⁵). The letter is the primary complication of the novella and the source of the artist’s internal strife. It identifies the central nerve of the narrative — the struggle of two powers in the Baltic region: its landowners, the Baltic Germans, and the resurgent Estonian nation, of which Köler is one of the leaders and symbols.

The construction of the Kaarli church in Reval was also a result of this struggle. Kross does not pause on the details of the church’s construction, expecting that they are known, at least in broad strokes, to the Estonian reader, and so those details recede into the subtext and the background. We will recall a few facts. For a long time, the only Estonian Lutheran church in Reval that gave services in Estonian was Pühavaimu (Church of the Holy Spirit); as a result, by the middle of the 19th century its membership reached 14,000 people. Then a large national movement to collect money to build a new temple began, and in 1870 the first divine service was held in the not-yet-completed church. In the understanding of Kross’s Köler (which correlates to J. Köler’s position), the guarantee of the resurgence of the Estonian nation is the ability to combine forces, thus the construction of the church becomes a symbol of the national revival. However, the novella does not underscore the fact that representatives of several nations and different layers of society all cooperated in this campaign. In fact, the group of largest donors included Germans: Petersburg architect and Köler’s colleague at the Academy of Art, Otto Pius Hippus (1826–1883), who designed the temple gratis, and Reval architect Rudolf Otto Knüpfer (1831–1900), who supervised the construction gratis. Alongside them stood Estonians: entrepreneur Hans Heinrich Falck, the court doctor Philipp Karell (who not only contributed money himself, but also mediated a large donation of 15,000 rubles from the imperial family), and court artist Johann Köler. His fresco “Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden...” was a gift to the Estonian nation. In Kross’s novella the cost of the gift runs throughout the text —

⁵ Some details are true (for example, that Gernet is the president of a yacht club), but relate to a later period in the life of the real Gernet, the son of Köler’s acquaintance, also Rudolph.

not only the material cost (the work was valued at 10 and even 15,000 rubles), but its moral price. Kross's hero constantly reflects; it seems to him that with his work he only "bribes" his nation for his "treachery": he broke into society while his brothers suffered under the whips of the landlords, and his example only serves to strengthen the social system (as if to underscore that the system does not hinder a talented Estonian from making a career!). Practically, the central theme of the novella is the price of compromise. From the author's point of view, Köler also pays his price in his art — as a court artist, he is required to idealize his models.

Kross's Köler has two counterparts in the text — two activists in the Estonian revival: the radical Carl Robert Jakobson (who at one point served at court as German teacher), and the moderate Karell. The artist is torn between their two models of behavior, and constantly judges himself for compromises. Doctor Karell, according to Kross, acts very slowly and cautiously, is quiet and agreeable, in order to at least sometimes achieve from the powers-that-be even a small result in favor of the Estonians. This irritates Kross's Köler. The doctor is justified in the eyes of the protagonist when he decides on a "protest" act: he refuses to perform an abortion for Emperor Alexander II's mistress, Ekaterina Dolgorukova. Note that this scene (repeated in "A Hard Night for Dr. Karell", see below), while piquant, is also apocryphal. By 1879 the princess Dolgorukova (who becomes, a year later, the morganatic wife of the emperor) already lived in the Winter Palace (which the historical Köler knew perfectly well) and had borne four children to Alexander⁶. In addition, the court had an entire staff of obstetricians for such gynecological operations. It was not necessary to involve the 73-year-old court physician and Privy Councillor Philipp Yakovlevich Karell in such a procedure (should the need for it arise!). However, here Kross relied on a source: a book by Estonian pastor and genealogist Martin Lipp⁷,

⁶ Princess Ekaterina Mikhailovna Dolgorukova (1847–1922) became Alexander II's mistress in July 1866; on July 6, 1880 she was married to the widowed emperor in Tsarskoye Selo. On December 5, 1880 she received by decree the title of Princess Yurevskaya. Their children Georgy (1872–1913), Olga (1873–1925), and Ekaterina (1878–1959) were legitimized and received the surname Yurevsky (Boris, born in 1876, died as in infancy). The last daughter, Ekaterina, was born September 9, 1878 (September 21 on the old calendar). It is well-known that Alexander II adored his children. The emperor also had children from other mistresses.

⁷ See: [Lipp]. The book was written in 1919, and from its manuscript an extract was made and published as article (with relevant citations) by A. Lüüs, editor of the published version, who also studied Karell's activities: [Lüüs: 545–555]. Lüüs also repeated the fragment about Karell's resignation. Characteristically, Martin Lipp is the same pastor who gave the sermon at the sanctification ceremony of Köler's fresco in Kaarli church on July 29, 1879 (see: <http://www.Kaarlikogudus.eu/ajalugu.php?leht=Ajalugu&alamleht=Fresco>, although Lipp was not pastor of that parish),

which records oral histories that quite frequently do not trace back to Karel himself.

Let's return to Kross's Köler. The idea of integration with the people and the impossibility of such integration follow him constantly. Accordingly, in his internal monologue the hero sometimes uses the aloof and distancing pronoun "they" when referring to the Estonian people. Creating the fresco is one of the possible ways to overcome the separating barrier. Kross's Köler is not a religious person, and he writes his Christ because that is what "they" need; that is, his less-advanced brethren. At the same time his main intention is to draw a *national* Christ⁸. So Kross is interested in the fact that the model for the face of the Savior, by the artist's own admission, was the Estonian peasant William. The real Köler, in point of fact, met him at the Hiiumaa estate in 1863 and used him as a model for his painting "Peasant with an Axe" (artistically this was an obvious pastiche of John the Baptist from Alexander Ivanov's canvas "The Appearance of Christ to the People"). Precisely here Kross ties a foundational narrative knot — the hero's antagonist, Rudolph Gernet, having mysteriously learned of the plan for a national Christ (this mystical moment is also reflected by the artist), mockingly exposes the truth about his model to Köler, which should, he believes, lead the national project to collapse.

First, William is not totally Estonian (he has "foreign blood"), and second, his moral character makes him unsuitable as a model for Christ. The former Stakelberg coachman (as Köler knew him) became a vicious manager and a sadist who took pleasure in subjecting his fellow tribesmen to flogging. Here Kross inserts a totally modernist complex into the action: it appears to the artist that he has drawn a devil instead of Christ, and that the Estonians will bow to a false Christ. Only the devil could have revealed the secret idea of a national Christ to Gernet, an idea of which Köler himself had not spoken to anyone. All this throws the artist into such a depression that he even considers destroying his work or fleeing the sanctification ceremony. Moreover, the hero himself (not to mention the author!) at the moment of illumination perfectly understands that *in art* the question of the model's moral qualities cannot have any meaning — but a national project is another matter.

and this fact is played up in the novella. Kross, who gives nothing by accident, thus seems to point to one of his sources.

⁸ Regarding the importance of the plot of "The Third Range of Hills" from the point of view of "the national project" (the lesson of the "Petersburg patriots"), its allusions to the Soviet situation of the 1970s, Kross's autobiographical projects, and his reflections on the mission of the artist under conditions of confinement and foreign power, see: [Salokannel: 324–327].

If we look once again at the facts, one thing is clear — the real Köler suspected nothing bad about William. Until 1972, when a note about the unchristian conduct of Köler's Christ model appeared in the journal "Kultuur ja elu" (see: [Kruus: 304]), the Estonian literature, which contained not a word about the coachman William⁹, contained no references to his cruelties. It's possible that Jaan Kross heard oral legends of some sort on the island of Kassarri (near Hiiumaa), where the Stakelberg estate is located and where, in 1970, the author acquired a farm.

However, it is not so important whether or not the real William Tamm was a sadist¹⁰; much more essential is how and why Kross uses this motif. The function of such a "shift" in the artistic world of the novel is connected, it seems, to Kross's interpretation of fundamental religious and philosophical problems — in the ambivalent nature of art and religion (the interplay of good and evil, divine and satanic beginnings) Nietzschean motives are clearly heard. The writer refers also to the Estonian literary tradition¹¹. As Oscar Kruus correctly noted, the real Köler was not concerned with the problem of Christ and the devil¹², while Kross's Köler is very much so. For a long time the hero is tempted by power, but in the end defeats it¹³. Moreover, with the encouragement of his friend, Ella Schultz, he strives to find the true faith. Ella is an ideal feminine image¹⁴, who bears a real name but is a construct of the author's imagination. We believe that at the same time Kross is inspired by her portrait, painted by J. Köler in 1868 (probably at the request of her father).

⁹ See a summary of the material: [Reidna: 89].

¹⁰ A. Kõvamees underscored the connection between Kross's character of William and the Estonian literary tradition via E. Vilde's steward in "War in Makhtra" [Kõvamees: 115–128]. On the other hand, we note in parentheses, Kross's "The Third Range of Hills" itself is occasionally perceived as a documentary source. On the website of the Kaarli church in Tallinn the story of "beautiful William", model for the image of Christ, follows Kross's outline, with an extensive corresponding quote from the text (see: <http://www.kaarlikogudus.eu/ajalugu.php?leht=Ajalugu>). Thus the historical novella finds its neomythological potential and becomes a myth-making device.

¹¹ O. Kruus writes about this set of problems somewhat differently [Kruus: 305]. He notes the following of Estonian national tradition and points out a conciliatory interpretation of the relationship between God and Satan in Estonian folklore and literature. The traditional Estonian devil Vanapagan in A. H. Tammsaare becomes the mouthpiece for positive ideas. However, it is no less important to speak of the Nietzschean threads also found in Tammsaare (see the works of L. Pild).

¹² O. Kruus expresses a fair supposition that the real Köler was not concerned with the problem of Christ and the devil [Kruus: 304–305].

¹³ Regarding the interpretation of the title, we believe this is the "third range of hills" (obstacle) that Kross's hero overcomes.

¹⁴ A. Kõvamees justifiably included the image of Ella in the paradigm of Kross's idealized heroines [Kõvamees: 115–128].

The real Ella Schultz was the musician and composer Elizabeth Schultz (Елизавета Георгиевна Шульц, 1846–1926), who wrote under the pseudonym Adaïewsky (Ella von Schultz-Adaïewsky). The pseudonym is based on the letter notations of timpani strikes in the overture to Glinka's opera "Ruslan and Ludmila" (A, D, A — la, re, la)¹⁵, and is not mentioned in the novella. However, Kross uses several facts from her biography. Her father is fairly ironically described — doctor, writer, and translator Georg Julius von Schultz (1808–1975), who wrote under the pseudonym Dr. Bertram (see his new biography: [Pärnik]). By the way, he, like the author of "The Third Range of Hills", translated "The Misfortune of Being Clever" (only Schultz translated into German), and Kross mentions his other translations. "The Third Range of Hills" also refers to Elizabeth's early concerts (in 1862 F. R. Kreutzwald wrote about the success of her concerts in Dorpat) and notes that she studied under Rubinstein. Elizabeth Schultz really did study from 1862 to 1869 in the newly opened Petersburg Conservatory, studying piano under A. Rubinstein and A. Dreyschock, and composition under N. Zarembo and A. Famintsyn (P. Chaikovsky studied with them also at this time).

Anton Rubinstein became necessary in the novella for one of the most central episodes, when Kross's Köler and Ella are organizing help for the Estonian peasants from Hiiumaa, who arrived in Petersburg in the summer of 1868 in hopes of being resettled in the south of Russia, but were expelled by the police back to their island and under the power of their landlords.

This egregious act of injustice truly has a place in history, but the real Johann Köler and, more than likely, Ella Schultz did not have any connection to these events. The document that most clearly testifies about this is a letter by A. Yuryev that was published after "The Third Range of Hills" in Boris Enst's monograph about Köler (see: [Enst 1980]). Even so, this letter is preserved in the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu. It was known to the Köler experts with whom the writer consulted, and through them, clearly, it was known to Kross — the events of the summer of 1868 as described in "The Third Range of Hills" are otherwise simply too close to the text of the letter.

These events are laid out in detail in the letter, addressed to Köler and saved in his archive. It was written on July 2, 1868 by a member of the circle of Petersburg patriots, official of the naval ministry Alexander Yuryev (1835–1878)

¹⁵ E. G. Shultz herself wrote several operas in the 1870s based on Russian history — "The Boyar's Daughter", "The Dawn of Freedom", and "Solomonida Saburova". She, like her father, was interested in musical folklore (including Estonian and Greek). Kross's Ella plays for her Janny (as she calls Köler) "Greek songs"; however, the Greek sonata for clarinet (or violin) and piano was composed by the real E. Schultz in 1881.

and directed to Ryazan province, to the Semenov estate Urusovo, where Köler resided at the time.

According to the document, Russian merchants voluntarily came to the aid of the Estonian peasants in distress, feeding the hungry with bread, and good-hearted Petersburg residents, who donated money (especially after an article was published about them in the “Sankt-Petersburg Gazette” («Санкт-Петербургские ведомости») and “The Voice” («Голос»). A respectable sum was collected (472 rubles) and distributed among the peasants, who each received 3 rubles. Additionally, the collected money was used to buy provisions for the return trip. Among the participants in this campaign were the chief of police and an Orthodox priest.

In Kross’s novella *Ella and Köler* bring 500 rubles on the boat, having borrowed the money from Rubinstein. Kross chose the renowned composer not only because of the above-mentioned biographical ties to Ella’s prototype, but also due to his Jewish heritage. Kross’s *Ella*, without hesitation, reminds her teacher that he belongs to an oppressed nation, and urges him to solidarity with another oppressed minority group¹⁶. Of course, such a dialogue in Petersburg at this time in history is unimaginable; it would have been a scandalous violation of both etiquette and ethics. Nevertheless, Kross is writing a *national* historical text in which mythologizing is one of his principal techniques.

In this regard the love story receives great importance in “The Third Range of Hills”. Kross’s Köler is a passionate lover and the object of love for several ladies. His main beloved, of course, is Ella. Understandably, there is no documented information about the love of the old bachelor Köler for the musician Ella Schultz. Researchers have established that this plot line is based on an allusion made by Ella’s friend, Estonian singer Aino Tamm (see: [Soonpää: 149; Köleri sõnastik: 125]). I believe that Ella’s portrait played no less a role in Köler’s work.

The touching affair is settled by Kross in a Romantic way — as an open union between two people of art. What is more, it is Ella in particular who, despite her Estophilia and piety, rejects Köler’s offer of marriage and insists on free love¹⁷. But Kross’s Köler, in total accordance with the Romantic canon, muses

¹⁶ This scene in the novella takes place in a hotel on Malaya Morskaya Street, where Rubinstein supposedly lived. The real Rubinstein had no need to rent from a hotel, since he lived in the capital at 13 Troitsky Lane, No. 12 (see: [Адресная книга: 410]). The lane was renamed Rubinstein Street in 1929.

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that the real Ella Schultz never married, spent the second half of her life (from 1882) abroad in Italy and Germany, and died alone in Bonn. She spent long years at Neuwied castle in an aristocratic and entirely female musical-literate circle. However, this decision,

constantly on his ugliness¹⁸ and on Ella's angelic beauty, their twenty-year age difference, his spiritual disharmony and her harmony.

The other love story is the already-passed affair between Köler and Nadezhda Pavlovna Semenova, the wife of his close friend, senator and chamberlain Nikolai Petrovich Semenov¹⁹, and also the love for him of Natalia Petrovna Grot, the wife of academic Ya. K. Grot.

Kross's history of these stories also arose from the works of Köler (who painted portraits of all of these people more than once), from his documented friendship with the Semenov and Grot families, and also, possibly, from speculations of researchers — although we will not attempt to judge whether or not Kross was aware of such speculations.

In 1976 (thus after publication of "The Third Range of Hills"), at an academic conference dedicated to the 150th birthday of Köler, B. Enst presented a paper [Enst 1983] in which he hypothesized that Köler was lover to Nadezhda Pavlovna Semenova²⁰ and even father to two of her children, Peter and Margarita, and also that Natalia Grot was in love with Köler. These inferences were made on the basis of a highly biased analysis of Köler's letters. The hypothesis regarding the illegitimate son is easily refuted — Köler physically could not have fathered Peter Nikolaevich Semenov, born on September 7, 1858, since he was abroad from 1857 to 1862. Kross writes nothing about the birth of children, but conjecture about the romantic relationship is played out in full²¹. The researcher's mythology combines with the writer's and produces a rich neo-mythology (even if they are not genetically related). Nonetheless, I personally am very grateful to B. Enst, since his mistaken conjecture (that Peter Semenov is Köler's son) was the impetus for my studies. Initially I sought the answer to the authorship of an article signed "P. Semenov", from the collection "Estonians and Latvians" (see: [Семенов]). I did not answer that riddle, but I was

in all likelihood, was made due to financial considerations. Ella received a respectable pension from the Russian imperial court (today we would call it a stipend), which she had the right to receive until marriage.

¹⁸ Kross's verbal portraits demonstrate how attentively he examined Köler's works and photographs of him, and how very detailed his knowledge of Köler's creations is.

¹⁹ Allusion to this story is also found in "A Hard Night for Dr. Karell".

²⁰ Nikolai Semenov (1823–1904) married Nadezhda Shishkina (1836–1914) on July 9, 1854 in Yaroslavl.

²¹ Margarita Semenova, who died young (1880–1893), theoretically could have been Köler's daughter, although Enst has presented no real evidence [Enst 1983: 98]. In Kross's novel at this time his hero is having his affair with Ella; he speaks about his relationship with N. Semenova as ancient history.

immersed in a most interesting world, where the fates of Russian, Estonian, and German artists, academics, and writers intertwined.

However, in “The Third Range of Hills”, love stories are not just another novelistic technique. For Kross they fulfill an additional role — as a sign of social victory, the approval of the Estonian in a society foreign and alien to him. For this reason the hero’s objects of affection, as a rule, are socially superior to him; the barrier increases further when it comes to married ladies. The fact that Nadezhda Semenova is his closest friend’s wife morally complicates the situation for the hero, but also makes her more radiant. For some reason, Kross’s Köler sees peasant features in her face (they are not evident to me in Köler’s portrait of her). In the case of Natalia Grot, her professor husband’s status is not as significant as her ancestry (the noble family of Semenov arose in the 14th century). For Kross’s concept, it is important that an Estonian, arising from a poor peasant family, proved victorious in all spheres: in art, in his career, in love. His successes in love are one more confirmation not only of his own great potential, but of the potential of the Estonian nation²². In “The Third Range of Hills” another Estonian — C. R. Jakobson — *jumped* higher still: he kissed the czar’s daughter, his pupil the Grand Princess Maria Alexandrovna (for which he lost his post as German teacher). We will not undertake to judge to what extent this episode corresponds to historical reality, but in the artistic world of the novel this is an important characteristic of the radical Jakobson.

Kross strove to create not historical research, but fictional narrative intended to bring Estonian history to life and make it interesting, colorful, and humanized. Jaan Kross fulfilled his main task. His Köler, of course, differs from the real one, but overall his character is consistent with the real J. Köler. He represents the great potential of the Estonian people [Jansen: 138], and Kross’s choice of historical figure for this goal was successful in the highest measure. Köler is presented as the talented son of his people who is victorious over every difficulty. In just such a way his Russian contemporaries wrote about Ivan Petrovich Köler-Viliandi, professor of the Imperial Academy of Art and court portraitist, comparing the Estonian painter with his Russian brethren at the guild: “Many of our artists arose, like Köler, from the peasant cottage; but do many of our well-heeled artists remember their poor families? <...> But it is as if Köler <...> remained not prodigal, but a true son of his nation” [Александров: 418].

²² Kross frequently uses this technique. He makes his general Michelson not only an Estonian, but also the lover of Empress Catherine II (“Michelson’s Matriculation”); the peasant Eeva becomes the wife and ally of the Livonian nobleman and political dissident T. von Bock (“The Czar’s Madman”).

Doctor Philipp Karell, with whom Kross's Köler constantly argues in "The Third Range of Hills" and with whom Kross's Martens constantly compares himself in "Professor Martens' Departure", in the play "A Hard Night for Dr. Karell" literally becomes arbiter of the Russian empire. Kross's Karell gives Nicholas I poison, putting an end to his thirty-year reign and despotism²³. It's true that he does this at the order of the emperor himself and with the knowledge of the heir to the throne, Grand Prince Alexander Nikolaevich. Andres Soosaar dedicated a special article to Kross's treatment of the issue of doctor's ethics [Soosaar]. We are interested, first of all, in the historical sources Kross may have drawn from in his treatment of events.

The central events of the play occur on the night of March 2, 1855. The author has translated the date from the Julian calendar (in use at that time throughout the Russian empire) to the Gregorian. Nicholas I died the day of February 18, 1855, accordingly his last night alive was the night of February 17, 1855. It cannot be ruled out that such a translation of the calendar acts as a sign to today's viewer and reader of the modernization of events, which Kross uses in this play. It is also possible that exact adherence to the chronology was simply not a part of the writer's task. Thus, in "A Hard Night for Dr. Karell", the third act (the epilogue) is dated the end of July 1879. Köler meets Karell on the bank of the Neva in Petersburg and anxiously relates to him the news that he has received a letter from C. R. Jakobson about the closing of the newspaper "Sakala". Actually, the publication of this weekly magazine was suspended for eight months in May of 1879 (the last issue before the suspension came out on May 5, and the next on January 5, 1880). At the end of July this could not have been news for a "Petersburg patriot" involved in its publication. Additionally, the author of "The Third Range of Hills" could not forget that in July 1879 Köler was in Tallinn working on the fresco "Come to me...". The work occupied 10 days and was completed on July 23/August 8; it was sanctified in Köler's presence on July 29/August 10, 1879. Moreover, as mentioned above, the episode regarding Karell's resignation is discussed in "The Third Range of

²³ As an extra touch to the characterization of Russia as a tyrannical government (with obvious projections onto the Soviet epoch), at symbolic moments Karell notes that during the reign of Paul I poets' tongues were cut out for epigrams [Kross: 253]. Kross's hero presents this as evidence of the emperor's insanity. Of course, in Paul's time such punishments were no longer in use. More than likely this is the author's reference to "The Czar's Madman", where (also with chronological displacement), such methods are used. Regarding this, see: [Kisseljo: 326]. Kross's poetics are very much characterized by internal intertextuality; that is, cross-references to his own texts on various levels.

Hills” specifically in Tallinn, where Kross’s Köler learns the news about the paper (he plans to go to Petersburg the next day to petition on behalf of “Sakala”).

Of course, the play contains inadvertent anachronisms that are unavoidable in any composition about a historical topic. For example, in the play, Johann Köler, student at the Academy of Art, pays a visit to Karell on the evening of February 17/March 1, 1855, and they discuss the artist’s future. The court doctor convinces the artist to thoroughly perfect his art and promises to help his career at court in the future (for both, a court post is a means of serving the Estonian people). They discuss Köler’s painting “Hercules Drags Cerberus from the Gates of Hell”. Kross knew from art history literature that in 1855 Köler was working on this painting, for which he received a small gold medal, but the exact date of this work was unknown to him. Notably, the Academy Council appointed the program for medal competition only on April 9, 1855²⁴, so the protagonists could not have actually discussed this work on the eve of Nicholas I’s death. In that same conversation Karell predicts that if Köler works hard, the Academy must make him a professor and then award him the title of academic (see: [Kross: 263]). In reality the Imperial Academy of Art had a reverse hierarchy of titles (differing from the academic hierarchy Kross knew): first one became an academic (Köler earned this title in 1861), and then professor (Köler became one in 1867, evidencing his fast and successful career).

One of the main sources for “A Hard Night for Dr. Karell” was the above-mentioned works by M. Lipp (see: [Lipp]) and A. Lüüs (see: [Lüüs]). It is more than likely that Kross drew not only the explanation for Karell’s resignation (noted above), but also the name of his faithful servant, the Estonian Nigolas Tischler, specifically from these texts. Kross adds to a brief reference²⁵ that the doctor met him while serving in the hospital of the Horse Guards regiment [Kross: 249], and makes Nigolas a kind of double of the emperor Nicholas: on the same night they resolve to kill themselves. Karell manages to save his servant, pulled from the noose, and wrest a promise from him not to repeat the attempt. After this he is called to the Winter Palace, where Nicholas demands poison from him and threatens to hang himself if he does not receive the deadly drug.

The description of Karell’s relationship with the court physician Martin Mandt can also be traced back to these source texts. Mandt at some point recommended his younger colleague for the post of court physician, later accused

²⁴ See: [Сборник: 236]. The medal was presented to Köler on September 30, 1855 [Сборник: 250].

²⁵ Compare: “Juba noore arstina õppinud Karell üht eesti soldatit Nigolas Tischler’it tundma ja võtnud ta enesele teenriks. Nigolas jäänud peaaegu kogu eluajaks Karellile ustavaks teenijaks” [Lüüs: 554].

him of ingratitude, and other details²⁶. However neither Lipp nor Lüüs support the version of the poisoning of Nicholas²⁷. To the extent that this event establishes the central plot of “A Hard Night for Dr. Karell” it is necessary to consider the sources that underpin Kross’s interpretation of events.

Emperor Nicholas’s death following a short illness was a mystery for contemporaries, the subject of numerous rumors and speculations among his contemporaries and descendants, expounded upon in a series of memoirs, and became the subject of special investigations by both historians and physicians. Of course, Kross, knowing Russian history perfectly well, acquainted himself with many compositions on this topic. They can be divided into two groups: those that accept the official version of the emperor’s death from paralysis of the lungs and those that support the version about suicide; the first hint of this in print appeared in “The Bell” («Колокол») in 1859, which traces back to court physician Martin Mandt (1800–1858). It seems that the direct source and, possibly, impetus for Kross could have been the article by Anatoly Smirnov entitled “The Mystery of the Emperor’s Death”, published in 1990 as an afterword to the book by well-known historian Alexander Presnyakov (1870–1929) “Russian Autocrats” [Пресняков]²⁸.

A. F. Smirnov (1925–2009), having taken a fairly characteristic path from employee at the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to lecturer at the Sretensky Theological Seminary, having long studied the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia and then authoring a book about Karamzin (2006), supported the version of the emperor’s suicide. In his article he widely used the memoirs of the Polish revolutionary Jan (Ivan) Sawicki (1831–1910), who bore the pseudonym Stella. The recollections were written in old age, published after the author’s death²⁹, and are not to be found in Estonia’s libraries. Smirnov

²⁶ Among the details that are important to Kross are the overwrought nerves of Karell’s daughter Maria (she really did die of mental illness) and the story of how Karell and Nicholas I met (the emperor learns that he is Estonian and is pleased by this). This last fact was utterly transformed by Kross, for whom the czar was an unbounded ruler who despised his subjects. Thus his Nicholas reminds the doctor of his heritage (“pärisorjast toapoisi poeg” — [Kross: 273]), to force him to unquestioningly obey orders. Generosity and respect for others are lacking in Kross’s sovereigns — not only in Nicholas I, but also in Alexander II.

²⁷ What is more, M. Lipp does this on the basis of the recollections of the doctor himself, which were written down and analyzed by one of the informants, A. Trumm [Lipp: 51–52]. Unfortunately, the memoirs were not published, and Karell’s archive and library were not preserved.

²⁸ The publication is a reprinting of the historian’s work that was initially published in the 1920s, including his famous short monograph “Height of Autocracy: Nicholas I” (Leningrad, 1925). A. Smirnov’s afterword occupies pages 435–462 of the book.

²⁹ See: [Stella-Sawicki]. There are no references to this publication in Smirnov’s article.

knew them through his study of the Polish uprising of 1863 and its leaders³⁰. A large part of his article is a translation from these memoirs, although imprecise and with large semantic shifts and his own interpolations. In order to make Sawicki a witness to the events that, in the best case, he could have known only through hearsay, Smirnov's outline of his biography is, to put it mildly, biased, although he had at his disposal accurate biographical data compiled from archive materials (see: [ДЪЯКОВ: 153–154]).

Sawicki is a complex and contradictory character. He graduated from the General Staff Academy (1854) and served at the headquarters of the Separate Guard Corps, but he was not an adjutant to the Grand Prince Alexander Nikolaevich, nor his childhood friend (their difference in age was 13 years!), since he did not study in the Corps of Pages, etc. [СМИРНОВ 1990: 453]. The real (not mythological!) Sawicki built a good career, rose to the rank of colonel, retired in 1863 and participated in the Polish liberation movement. Thereafter he lived outside the Russian Empire, maintaining a correspondence with Herzen. While still in Petersburg he developed a fairly close relationship with N. Dobrolyubov and N. Chernyshevsky, and was even for some time the lover of the latter's wife [ЛН: 434]. This is not the time to delve into the details of his life and his recollections. For this article it is important only that he colorfully and in detail describes the scene in which Nicholas forced Doctor Mandt to give him poison, which the former court doctor himself supposedly described to Sawicki abroad. The following quote is from the conversation between Nicholas and Mandt, which, it seems to us, was used by Kross (although he made Karell the main actor³¹):

— You were always my faithful subject, and that's why I want to talk to you confidentially — the course of the war exposed the error of all my foreign policy, but I don't have the strength or the desire to change and take a different path that would contradict my convictions...

— Your Majesty, I answered him, the Almighty gave you good health, and you have the strength and the time to correct matters.

— No, I am in no condition to correct matters for the better and I must leave the stage, which is why I summoned you, to ask you to help me. Give me poison that would allow me to depart this life without excessive suffering, relatively quickly but not abruptly (to avoid arousing gossip).

³⁰ See, for example, his monograph: [СМИРНОВ 1959]. Sawicki was a member of the Sierakowski circle.

³¹ Kross has both physicians prepare the poison, but Nicholas I prefers to take it from Karell, since he was his subject.

— Your Majesty, I am forbidden from fulfilling your command by my profession and my conscience.

— If you do not do this, I will find it possible to perform my intention, you know me, despite everything, at any price, but it is in your power to rid me of unnecessary suffering. That is why I command and ask you in the name of your devotion to fulfill my last wish.

— If Your Majesty's wish is unchangeable, I will fulfill it, but allow me all the same to inform the Sovereign Heir, else they will inevitably accuse me, as your personal doctor, of poisoning.

— So be it, but first give me the poison [Смирнов 1990: 454–455].

In this passage Kross may have been interested in the arguments impeding the doctor from committing such an act (profession and conscience) that, nonetheless, he discards the idea of the heir's participation in events. All these motives are developed in detail in "A Hard Night for Dr. Karell" in accordance with the play's concept.

The protagonist is one of Kross's typical reflective characters that is attempting to solve an agonizing problem: having agreed to give the czar poison, he acts as a freedom fighter and savior of his fatherland, like a slave or like a humanist³². In the next frontier situation Karell doubts no longer and does not give in to provocation — he firmly rejects czar Alexander II's proposal to violate physician's ethics and criminal law (abortion in the Russian Empire was a criminal offense, although the means of punishment have been exaggerated slightly by the author). Doctor Karell finds freedom — freedom from compromise³³.

The finale is very symbolic and echoes the finale of "The Third Range of Hills": Karell goes to the church³⁴ with his wife and Köler to listen to Bach. The

³² Kross's hero is pulled from this state by his wife (per tradition — the good angel of the doubtful character), who amazingly steals into the Winter Palace at night, hears her husband's confession and witnesses the preparation of the poison. Of course, this is fiction, but highly effective on stage.

³³ Compare to Lipp's treatment of Karell's conduct before Alexander II [Lipp: 47]: a courageous, heroic deed, comparable to the conduct of Biblical heroes — Nathan before David and John the Baptist before Herod! Kross uses the same model of comparison here, but in a different situation. His Karell compares himself on the fatal night of Nicholas I's poisoning to the libertine Pharon [Kross: 279]. It's no wonder that Kross's Karell confuses the name of the ancient character, since he means a different libertine — Epaphroditos, who held a sword to Nero on Pharon's estate and helped the emperor kill himself in order to avoid shameful and torturous punishment. The hidden parallel between Nicholas and Nero, of course, is important to Kross.

³⁴ To which church precisely is not said, but the Estonian reader can guess that it is to the Estonian St. John the Baptist Church (it's no wonder the way from the palace lays along the bank of the Neva). Under Soviet conditions, when this church in Leningrad was devastated and initially turned into a warehouse, then into a residential building, this was one of the allusions with which the "secret" national history was written, so well appreciated by Kross's readers. Court physician

doctor admits that Bach helps him overcome doubt in the existence of God, and Bach's toccata sounds. The consecration of Köler's fresco in "The Third Range of Hills" occurs to the sound of a Bach prelude (Kross even includes notes!) — "those high ceremonial sounds", "a mighty thundering waterfall". If Bach's music does not make Kross's Köler into a believing Christian it does, in any case, inspire a prayerful appeal to Christ, helps him withstand the ceremony, and overcome his fear about the exposure of his secret — that he depicted in the image of Christ a vicious and cruel person, a devil even. Thus Kross returns the reader and the viewer to one of his favorite themes — the theme of art and its overwhelming power. The highest art, according to Kross, is capable of defeating its own duality, and subordinating a diabolical beginning to the divine.

Practical commentary clarifies much in the nature of Jaan Kross's historical narratives. His works are neo-mythological, allusive, require the utmost concentration from readers, and set forth many riddles, the deciphering of which is exceptionally interesting.

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THE TOLSTOYAN TRADITION AND ESTONIAN THEME IN JAAN KROSS'S NOVEL "PROFESSOR MARTENS'S DEPARTURE"*

LEA PILD

Jaan Kross's novel "Professor Martens' Departure" (1984) is about a hero whose prototype was famous attorney and diplomat, premier specialist in international law, and author of the seminal work "Collected Treaties and Conventions concluded between Russia and Foreign Nations" Friedrich Fromhold (or Fyodor Fyodorovich) Martens (1874–1909). Professor Martens was born on August 15, 1845 in Pärnu and died in Petersburg on June 7, 1909 (regarding the ancestry, biography, and diplomatic and scientific work of Martens, see: [Биографический словарь: 6–12; Грабарь: 306–313; Курс международного права: 288, 290–297; Leesment: 354–355; Рахумаа, Ярвелаид: 68–76; Пустогаров]).

The action of Kross's novel takes place on the last day of the protagonist's life. The novel has almost no external chain of events: Martens is traveling from Pärnu to Petersburg, but only makes it to the station at Valga; the novel ends with his death. The main part of the book is dedicated to describing the events of Martens' internal life: the protagonist "practices" his future confession — an open discussion with his wife that is to occur upon his arrival in Sestrotetsk (his dacha outside Petersburg). The compositional unity of the text is built on the development of several *micro-plots* (repeating or parallel from the point of view of the events described), a series of *intersecting motifs*, and a particular pattern of *character structures* (the main character is juxtaposed with "foil" characters that give shade and definition to one aspect or another of his inner world).

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The *repeating micro-plots* are made up of Professor Martens' life events, to which he returns several times in his memories. These include the so-called Vodovozov plot (Martens' musings about the "libelous" article about him by the journalist Vasily Vasilyevich Vodovozov in the second additional volume of the Brockhaus and Efron Dictionary)¹; the recollection of the signing of the Portsmouth agreement between Russia and Japan in 1905 and Martens' particular role in the drafting of that agreement; and the recollection of Martens' acquaintance and subsequent increasing intimacy with his future wife, the daughter of Senator Tur.

The *parallel micro-plots* overlap in part with the repeating ones; they are connecting simultaneously with both the protagonist and his counterpart-namesake, Georg-Friedrich Martens, a German diplomat, attorney, and professor at Hettingen University, who died in 1821². For example, both Martenses encounter arsonists under similar conditions, the younger Martens in 1863 in Petersburg, the senior Martens in 1774 in Hettingen. Each man survives the threat of death: the senior Martens nearly drowns, thrown to the fates by local artisans in Hamburg during a flood, while death comes to the younger Martens in the form of his arrested nephew, the Social Democrat Johannes; both cases emphasize the socio-cultural contradictions between the threatened protagonist and those at fault for his potential death. However, the parallel plots sometimes act as "sources" and parodies of the novel. For instance, Martens' story in the 14th chapter about his "main" or "general" idea (an unquestionable reference to Chekhov's "A Boring Story" (1889), whose main character, the internationally-known scientist and privy councilor Nikolai Stepanovich, suffers deep

¹ See: [Kross: 42; from here on, citations of this edition of the novel's translation are noted by page number only] and compare to [Водовозов: 1450]. The article about the hero's prototype, F. F. Martens, was published in the third additional *half*-volume of Brockhaus and Efron's Encyclopedic Dictionary (that is, in the *second* additional volume, precisely as stated in the novel). The article's author wrote: "In February, 1904, M <artens> wrote in 'Novoe vremya' an article about the opening of military actions against Russia by Japan, in which he argued that Japan violated international law by beginning a war without declaring military action. The self-contradiction into which M — fell was noted in print, having, in his composition about the Eastern War, derided Turkey for its archaic protest against the opening of military action by Russia in 1877 without a preliminary announcement of war, and having asserted (as in his course on international law) that formal notice, as a mandatory requirement, had faded into history as completely useless. It was also noted, that M — could not have known of the note from the Japanese government dated January 24, 1904 (not officially published in Russia), that was an unquestionable declaration of war" [Ibid].

This publication must be considered one of the novel's many documentary sources. However, this article, with rare exception, will not concern itself with the sources of "Professor Martens' Departure", as such extensive and diverse topics, without a doubt, are worthy of a separate study.

² Regarding the relationship of these two characters see: [Jōgi, O.: 419].

doubt regarding the meaning of his life and academic work and believes the reason for this doubt to be a lack of a “general idea,” see: [Чехов]) is parodied in chapter 22 (in Professor Martens' dream about the naval battle, in which all his “main” ideas are devastated and turned inside out).

The *intersecting moments* of the novel include, first and foremost, the themes of *liberation* and *fear of death*. (Compare, for example: “And when you go out of the gate onto Gartenstrasse — whether with Katya or alone... Total, well almost total liberation. Exactly as if you're returning to childhood carefreeness” [11]; “I was seized by such a joyful feeling of liberation, and at that time I experienced such a rush of energy, such that I haven't felt in ages” [110]; “*Complete candor — why? I'll tell you why: from fear of death*” <italics mine> [43].) The semantics of these themes change depending on the internal state of the protagonist; nonetheless, they always maintain a certain steady semantic core.

Finally, in the role of the protagonist's “foils” appear those characters with whom he compares himself, including not only the senior Martens, but also the protagonist's brother August, a doctor on the isle of Madera, in honor of whom the island's residents erected a statue during his life; Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov, state councilor and addressee of Pushkin's epistles; Russian prime minister Sergey Yulyevich Witte; Estonian composers Alexander Saebelman (Kunileid) and Artur Kapp; attorney and musical critic Platon Vaxel; Alfred Nobel, founder of the Nobel Prize; and, finally, Leo Tolstoy, about whom, incidentally, the novel says very little directly.

In this way, Martens' recollections of his past and life's latest events unfold as a series of micronovellas or microplots, and their repetition in the novel's stream of consciousness is caused (at the level of plot) by the protagonist's striving for the limits of *openness*. It is difficult for Martens to admit the ambiguity of his thoughts and actions; thus, in practicing his future confession, he doesn't tell himself and his imaginary interlocutor (his wife Katya) everything at once, but piece by piece, returning repeatedly to the facts already laid out and gradually *deepening* his level of openness. The initial impetus to confession was the previously-mentioned article by Vodovozov, in which the author, in particular, caught Martens in inconsistency and in an outright lie. So, in 1879 (after the end of the Russo-Turkish War) Martens published a book entitled “The Eastern War”, in which he rather arrogantly responded to Turkey's statement to Russia, who supposedly attacked Porta was without warning. From the point of view of modern international law, wrote Martens, an official declaration of war is not necessary; furthermore, the Turkish government, on whose orders practically the entire Bulgarian population was destroyed, had no

right to point fingers at the more civilized country of Russia. Meanwhile, in 1904, when the Russo-Japanese War began, Martens published an article in the newspaper “Novoe vremya”, which blamed Japan for starting a war with Russia without warning. From Martens’ point of view, Vodovozov not only erected yet another serious barrier to his becoming a potential Nobel laureate, but also deliberately ruined his reputation in the eyes of posterity (the article in the “Encyclopedic Dictionary” does not assume, according to Martens, a journalistic or polemic orientation). Martens is stung by Vodovozov’s accusations, but also admits his guilt (showing his equivocal conduct), and is recently outraged by Tolstoy’s “denunciation” of the government: “...I myself know that there are people of various moral levels in high places. Let’s say, from Stolypin, well... even to Tolstoy... Although I cannot one hundred percent believe his last. No! He allegedly published another brochure, ‘I cannot remain silent’ or something like that. And I ask, why can’t he keep silent, if everyone else can? Mm? I can completely” [110]. In the end, Martens declares that he can’t and doesn’t want to keep silent: “But I don’t want to anymore, Катя, you hear? I don’t want to anymore. Let it be not before the whole world. But before you, at the very least. Though I ought to have laid out all my cards before the world” [161]. (Compare to Tolstoy’s 1908 article “I cannot remain silent”: “But this is terrible. It should not be, and one cannot live like that. I, at least, cannot live like that, I can’t and I don’t want to and I won’t” [Толстой]).

Martens’ confession is that of a man left an orphan in his earliest years who has decided, come what may, to achieve brilliant professional achievements through his own efforts and to earn himself a place among nobility. Martens’ internal monologues, which become more and more honest as a result of the hero’s difficult struggle with himself, reveal the basic contradiction in his life, which, as Martens sees it, lies in the fact that his efforts to serve the government and czar in diplomacy and science have always run counter to his never outwardly expressed critical attitude toward the Russian emperors and those close to them.

The key to interpreting Martens’ confession becomes the *ethical position of late Tolstoy*³. In part, this circumstance explains the author’s choice of plots for his hero’s confession. (It is widely known that in the 1900s Leo Tolstoy wrote a series of passivist articles; the most famous of these was “I cannot remain

³ The question of the reflection of the Tolstoyan tradition in the novel was raised in the review of its Russian translation; see: [Немзер: 56]. Compare also: “Professor Martens’ Departure’ <...> wonderfully combines with the narrative tradition we have come to associate with Russian writers of the 19th century” (“Arbetarbladet” 29.VII 1986), quoted by: [Saluäär: 1428]]. Regarding the interconnection of the Tolstoyan theme with the context of Estonian culture, see: [Haug 1990: 4].

silent”, which Martens could have read in one of the many foreign languages he knows)⁴. Martens torturously reflects on the most important episodes of his diplomatic, scientific and publishing work, which are related to the theme of war: his contradictory coverage of the events of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Russo-Japanese War in his research and publications on international law; his participation as an expert at the signing of the peace treaty between Russia and Japan in 1905. Although the hero's historic prototype, the world-renowned attorney Martens, did much to curb war and establish peaceful relations between countries (regarding this, see: [Плечоратов: 145–196]), this aspect of the real Martens' work is not so important to the author in the protagonist he has constructed.

Another significant and repeated theme in the hero's thoughts is the lie in his family life, the Tolstoyan overtones of which need no special evidence.

The author refers to the plots and images from an entire series of publications, and not only from Tolstoy's later works (“Memoirs of a Madman”, 1884–1903; “The Death of Ivan Ilych”, 1886; “The Kingdom of God is Within You”, 1893; “Master and Man”, 1895; “Resurrection”, 1899), but also, for example, to the symbolic imagery of “Anna Karenina” (1875–1877). The correlation can be seen most clearly with “Memoirs of a Madman” and “The Death of Ivan Ilych”. By all appearances, Kross did not choose these works merely by accident. The protagonist in both stories is not only an official, but an *attorney*, a specialist with a law degree. They both come to an understanding of moral truth, like Martens, gradually and thanks to illness (Fyodor, the hero of “Memoirs”, begins his confession while residing in a madhouse). It is Fyodor of “Memoirs” who bears the closest resemblance to Martens, and it is this text that Kross's novel most closely mirrors. The hero of “Memoirs” undergoes changes while on a *journey*, and he begins to experience *fear of death* while in a hotel room (fear of enclosed spaces plagues him as it does Professor Martens, who is situated in a train compartment for the duration of almost his entire confession): “Terror, fear! It seems as though death were terrible, but when one recollects, when one thinks of life, it is the agony of life that overwhelms” [Толстой XII: 48]. As in Kross's novel, the symbolism of color becomes just as important to the hero of “Memoirs”: horror materializes for Fyodor in the form of a “red and white square” (a room), while Martens' attention is drawn to the light brown walls and *dark violet* upholstery of his train compartment, to the shades of color and other details of the compartment's interior. As in Kross's novel, Fyodor's sole confidant is his wife (although, as already noted, Martens'

⁴ In 1908 Tolstoy's article was published in Russian only in fragments.

interlocutor is imaginary, while in Tolstoy's story she is completely real). Both characters, having decided the fates of other people from the heights of the law, now subject themselves to moral judgement.

Recall that *fear of death* is one of the themes found throughout the novel. The hero begins to experience fear, having felt the unrighteousness of his life: "*Complete candor — why? I'll tell you why: from fear of death*" [112]; "But you know why I want to change. I told you, because of fear. Let's not repeat of *what* the fear is..." [234].

While Tolstoy's hero turns to the lives of the saints and the Gospel to overcome his fear, and finds in them the answers to his doubts⁵, Professor Martens associates the Gospel with falsehood and the vanity of modern Christians⁶ (at the same time, it must be noted that the hero's position coincides with Tolstoy's in its criticism of modern Christianity). Kross's hero, more than likely, denies or doubts in the existence of God (just like the hero of "Memoirs of a Madman"); however, during the course of his confession the concept of "sinfulness" becomes clear to him. The origins of this clarity date back to childhood impressions of religious faith: "... my sudden self-criticism is nothing more than the naïve, Early Christian hope, arising from *fear*, that honesty protects one from death [171]. Thus, in this statement by Martens, modern Christianity is utterly unobtrusively (implicitly) contrasted with Early Christianity, upon which Russian religious reformers at the beginning of the 20th century based their ideological constructs.

Another difference between Martens' *fear of death* and subsequent spiritual transformation and that of Tolstoy's corresponding characters (Fyodor and Ivan Ilych) is the lack of direct compassion or pity for his loved ones (his wife, children, serfs, etc). Martens needs the wife to whom he confesses in his mind and whom, from time to time, he sees before him, for moral support. Martens feels guilty before her and experiences tenderness and gratitude toward her, but does not feel compassion. The depth of his repentance does not extend to the discovery of the existence of the gravitational pull of a loved one. In fact, until

⁵ From "Memoirs of a Madman": "From that moment I began to read the Holy Writ. To me the Bible was incomprehensible and alluring, the Gospels softened me. But most of all I read the lives of the saints" [Толстой XII: 52].

⁶ Compare: "And now the problem of those who humiliate, or self-abuse. By the way, the Christian religion exists in a large part for such types. In it they have their organizations, sects, movements: all those saints, wretches, holy brothers, dogs of the Lord and so on, right down to the eunuchs. And they all strive *nota bene* — meaning toward the opposite of the goal which Matthew states directly in the Gospel: *he who humbles himself will be exalted*" <Kross's italics> [401].

the end of the novel he remains an individualist, a man pursuing first and foremost his own interests⁷.

Another of the novel's themes, which also correlates to the publications and fictional prose of later Tolstoy, is that of *liberation* (it's possible that Kross was familiar with Bunin's book about Tolstoy, the title of which includes this theme)⁸, which arises at the very beginning of the first chapter. The theme has several meanings, each depending on the content the hero puts into it. At first liberation is just a holiday in Livonia, his homeland, far away from work, myriad responsibilities, the conventionality of life in society: "And when you go out of the gate onto Gartenstrasse — whether with Katya or alone... Total, well almost total liberation. Exactly as if you're returning to childhood carefreeness" [234]. Once Martens considered liberation the completion of academic work (the disappearance of doubt in his own creative and intellectual abilities); his infidelity to his wife with Yvette became "liberation" from societal conventions.

The semantic content of this image gradually *deepens*. Martens begins to believe that liberation is initiation to "his own" national culture (Estonian). He recalls prominent representatives of the nation, who were able to lay the foundation of a national tradition in several areas of culture and science: Hella Wuolijoki, the first female of Estonian descent to receive a Masters degree and who studied Estonian folklore at the University of Helsinki; Alexander Saebelmann (pseudonym: Kunileid) and Artur Kapp, founders of professional Estonian music; and Ludvig Puusepp, founder (along with V. M. Bekhterev) of the world's first psycho-neurological hospital at the Psycho-neurological Institute. Each of these acquaintances of Martens is not ashamed of his Estonian and democratic heritage; to the contrary, they emphasize it (this undoubtedly is explained by the time — in the 1900s the national liberation movement was beginning in Estonia). Martens himself, having built his career predominantly during a period of Russification of the Baltic provinces, never highlighted his

⁷ Regarding this side of Martens' character, see: [Jõgi, M.: 90]. Note also Kross's own characterization of the novel's hero, who deserves, in his words, "respect," but not "reverence" [Kross 1984: 7].

⁸ In Bunin's 1937 essay "The Liberation of Tolstoy", Tolstoy's death, in particular, is treated as "liberation" from the sins of life, or moral enlightenment. This interpretation is based on the ideas of Tolstoy himself, as laid out in several fictional works. Compare, for example, the description of the hero's death in Tolstoy's story "Master and Man": "He understands that this is death, and is not the least bit distressed by this... 'I'm coming, I'm coming!' joyfully, emotionally says his entire being. And he feels that he is *free* and nothing more holds him back" [Толстой XII: 339]. Kross may also have been familiar with Tolstoy's "My Life" (1892), in which this notion is given a broader interpretation: "Not only are space and time and reason forms of thought, and the essence of life is outside these forms, but all our life is ever-growing submission to these forms and then *liberation* from them" [Толстой X: 500].

Estonian-ness in aristocratic circles; moreover, he presented himself as a Baltic German. During the course of his confession, he admits to this *lie* to his wife. Liberation, by means of the deepening of Martens' confession, becomes *liberation from lies* in every aspect of his life. Characteristically, all of the above-mentioned Estonian cultural and scientific figures are depicted in the novel as serving the cause of their *nation*, and not the cause of the empire. Their goal becomes not a personal career (what Martens has), but *the construction of a national culture*. They are oriented on the nation as a *whole*, counting themselves and their work simply a *part of that whole*. The correlation of all of these secondary characters with beloved Tolstoyan protagonists (especially in "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina") who feel themselves a *part of a whole* (whether of family, a nation, or peasant society) is completely obvious. Not by accident did Kross include a character in his novel by the name of Platon, behind which (as in the majority of cases) is hidden a real historical figure: the Doctor of Law and head clerk of the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, musical critic Platon Alexandrovich Vaxel. He is Martens' *only* close friend, and this special status alone distinguishes this character among all others in the novel. It is to him that Martens, at the edge of despair, writes a confessional letter from Portsmouth in 1905 and admits that he is ready to seek a position as professor in the universities of Wester Europe (a letter similar in content was written by the real Martens, though not to Vaxel, but to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Lamsdorf — regarding this, see: [Пычрораров: 232–233]). Vaxel's conduct is not oriented so much toward career successes, as toward establishing and strengthening friendships (it is he who acquaints Martens with the Estonian composer Artur Kapp, and he is the link between Martens and Martens' brother, August, who lives on Madera). This character values human connections much more than advancement on the career ladder. Martens turns to Platon Vaxel during one of the most difficult moments of his life for just this reason. Nonetheless, Vaxel seems similar to Tolstoy's Platon Karataev only in part: Platon Vaxel is noble by birth, he is no stranger to career success (he is head clerk of the office), and his propensity toward building friendships and enjoying music in salons, Martens himself explains, is due to the needlessness of forging a path upwards from his earliest years. It is worth noting that Vaxel is one of Martens' many foils in the novel, as he believes that if his life had turned out differently he would have become a musician. (The theme of music in the novel directly relates to "liberation" as moral enlightenment⁹.)

⁹ Compare, for example, the hero's denial of Nobel's "anti-musical" stance: "Well, from a simply humanistic point of view, and overall, perhaps the inventor of nitroglycerin and dynamite didn't

Finally, as already noted, several coloristic images become overarching into the motifs in the novel. First and foremost is the combination of *dark violet* and *light brown* (the colors of the upholstery and walls of Martens' train compartment)¹⁰. Here one can glimpse a reference not only to "Memoirs of a Madman" (the depiction of Tolstoy's hero's worries as he sits in a hotel room is supplemented by its visual impressions: he notices the red and white colors), but also to "Anna Karenina" (those same red and white colors are noted by the narrator in describing Anna's trip to Petersburg on the railroad; Anna's red bag appears, in particular, in the scene of her suicide). However, it is not merely the repetition of the motif of color on the background of the heroes' psychological stress that points to the similarity of Tolstoy's texts to Kross's novel. The color violet, that in particular symbolizes repentance and mourning, also appears in "Anna Karenina": Kitty, desiring that Anna go to the ball in violet, turns out to be deceived not only by Vronsky, but deceived even earlier in her desire to see Anna in violet; Anna appears at the ball in a black dress, foreshadowing thus the totally unambiguous symbolism of this color in not only the outcome of the ball for Kitty, but also her own death. As has been shown, the events taking place with Kross's protagonist agree completely with both symbolic meanings of the color violet: *repentance* and *death* are the very two most important events that characterize the last day of the life of professor Martens.

If the novel's protagonist primarily sees Leo Tolstoy as a rival¹¹ and is unaware that, on the last day of his life, he is thinking almost exclusively in Tolstoyan terms, then the novel's author, evidently, absolutely deliberately projects everything that happens to his hero on the Tolstoyan tradition. Like Tolstoy's heroes Ivan Ilych and Anna Karenina, Martens redeems his sins and dying suffering with death, following after a torturous acknowledgement to himself of unjust deeds (the novel depicts the Tolstoyan notion that government service in the Russian empire precludes the possibility of a humane treatment of others), which either hastened the march of death or even caused it directly. Martens' death occurs in the last — 33rd — chapter of the novel, a symbolic number that alludes to the death of Christ¹². According to the au-

believe in God (or, maybe, he began to believe when he fought with death at San Remo, how should I know?), but he should have believed in *sin*" [414].

¹⁰ In his review of the novel, Toomas Haug noted the particular tangibility and materiality of the fictitious world of the novel (see: [Haug 1985: 493]).

¹¹ Compare: "...I was almost awarded the Nobel Prize... (It's strange to think of this, but in ninety-two this honor was closer to my grasp than, say, *even* to Tolstoy)" [340].

¹² The belief that Jesus Christ died at the age of 33 has remained the most widespread version of all the views of Christ's death in the cultural consciousness of the masses.

thor's conception, the death of Martens symbolizes the end of an entire historical era. If Martens, being a native of the lower classes, ambitiously paved himself a road to success and achieved international acclaim, but in doing so forgot his roots, then the next generation of his compatriots, as shown in the novel, already think not only of themselves, but first and foremost of the fate of the entire Estonian nation. Thus the novel contains yet one more justification of the historical Martens: the 1900s, understandably, was a much more favorable period for nation-building than the last third of the 19th century, when Martens made his name. As already mentioned, the national (Estonian) theme of the novel is closely intertwined with several key images from Tolstoy's prose.

Tolstoy and the Tolstoyan tradition (much like Martens' young compatriots) are contrasted in the novel with imperial life and the empire itself, which is represented, essentially, by secondary characters — not only by czar Nicholas II, but also by members of the Russian government and diplomats, including, among others, Sergey Yulyevich Witte, chairman of the Committee of Ministers; Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin, minister of internal affairs; Alexander Petrovich Izvolsky and Vladimir Nikolaevich Lamsdorf, both ministers of foreign affairs; and Baron Roman Romanovich Rozen, a diplomat. All of these (with the exception of Witte) are depicted schematically, without a hint of any kind of psychological depth. This is a deliberate technique employed by the author; Kross denies the above-mentioned characters the complexity mental life and moral dilemmas, depicting them in the manner of late Tolstoy exclusively as ambitious careerists. Such a high regard by the author for Tolstoy and the Tolstoyan tradition can be explained not only by the similarity of the creative settings of Kross's prose to Tolstoy's, but, evidently, also by the heightened attention given to the figure of Tolstoy after his death ("departure") in Estonian publications¹³. Clearly, the "departure"¹⁴ (death) of Martens, after admitting to himself the ambiguity and duality of his work as an academic, a diplomat, a teacher, and a published writer, is the only means of attaining freedom, freedom from lies. That is why the death of the novel's protagonist can be interpreted as an act, similar to that implemented by the Russian author in 1910 near to his death ("departure" as "liberation").

¹³ Regarding this, see: [Palamets].

¹⁴ Compare the title of the Russian translation, "Professor Martens' Departure", which is consciously focused, by all appearances, on the death of Tolstoy by the novel's translator, Olga Samma.

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THE PORTRAYALS OF S. WITTE AND F. F. MARTENS IN JAAN KROSS'S "PROFESSOR MARTENS'S DEPARTURE"*

TIMUR GUZAIROV

This article will study the function of the character of S. Y. Witte in the character structure of Jaan Kross's "Professor Martens' Departure" (1984). The figure of Witte (derived from a historical prototype — the famous Russian government official Sergei Yulyevich Witte) is an important element of the novel's plot and thematic domains, and in particular, is called to accent and shade the peculiarities of the character and worldview of the novel's protagonist, F. F. Martens. This article will attempt to demonstrate which methods and type of transformation of historical facts related to the biography and activities of Witte and the outstanding attorney Fyodor Fyodorovich Martens are used, as well as to identify the points at which the images of these two characters intersect.

The action of the novel unfolds on June 7, 1909, the day of the death of the main character, Russian attorney and specialist in international law F. F. Martens. On his way from Pärnu to Petersburg, the protagonist recalls the events of his personal and professional life, evaluates his own actions and compares himself with prominent government and social figures. Martens dies at the last Livonian railway station, Valga.

One of the compositional peculiarities of the novel is its repeated and/or varying fragments, which carry important meaning (regarding this, see: [Pild]). One of these, for example, is Martens' recollections of the Portsmouth conference at the beginning, middle, and end of the novel (chapters 2, 12, and 26). The novel's description of this forum is built around the depiction of Witte's and Martens' relationship, and their roles in settling the Russo-Japanese peace agreement in 1905.

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Since the author's archive is currently inaccessible, it is impossible to determine *precisely every* historical source used in creating the characters and the story about the Portsmouth conference. Thus, the present analysis of prototypes and characters in the novel will refer to texts that *hypothetically* could have been in Kross's range of reading. This includes, for the most part, Russian-language brochures and research, as well as encyclopedic articles published before novel's release in 1984.

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S. Y. Witte (1849–1915) was born in Tbilisi, on the southern edge of the Russian Empire. His father, the German Christoph Heinrich Georg Julius Witte, received his education at Dorpat University and in Prussia. Witte's mother, nee E. A. Fadeeva, came from the noble Russian line of Dolgoruky princes. Despite such kinship, Witte, upon completing the Department of Physics and Mathematics at the University of Novorossiysk, began his career on the Odessa railroad as a cashier in the ticket office. Thanks to his industriousness and deep study of everything regarding the running of the rail lines, he quickly proved himself an invaluable worker. In 1889 Witte was named director of the Department of Railroad Affairs and promoted to the rank of Actual State Councilor; by August 30, 1892, he became minister of finance. During his tenure (until 1903), the average annual growth of the Russian budget was 10.5%.

In 1906 M. I. Grant, who was critical of Witte's policies, admitted his outstanding abilities:

Undoubtedly gifted by nature with brains, sound knowledge, practical shrewdness, and amazing industriousness, this man quickly stood out against a backdrop of general incompetence and bureaucratic sloth <...> The appearance of a new man in the post of minister, someone who had independently achieved his ministerial portfolio, was exceptional in the Russia of that day <...> Witte was in the fullest sense a "homo novus" [Грант: 7].

In 1915 the author of the brochure entitled "The Secret of Count Witte" underscored that Witte was a genuine and effective specialist:

No one could compare to Count S.Y. Witte, there was not a single government figure who could keep pace with him, with his rapid thoughts, with his startling ability to quickly and accurately master the main point of a phenomenon, the essence of the subject [Аео: 8].

Witte led the modernization of Russia according to the European model, which shaped the specifics of his views on the Eastern Question. According to his

economic program, the construction of the Trans-Siberian railroad was to promote the development of Russian lands in East Asia. Witte assigned Russia the role of middleman, through whom goods would be carried between East Asia and Western Europe. He emphatically protested the endeavor to join Northern Manchuria to Russia, as well as activities that could have led to conflict with Japan's interests in Korea. As an opponent of territorial conquest, Witte confronted the Minister of War, General of Infantry A. N. Kuropatkin, and the Secretary of State, Colonel A. M. Bezobrazov. The finance minister's firm position drew the displeasure of Nicholas II, and on August 16, 1903, Witte was dismissed from his post and reassigned as chairman of the Committee of Ministers. However, this formal promotion was a defeat for Witte in the Eastern Question. On June 30, A. M. Bezobrazov was named governor of the Far East and given a credit line of 2 million rubles; now he answered exclusively to the czar, and not to the prime minister (see: [Тарле; Корелин, Степанов; Ананьич, Ганелин; Ойе]). In 1922, B. A. Romanov stated that, "no one put so much effort into the fight to prevent it <the Russo-Japanese War> than he, Witte" [Романов: 140].

In comparing the biographies of S. Y. Witte and F. F. Martens, many parallels are evident: both were born on the edges of the Russian Empire, distinguished themselves with remarkable industriousness and high professionalism, had passionate personalities, and built themselves careers contrary to the existing order and bureaucratic system. Let us turn now to those facts from the biography of the prototype for the novel's main character that are the most important for the novel's character structure.

F. F. Martens (1845–1909) was born in Pärnu on the northwestern edge of the Russian Empire. In January 1855 he was sent to the orphanage established near the Lutheran Church of St. Peter in Petersburg. Martens finished the Main German School of St. Peter and then the Law Department of Petersburg University, where he later became a professor of international law. A member of the Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, vice-president of the European Institute of International Law, and member of the Permanent Council of Arbitration in The Hague, Martens was author of the fundamental works "Modern International Law of the Civilized Peoples and Collected Treatises and Conventions between Russia and Foreign Powers" (see: [Грабарь; Britannica 1911: 786; Пустогаров]).

Martens' origins remain debatable. As noted by the modern scholar V. V. Pustogarov, there are two theories about this. German scholars believe

that Martens is descended from a poor Baltic German family¹. According to Estonian scholars, Martens was an Estonian (see, for example: [Лесмөнт: 354–355]). As Pustogarov established, Martens himself did not write about his origins in his diary, nor provided information about his parents in the document sent to the compilers of the “Biographical Dictionary”, published in 1898 (compare: [БС: 6]).

Martens’ lack of knowledge about or his attempts to not reveal his true origins is reflected in the content of biographical articles about him: information about his background is absent from nearly all encyclopedias (compare: [Грабарь; Britannica 1911: 786; Britannica 1929: 982; Enciclopedia 1934: 435; БСЭ 1954: 394]). The one exception in this series of resources is the Estonian encyclopedia published during the time of the first Estonian Republic and during Soviet times; the authors of this article indicate that Martens was Estonian (see: [Entsüklopeedia 1935: 1007; ENE 1973: 85]). For Kross, Martens’ belonging to the Estonian nation is one of the key elements that underpins the ideological structure of his novel.

The question of Martens’ origins led to the creation of important plot and thematic fields in the novel. Depending on the situation, Martens either agrees that he is a Baltic German (at the audience with Chancellor A. M. Gorchakov), or underscores his Estonian roots (in his conversation with the American journalists). The author reveals the psychological difficulties and contradictory internal positions of the protagonist, accenting in his thoughts and actions his constant balancing between identifying with “his own” and “the other”.

One of the novel’s compositional features is the motif of the *self-made man* (a person who has independently broken into society), which unites the beginning and the end of the work. In the first chapter, Huik, the station master, hurries to the ticket box to obtain a ticket for a Privy Councilor and, as Martens notices, “his readiness to serve was mixed with genuine respect, respect for the self-made man, which I am in his eyes (and in my own eyes, station master or no)...” [Крощ: 322]. In the last chapter, it seems to the dying Martens that “Mister Huik, the son of my father’s friend, is a self-made man, like me, is waving a red disk, for some reason running toward me...” [Ibid: 588]. The designation of *self-made man* unites the main and secondary characters who, while occupying different rungs of the social ladder, have the same

¹ Unfortunately, one of the shortcomings of Pustogarov’s book is the lack of reference to specific biographical articles or books by German authors. In the fundamental reference book “Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie” is found the name Martens, Friedrich, with a date of birth given as 1845 and occupation given as Jurist; Völkerrechtslehrer; Publizist [ADB]. This reference was published from 1875 through 1912 and totals 56 volumes.

ethnic roots. Tellingly, Kross does not give this highly valuable characteristic to Witte, thereby excluding from his character an important feature of Witte's historical prototype: the *independent* path of the industrious and outstanding man to achieve deserved recognition and a government position.

The theme of the Russian governmental elite's hostility toward the professional who independently built a remarkable career links a number of Martens' arguments in the novel:

Mister Minister <P. A. Stolypin> did not deign to take me with him... <...> if, in Russia, you are not the bastard son of a grand prince, a count, a millionaire, a crook who is considered a miracle-worker, but simply the best specialist in the world, then here you are no one all the same [Крощ: 337].

I graduated among the highest ranks of international scholars. But the clan of hereditary diplomats from noble families nonetheless resented me: really, who did I think I was?! Whence, how, and with whose permission did I appear?! In Russia, after all, one can rise only with someone's permission... [Ibid: 388].

These thoughts present an interesting parallel to the diary entries of the real F. F. Martens, which are preserved in the Archive of Foreign Affairs of Russia². Having studied these archival materials, V. V. Pustogarov noted that Martens "was outraged by service careers that owed their success to gentility and secular connections". He spoke out sharply against the sons of minister N. K. Giers, who successfully climbed the career ladder; for example, Giers's youngest son, Mikhail, he characterizes as "a kind man, still a youth in school, completely uneducated" (quoted from: [Пустораров: 198]).

Kross consistently omits historical facts from Witte's biography that otherwise would have drawn him closer to Martens. The author does not mention, for example, the negative characterization of Witte's prototype that prevailed among his contemporaries (that Witte was an upstart): "he is no kind of government man", "a tiny little soul, capriciously sliding into a large shell" [Баян: 13; 55]. It is interesting to note that the real F. F. Martens wrote contemptuously in his diary about S. Y. Witte's appointment to the post of chairman of the Committee of Ministers: "the former station attendant!" (quoted from: [Пустораров: 198]). The relationship between the real Martens and Witte changed after they became personally acquainted in 1905; the diaries of this period express a positive evaluation of Witte³.

² It is known that Kross was not acquainted with these diaries.

³ Compare to Martens' diary entry written after the news of Witte's dismissal in 1906: "Witte and Goremekin. One is a most capable man, the other is all-around mediocrity... Witte will have

Kross characterizes the governmental and political activity of Witte very sparingly. Thus, for example, Martens, in describing the reception held by the Mayor of Portsmouth, notes that “He greeted Witte as the most honored reformer of the Russian economy (well, one can agree with that to some extent, no?)” [Kpocc: 424]. The positive assessment of Witte’s economic policies is contrasted with the protagonist’s critical opinion of P. A. Stolypin’s reforms⁴:

I think nothing good awaits the government from this prime minister, this cadet of the bayonets, as he was supposedly called even by Witte, no matter how loud-mouthed his agrarian reform may seem <...> I remember how Stolypin followed us with his usual dissatisfied expression from under his yellow, bald forehead and black eyebrows with that stillness <...> in Stolypin’s presence such amicability could even be dangerous... [Ibid: 337; 340].

Kross paints a repellent, inhuman portrait of Stolypin, who, in his opinion, became famous solely due to political repressions. The author expresses his position from the point of view of his protagonist. In the novel’s eighth chapter, in which Martens meets Johannes, who has been convicted of revolutionary activity, Martens muses:

And now <...> I, shivering, think <...> In a dark, narrow “stolypin”. Yes, yes: the convict rail cars with bars on the windows and locked compartments, which now occur in half of the trains, the people call by the name of the prime minister [Ibid: 372].

In Kross’s novel, the “stolypin” car symbolizes the repression of personal and national freedom⁵. Through the prism of Martens’ negative attitude toward Stolypin, the author expresses his opposition to the policies aimed at strengthening the empire (Russian statehood) and at the suppression of revolutionary movements (in the Estonian context, national freedom movements). The au-

monuments raised in his honor; Goremykin will be forgotten on the day of his death” (quoted from: [Историков: 221]).

⁴ P. A. Stolypin was, in fact, S. Y. Witte’s political heir. From 1903 to 1906 Witte headed the Committee of Ministers of the Russian Empire, then, from October 24, 1905 through April 22, 1906 was prime minister of the Russian Empire. Stolypin became chairman of the Committee of Ministers on July 8, 1906, replacing I. L. Goremykin in the post.

⁵ In his memoirs, Kross, telling the story of his own arrest and dispatch to a GULAG (1946–1947), cites a passage from his novella “The Ashtray”, published in the 11th issue of “Looming” magazine of 1988: “The compartment into which they stuffed me was a regular ‘stolypin’; yellowish wood of the third sort, turned grey from use, bars on the doors and windows. Many of my generation knew that car window with the bars; I want to say that not only from personal experience, but, of course, from the albums of postcards from my parents or from czarist times “History of Russian art” <...> And, of course, political protest against the spirit of the time, against the wagons that embodied that time, which prime minister Stolypin began to use in Russia after 1905” [Kross: I, 249].

thor thus indirectly contrasts Stolypin's harsh domestic policies with Witte's liberal concessions⁶.

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Let us turn now to Kross's description of the events of the Portsmouth conference. The scene of the reception of the Russian delegation by the mayor of Portsmouth comprises Martens' *second recollection* of the Russo-Japanese 1905 peace negotiations (chapter 12). Kross clearly uses the memoirs of S. Y. Witte, who wrote:

The public stood everywhere on the streets, and in the main part of the city stood troops in columns. The public paid attention to the Japanese authorities, who traveled in the first carriage, but then, upon seeing us, renewed with great strength the signs of their sympathy <...> We were brought into the town hall. Here we were met by the governor with all the members of the city administration. The governor gave a speech, and then the group photo was taken. The ceremony thus finished... [Витте 1960: 426].

Witte depicts the diplomatic meeting of representatives from *three* powers and sees himself as an exclusively honorary head of the Russian delegation with great international authority. He emphasizes:

At that time all the European powers for some reason had a high opinion of me, and with one voice all the governments expressed the opinion that if any-one could secure the peace agreement, then it could only be Witte [Ibid: 410].

In the novel's depiction of the city reception, the Japanese side's participation in negotiations is not described. The author emphasizes that, from the point of view of the Secretary of State and of Martens himself, Witte held the authority

⁶ The protagonist Martens recalls: "At the beginning of October, 1905 <...> the liberals were more vocal than any time before. The black-hundredists also. And the rabble began to break into arms stores. But that had nothing to do with me. Witte knew this. When the emperor made him a count and put him at the head of the Committee of Ministers. Thus he was compelled to begin the project of creating an imperial manifest" [Кросс: 327]. Martens is speaking of the Manifest of October 17, which announced the establishment of the State Duma, and also proclaimed civil rights and freedoms. The emperor was obliged to give concessions as a result of political strikes all across Russia. In this same chapter, Kross describes the strike of the Estonian railway workers and Martens' first meeting with his nephew. The protagonist, an attorney in service to the imperial powers, does not approve of the on-going events. But as Johannes' relative and as an Estonian, Martens feels sympathy for him. At their second accidental meeting, he passes a file to the arrested man to help him escape from the "stolypin" car. Throughout the course of the novel the hero struggles between national feeling and imperial loyalty.

of an economic reformer⁷. Kross declines to depict a positive impression of the Russian politician who defended imperial interests. Not by accident did the author exclude facts from Witte's biography that characterize him as an opponent of the Russo-Japanese War and a supporter of the peaceful economic development of East Asia.

The *first recollection* of the Russo-Japanese negotiations, in chapter two, characterizes the true conditions advanced by the Russian delegation at the Portsmouth conference, precisely conveying the sense of achievement felt by the Russian side. Martens recalls:

That is, Witte knew all along what he wanted. No contributions to Japan. Not a single war ship taken refuge in a neutral port. No territorial concessions. At the very most, half of the island of Sakhalin. All of this he had perfectly fixed in his bullish head. But how to achieve it <...> Witte had not the slightest idea. And I had to write it all and drive it into his head [Kpocc: 326–327].

The protagonist's point of view is similar to the diary notes of the real Martens, and includes a characterization of the responses of his contemporaries who were dissatisfied with the "shameful" peace.

Evaluating *Witte's role in the Portsmouth conference*, the novel's protagonist pejoratively speaks out about his diplomatic abilities, so necessary in conducting successful negotiations. The fictional Martens' evaluation resonates with the arguments of the real-life Witte's opponents. In 1906 the author of an article in "Russkoe slovo" wrote:

Legends ascribe him an unusual dexterity in his defense of Russian interests. In reality, Witte and other Russian representatives were the most vulnerable [К предстоящему: 3].

Although the real Martens noted certain errors by Witte in his diary, he was not unequivocally categorical with respect to the head of the Russian delegation:

⁷ An unknown author wrote in a 1905 book about Witte that: "America gave him a triumph that, seemingly, had never been awarded to a single foreigner. President Roosevelt told Witte that if he were to live in America for three years, then in three and a half years he would be elected president" [ГЦЮБ: 17]. Kross recreates the historically accurate benevolent atmosphere that surrounded Witte. The difference between Witte's memoirs, the brochures written by his contemporaries, and Kross's text is in the emphasis. Kross highlights many of Witte's accomplishments in his version of the character, but not the political and diplomatic contributions thanks to which Witte earned his popularity in the USA.

Witte — is a very smart man, but he does not know diplomatic practice. One can be a great minister of finance and all the same know nothing about conducting diplomatic matters (quoted from: [Пустораров: 235]).

After his return from Portsmouth in autumn 1905, Martens noted in his diary:

Only S. Y. <Witte> has a genuine governmental mind, and he is a man of great character and tremendous force of will. None of our ministers can compare to him (quoted from: [Ibid: 221]).

In the novel, Kross portrays the negative information he had gathered from historical sources, while excluding those statements by Witte's contemporaries that gave a positive impression of him as the head of the Russian delegation⁸.

Recalling the *return of the Russian delegation to Petersburg*, the novel's protagonist feels personally offended by Witte's refusal to share a deserved success:

<...> official Petersburg met us with delight. As if we formalized the Portsmouth agreement not as a defeat for Russia, but as her victory. And of course, Witte <...>, taking it for granted, took all the recognition for himself. With his banker's conscience and engine driver's intellect... [Кросс: 327].

The source for the construction of this perspective in the novel could have been certain statements by Witte's contemporaries. In a brochure of 1906 an author fumed:

He <Witte> always moved at the expense of the creations of "others", and at the same time made it look as if everything he did, said, and wrote were of his own production⁹. <...> the two-faced Janus purposefully hushed up everything that others did, in order to have the chance to accredit himself with all the successes of the Portsmouth negotiations [Small: 88–89].

In his diary the historical Martens also resents the lack of genuine gratitude to him. However, in contrast to the novel, in reality Martens' main reproach was aimed at the czar, who, at the reception after their return to Petersburg, limited himself to words of gratitude. Martens wrote in his diary, "It's terrible to live under such a regime!" (quoted from: [Пустораров: 207]).

⁸ Compare the opinion of the great Russian attorney A. F. Koni about S. Y. Witte: "A powerful and influential government figure and a skillful diplomat, who has been of greatest service to his homeland in a time of shame and humiliation" [Кони: 5].

⁹ In 1922 book, I. Vasilevsky, famous journalist, emphasized in Witte's conduct "an unpleasant smugness and narcissism" after his arrival from Portsmouth [Василевский: 62]. At that time Vasilevsky planned to go back from Berlin to Moscow. I suppose that his notion on Witte's conduct polemically refers to S. Y. Witte's memoirs, published in Berlin in 1921 by I. V. Hessen, the former member of The State Duma, emigrant, and politician. In Soviet Russia Witte's memoirs were published in 1923.

The displacement of emphasis from Nicholas II onto Witte was, above all, due to the author's plot and thematic goal of constructing an opposition between the two characters in his novel. The historically based but one-sided depiction of Witte is intended to emphasize Martens' professional merits. By downplaying Witte's historical role at the Portsmouth conference, the author reveals Martens' "true" (leading) role.

The first widely distributed source highlighting Martens' significant contributions to the signing of the Russo-Japanese peace agreement is the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (1911):

He played an important part in the negotiations between his own country and Japan, which led to the peace of Portsmouth (Aug. 1905) and prepared the way for the Russo-Japanese convention [Britannica: 786].

This perspective on Martens' role contradicts the assessment given by Witte in his memoirs. At the Portsmouth conference Witte used Martens, above all, in revising the text of the peace agreement. Martens himself, according to modern researcher Pustogarov, "had no influence on the achievement of agreement on important questions. That is why <...> he never publically mentioned his participation in preparing the peace agreement" [Пустогаров: 238].

In Martens' *third recollection* of the Russo-Japanese negotiations, in chapter 26, the author first describes Martens' excommunication from participation in the conference. Kross reconstructs the inner world of the protagonist, who feels betrayed by "his" colleagues:

Mister Martens, a short interview! Haven't the negotiations already begun? They're already in progress? And why are you not participating? <...> why has your Mister Witte allowed this? <...> However you, as a Russian... Oh, you are not Russian? That means you, as a German, is it not true that... Ah, you are not German? What are you then? Eskimo? No? Estonian? What is that? [Крощ: 538]

In the first part of the above quote, the American journalist asks Martens questions as a member of the Russian delegation; in the second, he addresses Martens as an individual. The protagonist conveys an "other's" perspective of himself (hence only the journalist's speech is given, while Martens' answers are absent). The experienced sense of humiliation leads to an internal protest in Martens. He decides to leave Portsmouth. However, while saying goodbye to Witte, the protagonist learns of the restoration of his status as participant in the conference and is asked to draw up the final version of the agreement:

What else can I do? Maybe I should have refused. In the name of human sovereignty. But I didn't refuse. I don't know, was I glad or not that they picked me

out of the bottom of the gutter for the sake of governmental necessity? Oh God! Yes, I won't hide it, all the same I was pleased that in the riskiest moment for Russia's interests they gave me the chance to walk into the fire [Kpocc: 543].

Thus, Martens agrees to compromise with himself. Russian interests and his ambition deprive the protagonist of a true sense of freedom and personal dignity and cause him to deny "his own" national identity ("But all the same in high society I never blubber about my Estonianness" [Ibid: 528]).

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To Martens' final story about the Portsmouth conference (chapter 26) Kross contrasts the last (27th) "Estonian" chapter. The text begins with Martens mumbling, "Kuni-kuni-kuni-kuni", which recalls in the character's mind the surname Kunileid. He remembers his meeting with the composer Kuni-leid (whose real name was Aleksander Saebelmann), who spoke "good, unmangled, pure Estonian" [Kpocc: 547]. Martens' attitude toward his guest is marked by condescension and irony ("I'm afraid that this was not totally kind courtesy"). Kunileid tells Martens about his life's goal: to compose a national Estonian opera and "dislodge from Estonian music the German flavor currently reigning therein" [Ibid: 550]. The novel indirectly contrasts this lofty goal toward nation-building with Martens' scholarly efforts which, in Kross's opinion, contribute to the justification and strengthening of imperial politics:

I wanted to prove a special position in international law of the so-called civilized governments in comparison to the half-civilized governments¹⁰. <...> But what kind of further aim could there be in the musical works of that boy from Zimse seminary? <...> such a strange feeling followed me <...> a strange mix of nostalgia and envy [Ibid: 549–551].

In the second part of chapter 27 the protagonist recalls an evening at his colleague's, at which a Russian singer and an Estonian composer were also present. I. V. Tartakov sang P. Tchaikovsky's romance "I bless you, forests" and the Demon's aria from A. Rubinstein's opera "The Demon". Then Artur Kapp approached the piano (in his character the author emphasizes "skittishness and bad knowledge of the Russian language"). The musician performed an improvisation that was received with enthusiastic cheers: "Platon shouted, 'Bravissimo!'" The depiction of the superiority of the *Estonian* composer over the *Russian* singer has several functions in the novel. Kross reveals the inner

¹⁰ Martens' idea was used by N. M. Przhivalsky (1839–1888), East Asia scholar and author of the secret document "New Considerations About the War with China", as an argument against opponents of the annexation of Far Eastern territories [Оñе: 50–51].

strength and cultural richness of Estonians on the backdrop of the greatest achievements of “other”, “large” (imperial, in the political sense) nations. The world of art turns out to be the field in which representatives of titular and non-titular nations can be equal. Martens’ meetings with the Estonian composers make him reconsider the value and uniqueness of “his” national identity. Throughout the novel, Martens changes internally; in particular, he becomes closer to his nation¹¹.

Kross contrasts Martens’ government *service* to the interests of the empire and Kunileid’s spiritual *ministry* to the Estonian people. In response to Martens’ question about Kunileid, Kapp calls him a genius: “He has the rare happiness <...> of being the first national composer of his people” [Kpocc: 559]. At the conclusion of chapter 27, Martens recalls that his opponent Vodovozov had just “called ingenious my latent comparison of Russia with the barbarian tyrants <...> this praise probably sounded like mockery from his lips” [Ibid: 560]. The author uses his protagonist to demonstrate that career achievements, world fame, and the world-wide political importance of scientific works do not have absolute, supreme value if a person’s actions turn out to be useless for “his own” Estonian people, if they do not contribute to national awakening and liberation. (It is indicative that Martens feels envy towards Kunileid.)

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In “Professor Martens’ Departure” Jaan Kross analyzes the limits of internal compromise and explores the relationship between the inner freedom and governmental service of a representative of a nontitular nation. One of the creative techniques used to explore these issues is the construction of an opposition between the two characters of S. Y. Witte and F. F. Martens. Through the prism of Martens’ and Witte’s relationship the author expresses his views on Witte, a representative of the German and Russian nations, the historical conquerors of the Estonian people¹². It must be stressed that Kross excludes the

¹¹ See the protagonist’s words that precede the description of his death in the last chapter: “...I will go out of the car for a minute. I will go out and take a deep breath. Well, as if to say, I will breathe in the country where I was born. Wait for me” [Kpocc: 587]. It is no accident that the novel ends with Martens’ death at the railway station in Valga (Walk), in Livonia, right on the border with the Petersburg province. It is important to Kross and sufficient to show that the hero had returned to “his own” national origins and remained in “Estonian” space. It is telling that Kross abstains from any authorial afterword or commentary. (These compositional features were characteristic of two others of his works that depict events from Russian history, “The Czar’s Madman” and “A Rakvere Novel”.)

¹² S. Y. Witte was married to the divorced Jew M. I. Lisanevich. The scandalous marriage worsened high society’s attitude toward Witte. His opponents created around him an image of the Jewenemy. In the novel “The Town of N” (1935) L. I. Dobychin conveys the characteristic hostility to-

“Jewish” code in his portrayal of Witte. The writer’s concern is to illustrate the conflict between a representative of the highest authorities of the Russian state and a representative of a nontitular, conquered nation.

Thus, Kross reveals the relationship between a person’s denial of his national identity and the loss of inner freedom¹³. The writer confirms the idea that the inner liberation of a person and the confirmation of the authentic “Self” depend on his spiritual comprehension of the uniqueness of his national identity and culture.

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ward Witte. See the reception of the news about the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese peace agreement: “Along the road to Gorskova I met a boy with a ‘Dvina’. ‘A peace agreement!’ he shrieked. <...> We were very happy for the peace, but Karmanova discouraged us. ‘A peace agreement!’ she said to us, ‘when we would have been victorious! Witte purposefully rigged all this because he’s married to a Jew and she provoked him” [Добычин: 54].

¹³ See the meeting between Faberge and an Estonian pastor: “Tell me, what have we gotten from these damned Estonians? Huh? I’ll tell you: nothing except our impossible surnames. Do you know what our surname is in Estonian? It’s Old Asshole. Damn it, what could we possibly owe them?!” Mister Faberge demanded his documents from the St. John’s Church and transferred to the German St. Peter’s Church” [Кросс: 411–412].

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THE TWO STORYLINES OF THE COLLECTION
"BOTTOMLESS MOMENTS"
(«БЕЗДОННЫЕ МГНОВЕНЬЯ / PÕHJATUD
SILMAPILGUD») BY DAVID SAMOILOV
AND JAAN KROSS*

TATIANA STEPANISCHEVA

"Bottomless Moments", the collaborative collection of David Samoilov and Jaan Kross published by "Eesti raamat" in 1990 [БМ/PS], is mentioned in the biographies of both poets, but until now has not been the subject of study. Books published in "miniature" format, such as this collection, are more often looked upon as souvenirs, objects of art, or collectibles, but not as "real" books. Of course, one should not claim that the miniature publication from the "Handshake" series («Рукопожатие / Käepigistus») held great ideological significance for the authors. Nonetheless, the contents and composition of Samoilov's and Kross's book deserve exploration and interpretation.

For the literary historian, the study of poetry collections is a rewarding task. There exists a long-standing tradition of such studies, and works on types of supertextual units and forms of intertextuality are numerous. But this is not the case in regards to bilingual texts. There are few such texts, and even fewer in which the authors translated each other's work. Indeed, the interests of poets do not often coincide, and the translation of an author's own work does not always incite him to want to translate the translator's original work. Finally, there is the language barrier to consider.

Nevertheless, suitable conditions arose in Soviet literary life for the emergence of mutual translations. The principle of socialist internationalism, combined with governmental orders regarding literature, made translation work

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not only practically unavoidable for writers, but often desirable because it was profitable. Russian poets and writers translated authors from “brother republics” and “countries of the socialist camp”. In turn, the “national staff writers” received orders for translation of Russian and Soviet classics into their own languages so that their peoples could come to know “great Russian literature”. Publication plans also included translation of contemporary authors.

Examples are extremely rare of direct dialogue between two poets within one book, of mutual translations within one dust jacket; thus, the “Handshake” series, released by Estonian Republic presses in the second half of the 1980s, can be considered unique. The history of this series reflects the decline of the Soviet book-publishing system.

In 1984, the “Eesti raamat” publishing house produced the miniature book “Handshake” («Рукопожатие / Käepigistus»), edited by M. Korsunsky [P/K]. The book includes the poems of Vsevolod Azarov and his translations of Ralf Parve’s poetry. The translations are published side-by-side with their source texts. The poems and the translations are preceded by introductory notes by both authors. The visual layout affirms the principle of “artistic reciprocity”: the book includes photographs from 1945 of Azarov and Parve in military uniforms, as well as two photographs of them together, from 1945 and 1983. The choice of photographs and the contents of the author’s notes paint an optimistic picture of international friendship. The release of the predominantly war-themed book coincided with the anniversary of the victory in World War II (the connection between the echoing dates of 1945 and 1985 was used in the book’s design). In the Estonian Republic a year earlier, the anniversary of the Tallinn Operation was celebrated, thereby connecting the book to two military anniversaries. Azarov and Parve both fought in the war, and they both wrote about it, making their poetic dialogue quite appropriate for the commemorative book-publishing program. This collection makes no mention of belonging to a series; the idea of serial publication most likely arose later¹.

¹ M. Korsunsky was in the navy, and worked for the newspaper “Strazh Baltiki” («Страж Балтики»), which published Azarov, who was the director of the literary group “Way to the sea” («Путь на моря»), from which arose many “sailor poets”; this, most likely, explains the choice of author. Moreover, Korsunsky was a passionate fan of miniature books, which is evident in the format of “Handshake”.

Korsunsky wrote a series of books about naval history, revolutionary figures, and war: “My Friends, the Military Engineers”, “On the Shores of Estonia: Pages from the History of the Destroyer ‘Karl Marx’”, “The Three Lives of the Smith Lees: the History of One Destiny” (about R. Lesov, a worker in the Leningrad shipyard), “Called to Revolution...”, and “Fritz from Friendship Street”. Korsunsky also self-published a 1993 narrative essay entitled “About Korinfskies, Olderogge, and others...”.

With the start of Perestroika, book publishing in the Soviet Union experienced a noticeable revival (needless to say, the politics of publishing changed dramatically during this time). The series of miniature bilingual collections were published in Tallinn during this wave. The title of the 1984 book “Handshake” («Рукопожатие / Käepigistus») became an apt metaphor to describe “creative dialogue”. In 1987 two books were released simultaneously: “The Time Has Come” («Время пришло / Aeg tuli») by Anna Akhmatova and Debora Vaarandi [ВП/АТ], and “Feedback” («Обратная связь / Tagasiside») by Yevgeny Yevtushenko and Arvi Siig [ОС/ТС]².

It is clear from the third book that the Soviet book publishing system was rapidly deteriorating. The Akhmatova-Vaarandi collection, submitted to the press in November, 1986 and released in the beginning of 1987, is a good-quality printed product. The same cannot be said for the next book in the series. It lacks necessary technical information and data about the edition. Very likely, the names of the editor and proofreader are not listed in the technical information about the book because they did no work on it: the text is full of mistakes. The publisher attempted to preserve the appearance of the series: both texts published in 1987 contain photographs of the authors, as well as illustrations. However, of greater interest is the books’ composition; that is, the principles that guided the formation of the collections.

The first book in the series is commemorative and was released according to an official date; it is of less interest. Its history and composition were completely determined by the official culture of the late Soviet era. Azarov was a totally “safe” Soviet writer. He was born in 1913 and completed a philological degree at Leningrad University. After the war he served in the political management of the Baltic navy. His poems were published in periodicals and collections. He was acquainted with E. Bagritsky, A. Grin, N. Tikhonov, and V. Lugovsky, considering them his poetic teachers³, and wrote the play “Wide is the Sea” with Vs. Vishnevsky and A. Kron. Ralf Parve was an officially recognized Estonian Soviet poet, and lived a long life (1919–2011). Before the war and just after it, Parve worked as a journalist, later taking up literature. He became a member of the Estonian Writers’ Guild in 1945, joined the Communist Party

² One might suppose that the series was continued for economic reasons. However, an edition of 1,000 copies, as the first, second, and fourth books of the series were released, could not have turned a profit. N. D. Abashina, who worked at “Eesti raamat” in the 1980s, explains that the editor and compiler, Korsunsky, “strong-armed” the series into publication due to his great love of miniature books.

³ The name of the poetry cycle “The Boy’s Magical Horn” and the epigraph from Baratynsky exemplify Azarov’s taste and scholarship.

in 1947, and in 1959 received the title of Distinguished Writer of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. His wife, Lilly Promet, was a well-known writer and author of a series of stories, including some about the war. According to the foreword to “Handshake”, it was Promet herself who wrote the crib notes to Parve’s poems that Azarov used in his translation of them.

The two books released in 1987 are more interesting in regards to editorial strategy. The documentary history of the publication has yet to be researched; the reconstruction presented here is only preliminary. For the beginning of the series, editor and compiler Mikhail Korsunsky chose big name poets: the absolute pinnacle of poetry, Anna Akhmatova, and the USSR-wide celebrity, Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Moreover, Yevtushenko was an officially recognized poet of the Soviet Union, Akhmatova was practically so, and she was given the additional “weight” of Debora Vaarandi and her role as the “Soviet Koidula” (a title resulting from some superficial similarities, her official recognition, and her marriage to Juhan Smuul, which brought the spouses the status of “first couple” among writers of the ESSR).

It must be noted that the history of Akhmatova’s translations of Debora Vaarandi requires additional research. The University of Tartu library houses four collections containing translations of Vaarandi into Russian: “Verses and Poems” («Стихотворения и поэмы») [Вааранди 1956], “Dreamer at the Window” («Мечтатель у окна») [Вааранди 1960], “Bread of the Coastal Plains” («Хлеб прибрежных равнин») [Вааранди 1967], and “People Look at the Sea” («Люди смотрят на море») [Вааранди 1968]. The first contains no translations signed by Akhmatova; the second contains only one. The 1967 collection includes five translations, but does not include the one first published seven years earlier. Thus, six of the seven translations included in the miniature “The Time Has Come” appeared in print only after the death of the translator. “The Time Has Come” also contains a poem not found in the above-mentioned collections, “Sunset Reddens the Evening...” Moreover, the bilingual poetry collection lacks any introductory notes by the poets about each other; there is only an afterword by Jaan Eilart. Of course, Akhmatova could no longer have written anything, but Vaarandi was still living. In summary, this historical and literary story requires additional research.

In contrast to the second tome of the “Handshake” series, the third book has a transparent history. Arvi Siig (1938–1999) was an officially recognized writer (evidenced in part by his role as deputy in the Supreme Council of the ESSR), but he was also highly regarded in Estonian cultural circles, far from official life. Later appraisals by his contemporaries presented Arvi Siig as a Beatnik singer, a cult poet of the liberal youth of the 1960s, and a forerunner of Es-

tonian rock and punk [Kallas]. He was set apart by his obvious interest in the literary life of Moscow, from which many of his Estonian peers deliberately distanced themselves. Siig was a venerable translator of 20th century Russian poets, from Mayakovsky to Yevtushenko and Voznesensky. Siig knew Yevtushenko personally, and accompanied him when he visited Estonia. His translations of Yevtushenko had already been published separately (“Loits” [Jevtušenko 1977] and “Kolmas mälu” [Jevtušenko 1985]), so appropriate verses needed only be selected for the miniature book. The first three poems in the booklet were translated before the rest (and were included in both the 1977 and 1985 collections), followed by poems from the 1985 collection. The book’s composition was formulated by the translators, not the editor: in the introduction, Siig describes in detail how Yevtushenko came to Estonia in 1980 (nearly seven years earlier) and Yevtushenko, apparently, specially translated his poems — admitting, in the introduction, that translating the work of a poet whose language one does not know is difficult even with excellent crib notes.

Thus, the second and third books of the “Handshake” series were composed in different ways. “The Time Has Come” is more of an editor’s collection: one of the authors was already deceased at the time of publication, and the other kept silent about the first (including no introduction). However, the significant number of poems — 22 translated by Vaarandi versus eight translated by Akhmatova — and the breaking of chronological order point to Debora Vaarandi’s participation in the poem selection process; possibly, the poems were arranged not at the time of publication, but at the time of translation. On the other hand, the collection of mutual translations by Yevtushenko and Siig, “Feedback”, can certainly be considered an author’s collection.

Turning, at last, to the fourth book in the series, the collection of translations by Samoilov and Kross, “Bottomless Moments”. There is almost no documentary information regarding the history of this booklet. One may only guess the extent to which the poets participated in the compilation of the book; both authors lived in Estonia at the time, so contact with one another and discussion of the contents was possible. However, there is no mention of preparations regarding the book in available in any of Samoilov’s writings, nor in “Daily Notes” [Самойлов 2002], nor in the published correspondence between Samoilov and L. K. Chukovskaya [Переписка]. To this day the full corpus of Samoilov’s translations has not been compiled, so it is impossible to reconstruct the procession of work on them. There is no record of Samoilov translating into other languages. For these reasons, the conclusions reached herein are based only on the printed materials available and make no claim to constituting a final, reliable evaluation.

The following poems, originals published side-by-side with translations, constitute the bilingual collection “Bottomless Moments” («Бездонные мгновения / Põhjatud silmapilgud»):

By David Samoilov

Дом-музей	The Museum
Смерть Ивана	Ivan’s Death
Баллада о немецком цензоре	The Ballad of the German Censor
Завсегдатай	The Frequenter
Рихтер	Richter
«Деревья должны...»	“The Trees Should Be...”
Афанасий Фет	Afanasy Fet
Сандрильона	Cendrillon
Залив	The Gulf
Муза	Muse
«Пахло соломой в сарае...»	“It Smelled of Hay in the Barn...”
Ээстимаа	Eestimaa

By Jaan Kross

Laul seitsmest lukust võtmetega
 Uks
 Laul pimedale trofeehobusele telliskivivabrikus
 “Õhus ämbliklõngade lend on...”
 “Mu noorus, sulipoiss — sa kaod?”
 “Luiteliivadel joostes...”
 Tallipoisi laul
 Kõrgmäestik
 Ehitusmeistri mõtted
 Lõokesed
 Veebruari kevad
 Õhtu ja hommik
 Säilimine
 “Luule on...”
 “Sellega, kes on näinud tuhandeid...”
 “Hakkas juba oskama näha...”
 Autobiograafia süvitsi
 “Mu sõbra avatud akna all...”
 Põhjatud silmapilgud

The introductory notes each poet wrote about the other make no mention of who selected the poems; they speak more about their friendship than about the verses and translations (in the case of Samoilov, it’s a friendship that is very nearly in the past).

Samoilov's translations of Kross's poems — with two exceptions, “Auto-biograafia süvitsi” and “Mu sõbra avatud akna all...” — had all been published previously in the authorial collections “Notches in the Cliff” [Kpocc 1962] and “Stone Violins” [Kpocc 1973]. From this information one may conclude that Samoilov did not translate anything specially for this new collection; the selections were practically ready to simply be placed in the new book.

The situation is more complicated regarding Samoilov's own poetry. His poems were written in different decades, from the 1940s to the 1980s, and Kross's first translations that made their way into this collection were done at the beginning of the 1960s.⁴ The selections are not presented in chronological order, so it is possible to view them as a supertextual unit, deliberately ordered, presumably with an internal story. The question of the authorship of this supertextual unit will be set aside for now.

The selection of Samoilov's poetry opens with “The Museum”, the author's somewhat ironic manifesto. As a first text that establishes the tone of the texts that follow, “The Museum” can only be imagined in a “non-serious” publication. Samoilov's collections came out rarely and with difficulty; for them, of course, the author chose different key texts. But here, in the miniature publication, “The Museum” is placed at the beginning, where its obvious facetiousness is a perfect match for a booklet somewhat comedic in the sophistication of its format.

On the other hand, the ideological implications of “The Museum” point the reader to what could be called Samoilov's political/historical or historiographical line of poetry. This line is represented later in the collection by two nearly contrasting poems: “Ivan's Death” and “The Ballad of the German Censor”. The protagonist of “The Museum” is endowed with a range of Pushkin-esque characteristics — but not only Pushkin-esque; they are mixed with characteristics of the “universal poet of the 19th century”. Near the end of the poem, chronological markers become few, while details arise that are more closely associated with modernity and with Soviet realities. As a result, the figure of a “transformed Pushkin” arises in the poem, the real poet's twin, whose biography is the inverse of Pushkin's fate. The irony, then, has two-fold direction: it is aimed not only at the protagonist, but at any poet, including the author himself.

⁴ See, for example: *Samoilov, D.* Kahekümnenda sajandi puud; Ballaad saksa tsensorist // Looming. 1962. Nr 10. Lk 1504–1506; *Samoilov, D.* Maja-museum // Värsipõimik. Tallinn, 1965. Lk 120–121. For a full list of translations, see: *Kross, J.* Bibliograafia / *Koost. V. Kabur, G. Palk.* Tallinn, 1997. Lk 93.

“Ivan’s Death”, from the cycle “Poems About Czar Ivan”, gains new meaning when taken out of the context of the cycle as a whole. Its first layer of meaning is revealed in the juxtaposition of Ivan the Terrible with “the young bellringer”:

Помирает царь, православный царь!
The czar is dying, the Orthodox czar!

Колокол стозвонный раскачал звонарь.
The ringer has rocked the hundred-ring bell.

От басовой меди облака гудут.
The clouds hum from the bass copper.

Собрались бояре, царской смерти ждут.
The boyars have gathered, awaiting the czar’s death.

Слушают бояре колокольный гром:
The boyars listen to the thunder of bells:

Кто-то будет нынче на Руси царем?
Who will be now the czar of Rus?

А на колокольне, уставленной в зарю,
And in the belltower, up at dawn,

Весело, весело молодому звонарю.
Merry, merry is the young bellringer.

Гулкая медь,
Resounding bronze,

Звонкая медь,
Ringing bronze,

Как он захочет, так и будет греметь!
As he desires, so it will thunder!

Thus “Ivan’s Death” extends the theme of “the poet and the czar” hidden in the subtext of “The Museum”:

Вот письмо: «Припадаю к стопам...»
Here is the letter “Clinging at your feet ...”

Вот ответ: «Разрешаю вернуться...»
Here is the answer: “You are allowed to return ...”

< ... >

Завитушки и пробы пера.
Flourishes and the first attempts of writing

Варианты поэмы «Ура!»

Variations of the poem "Hooray!"

И гравюра: «Вручение медали».

And an etching of "Presentation of a medal".

The young bellringer's "self-will" elevates him above "the old poet", that "lover of the quiet life". The "small man", having broken with "the large world", turns out to be stronger than he, although death awaits him all the same — just as in "The Ballad of the German Censor", which follows "Ivan's Death". These two poems, which had never been published together in one collection before, here form a storyline sequence which presents different possible fates for the protagonist.

Moreover, "Ivan's Death" and "The Ballad of the German Censor" represent the type of lyricism toward which Samoilov gravitates: narrative, verging on epic⁵. The latter text's name includes a genre, the ballad, so in this case there can be no doubt as to its narrative nature. "Ivan's Death", with its extended plot and song-like refrains, is clearly reminiscent of traditional historical poems (here it recalls songs, and thoughts, and Lermontov's poem-"song"). David Samoilov, as A. S. Nemzer⁶ has observed, thought of the narrative poem as the pinnacle of poetic creation (as indicated by his long and hard work on narrative poems versus other types of texts). Samoilov wrote many poetic texts that could be classified as "epic verses". They are denoted by extended plots, and their heroes are markedly separated from the narrator. It is not precisely a dramatic monologue in the style of Nekrasov, but it is similar; the closest parallel here from the poetry of Nekrasov would be not "The Gardener", but "The Pupil". Potential genre prototypes for Samoilov's poems of this type could be Baratynsky's inscriptions in verse to portraits of the classical period (Pushkin's era),

⁵ From a poem of 1972:

Меня Анна Андревна Ахматова
За пристрастие к сюжетам корила.
Избегать бы сюжета проклятого
И писать — как она говорила.
А я целую кучу сюжетов
Наваял. И пристрастен к сюжетам.
О, какое быть счастье поэтом!
Никогда не пробиться в поэты.

Anna Andrevna Akhmatova
Reproached me for my addiction to stories.
Would that I flee the cursed plot
And write as she said.
But I spun a whole pile of
Stories. I am partial to plots.
O what happiness to be a poet!
Impossible to break into the poets.

See also the diary entry: "Anna Akhmatova reproached me for my predilection for plot. I didn't completely understand what was the matter. Now I understand" [Самойлов 2002: II, 284].

⁶ Regarding this, see: "... his faithfulness to the narrative poem genre (predominantly, though after "The Last Holiday" only to "story poems", which unite the Samoilov narrative poem to his smaller "epic" verses, where purely lyrical lines are removed to the subtext) sharply separates the author from the majority of his contemporaries (both his peers and those that followed him)" [Немзер 2011: 271].

such as “Look upon this cold face...”, or the beginning of the message from P. A. Vyazemsky to F. Tolstoy, “The American and the Gypsy...”.

There are several such “epic verses” by Samoilov in “Bottomless Moments”. After the balladic “Ivan’s Death” and “The Ballad of the German Censor”, there follows “The Frequenter”, “Richter”, “Afanasy Fet”, and “Cendrillon”. These four can clearly be divided into two pairs — poems about “artists” and poems about “protagonists” from “foreign” spaces.

After the fictional bellringer of “Ivan’s Death” follows Richter, marking the appearance of the theme of music⁷; after the obscure German censor follows Afanasy Fet. Thus there are two “players” and two “writers”, and to their number one can add the “old poet” from “The Museum”. The theme of creativity is developed throughout these epic poems and continued in the lyrics of the last part of the selection.

The poems about “protagonists” from “foreign” spaces introduce the theme of Estonia in the selections from Samoilov. “The Frequenter” is a poem about a meeting between a poet and his acquaintance, a student, who is given such Mephistophelian characteristics that the poet’s meeting with him is appears to be a visit to “another world”, a meeting with the devil. The setting of this text is marked by an Estonian toponym. In a small town marked by its “Germanness”, even the “cross-eyed devil” turns out to be harmless; “mephistopheles” (with an intentional lower case letter) sits in a brewery, where the waiter is friendly to him:

Вторая кружка для студента, Косого дьявола из Тарту, Который дважды выпил где-то И починает третью кварту.	A second mug for the student, That cross-eyed devil from Tartu, Who twice drank somewhere And now begins his third quart.
Он в сером свитре грубой вязки, По виду — хват и забияка, Он пьет и как-то залихватски Разламывает шейку рака.	He’s in a coarse knit sweater of gray, By the look of him, a gallant and a bully, He drinks and somehow dashingly Breaks the neck of cancer.
<...>	...
Он мэфистофель и приятель Буфетчицы и судомоек.	He is a mephistopheles and the friend Of barmaids and dishwashers.
<...>	...
Он не опасен. Пусть он шпарит Двусмысленные парадоксы	He isn’t dangerous. Let him yammer his Double-meaning paradoxes

⁷ For more about this poem, see the article in this volume by L. Pild: pp. 138–145.

И пусть себе воображает,	And let him imagine
Что он силен в стихах и в боксе.	That he's good at poetry and at boxing ⁸ .

The connection to the Estonian theme in “Cendrillon” becomes apparent only in the finale: “High above the gray sea / Seagulls, stormclouds, ships”. The girl from the cobbler’s workshop who awaits her knight in shining armor is not even called Cinderella, but the French name Cendrillon (her “prince” in the “Lada” is called “Cendrillonner”). The heroine’s exotic name can be interpreted here as a poeticization. By using the French variant of her name, its etymology is obscured, thereby “elevating” the heroine. This technique reflects the structure of the entire plot: an ordinary occurrence in the lives of ordinary characters grows as the action progresses into a fantastic, miraculous event:

Сандрильона ждет карету, Чинно курит сигарету, Ждет, чтоб прибыл сандрильонец Из компании гуляк — С туфелькой, на «Жигулях».	Cendrillon awaits the coach, Primly smokes a cigarette, Awaits the arrival of her <i>Cendrillonner</i> From the company of revelers With a little shoe, in a Lada.
< ... >	...
В ней не счастье, не страданье, Все — сплошное ожиданье. Наконец приходит он.	In her there is no happiness, no suffering, Nothing but pure expectation ⁹ . At last he arrives.
И, с задумчивым соседом Не простившись, выйдет следом За плечистым сандрильонцем	And without saying goodbye To her pensive neighbor, she leaves Following her <i>broad-shouldered</i>
Из сапожной мастерской.	<i>Cendrillonner</i> From the cobbler’s workshop.
< ... >	...
И уедет Сандрильона, С ней — волос ее корона, Вместе с гордым модельером На машине «Жигули».	And Cendrillon drives off, Her hair as her <i>crown</i> , With her <i>proud designer</i> In a car called Lada.

It is of note that almost all the protagonists of Samoilov’s “epic poems” in this collection are foreigners, strangers.

After “Cendrillon” follows a widely-known text, accepted as Samoilov’s poetic and biographical manifesto: the poem “The Gulf”. This poem begins

⁸ More about this poem and about the Pasternakian subtexts of its Mephistophelian theme, see A. S. Nemzer’s article “The Two Estonias of David Samoilov” («Две Эстонии Давида Самойлова») [Немзер 2010].

⁹ This phrase, it seems, plainly alludes to those famous passages from Tolstoy’s “War and Peace” dedicated to Natasha Rostova.

a strictly lyrical procession of poems: “Muse”, “It Smelled of Hay in the Barn”, and the concluding “Eestimaa”.

And so, the collection begins with the theme of “the poet and authority/the world”, tinted with alarming irony (“The Museum”). It continues with the theme of history both “long” and “short”, as developed in the two balladic poems of “Ivan’s Death” and “The Ballad of the German Censor”. These poems take up the story of “the artist and the world” introduced in the first text, and present variations of the fate of the protagonist who has been freed from pressure: either a rupture and a departure, “Get ready, libertines, to the Don, the Don!” or a rupture and a rebellion: “He underlined everything truthful and crossed out everything else”. “Afanasy Fet” develops something closer to the first variant of this story (the protagonist bifurcates into Shenshin and Fet, which becomes its own type of departure). “Richter” presents a variation on the ideal destiny of an artist, attainable, apparently, only by a musician and by art beyond words. The protagonists observed by the poet in two poems are marked by signs of “Estonian” space, and find themselves raised above the commonplace thanks to literary allusions that ascribe the “little person” to the high world; this same technique is used in “The Ballad of the Censor”. In this way the space to which the lyrical hero of “The Gulf” “emigrates” appears as already poeticized, inhabited, and mastered by the protagonist-poet by means of cultural codes.

It is remarkable that “Muse”, a fundamental poem for Samoilov, is found specifically in this lyrical section of his collection. The appearance of the Muse in “the dreams of infantrymen” turns soldiers into poets:

И когда посинеет и падает замертво
 And when day turns blue and falls down dead
 День за стрелки в пустые карьеры,
 Behind the arrows and empty mines,
 Эшелоны выстукивают гекзаметры,
 Echelons tap out hexameters,
 И в шинели укутываются Гомеры.
 And Homers bundle up in greatcoats.

This verse, it may be supposed, explains the absence of Samoilov’s most well-known poems from the collection, those about war, such as “Fatal Forties” («Сороковые, роковые...»). “Muse” speaks to the victory of poetry and harmony over tragedy. The placement just after “Muse” of “It Smelled of Hay in the Barn...” is completely justifiable, given the inclusion in its finale of the persistent wish to “freeze the moment”, to preserve an achieved harmony. In “Eestimaa” the plot of the collection concludes: the historical theme circles

back through an indirect mention of Czar Ivan, via a mention of “Russes” among those who came to make war with the Ests (Ivan IV lay siege to Tallinn in 1577):

Датчане, шведы, немцы, руссы, латы
 Danes, Swedes, Germans, Russes, Lats
 Сбивали их, как масло в Эстимаа.
 Were churned like butter in Estimaа.
 Они в глуши хранили свой обычай
 They kept their traditions in the wilderness
 И свой язык, как драгоценный клад,
 And their language as a precious treasure,
 В котором длинных гласных щебет птичий,
 In which long vowels twitter like birds,
 Согласных — твердость камня и раскат.
 And consonants roar with the hardness of stone.

In this collection of Samoilov’s poetry, Estonia is featured by the poet because it has preserved its language (along with singing: “long vowels” and “twittering birds”). That is, the space which the poet-protagonist tests out, makes his own, and experiences was intended for him by history itself, since the people living on that land repeated the destiny of Samoilov’s poet-artist, having saved, despite enormous pressure, their “precious treasure” — their language.

Returning, at last, to the question of the “two plots” within the collection. Two different storylines are discernable in this collection, depending on whether one looks at the selections as the result of the author’s work, or the result of the translator’s work (or the editor’s). If one credits the author with constructing this meaningful composition, then it can be interpreted as a kind of *alternative* variant of poetic autobiography. Samoilov’s fully developed autobiography came into being in other genres, and was developed already in part in his better known books. It is in those books that the military phase of his life is creatively relived, his difficult life is poetically reestablished and re-experienced with all its external details and internal collisions. The plot laid out in the miniature publication obscures or eliminates the darkest periods of the lyrical hero; war, creative crises, the deaths of his mentors (“Well that’s it, the eyes of geniuses have closed...”), etc. are only hinted at in the stories of the selection. In this way the protagonist moves “toward light”, and happiness signifies the conclusion of his creative biography. In the cultural space of the 20th century, the idyll can be perceived as nothing other than a lighthearted,

playful genre, making the booklet form of “Bottomless Moments” the most appropriate place for its use.

If, on the other hand, the selection of poems is attributed to the translator and/or the editor, then the biography becomes one of a poet approaching a new homeland. In just this moment the concept of “alienness” plays its role, as the foreign origins of Samoilov’s characters indicate the European-ness of his poetic protagonist and his potential inclusion in a foreign, non-Russian space. This potential inclusion becomes, in the end, a real inclusion, as the Russian poet “chose the gulf”, and obtained a new home in Estonia, where he met another poet who speaks the language the Ests rescued long ago as a “precious treasure” from multitudinous conquerors.

The storylines pointed out in this article from Samoilov’s selections in “Bottomless Moments” are quite similar, but have varying centers of gravity. If three parties were involved in compiling the collection — both authors and the compiler — then the meaning of this group of poems could be different. Reconstruction of the compilation process would require documental research. For now, analysis is limited to personal interpretation.

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DAVID SAMOILOV'S POEM "THE MUSEUM" IN TRANSLATION BY JAAN KROSS (from the Collection "Bottomless Moments")*

TATIANA STEPANISCHEVA

The present article is concerned with Samoilov's first text in the collection and its translation: the poem "The Museum" (1961), first published in 1963 in the journal "Novyi mir". Its placement as the first text of the compilation was clearly not accidental. The volume includes too few of Samoilov's works to provide an impression of the author's creative evolution. Nonetheless, "Bottomless Moments" is generally, though not strictly, organized chronologically: "Ivan's Death", before 1953; "The Ballad of the German Censor", 1958; "The Frequenter", 1978; "Richter", 1981; "Afanasy Fet", not later than 1980; "The Gulf", 1978, and so on. One exception is "The Museum", which is definitively situated "out of order". In its time, after its first publication, it was understood as a satirical piece (regarding this, see: [Немзер, Тумаркин: 668–669]), and later was regarded also as a parody (regarding this, see: [Солженицын]). The next poems in the compilation are totally lacking in parodic overtones ("Ivan's Death" and "The Ballad of the German Censor"), a further reason that the placement of "The Museum" at the beginning seems rather unusual. It may be assumed that something else dominates the meaning of this poem, something that allows it to dictate the tone of the entire collection. This article will attempt to determine what this dominant element is.

The ironic premise of "The Museum" arises from the theme of doubt in the necessity of museums dedicated to poets or writers; dusty collections of mundane objects have been long-running cultural and literary motifs (examples can be found from Pasternak to Dovlatov). The quote in the epigraph, supposedly

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from a “book of reviews”, immediately sets the genre and style tone of the text: “... it produces profound...”. The first epigraph, “from an old poet” (a pseudo-quote, full of recognizable poeticisms and referring to a catalog of poetic works familiar to the reader) is rendered ironic by the second epigraph, and the poeticisms in it acquire a comedic, nearly clownish, undertone.

Behind the external parody, it seems, few have paid attention to the next layer, the internal plot of the poem: the fate of the poet, presented by a narrow-minded, though attentive, tour guide.

That the employees of the Apartment Museum of Pushkin attribute the poem to their own account has textual foundation. References in “The Museum” to Pushkin’s fate are frequent and recognizable. In addition to the allusions noted by commentators to the posthumous fate of Lensky in the line “A carol? Or candy?” [Немзер, Тумаркин: 669] and the quote from Lermontov at the end of the poem (“The death of a poet is the last paragraph”, see: [Немзер 2006: 166]), a number of other allusory details can be pinpointed.

For example, the “poet’s couch” can be compared to the leather sofa in Pushkin’s office in his Apartment Museum at 12 Moika.

The portrait (“here the poet is fourteen years old. / For some reason he was made a brunette”) recalls Pushkin’s portrait, found in the 1822 publication of “The Captive of the Caucasus” and printed with the engravings of Y. Geitman. The “anonymous” portrait in Samoilov’s poem corresponds to Pushkin’s historical image: arguments about the “original” Geitman used for his engravings and speculations about the author of that original have long occupied the spare time of Pushkin scholars, who have suggested that the portrait’s author may even have been Karl Bryullov. Some scholars consider the image a “childhood” portrait of Pushkin (Vengerov, Ashukin; regarding this, see, for example: [Борский: 961–962]). Thus, Ashukin suggested that Pushkin is depicted at “between 12 and 24 years of age”, “in a shirt with an open neck, with dark, curly hair” [Ашукин: 22]. In the Russian cultural consciousness the “Moor” Pushkin is considered to be, of course, a brunette. For now, there is no evidence that suggests that Samoilov recalled (or even knew of) Ashukin’s work. But the “youth” of the poet, the manner in which the portrait does not correspond to the realities of the subject’s physical features (“was made a brunette”), and the discussion surrounding the portrait (“all the scholars argue about this”) all recall the iconography of Pushkin.

There is, apparently, no equivalent in the iconography of Pushkin to the “dashing” (*udaloi*) portrait in “The Museum”. In this epithet one can see metonymy, marked by the author’s irony, with the “Romanticism” of Pushkin

in his "Liudmila and Ruslan" period¹; it can also be supposed that this characteristic developed under the influence of the recollections of Pushkin's contemporaries about him².

The exile "to Kaluga" due to "the ode 'Down with'" can be interpreted as an allusion to a series of events in Pushkin's biography. The Linen Works estate, located in the Kaluga province, was received by N. N. Goncharova as dowry; Pushkin spent time there at least twice, in 1830 and in 1834. The ode "Freedom", which became one of the reasons for Pushkin's exile to the south, does not contain the words "down with" (they appear only three times in the entire body of Pushkin's work), but can be read as a call "to strike the defect on the throne".

The frock-coat in "The Museum", shot through with a bullet from a duel, needs no further "Pushkinist" interpretation — this particular item (along with the sofa) comprises the center of the exposition in the Apartment Museum on the Moika. The frock-coat in which Pushkin went to the place of the duel was later given to V. I. Dahl, who described it thus: "...I obtained from Zhukovsky the final clothing of Pushkin, after which they dressed him only to put him in his casket: a black frock-coat, with a small hole the size of a fingernail against the right abdomen" [Бережаев: II, 456]. In the recollections of his contemporaries about him, Pushkin's frock-coat figures repeatedly; for example, recall the story with the wedding frock-coat, borrowed from Vyazemsky.

Here begin the dissimilarities — Samoilov's poet does not perish in a duel, his life story ends in another way. In addition to allusions to Pushkin, there are other allusions connected to different Russian poets and writers. The biography of the protagonist of "The Museum" becomes, in the end, a kind of invariant fate of the Russian writer.

"The Museum" can also be connected to the theme of Anna Akhmatova in Samoilov's poetry, much like, according to A. S. Nemzer [Немзер 2007: 159–160], the 1962 poem "Old Man Derzhavin" and the poem written

¹ In the beginning of the 1960s no doubt arose among scholars of the Romantic nature of Pushkin's first poem; other interpretations appeared much later. In it, the term "dashing" is encountered three times, and in the slightly later poem "The Robber Brothers" it appears twice; in much later verses it appears, understandably, in connection with the "national" theme or stylistics (see "On the statue playing knucklebones", "In the field of pure silver...", and "Delibash").

² See the memoir of Pushkin's appearance "in a red cotton shirt" at the Syvatogorsk fair, from the diary of petty bourgeois I. I. Lapin: "1825. On May 29 in the Holy Mountains at the ninth hour on Friday... here I had the pleasure to see Mr. Alexander Sergeevich Pushkin, who seemed in some way strange in his dress, and at first he was wearing a straw hat on his head, in a red cotton shirt, tied round with a light blue ribbon. In his hand he held an iron cane, and he wore very long black mutton chops, which looked more like a beard. He also had very long fingernails, with which he peeled oranges of which he ate, with great appetite, I think about half a dozen" [Пушкин в воспоминаниях: 517].

at Akhmatova's demise, "Death of a Poet". Nemzer referred to the work of R. D. Timenchik, who described the technique used to construct the image of the poet in "Poem without a Hero": "... the opposition of these archisemes, "poet-symbolist, poet-acmeist, poet-futurist", define a higher level archiseme: a "turn of the century poet", which, by coming into opposition with other archisemes that stand out in the depths of the same text, at last defines the archiseme of the "overall poet" or the "universal poet" [Тименчик: 280; see: Немзер 2006а: 380]. Samoilov used this "principle of juxtaposing different prototypes in his depiction of 'Old Man Derzhavin'" (in the title hero one sees not only Derzhavin, but also Akhmatova and Pasternak) and in composing "Death of a Poet", where Akhmatova and Pasternak are the prototypes behind the character of the poet [Немзер 2007: 159–160].

"The Museum" was written in 1961, earlier than the poems mentioned above, but "Poem without a Hero" was already known to Samoilov at that time. The archiseme of the universal poet in "The Museum" takes shape gradually: toward the end of the text the density of allusions to Pushkin decreases and references to the lives of other writers are introduced, as well as details that find no equivalents in Pushkin's biography. The quasi-Pushkin gradually transforms into a universal poet.

Let's return to the allusions to Pushkin in "The Museum". "The landscape 'Under the Cliff'" also recalls later iconography of Pushkin (see, for example, Aivazovsky's painting "Pushkin on the shore of the Black Sea" (1887), and "Pushkin in Crimea at the Georgian Cliffs" (1899), as well as the famous canvas by Aivazovsky and Repin "A. S. Pushkin's Farewell to the Sea" (1877)). In addition, a quotational reference to "Arion" is also connected to this theme: "And my damp robe / I dry in the sun under the cliff".

The poem "The Beginning of a message 'To my friend'" in Samoilov very likely refers to an entire genre-thematic complex related to Pushkin's creative work and to poetry as a whole at the beginning of the 19th century — the "epistle". This line, and the neighboring line "Here is the letter 'Clinging at your feet...' / Here is the answer: 'You are allowed to return...'" allow the reader to interpret this passage (in the context of the preceding subtexts and allusions to Pushkin) as a reference to a critical period in Pushkin's life, the mid-1820s: his non-participation in the speeches at Senate Square, the beginning of Nicholas' reign, his return from exile upon the personal order of the emperor, Pushkin's conversation with him, and the poems "In hope of glory and kindness..." and the later "To friends" ("No, I am no flatterer...").

The dissimilation noted above between the lives of the poet of "The Museum" and Pushkin here deepens further. It begins with the introduction of realities that are anachronistic to Pushkin's epoch³:

Вот поэта любимое блюдце,	Here is the poet's favorite saucer,
А вот это любимый стакан,	And here is his favorite glass,
Завитушки и пробы пера,	Flourishes and first attempts at writing,
Варианты поэмы «Ура!»	Variations of the poem "Hooray!" ⁴
И гравюра «Вручение медали».	And an etching of "Presentation of a medal".
Повидали? Отправимся далее.	Seen enough? Let us go on.

The glass and saucer are features of everyday life more appropriate to the 20th century than to the beginning of the 19th. Medals gain significance as an award only during the Soviet era; in the 19th century being granted an order was the highest award. Further on, the archaic backdrop of daily life is preserved, and even keeps a Pushkinesque tinge: "Flourishes and first attempts at writing" are memorable visual images of Pushkin's manuscripts.

The velvet blouse of the old poet is most likely associated with the dress of the Romantic artist, but does not contradict the overall picture. Daguerreotypes are a slightly later invention, appearing in Russia at the beginning of the 1840s. The appearance of the man printed in the daguerreotype — "bald, elderly, in a velvet blouse" — is reminiscent of textbook depictions of Tyutchev.

The poet of the second half of "The Museum" slightly resembles Pushkin. Specifically, his fate is a variation on the life of Pushkin, "if there hadn't been the Black River" (that is, if there hadn't been the last rebellion and rush toward freedom). Samoilov finishes writing the "ordinary destiny" of the poet that Pushkin predicted for Lensky. The poet's biography more and more resembles the model biography of a successful writer: after the poem "Hooray!" follows "Presentation of a medal", travels, personal attacks (apparently, from fellows of the guild) and responses to them, then the article "Why do we play the fool?" "Simple" rhetoric and plebian vocabulary are emphasized; here the rhetorical question with "we" might be associated by the reader with the forced and voluntary self-exposure of "oppositionists" of the 1930s. From this moment the

³ Compare to that which occurs with Pushkin in "Free verse" ("In three millennia...", 1973).

⁴ Possibly, this title, in light of previous ones, corresponds to Pushkin's poetic responses to the Polish uprising in the verses "To the Slanderers of Russia" and "The Anniversary of Borodino". Published in the brochure "At the Taking of Warsaw" (which also included Zhukovsky's "An Old Song on a New Fret"), these poems were received as their author's rejection of previously held freedom of opinion by not only the new generation, the student-proletarians (regarding this, see, for example: [Основа: 45–47]), but also by the poet's friends (compare to Vyazemsky's opinion).

life of the poet stops being interesting to the visitors of the museum: “Are you tired? We’re nearly done”.

The last developments in the biography seemingly represent a return to the true poetic path: the “laurel wreath” and “faded daguerreotype” of the poet, drawn with emphatically sympathetic details (that elicit affection): “bald, elderly, in a velvet blouse”. The last hemistich stanzas even hint at a tragic end: “That... daguerreotype... was the last. Then he died”. But the hint results in the quite prosaic beginning of the penultimate verse:

Здесь он умер. На том канapé ...	Here he died. On that settee ...
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The following lines return to the earlier poet, the author of “the ode ‘Down with!’” But this return is mediated by the ironic-parodic tone of the text as a whole and the incompleteness of the poet’s own words, introducing the theme of incomprehensibility:

Перед тем прошептал изреченье	Just prior he whispered utterances
Непонятное: «Хочется пе ...»	Incomprehensible: “I want ca ...”
То ли песен? А то ли печенье?	A carol? Or candy?
Кто узнает, чего он хотел,	Who will ever know what he wanted,
Этот старый поэт перед гробом!	That old poet before his coffin!

Precisely in connection with the “twice-read last words of the poet” commentators have recalled the two variations of Lensky’s fate [Немзер, Гумаркин: 669]. The corresponding stanzas of “Eugene Onegin” (XXXVII–XXXIX of Chapter VI) are the subtext for Samoilov’s entire poem and, possibly, the inspiration for its plot. Wavering between ironic-parodic and tragic intonations, the poem also references the depictions of Lensky’s fates. The play on epigraphs (the clash of their meanings, stylistics and fictional sources) confirm the significance of the Pushkinesque poetic complex in the construction of “The Museum”.

The conclusion of Samiolov’s poem is, perhaps, just as pessimistic as the dual description of Lensky’s fate in “Onegin”. This pessimism is indicated by the comedic, reductive rhyme of “гробом — гардеробом” (“coffin” and “coatroom”):

Кто узнает, чего он хотел,	Who will ever know what he wanted,
Этот старый поэт перед гробом!	That old poet before his coffin!
Смерть поэта — последний раздел.	The death of the poet is the final act.
Не толпитесь перед гардеробом...	Don’t crowd the coatroom ...

The Lermontov’s “Death of a poet” quoted here sets an accusatory tone toward the museum’s visitors — they themselves are the “arrogant descendants”. After

the "death of the poet" his biography ends, blatantly contradicting the epigraph "from an old poet":

Потомков ропот восхищенный,	The descendants' murmur of admiration,
Блаженной славы Парфенон!	The Parthenon of blessed glory!

A "murmur of admiration" is not heard in the poem; on the contrary, the visitors' irritation is reflected: "Seen enough? Let us go on... Are you tired? We're nearly done... Don't crowd the coatroom". This parataxis, and the juxtaposition of the epigraph with the text, reveal another layer of the plot: the "Parthenon of blessed glory" turns out to be a boring museum, which the visitors abandon immediately after the "death of the poet". After this act there is nothing — no praise and no admiring descendants; thus the second epigraph, "it produces profound...", underscores the pessimistic version of the fate of the poet. Of the poet nothing remains but the parodic patter of the tour guide, behind which the author's voice can be discerned. In "The Museum" Samoilov has done a variation on the theme which occupies perhaps first place in his thoughts about poetry: the right of the artist to his own path and own vision of the world, the right to answer or not answer the call of modernity, and the ability to equate service to the Muses and a desire for privacy with worldly happiness.

A. S. Nemzer justly takes note of the "anti-domestic energy of the poem" [Немзер 2007: 161]. There is also a skeptical "anti-poetic" note worth pointing out. The author's voice in "The Museum" does not come through clearly, it is hidden behind the speech of the tour guide (and, it seems, there is no basis for fully equating the tour guide's speech with the voice of the author). The "vulgar voice" presents the old poet to the visitors/readers as a "lover of the quiet life", but his biography as following the path of gradual "reconciliation with reality" and "the rule of law". At first glance, the line "The departed / valued the quiet life", which is inconsistent with widespread notions about Pushkin, finds a parallel not only in the later biography of Pushkin (in his notions about privacy), but also in his poetic stories of an earlier era; for example, in these lines from "Onegin's Journey": "A housewife now is what I treasure; / I long for peace, for simple fare: / *Just cabbage soup and room to spare*". Here Samoilov demonstrates how one can draw out a single plot from the complex biography of a writer with many different potential plot lines, straightening the intention and defining the tendency (and Samoilov's irony is above all directed at just such an impoverished interpretation). Pushkin's biography in the context of Russian culture naturally became the first subject of similar interpretations; this explains the author's choice of Pushkin as the basis for the semantic structure of "The Museum".

The parody of the speech genre (the “museum of literary history”), of course, is a means of creating distance between the author and adherents of that genre. But the poet’s life story as presented through his own works — “the ode ‘Down with!’”, “The Beginning of a message ‘To my friend’”, the completed (judging by the answer) letter “Clinging at your feet...”, followed by the poem “Hooray!” and the article “Why do we play the fool?” — is beyond parody and truly shows “reconciliation with reality”. Following in the footsteps of predecessors in using the concept of the archiseme, one ventures to say that the juxtaposition of allusions to different prototypes in “The Museum” forms the archiseme of a “pseudo Pushkin”, a negative twin of the poet, whose biography is the inverse of the life story of a successful writer. As the plot progresses, the parodic vulgarity of the excursion through the apartment-museum acquires another rationale: the author of “Hooray!” and the article “Why do we play the fool?”, having earned his apartment museum, has also earned a diminished interpretation of his life and the bored inattention of the listeners. Behind the parody of the Pushkin museum lies the parody of the pseudo Pushkin. The political implications of this poem, possibly, conditioned its placement at the beginning of the collection and, moreover, determined the translation strategy employed by Jaan Kross.

Kross translated “The Museum” into Estonian in the 1960s, and the translation was published in the collection “Värsipõimik”⁵ in 1965. The poets themselves first became acquainted in the 1960s, in Moscow, and they continued to socialize thereafter in Tallinn. When Samoilov moved to Pärnu, Kross himself noted how their meetings became altogether rare: “Hiljem, kui temast sai pärnakas, oleme puutunud tegelikult üsna harva kokku” [PS: 6]. Thus, it is difficult to say whether the translations were fully “authorized”. However, the long acquaintance of the two poets and their mutual interest make authorization very likely.

In his translation of “The Museum”, Jaan Kross accents those archisemes that appeared in the original text while deemphasizing those particular allusions that would have held little meaning to the majority of Estonian readers. He strives for poetic preciseness, unwaveringly preserving the strophic division and rhyme scheme (which, in his own poetry, is uncharacteristic; on the whole, rhyme has an insignificant role in modern Estonian poetry).

Kross even translates the first epigraph in verse:

Käib järelopõlve harras melu,
kus au ja sära Parthenon...

⁵ Samoilov, D. *Maja-muuseum// Värsipõimik*. Tallinn, 1965. Lk 120–121.

The first stanza of the poem is translated fairly precisely, and Kross makes no reductions. The only change of note in the first stanza is the shortening of the phrase «Это штора — окно прикрывать» ("This is the curtain that covers the window") to "Aga see — tema aknaruloo" (the visual imagery of the phrase is nonetheless maintained). The reduction is made up for in the next line: "Lemmiktool. Siin ta istus ühtlugu" («Любимый стул. Здесь он часто сидел» — "His favorite chair. Here he often sat") instead of the original «Вот поэта любимое кресло» ("Here is the poet's favorite chair"). The addition of information not found in the original is motivated by the reduction in the previous line. The line of the translation is composed of two sentences of equivalent meaning (a "favorite chair" being one in which one often sits or uses). The redundancy of this line is the functional equivalent of Samoilov's "This is the curtain that covers the window" (covering a window is the one and only purpose of a curtain). By applying this technique to another object, Kross changes neither the plot, nor the intention of the original.

At the end of the first stanza, a pun is absent from the translation (as well as a pun rhyme): instead of «Покойный был ценителем жизни спокойной» ("The deceased valued a life of peace"), the translation is "Vaiksest elust ta pidas suurt lugu" ("He deeply respected the peaceful life"). The Estonian language does not have an appropriate synonym for "deceased" that would have lent itself to an equivalent play on words. But the punning rhyme is conveyed by Kross via the unusual rhymes of this first stanza: "see siin — kanapee siin, ühtlugu — suurt lugu"⁶. Composite rhyme is more frequently found in comedic poetry. Kross does not include the original pun, but he does utilize composite rhyme (in the first case, almost a redif), which creates an analogous effect of "unambiguous" word play (in the original, the pun is a part of the parodic speech of the tour guide).

In the second stanza of the translation Kross is less precise, but his departure from the original seems to be an intentional technique intended up to lay open the meaning of the poem to the Estonian reader, without any attempt to preserve the associations that would arise in the mind of a Russian reader.

The portrait as described in the translation lacks any sign of anonymity, but becomes "one of many" ("üks paljudest neist"). The addition of the poet's age in the translation ("Here the poet is fourteen years old" — "Siin poeedil on aastat viisteist") arises due to restrictions of meter ("neliteist" is longer by one syl-

⁶ It may be assumed that this rhyme is a phonetic allusion to the original rhymed pair of «Каагу — Аругу». The translator did not preserve the toponym, but preserved its sound in another passage of the poem, a technique not often encountered in poetic translation.

lable). “The later portrait is dashing” is deprived of its adjective in translation: “Siin — üks hilisem pilt. Pole paha?” Instead of a particular characteristic, another address to the tourists is inserted, using an assertively conversational, familiar construction which becomes the stylistic equivalent of the skipped adjective.

Instead of to Kaluga, Kross sends his poet simply “to exile” (“maapakku”), making this section less specific, as the significance of exile to Kaluga would be totally unobvious to readers outside of Russian culture⁷.

Historical realities also become less definite. The “frock coat” Kross translates as “kuub”, which can mean frock coat, or dinner jacket, or caftan, or even “apparel”. The “frock-coat with a hole” of the original recalling first and foremost Pushkin’s own frock-coat and, accordingly, alluding to Pushkin’s life, in translation loses this connection. “An epistle to a friend” is translated simply as “A message” (“Läkitus”), while the “flourishes and first attempts at writing” become “a few leaves of squiggles/curls” (“kriksadulle paar lehte”).

In the fifth stanza, the translator transposes the order of two scenes:

Годы странствий. Венеция. Рим.	Years of pilgrimage. Venice. Rome.
Дневники. Замечанья. Тетрадки.	Diaries. Observations. Notebooks.
Вот блестящий ответ на нападки.	Here is his brilliant response to the attacks.
И статья «Почему мы дурим?»	And the article “Why do we play the fool?”

Päevaraamatud. Siin — ülipeen
vastulöök tema labastajaile.
Rännuaastad, teed mitmeile maile
ning artikkel “Miks narrusi teen?”

In translation the “attackers” are concretized, becoming “labastajad” (“vulgarians”), but at the same time the geographical names and destinations of “pilgrimage” are removed (in place of Venice and Rome, there is “mitmed maad”). For Samoilov, the naming of cities is likely more symbolic than concrete; Venice and Rome are markers of high European culture. At the same time, it is significant that these cities metonymically indicate Italy, whence many Russian writers and artists in general went for inspiration. The translation lacks this symbolism, as well as the original poem’s contrast of Kaluga with Venice and Rome. Among all the geographical names, only Toulouse remains in the translation, a city which appears to have no symbolic or metonymic significance in the original poem.

⁷ Notably, people were not often exiled to Kaluga. Among well-known persons of Russian history, only Shamil and A. V. Lunacharsky were sent there.

It is of note that in Kross's translation the title of the poet's article is transformed: in place of the pronoun *we* there is *I*; this clarifies the "repentant" meaning of the title.

The translator diverges from the original most noticeably in the final stanzas of the poem. First, the contradiction disappears between "then he *was killed*. // Here he *died*. On that settee" («потом он *погиб*. // Здесь он *умер*. На том канapé»). Kross totally avoids using verbs and their corresponding semantics: "see *pleekinud pilt ... temast viimaseks jäi*. // *Surisäng, Jah — siin see kanapee*". The tension disappears between "was killed" ("the poet was killed" — see "Death of a Poet", below) and "died. On that settee", and with it the quotational reference is disrupted. "Death of a Poet" becomes just "death" ("Surm ongi viimane osakond").

The death of the protagonist in translation is more picturesque and less evaluative: it contains no oxymoronic "incomprehensible utterances"; rather, just before death the poet lifts his head slightly and whispers ("Enne seda siit kergitas pea ta / ja veel sosistas...").

The translation of this deathbed utterance must have been particularly troublesome for the translator, as it requires the matching of a most "common" anaphora with a most "poetic" one. Translation of the required repetition found in "*песен — печенья*" (translated above as "*carol — candy*") was impossible, so for this construction Kross uses an object he had inserted into the text earlier: instead of the poet's "favorite glass", the museum houses his "favorite tea glass" ("*lemmik teeklaas*"), with which he "moistens his tongue" ("*keelekest kasta*"). Instead of "*печенья*" ("cookies"), tea (*tee*) appears in the translation, and "*песни*" ("songs") are exchanged for "knowledge" (*teada*). "Knowledge" appeared, probably, as a result of a transfer; Kross moved the equivalent word from the tour guide's speech to the direct speech of the protagonist: "Who will ever know what he wanted", in translation becomes "*Kes see öelda võib, mis ta just tahtis*" ("Who *can say* what he wanted"); then, correspondingly, made replacements in the dialogue:

«Хочется пе...»

"I want ca..."

То ли песен? А то ли печенья?

A carol? Or candy?

"Tahaksin te—" —

pole selge, kas "teed" või kas "teada"

The last rhyme in Samoilov's poem, the lowering style rhyme of "гробом — гардеробом" ("coffin — coatroom"), is absent from the translation, and *garde-roob* (coatroom) moves to the beginning of the line. However, the reductive effect is transferred to the verb phrase of the last sentence. The museum visitors

in Samoilov “crowd” (“толпятся”) before the coatroom; in Kross they “run” to it (“Garderoob (ärge jookske!) on lahti”).

Of course, to draw conclusions about the translation tactics used by Kross based only on the examples above would be to take inexcusable liberties. The collection “Bottomless Moments”, its composition, and its poetics deserve holistic analysis and consistent interpretation. Furthermore, a broad authorial context is essential, as this would provide for the correlation of Kross’s translation practices with his own poetic works, thereby allowing a more precise determination of the significance of his translation techniques and evaluation of his direction and intentions in any deviations from the original text.

This article has attempted only to demonstrate that in translation, Kross, attempting to follow the original, transformed the text in order to reveal its potential meaning to his audience. Jaan Kross’s translation of David Samoilov’s “The Museum” lost its layer of allusion associated with Pushkin (due to the reduction of the number of historical and biographical associations, etc.), but thereby gained a broader meaning: no longer the biography of “the Russian poet” (presumably of the 19th century), but the biography of “the universal poet”.

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“AND RUSSIA SEEMED TO HIM...”: DAVID SAMOILOV’S BALLAD AND ITS TRANSLATION BY JAAN KROSS*

TATIANA STEPANISCHEVA

“The Ballad of the German Censor” is not one of the David Samoilov’s most famous texts. One reason is that it is not entirely certain even which genre it belongs to, despite the clear title. “Ballad” is considered either a part of a poem, or a “small poem”. While it has been included as part of the poem “Nearby Countries”, it was not so in the first edition in 1958. After its separate publication in 1961 in the journal “Novyi mir”, “Ballad” was published as a part of “Nearby Countries” (which was first included in the 1971 book “Equinox: Verses and Poems”).

The mercurial genre status of “Ballad” is a sign of fluctuations in meaning. Y. Yevtushenko pointed to this in his short characterization of the poem: “The small poem ‘The Ballad of the German Censor’ was, essentially, a mockery of our own Soviet censorship” [Строфы: 471]. Yevtushenko considered the German residence of the censor a convention. Even if the allusion did not occur to the author, Yevtushenko’s comment gives a sense of readers’ reception, which highlights this particular component in the text. Possibly, this allusion in “The Ballad of the German Censor” could have been the very thing that drew the Estonian translator, Jaan Kross, to the text.

Kross’s translation was printed in the collection “Bottomless Moments” («Бездонные мгновенья / Põhjatud silmapilgud»). It is interesting to note that the theme of war, so meaningful in Samoilov’s works, is represented in the collection by just two poems, “Ballad” and “Muse”. The second poem, which reflects Samoilov’s own experiences in war, was published in the selected “Verses from the Front” in the journal “Yunost” (1979, № 10), and then in the

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collection "The Gulf" (1981), dated 1944. "The Ballad of the German Censor", stylized and, as will be demonstrated below, filled with literary subtexts, contrasts with "Muse", and this might be an indirect confirmation of Yevgeny Yevtushenko's interpretation of the ballad as allusive and, in fact, anti-Soviet.

As noted above, "Ballad" never became the subject of close literary analysis. Therefore, before turning to the Estonian translation, several observations about the original text must be noted, which will be critical to the interpretation of the translation.

There are two sections of "Nearby Countries" whose titles include the name of a genre: in addition to the ballad about the censor, there is also "The Ballad of Hitler's End". Neither text appeared in the first edition. While the exclusion from the 1958 edition of the poems "An Engagement in Leipzig" and "I spend tonight in a demolished house...", as well as several key lines from "On the Far Shore", dedicated to the Warsaw Uprising¹, have logical explanations — ideology and censorship — the reason for the absence of the ballads is not so clear. The most obvious explanation is that these verses were written later than the other texts of "Nearby Countries". "The Ballad of a German Censor" was first published in 1961, while "The Ballad of Hitler's End" was not published until 1971; that is, before the appearance of the full text of "Nearby Countries" in the collection "Equinox". Thus, it can be presumed that it was written later than the rest of the poem's constituent parts. It is also possible that before publication of the poem in its entirety, the author gave the press only the most essential parts (in terms of the whole).

There are additional possible explanations. A. S. Nemzer in a lecture once made note of the balladic subtext of the poem "An Engagement in Leipzig" (the march of the Potsdam groom to his bride, his travels reminiscent of the ride of the groom in Zhukovsky's "Ludmila"; see this comparison in the afterword of [Немзер: 383]). The most central plot line of "Nearby Countries", the end of the war and the hero's return home, parallels "Ludmila". If the cuckolded groom of "Fräulein Inge" is the hero's foil (they both sit near Inge), then a parallel can be drawn between our hero's way home from war and the path of the groom of Ludmila/Lenora. In addition to the farcical love story (of Inge, who did not remain faithful to her faraway fiancé, and the "young bookseller from Potsdam" coming to her through Germany), the poem contains a tragic story — the heroes Leshka Bykov and Yadviga are killed like lovers in a ballad.

¹ The hero stands "on the far shore" and watches the desperate resistance of the rebels: "I see them! I see them perfectly! / But I am silent. But I cannot help... // We stood on the far shore".

The ballad genre is embodied in the very theme of the poem. The action of “Nearby Countries” takes place in the “alien” lands of Germany and Poland. The hallmark feature of a ballad, besides its plot dynamics, is exoticism — the action takes place in an exotic and alien environment (geographically or historically). In this way the balladic associations, strengthened by the introduction of two ballads with genre titles into the structure of the poem, become thematic in nature. The hero goes to war in Germany (or on “German” territory in Warsaw) and finds himself in an alien and frightening world; thus, the appearance of the “frightening German ballad” is logical.

It appears that direct textual references to Zhukovsky’s ballads (the most famous of which he translated from German, from Goethe and Bürger) or to other German ballads, whether in translation or in the original, are not to be found in Samoilov’s “Nearby Countries”, and one must not assume that these ballads are subtexts. Rather, important here is the overall impression of the genre, and not specific texts (although initial examples of the Russian Romantic ballad are still, perhaps, significant).

It is obvious that in “Nearby Countries” Samoilov takes advantage of a strange characteristic of the ballad: the comedic-farcical potential of a tragic plot. Thus, “The Ballad of Hitler’s End” alludes to Zhukovsky’s and Lermontov’s poems about the dead emperor (“The Midnight Review” and “The Flying Ship”), though the allusion is complicated by the “fantastical” association of the title character with the folkloric antagonist Koschei the Deathless. Still alive, but sitting in an underground bunker, the ruler calls up his army, which no longer exists — the soldiers are dead, and the microphones he yells into have been long turned off². These deactivated microphones give the second ballad in “Nearby Countries” a farcical nuance. It can be presumed that this fable-like episode might have arisen under the influence of Soviet caricature of the war era, or satirical poetry of those same years. Compare, for example, to S. Y. Marshak’s poetic feuilleton “The Corporal’s Farewell to the General’s Uniform” (1944): “Goodbye my uniform, my faithful servant / The moment of separation approaches. / Goodbye forever!.. No more will march my leg / in my General’s trousers!”³

“The Ballad of the German Censor” [BM: 24–33], also alludes to another circle of texts: the classic Russian tales about “little people”. The key to this association is found in the very first line of Samoilov’s ballad: “Once there lived

² There are other parallels between Samoilov’s ballad and two Russian transcriptions by Zedlitz: the circular composition of the text itself, and the circular movement of the protagonist (the corpse rises from the grave and later returns to it); the adjutants do the same in “The Midnight Review”.

³ Thanks to A. S. Nemzer for this example.

in Germany a *little censor*". Later, this defining characteristic of this protagonist develops further: "he was born a pedant", and "a puny little man, small as switchgrass!" It's possible that later commentators will complete the picture, but this paper will discuss only those precedents that are reflected in Samoilov's ballad at the thematic-lexical level: "The Overcoat", "The Bronze Horseman", and, obviously, "A Weak Heart". Moreover, as with the ballad, it is better justified to discuss the thematic, fable-like parallels of these texts, rather than sub-texts. Examples of these parallels follow.

For the "little" German censor, work is the only thing of value; only in his work does he see a purpose to life (italics within quotes from here on are mine):

Он вымарывал, чиркал и резал И не ведал иного призванья. <...>	He edited, struck, and sharply cut And knew no other calling. ...
А работа? Работы до черта: Надо резать, и чиркать, и мазать. Перед ним были писем завалы, Буквы, строчки — прямые, кривые. <...>	But work? He had work up to his ears: He must cut, and strike, and smear. Before him lay piles of epistles, Letters, lines — straight, curved. ...
Он читал чуть не круглые сутки, Забывая поесть и побриться	He read near round the clock, Forgetting to eat and shave.

[БМ: 24–28].

This, of course, is reminiscent of that toiler with pen and ink, Bashmachkin⁴. The censor's diligent execution of his duties find a parallel, as with the story of Gogol's hero, also with Vasya Shumkov, protagonist of "A Weak Heart" (Vasya "accelerated his pen" for the sake of fulfilling his superior's orders, and then, al-

⁴ Compare: "Hardly anywhere could one find a man who so *lived in his work*. Suffice it not to say that he worked fervently, no, he *worked with love*. There, in transcription, his own varied and pleasant world appeared to him. Pleasure wrote itself on his face; some of the letters were his favorites, if he arrived at them he was not himself: he giggled and winked, and worked his lips, so that it seemed one could read on his face every letter that swam before him. *Had they awarded him commensurate to his zeal*, he, to his own amazement, perhaps, might even have become a state councilor; but as those wags, his comrades, expressed, *he carried favor with a buckle in his button-hole, and had amassed piles in his backside*. However it cannot be said that no attention was given to him at all. One director, being a good man and desiring to reward him for his long service, ordered that he be given something more important than common correspondence; precisely from the cases already finished he was ordered to work on a memo to another public office; the whole affair consisted only in changing the main title and converting some verbs from first person to third. This caused him such an effort that he broke out in a total sweat, wiped his brow, and at last said "No, better to let me copy something". Since then they left him forever to transcribe. *Beyond transcription, it seemed, nothing existed*" [Гоголь: 144–145].

ready in a confused state of mind, informed on himself⁵). To the motifs arising from Gogol's "The Overcoat" must be added the hero's lack of warm clothing:

Было холодно ехать без шубы	It was <i>cold</i> to ride <i>without a coat</i>
<...>	<...>
То, что он называл «ностальгия»,	That which he called "nostalgia"
Было, в сущности, страхом и стужей	Was, in fact, fear and <i>severe cold</i>
<...>	<...>
Он проснулся от страха и стужи ...	He awoke from fear and severe cold ... ⁶

The daily poverty of the censor and the closed nature of his life also point to the relationship of the hero to other poor clerks from classic tales about "small people": "Three walls, and the fourth a window, / Table and chair, and an iron bed".

Like the hero of "A Weak Heart", the censor goes mad due to an overly zealous attitude toward his work:

И в его утомленном рассудке	And in his confused state of mind
Что-то странное стало твориться.	Something strange began to happen.
<...>	<...>
Мысли длинные, словно обозы,	Long thoughts, like convoys,
Заезжали в углы мозговые,	Rode into the corners of his mind,
И извилины слабого мозга	And the convolutions of a <i>weak brain</i>
Сотрясались, как мостовые.	Shook like a bridge.

The censor is overwhelmed by nightmares, visions in which reality undergoes a startling metamorphosis:

То, что днем он вымарывал, чиркал,	That which by day he edited and struck,
Приходило и мучило ночью	<i>Came and tortured him by night</i>
И каким-то невиданным цирком	And in an <i>unprecedented circus</i>
Перед ним представало воочью.	Personally appeared before him ⁷ .

⁵ It is worth noting here that for Soviet readers, self-incrimination and "disarmament before the party" might have been more reminiscent of recent history than of Dostoevsky's story.

⁶ The action of "A Weak Heart" also takes place in winter; compare, for example, the description in the finale: "Night lay over the city, and the wide plain of the Neva, swollen with *frozen* snow, was shining in the last gleams of the sun with myriads of sparks of gleaming hoar frost. There was a *frost* of twenty degrees. A cloud of *frozen* steam hung about the overdriven horses and the hurrying people. The condensed atmosphere quivered at the slightest sound, and from all the roofs on both sides of the river, columns of smoke rose up and floated across the *cold* sky..." [Достоевский: 48].

⁷ Compare to Bashmachkin's dying delirium: "Visions incessantly appeared to him, each stranger than the other. Now he saw Petrovitch, and ordered him to make a cloak, with some traps for robbers, who seemed to him to be always under the bed; and cried every moment to the landlady to pull one of them from under his coverlet. Then he inquired why his old mantle hung before him

The German censor is likened to the hero of "The Bronze Horseman" through insanity and a revolt against the array of things that drove him mad, as well as his posthumous anonymity and unmarked tomb:

Он стал груб, нелюдим и печален И с приятелями неприятен.	He became rude, unsociable and melancholy And unpleasant to his friends ⁸ .
Он был несколько дней гениален, А потом надорвался и спятил.	He was brilliant for several days, But then overexerted himself and went mad.
Он проснулся от страха и стужи С диким чувством, подобным удушью. < ... >	He awoke from fear and severe cold With a wild feeling, like suffocation. < ... >
И в душе его черная правда Утвердилась над белой ложью.	And in his soul the black truth Affirmed itself over the white lie.

The censor's protest, like Evgeny's revolt in "The Bronze Horseman", is brief and doomed:

А наутро он взялся ретиво За свое ... нет, скорей — за иное: Он подчеркивал все, что правдиво, И вычеркивал все остальное.	Toward morning he zealously undertook For himself... no, rather for another: He underlined everything truthful, And crossed out all the rest.
Бедный цензор, лишенный рассудка! Человечишка мелкий, как просо! На себя он донес <i>через сутки</i> И был взят в результате доноса ...	Poor censor, deprived of reason! Puny little man, small as switchgrass! He informed on himself <i>a day later</i> And was arrested due to the denunciation ...

The final stanza of the ballad, which includes a partial repetition of the opening lines, summarizes the story of the "small man" whose life and death left no trace:

Жил-был маленький цензор в Германии Невысокого чина и звания.	Once there lived in Germany a little censor Of low rank and title.
Он погиб, и его закопали, А могилу его запахали.	He died, and they buried him, But his grave they plowed.

when he had a new cloak. Next he fancied that he was standing before the prominent person, listening to a thorough dressing-down, and saying, "Forgive me, your excellency!" but at last he began to curse, uttering the most horrible words, so that his aged landlady crossed herself, never in her life having heard anything of the kind from him, the more so as those words followed directly after the words "your excellency". Later on he talked utter nonsense, of which nothing could be made: all that was evident being, that his incoherent words and thoughts hovered ever about one thing, his cloak" [Гоголь: 168].

⁸ Compare to the state of Arkady Ivanovich Nefedevich after Vasya's illness: "He has become boring and gloomy, and lost all his joviality" [Достоевский: 48].

The formula of the fairy-tale invocation, it seems, adds a Russian note to the ballad (and the “naiveté” and simplicity of the story is accented by paired verb rhymes).

Of course, these observations regarding the poetics of Samoilov’s “Ballad of the German Censor” are fragmentary and oriented to the task of comparing the ballad to its translation. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to draw a transitional conclusion regarding the author’s overall concept: in “Nearby Countries” the German theme is clothed in the uniform of a genre with a clear German halo, yet also with a strong Russian tradition, while the ballad’s thematic complexes, as parsed above, were built on Russian prose sources⁹.

We turn now to the treatment of this text by translator Jaan Kross, renowned poet and author of historical novels (including those on Russian history). Kross completed his translation of “Ballad” in the early 1960s, at the beginning of his friendship with Samoilov. The translation appeared in print three times before “Bottomless Moments” was published, in 1962, 1965, and 1976¹⁰, and so was well-known to Estonian readers.

In his translation, Kross preserves the original rhyming structure (cross-rhyme, with the exception of the last stanza, which has paired rhymes), despite the fact that his own poetry is usually free of rhyme (that is, Kross strives to preserve the features of the translated verses; David Samoilov also translates Kross’s poems in this way — in free verse, like the original). In the last pair of lines, he even preserves the lexical content of the rhyme (paired verbs).

The ballad becomes shorter (18 quatrains instead of 21). Generally, any Russian text becomes somewhat shorter when translated into Estonian. But Kross translates “Ballad of the German Censor” with several omissions and substitutions which shift the plot and change the meaning.

Russia, whence the “little censor” is sent, looks different in translation. Samoilov’s censor peered from the train window “at snow, at fields, at church-

⁹ In “Nearby Countries” as a whole, it is interesting to note the consistent connection of the German theme with literature: “years of wandering and years of study” for the hero specifically pass at war; the Potsdam bridegroom of “Fräulein Inge” is a bookseller; Inge shows her suitors her albums of records; in “Ballad of a German Censor” the protagonist is fully occupied with the letters he reads in the course of his work, in the end, goes crazy from “text” (“Text composed itself in black mosaic...”), and before death writes everything down in “a small notebook” “with talent”; that is, he becomes a writer.

¹⁰ *Samoilov, D.* Kahekümnenda sajandi puud; Ballaad saksa tsensoorist // Looming. 1962. Nr 10. Lk 1504-1506; *Samoilov, D.* Kahekümnenda sajandi puud; Ballaad saksa tsensoorist; Iivani surm // Vene nõukogude luule antoloogia. Tallinn, 1965. Lk 460-464; *Samoilov, D.* Ballaad saksa tsensoorist // Pärnu Kommunist. 1976. 7 okt.

yards"¹¹. In Kross: "silmitses vaguni aknast / maju, haudu ja teeviidaposte" ("he examined from the train window / houses, tombstones, and sign posts"). Of the three components, the translator preserves one, and that via metonymy (*tombstones* in place of *churchyards*). The alteration, was possibly due to the necessity of preserving the barbarism of "nach Osten", found at a strong point in the second line and semantically accented. Thus the *churchyards* are replaced with the word *teeviidaposte*, which, though totally unrelated semantically, rhymes with "nach Osten".

In the source text, the censor travels "past villages with neither houses nor people"¹². In translation this all disappears, and the translator focuses on the hero himself: "Rebis endasse pakane öö ta. / Nagu jäätava tuule käes kõrbes" ("The frosty night sucked him from himself. / As if he was burning on an icy wind"). At the same time, the "overcoat" disappears from the stanza, without which it "was cold" for Samoilov's censor. In the original, the "little" hero (fitting the motif), cold and freezing without warm clothing, has been sent after several key literary texts (here it is not so important that the texts are "Petersburgian", but rather that they narrate of "the small man"). In the translation, the literary reference to Gogol's "The Overcoat" (via the censor's missing overcoat) disappears.

Kross emphasizes darkness in his version of the ballad: while in Samoilov, the censor was sent to Russia "on a winter day in '43"¹³; the translator removes the day, leaving "the third winter of the war". Then, the undefined time of day becomes "a freezing night". In the source text, that day gave way to night is not a realistic detail, but rather a fully symbolic plot move: the change of day to night is connected to the theme of color; the lie in the ballad is "white", while the truth is "black", and specifically at night "the black truth affirmed itself over the white lie"¹⁴ in the hero's soul. Kross, having generalized the time of day at the beginning of the action, has changed the plot and highlighted just one of the opposing elements, night. Finally, Kross adds a line that has no equivalent in the original: "ei siin soendanud ainuski tuli" ("not a singled flame glimmered there").

In the translation, Russia does not "seem to be a steppe, Asia"¹⁵, it is "Scythian" and "harborless" ("*Oli Venemaa kõle ja sküütlik*", literally "Russia was dank / harborless / a desert and Scythian"). Harborlessness, as a characteriza-

¹¹ «на снега, на поля, на погосты».

¹² «мимо сел, где ни дома, ни люда».

¹³ «в зимний день 43-го года».

¹⁴ «черная правда утвердилась над белой ложью».

¹⁵ «показалась степью, Азией».

tion of Russia, appears again in the direct speech of the censor (which, in Samoilov's version, is written as indirect speech):

Ах, в России не знают комфорта	Oh, in Russia they know not comfort
И пришлось по сугробам ползать.	And one has to climb through snowdrifts.
А работа? Работы до черта:	But work? He had work up to his ears:
Надо резать и чиркать, и мазать.	He must cut, and strike, and smear.

Compare to the translation:

“Oh kõledust!” ohkas ta valju,
 “roni hangedes... mõelda ei vääri!
 Ja tööd on nii kuradi palju...”
 Muudkui lõika ja kraabi ja määri.

In particular, one notices the section comprised of two stanzas that describes the censorship of letters from the front — in translation, they are shortened and result in one stanza:

Перед ним были писем завалы,	Before him lay piles of epistles
Буквы, строчки — прямые, кривые.	Letters, lines — straight, curved.
И писали друзьям генералы,	Generals wrote to their friends,
И писали домой рядовые.	And the rank and file wrote home.
Были письма, посланья, записки	There were letters, messages, notes
От живых, от смешавшихся	From the living, from those now mixed
	с прахом. with ashes.
То, что он называл «неарийским»,	That which he called “un-Aryan”,
Было, в сущности, стужей	Was, in fact, severe cold and fear.
	и страхом.

Compare to the translation:

Kirjad, kirjad... et silm nendest	Letters, letters... in them brightly
	kirju — in the eyes —
Loe ja hoia end hooletu vea eest —	Read and beware careless mistakes —
Saatsid kindralid koju siit kirju	Generals sent letters home from here
Ja kirju siit kirjutas reamees.	And letters from here wrote the ranks.

Most noticeable is the disappearance of the closing sentence of the second stanza. The omission is quite meaningful; Samoilov uses this construction twice: “That, which he called “nostalgia” / Was, in fact, fear and severe cold” and “that, which he called “un-Aryan”, / Was, in fact, severe cold and fear”¹⁶.

¹⁶ «То, что он называл “ностальгия” / Было, в сущности, страхом и стужей» и «То, что он называл “неарийским”, / Было, в сущности, стужей и страхом».

Никакой гениальный прозаик
Не сумел бы придумать такого.

The most genius of prosists
Could not have dreamed it up.

Compare to the translation:

Mustiks mustriteks liitusid read ja
Rida hõljudes libises reale.
Geniaalseimgi sõnadeseadja
Poleks eal tulnud taolise peale!

Lines were connected by black designs and
Line, hesitant, ran into line.
To the most genius of writers
It would never have come to mind!

Here it is important to note the translation's exclusion of all the "tirades", yet another marker of the time and place (here, "the East" is the translation of the significant word mentioned above, "*nach Osten*"; and therefore acts an equivalent of that marker). The adjective *murdered* as a description of "lines" furthers the mainstay theme of war (in the ballad and the poem as a whole); by skipping it, the translator rejects the plot parallels between the murdered soldiers and the murdered lines of their letters, overall weakening the theme of war. Instead, to compensate for the omitted lines, he sharply strengthens the phonetic tension within the stanza, filling it with repetition (*mustiks mustriteks, liitusid + libises, read + reale + peale + eal*, etc).

The translation includes a play on words that does not appear in the original: *mustiks mustriteks* (black designs). It is worth taking a look at Kross's play on color in his translation of this poem. While for Samoilov, cold (frost) is the defining feature of Russia, the translator emphasizes darkness and blackness specifically, and these are accented by the play on words. In this way Kross strengthens and reinforces the culminating scene of the ballad:

Он проснулся от страха и стужи
С диким чувством, подобным
удушью.

He awoke from fear and *severe cold*
With a wild feeling, like
suffocation.

Тьма была непрогляднее туши,
Окна были заляпаны тушью.

The darkness was *impenetrable ink*,
The windows were spattered with *ink*.

Он вдруг понял, что жизнь не бравада

He understood suddenly, that life is
not *bravado*

И что существование ничтожно.

And that that existence is insignificant.

И в душе его черная правда

And in his soul the *black truth*

Утвердилась над белой ложью.

Affirmed itself over the *white lie*.

Compare to the translation:

Õösel ärkas ta, liikmetes lõdin:
oli, justkui ta uppuma hakkaks.
Õõ, must nagu nõgine jõgi,
oli tušiga määrinud akna.

Ja ta korraga mõistis, kui nõder
 ta on, ja ta elu kui hale.
 Ja ta südames öötume tõde
 surus kõrvale *valeva vale*.

Again the *severe cold* is excluded, but the theme of darkness is strengthened by the insertion of the image of *night, black like a sooty river* (note the phonetic play of “*nagu nōgine jõgi*”). This deviation from the original (though Kross nevertheless strives for preciseness), it seems, is necessitated by the translator's poetic discovery.

Samoilov's fairly untraditional use of color adjectives has a plot motivation. The black ink of the censor strikes out the “truth” in letters, thus it is the truth that is *black*, rather than the lie, which would have been the more typical literary usage (compare to A. S. Khomyakov in “Russia”: “The courts are besmirched with black lies”, or A. N. Plescheev's “It was time: his sons...”: “With evil and darkness, with black untruth She calls now to battle...”). Kross uses the adjective, *valev*, which is phonetically closest to the Estonian word for lie, *vale*. The adjective means “white, light, sparkling or brilliantly white” (like snow). In order to emphasize the aural similarity, the translator makes “the truth” not only “black”, but “dark as night” (literal translation: “night, black, as if covered with soot / a sooty river”). Thus, the image that for Samoilov is the semantic climax is further strengthened in translation by phonetic emphases, in preparation for which other segments of text have also undergone alterations. At the same time, the translator rejects the associations that arise for the Russian reader, because those literary allusions are less effective for an Estonian reader (in this way the reader's experience and cultural context become less significant, since they are not as critical to understanding the translation). Earlier, the weakening of the motif of cold and the “disappearing overcoat” in translation was mentioned. In exchange, new accents emerge which are comprehensible outside a “Russian” cultural context; more specifically, they are comprehensible in *another* context (to readers not immersed in Russian culture, but familiar with Soviet realities).

One final observation: although Kross does not translate the sections including lists (epistles, lines, letters), thereby stripping out all associations of the protagonist's work with Gogol or Dostoevsky, he does at the end incorporate a picturesque image that implies, first and foremost, the theme of letters as fate. In Samoilov's original, the censor dies, and the conclusion of his path is presented with emphatically naïve simplicity:

Жил-был маленький цензор в Германии	Once there lived in Germany a little censor
Невысокого чина и звания.	Of low rank and title.
Он погиб, и его закопали,	He died, and they buried him,
А могилу его запахали.	But his grave they plowed.

The translation's censor is also weak and understated:

Elas väikene tsensor kord Saksas,	There lived a little censor once in Germany
Väike tsensor, kes tegi, mis jaksas.	A little censor, who did what he could.
Ja ta hukkus ja hauda ta aeti.	And he died, and they buried him.
Pärast haud künnivagudest kaeti...	Then his grave they plowed.

The grave of the censor here is not simply “plowed”, but literally “covered with plow furrows”, with black, tilled soil in furrows and lines. That is, the protagonist has repeated the fate of those lines from the letters that he covered with black ink. This parallel is not found in Samoilov's original.

Samoilov's ballad did not become part of the composition of “Nearby Countries” right away. It appears to have been added a result of the inscribing of the war plot in the literary tradition. The protagonist's return from war actualized the genre of the poem, which, in the Russian cultural consciousness of the mid-20th century, traced back mainly to the “frightening German ballad” adapted for Russian readers by Zhukovsky. However, by this time these roots of the genre were only weakly perceived. The story of the little censor in the ballad dedicated to him is built on a foundation of themes from classical Russian literature, making the “German” heritage of the main character one of his secondary and optional features. This allows Samoilov's contemporaries to read his verses as an allusion with a satirical subtext directed against not German, but Soviet censorship.

The ballad's translator, Jaan Kross, clearly takes advantage of the potential of such an interpretation. By extracting the ballad from the poetic whole (the poem “Nearby Countries”), he is able to ignore certain literary associations, which are likely irreproducible in translation anyway (even if they were reproducible, they would not “work”, as they would not be perceived by the reader as relevant). Nonetheless, Kross “finishes writing” the ballad itself, developing the potential of themes contained in the original, and thereby compensating for other losses of meaning. “The Ballad of the German Censor” in translation obtains a narrower allusory tint, which, by all appearances, is consistent with the intentions of David Samoilov.

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DAVID SAMOILOV'S POEM "RICHTER" AND ITS TRANSLATION BY JAAN KROSS*

LEA PILD

As noted by the commentators of the David Samoilov volume of the "Library of a Poet" collection, Samoilov's poem "Richter" was written in 1980 and originally published on January 9, 1981 in the newspaper "Literary Russia" («Литературная Россия») as "To Richter" [Примечания: 706]. It was also included in the poetry anthology "The Gulf" (1981).

Even in his youth, Svyatoslav Teofilovich Richter (1915–1997), the brilliant Russian pianist of German heritage, became a legendary, almost mythological personality in the minds of his contemporaries, thanks not only to the magnitude of his remarkable musical talent, but also to his extraordinary personal qualities. On the one hand, the text that is the focus of this article fits in with Samoilov's later works, in which he writes about artists (and not only about poets, but also painters, musicians, etc). Instead of this, in this case particular attention is drawn to Samoilov's verses that refer specifically to music and the lyrical hero's perception of music. It is worthwhile to consider not only the works of the 1970s and 1980s, but also earlier texts, since despite the importance of the "musical theme" to Samoilov (see, for example: [Сташенко]), he wrote many fewer poems about musicians and music than about poets and poetry. This article will take into account this wider context of Samoilov's work only when absolutely necessary; the main focus will be a close semantic analysis of the poem of interest. Here it is in full:

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Рихтер¹

Крыло рояля. Руки Рихтера,
 Изысканные, быстрые и сильные,
 Как скаковые лошади. Точнее
 Сравненья не умею подыскать.
 Он заставляет музыку смотреть,
 Угадывать ее предвестье
 В лице, фигуре, мимике и жесте.
 Не видя Рихтера теряешь что-то
 От вдохновения и мастерства,
 Как в письмах
 Утрачиваешь что-то от общенья.
 Транзисторщики и магнитофонцы,
 Мы музыку с собой таскать привыкли
 И приспособлявать ее к жилью.
 А Рихтер музыку возводит в зал
 И возвращает музыку в музыку.
 Прислушаемся к Рихтерову лику,
 К рукам задумчивого ездока,
 Вожатому коней, изваянных из звука...
 Так, колесницы умедляя ход
 На спуске с небосклона,
 Сам Гелиос внимает, как поет,
 Крыло откинув,
 Черный лебедь Аполлона [Самойлов 2006: 287–288].

The first part of "Richter" accents *visual* images, related to the performing appearance of the protagonist. In this case, we can talk about one of the most common motifs found in critics' reviews of Richter's concerts and about their descriptions of the art of Richter's piano playing in the 1970s through the 1990s. So, for example, Samoilov may have had access to the brochure about Richter, first published in 1977 by Gennady Moiseevich Tsypin, renowned musicologist and researcher of the creative psychology of musical performers.

¹ "Richter" — The wing of the grand piano. Richter's hands, / Exquisite, quick and strong, / Like racehorses. Rather, / A comparison I cannot find. / He makes one look at music, / to guess at its portents / in face, figure, mimicry, and gesture. / Having not seen Richter you lose something / Of inspiration and mastery, / As in letters / You lose the sense of interaction. / Men of transistors and tape players, / We've grown accustomed to carry music with us / And adapt it to our dwelling. / But Richter builds music in the hall / And returns music to *music*. / Hark to the face of Richter, / to the hands of the contemplative horseman, / Guide to the horses carved from sound... / Thus, while the chariots slow their pace / on the descent from the horizon, / Helios himself harkens to the singing / of the black swan of Apollo / with the wing thrown back.

Tsyypin deftly summarized a whole list of the views of his peers regarding the *visuality* of Richter's playing. For instance, among many others, he cites the statements of Richter's teacher, Heinrich Neuhaus, and renowned pianist Vera Gornostaeva, Richter's younger peer and professor at the Moscow Conservatory. From the brochure we read: "Richter is an artist who creates exclusively alive, nuanced, and characteristically precise soundscapes. Emanating from the hands of the pianist, they strike listeners as something absolutely real, almost absolutely tangible, like something distinctly *visible in every edge and contour*, almost "*substantive*", *stereoscopically voluminous*" [Цыпин: 20].

The statements of Richter's peers are congruous with another important motif that dominates the second part of the poem: the freedom of the pianist's art from all that is "everyday", "utilitarian", or not of true value (compare, for example: "...he never knew, and as a matter of principle didn't want to know the everyday, "worldly", vanities surrounding music" [Ibid: 12]). This contrast of Richter, who frees music from "vanities", to other performers who don't understand music's fundamental principles, can be found in Neuhaus's 1957 essay about Richter: "In this regard I am compelled to recall the words of my student, Jakov Zak, after one of Svyatoslav Richter's concerts in the Grand Hall of the Conservatory. He said something like this: 'In the world there is music that is pristine, sublime, and clean, simple and clear, like nature; people came and started to decorate music, draw patterns on it, dress it up in masks and costumes, and distort its meaning in every way. Then Svyatoslav appeared, and with one movement of his hand wiped away all that excess, and music became clear again, simple and pure'" [Нейгауз: 189–190] (the first edition of Neuhaus's diaries, notes, and articles was published in 1975, and so also may have been accessible to Samoilov when he composed "Richter"). Compare also musicologist and critic Leonid Gakkel's characterization: "Many, I think, say to him the lines of Thomas Mann: 'the piano is a direct and sovereign agent of music as such, music as *pure spirituality*, that's why one must master it' ("Doctor Faust"). That is why Richter has mastered it, the only reason!" [Гаккель].

The next layer of meaning in "Richter" is connected to a reference to a poem of Boris Pasternak: "the second-to-last genius", as Samoilov puts it². The image of the pianist carried aloft into the space above the earth can be found in Pasternak's well-known poem "Music" (1956). Specifically, this is a poetic reference to Alexander Nikolaevich Skryabin, whom Pasternak likened to God in "Safe Conduct" and in "People and Positions". As is well known, this comparison to Skryabin was already widespread at the beginning of the 1910s;

² Regarding the role of Pasternak's poetry in the creative work of Samoilov, see: [Немзер: 33–35].

it is recorded, for example, in Balmont's sonnet "Elf" (1916), which was dedicated to the author of "The Poem of Ecstasy": «И шли толпы. И был певучим гром. / И человеку бог был двойником. / Так Скрябина я видел за роялью»³ [Бальмонт: 422].

Analyzing the autobiographical layer of Pasternak's poem "Music", Boris Aronovich Katz writes, "...the piano is equated with God's covenant. But, by the way, if the poem's hero does not feel like God, then at the very least he is king of the world, humbly called a resident ..." [Кац: 28]. Compare:

Они тащили вверх рояль
 Над ширью городского моря,
 Как с заповедями скрижалъ
 На каменное плоскогорье.
 Жилец шестого этажа
 На землю посмотрел с балкона,
 Как бы в руках ее держа
 И ею властвуя законно⁴ [Пастернак: 112].

Samoilov's poem also speaks about the ascension of the pianist above those around him (the listeners), while he himself is clearly totally equated with divinity; however, in contrast to Pasternak, here the "heavenly" hue is fashioned entirely with ancient images (Helios, "Apollo's swan"). It is of note that Richter himself was associated with the ancient world in the consciousness of his contemporaries (see: [Цыпин: 27]).

Finally, the third layer of meaning in the poem is connected to Samoilov's other works. In 1979, Samoilov finished an article dedicated to Pasternak and entitled "The Second-to-last Genius", in which the description of the older poet's reading of verses not only corresponds with visual imagery, but builds itself on an entire series of images that coincide with the description of Richter's playing in the poem of 1980:

"It seems that only in Russia do poets know how to read verses from the stage. Pasternak in black, looking like a musician, sang out verses through his nose. His reading was amazing. His jutting *lips fully and sculpturally outlined the sound*. And that rare *visibility of sound* of Pasternak's verses happened. Probably this is how those exquisite horses, the houyhnhnms of Jonathan Swift's 'Gulliver's Travels', would read poetry" <italics here and hereafter mine. — L. P.> [Ca-

³ "And the multitudes went. And there was melodious thunder. / And god was the man's twin. / Thus Skryabin I saw at the piano" [Бальмонт: 422].

⁴ They lugged the piano up / above the expanse of the sea of the city, / Like a tablet with commandments / on a stone plateau. / The resident of the sixth floor / Looked at the earth from the balcony, / As if he held it in his hands / and ruled it by law.

мойлов 2000: 318]. Compare to “Richter”: “The hands of Richter / Exquisite, quick and strong, / Like *galloping horses*”; “He makes one *look at music*, / To guess at its portents / In face, figure, mimicry, and gesture”; “Hark to the face of Richter, / to the hands of the contemplative horseman, / Guide to the *horses carved from sound*” [Самойлов 2006: 287].

In this case one can speak of the direct subcontext of “Richter” in Samoilov’s article about Pasternak. Clearly, in this poem, in addition to a portrait of a great musician that by all appearances can be traced back mainly to Neuhaus’ and other contemporary musicians’ descriptions of Richter, there are grounds for seeing a portrait also of Pasternak. Samoilov had a complicated relationship with the poet, which gradually changed after the death of the author of “Doctor Zhivago” in the direction of unequivocal acceptance and admiration. So, for example, in Samoilov’s work of the 1970s and 1980s Pasternak became a symbol of “the exalted”, freed from the worldliness of art. In “The Second-to-last Genius”, in explaining to the reader why “Doctor Zhivago” did not make the right impression on Pasternak’s contemporaries when it came out, Samoilov writes: “At that time ‘Doctor Zhivago’ was incomprehensible to both readers and authorities. It’s possible that the Nobel Prize and all that past hullabaloo surrounding it, having hastened Pasternak’s death, knocked down and obscured the true meaning of the novel. The book attracted attention to all the hype raised around it. And at that time, I recall, few people liked it... At that time we thought about morality on a political level. That’s why Solzhenytsyn’s novels were closer and crowded out Pasternak’s wonderful novel” [Самойлов 2000: 318].

In his later poetry also Samoilov mused upon possible perceptions of his poetry and the creative works of today’s generation of poets “without hullabaloo” (that is, outside political, ideological, and literary arguments): «Пусть нас увидят без возни, / Без козней, розни и наждады, / Тогда и скажется: “Они — Из поздней пушкинской плеяды”. / Я нас возвысить не хочу. / Мы — послушники ясновидца... / Пока в России Пушкин дается, / Метелям не задуть свечу»⁵, (1978) [Самойлов 2006]. In the 1970s and subsequently, in the eyes of Samoilov, Pasternak became that “high” artist that managed to free himself, while still alive, from the political pressure of the times, accepting all that happens as historical fact: “It <“Doctor Zhivago”. — L. P.> discusses not that which would have been, if nothing had been, but the neces-

⁵ “Let them see us without hullabaloo, / without intrigue, hostility and strife, / Then it will be said, ‘They are of the latter pleiad of Pushkin’. / I don’t want to elevate us. / We are novices of that seer... / While Pushkin prevails in Russia, / The blizzard can’t extinguish the candle”.

sity of understanding one's time. And without judging that time (who has the right to do so!) to live fully and with dignity, that is, to be 'the music in the ice'" [Самойлов 2000: 319].

It is obvious that Svyatoslav Richter (the student of Boris Pasternak's close friend, Heinrich Neuhaus) in Samoilov's mind became a sort of alter ego to Pasternak, not only because in his art he achieved that hypostasis of the poet, which Pasternak had consciously rejected in his early youth (as we know, Pasternak consequentially rejected pianism and composition), but also because Richter's performing, artistic character was close to Pasternak's character as Samoilov understood it. As Richter's many colleagues and contemporaries bore witness, he successfully didn't notice or ignored the political regime: "With his back completely turned to politics, being always outside the regime, outside authority, he ingeniously shielded himself from it;" "When he decided something needed to be done, Slava did it. He had no fear before the regime. He simply stood with his back to it" [Горностаева]. In this way Richter's attitude toward the regime became, from his contemporaries' point of view, one of the manifestations of his freedom from "worldliness". It is just such a position that Samoilov later dreams for Pasternak, that spokesman for "high art", free of worldliness, although Samoilov understands that, at least for him, this was unattainable during his lifetime. For just this reason Samoilov partially identifies himself with the collective "we" that profanes and trivializes music.

Now let's turn to the poem's translation by the esteemed Estonian novelist Jaan Kross, who was bound by friendship to Samoilov for many years. In the bilingual collection "Bottomless Moments", published in Tallinn in 1990⁶, the poem "Richter", from the point of view of the original author and the translator, is representative of the extremely important theme of (artistic) culture that, first and foremost, unites two poets of different nationalities. The poem is written in blanc iambs (rhymes are found only in two places); this peculiarity of the metric structure allows Jaan Kross to translate most of the verses very close to the original, frequently not even changing the order of the words in a line ("Käed on Richteri / nii kaunid, väledad ja tugevad"; "Sa teda nägemata kaotad palju / nii meisterlikkuses kui vaimuhoos" [Самойлов, Кросс: 39]). Compositionally, the poem may be divided into two unequal parts. In the first part, Samoilov's lyrical hero shares with the reader his impressions of the visual appearance of the great pianist, his relationship to music, and contrasts Richter with modern audiophiles (14 lines). The conversational tone of this part ap-

⁶ Regarding the collection's structure and other translations of Samoilov by Jaan Kross see: [Степанищева: 2010; Степанищева: 2011].

pears also in the fragmentary syntax (14 lines arranged within seven complete sentences) and enjambment (the poem's rhythmic divisions often do not correspond to the syntactic divisions). In the second part (10 lines) there are only three sentences, and the poetic tone shifts from fragmentary to more fluid and melodic. Here the visual impressions of Richter's playing become concrete; in the eyes of the author, the performer is associated with the mythological figure of Helios the sun god. The piano also undergoes metamorphosis and becomes the black, singing swan of Apollo. In this way the performer (Helios, seated on the chariot and driving the horses that are Richter's hands) is distanced from his own performance and becomes a listener. In this case the poem, it seems, reflects the opinion, widespread among Richter's contemporaries and undoubtedly known to Samoilov, about the "artistic objectivity" or "photographic reliability" of Richter's performance art. The pianist himself believed that the performer must fully submit himself to the composer being performed and maximally reduce his own individuality.

This second part underwent substantial changes in translation to Estonian. Kross strove to preserve Samoilov's contrast of the two parts of the poem at the level of rhythm and syntax (the second part of the poem as described above also consists of three sentences in translation). Nonetheless, the enjambment here is nearly as frequent as in the first part of the poem (compare, for example: «Сам Гелиос внимаает, как поет, / Крыло откинув, / черный лебедь Аполлона» and "jäab Helioski kuulama, / kui laulab / Apollo / mustatiivuline luik" [Самойлов, Кросс: 43]). However, the most serious change occurs on the lexical-semantic level of the translation. First, from the translator's point of view, the performer bends the music being performed to his own will, literally, "makes it docile in nature and responsive to the hands of a quiet rider": "ja teeb ta ülevaks ja luulekaks/ ja enda loomusele kuulekaks/ ning altiks vaikse sõitja kätele, / ja sõitjale, kes rihmab hobuseid, / mis helist voolitud..." [Ibid: 39–43], at the moment when for Samoilov music becomes an objective fact, and the hands of the pianist are simply a tool, an instrument for the objectification of music, for returning it to *music*. Given this condition, the Helios in translation is not a personification of the pianist listening to his own playing, but becomes an additional character listening to the playing of "the rider".

The changes in the translation noted above can likely be explained by the fact that Jaan Kross did not reconstruct the intertextual space within which Samoilov composed his poem. Nonetheless, a range of important ideas in this poem were successfully transferred. Above all, the translation depicts an artist to whom is opened the freedom of handling materials. In contrast to an artist of the word, such freedom is always (independent of time) open to a great musi-

cian. This idea is emphasized by Jaan Kross in his translation, which, while changing the main idea of the original author, nevertheless closely preserves the aesthetic characteristics of late Samoilov.

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RUSSIAN CLASSICS IN SOVIET ESTONIA: JAAK KROSS'S TRANSLATION OF GRIBOEDOV'S COMEDY

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The two Estonian translations of Alexander Griboedov's comedy in verse "The Misfortune of Being Clever" ("Gore ot uma", 1824)¹ appeared in 1945 and 1964. Separated by 19 years, the two versions not only reflect the differing styles of the poet-translators of two different generations — Jaan Kärner (1891–1958) and Jaan Kross (1920–2007) — but also the characteristic features of the reception of Russian literature in two different periods in post-war Estonia.

This article is first and foremost concerned with Jaan Kross's interpretation of Griboedov's comedy, in the context of the 1960s. However, in order to reconstruct the translator's strategy and the reception of his text by his contemporaries, the preceding history of the reception of "Misfortune" in Stalinist-era Soviet Estonia must be addressed.

The simultaneous or shortly separated appearance of several translations of a single classical text is a fairly frequent occurrence in the process of familiarizing examples of foreign literature [Левый: 107]. Through the natural course of literary evolution, translations may dominate over the original compositions; however, the situation in post-war Estonia cannot be called "natural". During this period, all spheres of national culture were subject to the powerful influence of Soviet cultural politics, aimed at the full Sovietization of the new republics².

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¹ In the following discussion, the play's title will be abbreviated as "Misfortune".

² "Michael Lemke defines 'Sovietization' as a number of structural, institutional, and cultural processes of transfer and adoption of the Soviet model with the goal of the adjustment of non-Soviet societies to the social and political circumstances prevailing in the USSR" [Mertelsmann: 10].

One of the manifestations of this process was the massive expansion of specifically Russian literature in the annexed territories of the USSR. The predominance of the “Russian” over the “Soviet” is explained by the “Russocentric” character of Soviet ideology beginning at the end of the 1930s. The concepts of Russian as the Soviet lingua franca, Russian literature as the most “progressive” among the national literatures of the USSR, and the Russian people as “the first among equals”, were used by Soviet ideologues as “cementing forces” to strengthen the authority and legitimacy of the Soviet government [Brandenberger: 246]. And although in the consciousness of the masses “Soviet” meant “Russian”, Sovietization was not the same process as the Russification that occurred in the 19th century, as noted by Olaf Mertelsmann [Mertelsmann: 14]. In this context, translation into local languages and the mass popularization of works of 19th century Russian classics were an important part of the process of bringing the “young republics” into the pan-Soviet cultural denominator.

1. Griboedov's 150th

The appearance of the first Estonian translation of Griboedov's “Misfortune” in 1945 was undoubtedly a product of a direct order from the state. Griboedov's play had never been translated into Estonian previously (see: [Issakov: 24–28, 134; ERB]). Likely this is due first and foremost to the fact that for the older generation of Estonian readers, the comedy was familiar in its original language from the curriculum of the imperial schools³, while for the new generation Griboedov was not relevant. Not a single paper on his biography or comedy appeared in Estonian from 1913 to 1945 [ERB].

The occasion for the translation was the celebration of Griboedov's 150th birthday, conducted centrally and on a massive scale⁴ in the USSR on January 15, 1945. The All-Union Committee for the Celebration of Anniversaries had been formed in December, 1944, and on its heels, analogous committees in each of the national republics. These committees were responsible for developing programs and coordinating commemorative events at the local level [ΛΓ: 1944, 24 дек.: 1].

³ “Misfortune” was published in textbook anthologies of Russian literature during the period of Russification. Estonian schoolchildren were required to know the play and write essays about it [Pärli: 171, 174]. See also the testimony of O. Luts [Luts].

⁴ A total of 74 articles in the central newspapers were devoted to the commemoration [ΛΓC: 1944. № 50–52; 1945. № 1–4].

In the context of the “Russocentric” cultural politics of the Stalinist period, commemorations of the classics of Russian literature “became a part of the symbolism of friendship between nations”, while translations of their works into the national languages of the USSR became a translation of the achievements of “progressive Russian culture” [Мартин: 626]. This discourse certainly was reproduced in the reviews of commemoration preparation. As stated in the Estonian Komsomol newspaper “Noorte Hääl”: “The 150th anniversary of Griboedov’s birth is being celebrated by all in the large family of Soviet peoples. In our country [USSR], where the cultural achievements of one people [here, Russians] are valued equally by all the other peoples, Griboedov is renowned and beloved by the masses of all nations” [Purre]. The new translations were intended to confirm these declarations, and were an indispensable part of such cultural practices in the USSR⁵. “Literaturnaya gazeta” reported that for the 1945 commemoration, “Misfortune” would be translated into Armenian, Estonian, Ossetian, Uzbek, and Kyrgyz [ЛГ: 1945, 6 янв.: 1; 1945, 15 янв.: 4].

The translation of “Misfortune” into Estonian was emphasized in every possible way in the press of the ESSR. On January 6, the newspaper “Sirp ja vasar” announced that in summer of 1945, the comedy “will be released in a new Estonian translation” [SV 1945: 6. jaan.: 1]. The special celebratory edition of “Sovetskaya Estoniya” included an interview with Kärner: “The fiction section of the State Publisher of the ESSR included in its plan for 1945 a publication in Estonian of A. S. Griboedov’s timeless comedy ‘The Misfortune of Being Clever’. This important task <...> was entrusted to the famous Estonian poet Jaan Kärner”. According to the contract, the translation was to have been turned in by April 1 [Линев]. In “Postimees”, Oskar Luts devoted a large part of his article to the discussion of how to translate the comedy’s title into Estonian and whether or not Kärner had gotten it right [Luts]. At the ceremonial concert on January 15, Olev Eskola, an actor of Theater “Estonia”, read a monologue by Chatsky translated by Kärner [SV 1945: 20. jaan.: 3]. The February issue of “Looming” magazine contained the first excerpt of the comedy in Estonian — Famusov’s story about the fall of Maxim Petrovich (Act II, Scene II) [Looming: 230–231]⁶. Thus, Kärner’s work on “Misfortune” held important political significance: the translation was intended to demonstrate the cultural unity

⁵ Regarding commemorations of other classical authors in the USSR, see: [Friedberg; Moeller-Sally; Levitt; Костин]. The cultural elite of Estonia began mastering these forms of Soviet celebration in 1940–41 [Пономарева].

⁶ Note that the Russian text of the same excerpt was published among the commemorative pieces in “Sovetskaya Estoniya” (№ 11).

of the Estonian people with the “family of nations” of the USSR via the celebration of Griboedov's 150th.

Kärner, clearly, was the appropriate candidate to fulfill such an ideologically significant requisition. During the period of independence, he had been famous as a poet, editor, and experienced translator from German and Russian, having translated J. Goethe, H. Heine, Fr. Schiller, A. Chekhov, and K. Chukovsky [ERB]. In 1940 he “welcomed” the overturn, along with J. Vares-Barbarus and J. Sütiste [Kalda: 134] and began actively cooperating with the Soviet authorities — he was appointed editor-in-chief of the publishing house “Ilukirjandus ja kunst”, wrote pro-Soviet poems, and translated Mayakovsky [Muru: 5]. At the beginning of the war Kärner was evacuated to the rear, where he constantly affirmed his loyalty by releasing patriotic verses, agitating Estonians on the radio, and translating the lyrics of the national anthem of the USSR. Upon returning to Estonia, he occupied the post of editor-in-chief of “Looming” magazine and continued his poetic and translation activities [Ibid: 6–7]. As a sign of the authorities' gratitude toward Kärner, he was awarded the title of National Author of the ESSR in 1946 [Olesk: 96].

Despite the time constraints, the author fulfilled his obligation, and “Misfortune” in Estonian was submitted to the press on June 29, 1945 [Kärner: 156]. From that moment, Griboedov's comedy was firmly embedded in Estonia's “official anthology” of literature (Robert Escarpit's term, [Добренко: 131]), and above all, in the school curriculum.

2. Curriculum and Translations

In the research dedicated to Estonian schools of the Soviet period, their educational and propagandistic functions have been investigated either as a whole [Sirk; Nagel] or through analysis of specific teaching materials for the subject of history [Kreegipuu; Raudsepp]. However, in addition to history, party ideologists gave literature an important role in “communist education” — above all, the requirement to master the Soviet canon, the core of which was made up of the classics of Russian literature [Пономарев; Pilve: 8]. As declared in the 1946 literature curriculum for Estonian schools: “They <classics> will help us create a new man, instilling in our youth socialist humanism, ideology, love and devotion to the motherland and the people, and selflessness in the conservation and protection of the motherland” [Õppekavad 1946: 33].

It is important to note that in the few Russian-language schools in the ESSR in the 1940s and 50s, students mastered “their own” anthology in literature

lessons, reading Russian classics of the past or present, and giving minimal study time to foreign-language authors⁷. In the national schools, classics of Estonian literature were studied on the same level as “foreign” literatures — Russian and European⁸. Despite these great curricular differences, there was one very important similarity: **students of both types of school in the ESSR read the works of Russian classics each in his own native language**. As far as language is concerned, no Russification took place during Literature lessons: the official canon was translated into the language of each specific national school — beginning in the 1940s, Sh. Rustaveli, W. Shakespeare, M. Lomonosov, A. Radishev, A. Pushkin, T. Shevchenko, M. Gorky, A. Fadeev, etc. were read by Estonian schoolchildren in Estonian.

This feature of Soviet educational policy naturally required a large quantity of translations of the authors in the Soviet anthology into the languages of the national republics of the USSR. Thus it is unsurprising that after 1944, the volume of translation into Estonian also increased significantly. According to Danielle Monticelli, while the decade preceding the war (1929–1939) saw translations comprising only 15% of the belle-lettres published in Estonia, the analogous post-war decade (1944–1954) saw translations comprise 48.5% of local literary works. Of these, translations of foreign classics (Goethe, Balzac, Cervantes, Dickens, etc.) made up only a small portion, from 2% to 18% in different years [Monticelli: 188–189]. Monticelli noted: “The absolutely preponderant share ... of post-war literary translations into Estonian was restricted to the classics of 19th century Russian literature (A. Pushkin, M. Lermontov, A. Chekhov, L. Tolstoy, etc.) and mostly contemporary Russian authors (primarily M. Gorky, but also M. Sholokhov, D. Furmanov, A. Fadeev, etc.)” [Ibid: 191]. These findings distinctly correlate with the school curricula, pointing to translations’ direct reliance on educational policy in the ESSR. Those classics included in the Literature curriculum for Estonian schools were translated first and foremost.

Significantly, as soon as the translation of Griboedov’s comedy came off the press, it was immediately included in the updated curriculum of 1946 [Öppe-

⁷ Per the 1949 curriculum for Russian-language schools in the ESSR, in grades 8–11, from the total of 462 hours devoted to the subject of Literature: “works of the peoples of the USSR” were allotted 18 hours (3.9%), western European classics were allotted 29 hours (6.3%), and the rest of the time was devoted to Russian authors [Программы 1949]. Foreign-language literature was completely excluded from the Literature curriculum in 1951 [Пономарев]. The study of Estonian authors in these schools was never intended from the beginning.

⁸ In 1946, Estonian-language schools devoted 340 hours to the subject of “Literature” in grades 8–11, of which 157 hours were devoted to national authors and themes (46%), 129 hours to Russian authors (38%), and 54 hours to European authors (15%).

kavad 1946: 68] and in reading textbooks [Lugemik 1946: 71–102]⁹. Kärner's translation received mass distribution specifically through this channel. The relatively small run of the only edition of "Misfortune" — 7,200 copies — is not comparable to the general circulations of textbooks and anthologies for Estonian schools (7,000–12,000 copies of each edition), in which large excerpts from the comedy were reproduced. Altogether, from 1946 to 1956, Kärner's translation was included in four editions of Russian Literature textbooks for the 8th grade [Lugemik 1946: 71–102; Lugemik 1948: 106–142; Lugemik 1949¹⁰: 147–179], and as often again in the Estonian translation of the textbook "Selections of Russian Literature for the 8th Grade" by A. Zhertchaninov and N. Porfiridov [Vene kirjandus 1949: 276–297], which underwent five editions by 1954 [ERB]. Selected quotes and excerpts from Kärner's translation of "Misfortune" illustrated a short essay about Griboedov and his comedy in H. Reinop's and H. Tobias's textbook of Russian Literature for the 8th grade, and after the reforms of 1963–64, for the 9th grade of Estonian schools¹¹ [Vene kirjandus 1961: 15–16; Vene kirjandus 1964: 17, 141–145]. In total, over the course of more than 20 years, Estonian readers became acquainted en masse with "Misfortune" and the biography of its author through these publications, reading excerpts selected by the books' compilers from Kärner's translation and perceiving the interpretational patterns suggested by the educational program.

From the beginning of The Thaw (1956–1968), the national republics of the USSR underwent gradual de-Stalinization and decentralization. By the end of the 1950s, this process also reached the educational system, reforming its structure [Sirk], but, more importantly, granting it greater freedom to teach national history and literature. In 1957–58, Estonian History was introduced as a separate subject [Pilve: 13], and the volume of Russian authors studied in Literature classes began to decrease noticeably.

This had a direct impact on Griboedov's relevance. The peak of his study in Estonian schools came in the mid-1950s. While in 1946 the study of his biography and comedy received three hours of class time [Õppekavad 1946: 68], by 1955–56, it was six hours [Programm 1955/56: 15]. Thereafter, the time devoted to Griboedov was sharply reduced. Starting in 1957, Griboedov and his comedy were no longer studied as an independent unit. Now he received

⁹ Griboedov was not yet included in either "Selections of Russian Literature for the 8th Grade", compiled before 12/30/1944 by B. Sööt [Sööt 1945], or in the 1944–45 curriculum [Õppekava 44/45: 8–9].

¹⁰ Reprinted three times in 1953, 1954, and 1956; see: [ERB].

¹¹ The 8th grade textbook was published from 1959 to 1961, and the 9th grade textbook from 1963 to 1966 (a total of six editions); see: [ERB].

attention only as part of the overview of “Literature of the first period of the Russian liberation movement”, where all representatives of early 19th century literature together received a total of three class hours [Programmid 1957/58: 17]. After 1963, his study in the 9th grade of Estonian schools was permanently reduced. According to the new curriculum, all of “Russian literature through Pushkin” received two hours, at the end of which followed a brief overview of “the most notable representatives of the first period of the Russian liberation movement: K. Ryleev, A. Griboedov, and I. Krylov” [Programmid 1963/64: 72]. Ultimately, by the beginning of the 1960s Estonian schools no longer needed new translations of “Misfortune”, from which one may conclude that Kross’s 1964 translation fulfilled a principally different function than Kärner’s prior translation. However, Kross undoubtedly took into account the interpretational patterns of the preceding period in his translation work.

3. Chatsky in a Soviet Jacket

Griboedov, like all Russian classics in the Stalinist era without exception [Пономарев], was described by a series of established formulas: “great Russian writer”, “world-class writer”, “writer-patriot”, “writer-realist”, and “Russian language master” [ЛГ 1945, 15 янв.: 1; ЛГС: 1945, № 2: 36–37]. These elements of official discourse of the era later went out of use; however, the official interpretation of Griboedov’s biography and comedy turned out to be considerably more enduring.

First, in order to legitimize the nobility-class author, it was necessary to include him among the “progressive” classics via Lenin’s periodization of the revolutionary movement as applied to the foundation of Russian literary history [Пономарев]. As a result, Griboedov was officially included among the Decembrists who “awakened Herzen” [Орлов 1946: 11, 33]. Scientific justification of this ideological construction was provided by M. Nechkina’s work “Griboedov and the Decembrists” [Нечкина 1946; Нечкина 1951]¹². The familiar extension of this logic was the assertion that the comedy’s hero, Chatsky, is also a Decembrist [ЛГ 1945, 15 янв.: 2; Мартынова; Urgart: 234].

¹² This interpretation was repeated in educational materials. After familiarization with the content of “Misfortune”, pupils were to parse the topic of “Griboedov and the Decembrists and the latter’s stance toward Griboedov’s comedy”, knowledge of which was required on final exams [Õrpekavad 1946: 68; Piletid 1946/47: 6]. See: [Программы 1949: 26; Programmid 1954/55: 11; Programmid 1955/56: 15; Programmid 1957/58: 17; Programmid 1963/64: 72; Vene kirjandus 1957: 10; Vene kirjandus 1961: 14–15; Vene kirjandus 1977: 23; Vene kirjandus 1982: 29].

Second, such an interpretation automatically defined the comedy's matrix of perception as an act of struggle between its author and the czarist regime, and between the Decembrist Chatsky and Moscow society. "Chatsky's heated and angry monologues, arousing hatred toward the autocratic and self-owning class, are filled with scathing criticism of the representatives of this class, of all noble-bureaucratic society. The deadly force of Griboedov's irony unveiled the true essence of the Famusovs, the Molchalins, the Skalozubs" [ΛΓ 1945, 15 ЯНВ.: 1]. Note that within the Soviet discourse, the pluralized use of the personal names of specific characters in the comedy made them generalized nouns for "enemies". Soviet ideologues suggested using examples of similar negative typecasting in classical comedies (above all: Fonvizin's "The Minor", Gogol's "The Inspector General" and Griboedov's "Misfortune") as "talented agitations" for the ridicule and neutralization of modern "class enemies" [Луначарский: 334; Лугемик 1949: 183]. This, in turn, necessitated ignoring the love story and concentrating on the dialogue that revealed, on the one hand, the characteristic features of the main representatives of the enemy camp, and on the other hand, the progressiveness of the protagonist — an emphasis reflected in the excerpts selected for school anthologies¹³. Special attention was paid to the dialogue at the ball about the dangers of science (Act III, Scene 21), or, at a minimum, to the quote from Famusov, "I'd take all the books and burn them!" — the line that became a kind of motto for the character¹⁴. As O. Urgart wrote in 1945: "If we find today more such Famusovs who believe that ruination comes from books, and who would burn all books with great pleasure, then we should also have Chatskys who would, with their ideology, attack this with increasing fury" [Urgart: 234].

Third, the relevance and significance of Griboedov's comedy were reinforced by, among other things, its references to the authority of V. Lenin. "No other work of Russian or western European literature", wrote literary scholar A. Tseitlin, "was quoted as often by Lenin as 'The Misfortune of Being Clever'. Over the course of almost 30 years, Lenin referenced the ingenious Russian comedy 88 times" [Цейтлин: 265]. Examples of Lenin's use of quotes and images from "Misfortune" in the battle against "enemies" comprised a large part of any article about Griboedov written in the 1940s and 50s. Characteristically,

¹³ Anthologies included the following excerpts: Act II: Scenes: 1 (Famusov), 2–6 (Famusov, Skalozub vs. Chatsky); Act III: Scene 3 (Molchalin vs. Chatsky); Act IV: Scenes: 10–15 (Sofia, Molchalin, Famusov, Liza vs. Chatsky) [Лугемик 1946: 71–102; Лугемик 1948: 106–142; Лугемик 1949: 147–179]. The Reinop / Tobias textbook included the excerpt from Act II, Scene 2 (Famusov vs. Chatsky) [Vene kirjandus 1964: 141–145].

¹⁴ [Vene kirjandus 1961: 15–16; Vene kirjandus 1977: 21–22].

special works dedicated to the “Leninist” method of quoting Griboedov’s plays provided a list of “aphorisms” [Цейтлин: 276] to which Soviet citizens were to pay special attention. This list was repeated in its entirety in general volumes of Russian “aphorisms” [Ашукин: 12–13, 28, 88, 159, 182, 380, 439, 471, 557, 567, 608, 613]. As a result, quotes from “Misfortune” that had long been in Russian language usage began to be imbued with Lenin’s authority, and the memorization of these aphorisms became one of the central practical methods of working with its text in Soviet schools up to the 1980s, regardless of the language of instruction [Хрестоматия 1950: 219–220, 246–247; Vene kirjandus 1977: 19].

4. A New Epoch — A New Translation

As noted above, Kärner’s translation appeared in 1945 in response to a government order: on the one hand, as an essential cultural achievement of a “young” republic for the celebration of Griboedov’s sesquicentennial, and on the other, as an important element of the Sovietized literature curriculum.

Now, in the new era of “thawing”, and in a fundamentally different context, Kross’s translation appeared. The new edition of “Misfortune” in Estonian was published by “Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus” (“Estonian State Publishing” — ESP) at the beginning of 1964 in a circulation of 6,000 copies [Kross 1964: 136]. ESP’s activity in this period was marked by constant delays in the release of books and failure to complete translation plans. This happened, for example, with another of Kross’s translations, E. Rostand’s comedy in verse “Cyrano de Bergerac”, which was published not in 1961, as stated in the initial, August 7, 1959 contract with the translator [Kirjastusportfellid: 105], but only in December of 1963 [Rostand: 4]. The history of the release of the translation of “Misfortune” was different. No preliminary agreements regarding the translation of Griboedov’s comedy are to be found in ESP’s archive¹⁵. Only the editorial manuscript showing Kross’s edits, approved on August 26, 1963, has been preserved [Kross 1963: 1]. Five days later, on August 31, the text went to the typesetter [Kross 1964: 136], after which the prepared translation was not sent to press until January 22, 1964 [Ibid]. Presumably, this delay could have been connected with the lack of paper resources allocated according to “plan”, since the book had not been accounted for in the publishing plan of 1963. In such a situation, publication could occur only in the next calendar year; that is,

¹⁵ ERA. Fond-1965. Nim. 1. Nr 153, 190, 193, 296, 340.

in January 1964. According to what follows, Kross, apparently, submitted to ESP an already-complete translation he had prepared for a different client.

It is important to note that in comparison to translations of the Stalinist era, this translation was a product of a different model of literary production. Kross, who had been repressed in 1946, worked as a freelance translator after his return from the labor camp in 1954 [Olesk: 104]. From that moment on he worked simultaneously on translating a large amount of literature for different Estonian journals and publications from German, French, and Russian: Heine, Beranger, B. Brecht, Gorky, S. Yesenin, Shakespeare, E. Rostand [Talviste]. Kross began working with ESP on April 21, 1956, when they signed a contract regarding the translation of J. Beranger's songs [Kirjastusportfellid: 18]. Katre Talviste has suggested that the reason for Kross's intensive translation activity was that "in the post-Stalinist Estonia it was <...> the only way left open for non-conformist writers and intellectuals to support themselves financially" [Talviste: 372]. It is worth noting here that this was not only a means of supporting himself, but to earn very good money. According to the publishing contract, for Beranger's songs Kross was to receive 21,000 rubles¹⁶ [Kirjastusportfellid: 18]; for his next job, a translation of Rostan's comedy, the translator was offered an honorarium of 22,000 rubles [Ibid: 105]. This aspect of literary production cannot be ignored in researching Kross's translation activities of the 1950s–70s in general, and in particular regarding "Misfortune". If the translation of Griboedov's comedy was truly ready at the moment the manuscript was submitted to ESP, then from the translator's point of view, it was an additional opportunity to earn money, and from the publisher's point of view, it was an opportunity to release without delay an edition of a reliable, canonical classic. This last reason, undoubtedly, must have contributed to the acceptance of the comedy for publication outside of the annual plan. These suppositions, however, do not answer the question of why Kross completed this translation in the first place.

As noted above, the literature curriculum in Estonian schools had undergone serious changes by the beginning of the 1960s — Griboedov was no longer given much attention — and in this context new translations were clearly not in demand. The same can be said regarding a potential commemoration. The fact that 1964–65 would mark Griboedov's 170th birthday was noted in the USSR only in "Literaturnaya Armeniya" ("Literary Armenia") magazine [Саакян]. No other print media in 1964–65 contained a single article

¹⁶ Compare to the earned incomes of others at the same publishing house on December 4, 1959: head accountant, 1,000 rubles; cost accountant, 600 rubles; typist, 410 rubles [Revideerimisakt: 58].

about the anniversary [Указатели ЛЖС; Указатели ЛГС; Artiklite kroonika 1964–65]. The approaching 175th birthday of the comic author was celebrated later, in 1969–70 [Фомичев: 4].

Kross received his commission from the theater. In contrast to Kärner, whose “Misfortune” was very rarely performed in Estonian theaters¹⁷, the new translation was commissioned directly by the Vanemuine Theater specifically for the young director Heikki Haravee (1924–2003), who was preparing a performance of Griboedov’s comedy as his thesis work to graduate from his “Advanced Directing Courses” (at GITIS — the State Institute for Theatre Art) in Moscow [Tormis; Tonts: 87]. The play was approved for production on June 28, 1962 [Tonts: 283], and premiered on January 20, 1963 [Kask: 546]. Obviously, Kross’s translation of “Misfortune” should be dated specifically to this time¹⁸. From this, two conclusions can be drawn: first, that the text submitted to the publisher was truly already completed, and second, that the text was not originally intended for publication as a book (like Kärner), but for the text to be spoken from the stage, which must undoubtedly be reflected in the poet’s manner of translation.

It is significant that the only detailed review of Vanemuine’s performance of “Misfortune” contrasted Kärner’s “schoolbook” translation with Kross’s “theatrical” translation. Lea Tormis wrote:

The translation composed in a hurry by Jaan Kärner, through which the Estonian reader-viewer knows this work, did not accurately represent the significant values in Griboedov’s play and did not facilitate its popularization. And if a classic work is already speckled with undeserved museum dust, when it becomes an ordinary image of the history of literature, just another required reading in school, then bringing it to life on stage is no easy task. Vanemuine’s production is far from ideal. But there is no scent of the museum about it. Griboedov’s keen sense here finds a way into the hearts and minds of our contemporaries. The new translation, commissioned by the theater from Jaan Kross, has value as an independent work. Griboedov’s terseness, mordacity, wit, and sparkling verse generally find adequate expression. And this was served, of course, by the great support of the production team [Tormis].

This article was published on July 19, 1963 and expressed the opinion of the reviewer, who understood the text only based on what she heard from the stage and without the chance to read the as-yet unpublished translation. From this

¹⁷ Of the professional theaters, only the Tallinn Dramatic Theater attempted to put on “Misfortune” in 1946 and 1948; however, both attempts received poor reviews from critics [Kask: 148, 169].

¹⁸ Immediately before and, apparently, during his work on “Misfortune”, Kross translated Rostan’s comedy in verse, which indicates the necessity of future research into possible connections between the two translations.

perspective, Tormis's evaluation is particularly important, since it demonstrates Kross's success in creating a "stage" version of "Misfortune" in Estonian. In essence, a situation arose that is characteristic of European and Russian translations of classics: the two translations of Griboedov's comedy "occupied different mediums: one in literature [and curriculum], another in the theater;" a "dual canon" arose characteristic for, say, translations of Shakespeare [Semenko: 64–65].

It should be noted that Tormis evaluated the new translation and its production as "adequate" and oriented toward a modern audiences. She wrote that Haravee's "Chatsky no longer stands on the marble pedestal of a classical hero, but approaches close to us with his human pain, love, and suffering" [Tormis]. The reviewer underscored the director's rejection of authoritative theatrical traditions and the presence of an independent concept, the most important features of which were the "deheroization" of Chatsky and a deep development of the love triangle among Chatsky, Sophia, and Molchalin. "Sophia", Tormis believed, "was conceived by the director as a kindred soul to Chatsky, who, due to stubbornness arising from injured feelings, temporarily sees in Chatsky only an evil and cruel mocker, who loves not the real but an imagined Molchalin, and who understands with horror in the end how wrong she had been about both of them. With such a Sophia, Chatsky's love and disappointment have the great strength and weight of tragedy, since he receives a blow from the place from which, more than from anywhere, he could have expected understanding and support" [Ibid]. The actor chosen for Chatsky's role, the young actor Evald Hermaküla, also, in the reviewer's opinion, agreed with the director's desire to avoid "the traditional cold quibbling, heroic posing and false pathos". Vanemuine's Chatsky suddenly became understandable, like a real, living person in particular circumstances, "young and lyrical", and "very deeply and painfully experiencing unhappiness in love and loneliness in a false and duplicitous society" [Ibid].

One cannot but notice that the tendency towards the deheroization of Chatsky and the increased intimacy of his relationship with Sophia gives Haravee's production at Vanemuine a distinct typological similarity to the production of "Misfortune" put on by G. Tovstonogov at the Bolshoy Dramaticheskoy Teatr (BDT — the Grand Dramatic Theater) in Leningrad, whose premiere took place on October 20, 1962, three months before the premiere in Tartu. The Leningrad production elicited from critics of the older generation, such as B. Alpers (1894–1974), sharp polemics and accusations of a misrepresentation of the "ideological" conception of the source and of "destruction of its foundational social conflicts" [СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВА: 315, 320]. The claims referred to Tov-

stonogov's reconceptualization of the portrayals of the negative characters, which supposedly endowed them either with positive characteristics (Famusov, Skalozub, Molchalin), or made enemies of those close to Chatsky (Sophia). Chatsky himself, as played by S. Yursky, transformed, in Alpers's opinion, into an "insignificant young man", good, but "weak-spirited", who sobbed his way through the play and fell into a swoon at the finale [Свидетельства: 317–319]. However, young contemporaries gave exclusively high marks to the BDT's production, noting Chatsky's conflict with Muscovite society, his passion toward Sophia, and the compellingly "live" characters [Ibid: 308]. For the majority of viewers, the comedy had an ultramodern, almost journalistic ring: "Famusov is presented as a man who we know well from the recent past, a man hiding egoism, avarice, and moral unscrupulousness behind magnificent and loud words", wrote one critic, hinting at Stalinist functionaries [Ibid: 380].

In contrast to Tovstonogov's production, on the stage of the Maly Teatr (the Small Theater) in Moscow (on January 21, 1963, the day after the premiere at Vanemuine) a different interpretation of "Misfortune" was presented, with the heroic Chatsky the Decembrist at the center. The Decembrists in this production even received physical incarnation, appearing as silent figures in the prologue and epilogue, and in the finale, Chatsky stood among their ranks [Ibid: 314]. The interpretations of the remaining characters were reduced exclusively to negative features, emphasizing the protagonist's separation from them.

It should be noted that the production staged in the Small Theater is mentioned by Tormis in her review as she emphasized that the finale at Vanemuine was "more traditional" [Tormis]. Only in this reference does the Estonian reviewer mention the Decembrists, thereby not decisively contrasting the official interpretation with the production put on by the Tartu theater. In one way or another, the production of "Misfortune" in Kross's translation and as interpreted by Haravee reflected an attempt to reject Soviet ideological patterns and reinterpret Griboedov's comedy from the point of view of personal values (the relationship between men and women, growing up, conflict with the older generation). In this regard, the Estonian producers took the same tack as Tovstonogov¹⁹.

But to what degree did this new theatrical interpretation of Griboedov influence Kross's translation? At first glance, it seems that there is no basis for supposing that the translator shared these views. The afterword in the published comedy reproduces the central ideologies of the official interpretation of

¹⁹ The question of possible contacts between Vanemuine and BDT requires special attention. Significantly, at the end of the 1960s even representatives of the official sciences in the USSR began to note the "extraordinary inconsistency in interpretation" and the necessity of reevaluating official views of Griboedov [Фомичев: 4].

“Misfortune”: its “historical and political significance” is noted, as is “Griboedov’s close association with the Decembrists” and their use of the comedy for “propaganda”, etc.; it is worth noting the traditional (in the Estonian context) reference to the first edition of the German translation of the comedy in Tallinn²⁰ [Kross 1964: 134–135]. Nevertheless, the afterword must not be looked upon as an expression of the translator’s position. First, the text in question is a compilation of theses from the forewords and commentaries of V. Orlov [Орлов 1959: V–VIII; Грибоедов: 662], whose edition of Griboedov’s “Essays” Kross mentioned as a source for his translation [Kross 1964: 4]. Second, Kross later admitted how easy it had been for him to fabricate Soviet discourse for publications of classics [Kross 2003: 210]. In sum, the only reliable source remains the text of the comedy itself.

Note that the afterword lacks one of the most important of the Soviet lines of argument regarding Griboedov: the reference to Lenin. As expressed by Orlov: “The Great Lenin highly valued the crushing strength of Griboedov’s word. He often referred to sayings by Griboedov and to the images he created when exposing and destroying the enemies of the people and the revolution” [Орлов 1959: XXIV]. As noted above, it was particularly those “aphorisms” consecrated by Lenin’s use of them that held the most ideological weight in the text of the comedy. And if the entire comedy were to be adequately translated, then these elements should have received particular attention. Regarding this, the next section will attempt to reconstruct Kross’s attitude toward “Misfortune” and his translation strategy by comparatively analyzing such aphoristic moments in each Estonian translation.

5. Kross vs. Kärner

Soviet policy regarding translation into national languages in the Stalinist era was controlled by a special Commission on the literatures of the peoples of the USSR at the Union of Soviet Writers in Moscow. Its instructions were carried out by local Unions, which were responsible for training translation personnel [Tõlkeküsimused: 4], and for monitoring translation quality and reviewing publications to see how closely this or that translation “in its artistic level” “attained” or “did not attain” the level of the next “great master of the Russian word” [Ibid: 1, 10]. The obvious subjectivity of such reviews did not add clarity to translators’ tasks. How, in practice, to maintain the required level and find a balance between the linguistic material of the original and the particularities

²⁰ Compare: [Urgart: 235; Vene kirjandus 1974: 23]

of national traditions had to be decided by each translator to his own success or detriment.

In such a situation, clearly, the safest route was to attempt a “precise translation” (in the terms of I. Levý [Левый: 120]). This tendency is reflected in Kärner’s translation of “Misfortune”.

Kärner admitted in an interview with “Sovetskaya Estoniya”: “The translation of Griboedov’s timeless comedy is no easy task. It is very difficult to attain in translation the precise shades of Griboedov’s brilliant, lyrical dialogue. Griboedov’s flawless rhyme further compounds the difficulties of translation” [Линев]. From this, one may conclude that Kärner paid particular attention to rhyme, verse, and accuracy in conveying meaning.

In 1960, when Kross was working on his translation, varied-footed iambs, rich rhyme, and the aphoristic character of the poetry continued to be seen as properties of Griboedov’s text independent of the mitigation of monitoring and changes in interpretations of “Misfortune” [Kross 1964: 134]. Rhyme in “Misfortune”, as noted by Boris Tomashevsky, fulfilled a constructive function in free iambic, separating “verse from verse” [Томашевский: 78], making it and its very size indispensable.

Both Kärner and Kross attempt to meet these conditions. Each varies the volume of the verses, like in the original, from six- to single-footed iambs; however, it is the rhyme that appears to be the deciding factor in their construction of phrases. Thus, in the rare case of Griboedov’s use of monosyllabic verse, so-called “verses in echo”, “repetition of the rhyme of the preceding verse” [Ibid: 91], both translators convey these with significantly longer phrases, though preserving the rhyme:

Нет-с, свой талант у всех... — У вас? / Два-с [Грибоедов: 55]
No, everyone has a talent... And you? / Two

Ja teid? / Mul kaks on neid [Kärner: 81]
And you? / I have two

Ja teil — kui küsitaks? / Mul? Kaks [Kross 1964: 71]
And you, if they asked? / Me? Two

In another, similar case, Kärner attempts to preserve the monosyllabic verse, translating word-for-word, but he loses the rhyme:

На завтрашний спектакль имеете билет? / Нет... /
<...> напрасно бы кто взялся [Грибоедов: 66]

To tomorrow’s play do you have a ticket? / No... /
...it is a vain undertaking

Kas on teil pilet homseks etenduseks või? / **Ei.** /
 <...> korda läinud [Kärner: 97]

Do you have a ticket to tomorrow's performance? / No. / ...he left

Kas homseks teatrisse teil pilet on? / Ei **veel.** / <...> miskil **teel** [Kross 1964: 84]
 To tomorrow's theater do you have a ticket? / Not yet. / ...another way.

Kross finds a solution by transferring the rhyme to the next line, thereby lengthening it, but preserving the overall rhyme structure of the original.

To these two main structural characteristics of Griboedov's text, which both translators attempt to convey, an ideological burden is added. The following moments are particularly telling regarding the translation strategies of Kärner and Kross.

1. The couplet by Famosov, quoted in every schoolbook:

Сергей Сергеевич, нет! Уж коли зло пресечь:
 Забрать все книги бы, да **сжечь** [Грибоедов: 79]

Sergey Sergeevich, no! Oh, but to suppress evil:
 I'd take all the books and burn them.

Sergei Sergeitš, ei! Kui kurja **juurida**:
 kõik võtta raamatud ja panna põlema [Kärner: 116]

Sergey Sergeevich, no! To uproot evil:
 I'd take all books and set them afire.

Ei, ei! Et pahed kaoks, te võtke, **isake**,
 Kõik raamatud ja tulle **visake!** [Kross: 100]

No, no! That vices would vanish, take, Father,
 All the books and throw them to the flame!

Here, Kärner translates word-for-word, down to Skalozub's name and patronymic, and thereby loses the rhyme, while Kross preserves the rich paired rhyme by changing the words and foot-length (instead of 6–4, he uses 5–5).

2. The most oft-quoted beginning of Chatsky's monologue "And who are the judges?" [Цейтлин: 276; Ашукин: 13, 100]

А судьи кто? — За древностию **лет**
 К свободной жизни их вражда непримирима,
 Сужденья черпают из забытых **газет**
 Времен очаковских и покоренья **Крыма**; [Грибоедов: 37]

And who are the judges? As they age
 Their hostility toward the life of liberty becomes implacable,

Judgments derived from forgotten newspapers
From the time of Ochakov and the conquest of Crimea;

Kärner reproduces this word-for-word:

Ent kohtunikud kes? — Nad raukluse**st**
on vaba elu vastu leppimatus vim**mas**
ja vaateid ammutavad unund lehted**est**
me võiduaegadelt Otsakovis ja Krim**mis**; [Kärner: 55]

But who are the judges? They from decrepitude
are irreconcilable hostility to the free life
And with judgements derived from forgotten newspapers
from the time of our victory at Ochakov and Crimea

Kross conveys these lines differently. First, he notes the internal, word-root rhyme in the phrase that Chatsky takes up: «Не я один все также осуждают» — «А **судь**и кто?» (“‘Anyone would judge you in my place’. ‘And who are the judges?’”) in translation becomes “‘Kõik teised **laid**avad’, ‘Kes on need **lait**jad?’” (defame, defamers).

Kes on need laitjad? Ah, ränk vabaduse**vaen**
on kõik, mis tunnevad need vaname**hed**.
Ja nende vaated? Naeruväärne **laen**!
Sest laenajaks on koltund aja**lehed** [Kross 1964: 48].

Who are these defamers? Ah, fierce hatred of freedom
That is all that those greybeards feel.
And their views? A funny debt!
Since they rent out yellowed newspapers.

Additionally, the translator drops the specific, but irrelevant for his contemporaries, Ochakov and Crimea, which opens the possibility of more easily projecting these descriptions on the older generation of viewers (see above regarding such a reading at the production of the BDT); that is, the translation is modernized, unlike its predecessor.

3. The most patriotic moment, interpreted in Soviet discourse as Chatsky/Griboedov’s confession of love to the homeland:

Опять увидеть их мне суждено судь**бой**!
Жить с ними надоест, и в ком не сыщешь **пятен**?
Когда ж постранствуешь, воротисься **домой**,
И дым Отечества нам сладок и **приятен** [Грибоедов: 20].

To see them again I’m fated by destiny!
Life with them will grow tiresome, and who is found spotless?

After travel here and there, returning home
the smoke of the Fatherland is sweet and pleasant.

Kärner preserves both the length and the rhyme, and at the same time strives to precisely translate every lexeme of the original:

Neid jälle näha mulle antud saatuse**st!**
See tüütab, kel ei leiduks täppi teos või s**õnus?**
Kui aga tuled koju, väsind reisid**est,**
ka Isamaa suits meile magus on ja m**õnus!** [Kärner: 30]

I'm fated again to see them by destiny!
This will grow tiresome, who has no spots in deeds or words?
But when you come home after gruelling travel
and the Fatherlands smoke is sweet and lively!

Nüüd näha saatus taas neid kõiki laseb **mul!**
Meil arukate arv küll pole kuigi **jagus,**
kuid hellaks läheb rind ju võõrsilt tule**kul**
ja kodu suitski on me meelest hea ja **magus!** [Kross 1964: 27]

Now destiny grants me to see them all.
Our number of intellectuals is never in abundance,
But when on the way home from abroad you soften from feelings
then even the smoke of home seems good and sweet.

Kross's translation contains fundamentally new shades: instead of the indeterminate "reis" (trip), he uses "võõrsilt" (from abroad), which more closely aligns with the understanding of Chatsky's travels. It is allowable that this replacement also could be understood in the context of the return of people from exile (including Kross himself), particularly since the location of the patriotic "Fatherland" is exchanged for "home", the beloved place of every person.

4. The ideologically significant passage from Chatsky's monologue, which serves as the source of several widely-used quotes [Ашукин: 250, 488; Vene kirjandus 1964: 142–143] that describe the comedy's conflict:

Как посравнить, да посмотреть / Век нынешний и век минувший:
Свежо предание, а верится с трудом; [Грибоедов: 28]

How to compare, or look upon / Today's century and the one just past:
Fresh is the story, yet difficult to believe;

On rumalaks läind maailm, / te võite ohkel öelda praegu;
kui võrdleb vaim ja vaatab silm / nii praeguseid kui möödunud aegu;
ehk värske küll legend, on raske uskuda [Kärner: 42].

The world became stupid, / you can now say with a sigh;
 When reason compares and the eye sees / how today like the time past
 May be a fresh legend, but hard to believe.

Jah: rumalamaks läheb ilm! / Nii ohata küll võite praegu.
 Kuis võrrelda saab vaim ja silm / käesolevaid ja möödunud aegu:
 nii hiljutine aeg, kuid uskumatu näib [Kross 1964: 37].

Yes: the world is becoming stupider! / So you may sigh now.
 As the mind and eye may compare / current and past times:
 Such a recent time, but it seems unbelievable.

Here Kross's distinct orientation on his predecessor is notable, both in his use of the same rhyme of "praegu / aegu", and in the related lexemes "möödunud" "võite" (underlined in the above excerpts). Moreover, he applies the same method of conveying the verbs "compare" and "look" through parts of the body: "reason compares and the eye sees" (Kärner) and "The mind and eye may compare" (Kross). However, Kärner's translation of the original's "fresh story" («свежо предание») as "fresh legend" ("värske legend") is not taken up by Kross, who substitutes "such a recent time" ("nii hiljutine aeg"). Such a substitution makes the past not a "legend" (something far away), as in Kärner's version, but something close to the present moment. On the one hand, this brings Kross's version closer to the original, and on the other, allowed the play's 1963 viewers to see a sharply relevant allusion in these verses.

It is important to note that Kross's borrowing, noted above, was not accidental. He undoubtedly made use of the 1945 translation and did not ignore the experience of his predecessor in his own work, in some places even using Kärner's word choices and, more often, his rhymes:

Помилуйте, не вам, чему же удивляться?
 Что нового покажет мне Москва?
 Вчера был бал, а завтра будет два [Грибоедов: 19].
 Upon my word, what should surprise me, if not you?
 What can Moscow show me that is new?
 Yesterday there was a ball, and tomorrow there will be two.

Kui mitte teid, siis keda imetella?
 Mis uudiseks on Moskva uue**maks**?
Ball eile oli, homme on neid kaks [Kärner: 28].

If not you, whom should I admire?
 What fresh news is there in Moscow?
 There was a ball yesterday, tomorrow there will be two.

Oh arm! Kui mitte teid, siis keda imetleda?

Mis Moskvas uut ma veel küll avastaks?

Et eile oli ball ja homme neid on kaks! [Kross 1964: 25–26]

Oh mercy! If not you, whom should I admire?

What else new in Moscow might I discover?

That yesterday there was a ball and tomorrow there will be two!

Kross appears to repeat the most successful of Kärner's rhymes, often correcting his errors in verse length:

Гоненье на Москву. Что значит видеть **свет!**

Где ж лучше? — Где нас **нет** [Грибоедов: 19].

'Persecution of Moscow. So this is seeing the world!'

'Where better?' 'Where we are not'.

See kiusujutt. Seks maailm õpetanud **teid!**

Kus on siis parem? — Seal, kus pole meid [Kärner: 28].

'This stubborn conversation. With this you teach the world!'

'Where then better?' 'There where we are not'.

Laim puha! Lai maailm?! Mis sinna kisub **teid?**

Kus parem on? — Kus pole meid [Kross 1964: 26].

'Nothing but slander! The wide world? What draws you there?'

'Where better?' 'Where we are not'.

See also other such cases of the repetition of rhymes and their nearby lexemes, particularly often in Act I: "Ma kuulsin teie häält" ... "panna — anna" [Kärner: 19; Kross 1964: 18]; "Tõin paberid" ... "puudus — truudus" [Kärner: 20; Kross 1964: 18]. Using and improving the poetry of his predecessor's work, Kross set other goals in his translation.

Regarding the opportunities for the allusive reading characteristic of theatrical plays, the clues described above regarding the new stage interpretation of "Misfortune" are noticeable also in Kross's conveyance of certain dynamic scenes. For example, at the end of Act I, Scene III, Liza pulls apart Sophia's and Molchalin's hands, which is emphasized by Griboedov in her line: "God bless you, remove your hand. (*Separates them...*)" [Грибоедов: 8]. Kärner translates this as: "No jumal teiega; te minge juba. (*Lahutab nad...*)" [Kärner: 13], thereby transforming the line into "God bless you, go already"; that is, addressing it to Molchalin. Kross underscores Liza's use of force: "Noh aitab! Võtke ära käsi. (*Tirib nad teineteisest eemale. ...*)" [Kross 1964: 13] ("Enough! Remove your hand! (*Pulls them apart*)"). In this translation, the separation of Sophia and Molchalin gains a more intimate character, while the stage direction under-

scores the expressive nature of the maid's movement. This is both closer to the original intent and also oriented toward actual performance on stage by actors.

Even the limited number of examples presented herein demonstrates the main stylistic differences between the two translators.

Kärner strove predominantly to convey the original word-for-word, sometimes ignoring the rhyming structure and context of lines of dialogue. Not allowing himself to stray from the original text, he filled his translation with the realities of the 19th century, relevant to Griboedov, but completely unfamiliar to the Estonian reader of the 1940s. Instead of using Estonian equivalents of antiquated Russian words, the translator conveyed the realities of the original through transliteration ("skomorohhidele", "phussurmaniks" [Kärner: 17, 110]). Clearly, this was connected with the educational function of his publication, which was especially equipped with numerous annotations (44 in all) explaining unfamiliar words and realities. The translator's focus on a "precise" translation, the heavily annotated nature of the 1945 version of "Misfortune", and particularly the inclusion of the translation in the school curriculum lead to reception of Kärner's work as literary, "textbook", and antiquated, as Tormis noted in her review.

The strategy of "free translation" [Левый: 120] used by Kross was devoted to the task of creating a modern version of "Misfortune" designed to be heard from the stage. This explains his preference for preserving the given rhythmic structure rather than the literal meaning of the dialogue. Rich and regular rhymes allowed Kross to create a resonant translation that was much closer to the poetry of the original than its predecessor. Characteristically, Kross's translation contains an almost equal number of lines as Griboedov's original: 2,423 in the original versus 2,448 in Kross's translation.

Free translation traditionally strives to preserve meaning without complicating the text with incomprehensible realities; rather, conveying them through other lexical means. For example, Griboedov's "Did he become a Mohammedan?" («Пошел он в пусурманы?» [Грибоедов: 75]) becomes in Kross's translation "Did he convert to Islam?" ("Läks muhamedi usku?" [Kross 1964: 96]). This also must have made it easier for audiences to understand the comedy. In addition, by shedding overly specific historical details, Kross achieved a more universal and allusive sounding text of the comedy, which was consistent with the Zeitgeist of The Thaw and the expectations of the viewing public. The result was a first-rate theatrical equivalent of "Misfortune", received as a work of independent poetic value for Estonian literature in the 1960s.

6. The Misfortune of Being Soviet

If the silence of certain critics regarding Haravee's successful production²¹ was attributed by contemporaries to the intrigues of the editors of "Edasi" newspaper against Kaarel Ird [Советская культура; Ird: 303], then the overt evidence of Griboedov's near irrelevance was completely ignored in Estonian press about Kross's translation (see: [Bibliograafia]). However, another picture emerges when spheres of culture are addressed that are, to a great extent, obedient to official ideology.

Despite the radical reduction in time devoted to study of "Misfortune" in Estonian school curriculum, it is precisely in the newly-edited 1974 textbook of Russian literature for the 9th grade by Harald Reinop that the only positive reference to Kross's translation appears²². In place of excerpted quotes from Kärner's translation there appear a larger quote from the dialogue about the danger of books (30 lines) from Kross's translation, which was preserved through subsequent editions and revisions and only in 1977 was somewhat reduced (to 21 lines) [Vene kirjandus 1974: 20–21; Vene kirjandus 1977: 21–22]. Moreover, the textbook's author placed a quoted paragraph from Kross's official-sounding afterword, but in conjunction with praise of the translator: "Against the backdrop of sentimental drama and watery vaudeville found in Russian theater at that time, "Misfortune", through its Decembristic social criticism, Griboedov-esque realistic satire, and ingenious folk verse, was a triple bomb', aptly characterized the play that most famous of its translators into Estonian [eestindaja], Jaan Kross" [Vene kirjandus 1977: 23]. Thus, from 1974 on Kärner's translation was replaced by Kross's in school practice.

The new translation's theatrical character, as noted above, later contributed to the appearance of new productions of Griboedov in the 1980s. In 1984 Estonian Radio produced and aired a radio play based on Kross's translation of "Misfortune" [Kuuldemäng]. In the history of Griboedov's reception in the Estonian language, the use of such media significantly widened the audience of the production, as the number of potential listeners could have been up to 49% of the Estonian population of the ESSR [Raadio: 108]. Of course, the comedy presented on official Estonian Radio obviously complied fully with Soviet cultural policy.

²¹ The play was performed 13 times over two seasons, which some considered a success [Советская культура] and others did not [Tonts: 283].

²² There is a mistake in Kross's bibliography [Bibliograafia: 87] — it is Kärner's translation, not Kross's, that was used in the Reinop / Tobias 1964 textbook [Vene kirjandus 1964: 141–145; Kärner: 38–44].

According to the current database, the last time “Misfortune” was performed in Estonian was in Viljandi by the Ugala Theater on February 1, 1987. Jaak Allik’s production again failed to interest critics. There is very little material on which to reconstruct this production; however, it is worth noting the producers’ experimental approach to the text of the comedy. At its center lay Kross’s translation, but Kärner’s translation “was used for its revision” [Andmebaas]. Both versions were thus in demand in late-Soviet Estonian theater.

7. Conclusion

The reception of the classics of Russian literature in the Soviet period, as demonstrated through the example of Griboedov, was, above all, connected with the cultural and educational policy of the government, geared toward the Sovietization of the country.

The first Estonian translation of “Misfortune” was commissioned by the government in an attempt to provide examples of “progressive” Russian classics in the national languages of the republics, with two goals: 1) to demonstrate general cultural values shared by the Estonian “nation” with the “family of nations” in the USSR, within the context of the 1945 commemoration of Griboedov; and 2) for inclusion in the revised (regarding societal norms) literature curriculum in Estonian schools. This commission was completed quickly by Kärner, who was loyal to the authorities, allowing the ideologically-relevant Griboedov to be included in the school curriculum in 1946. Kärner’s translation was “precise”, as evidenced by his word-for-word conveyance of “aphorisms” and details irrelevant to Estonian readers. In total, this translation was distributed mainly through textbooks and was very rarely used for theatrical productions.

The next translation of Griboedov’s play, completed by Kross for the Vanemuine Theater in 1962 and published in 1964, had a fundamentally different character. The expectation of being spoken aloud on stage determined the translator’s strategy (“free translation”), who strives through the whole text to convey the meaning and particularities of Griboedov’s verse. At the same time, the translator easily reworked those “aphorisms” honored by Lenin’s use of them, giving them a more allusive sound. Kross’s approach was in many ways determined by the new cultural trends of the era of The Thaw and the rethinking of “Misfortune” in this context. Successful in its execution, the new translation replaced the previous one in school textbooks and contributed to the temporary relevance of Griboedov’s comedy in Estonian theater.

Nevertheless, the official interpretation of Griboedov's biography, having received the most widespread distribution, turned out to be fatal for his subsequent reception in Soviet and post-Soviet Estonia. The "textbook" and "Soviet" classic could not be saved even by Kross's successful translation, which, in turn, was also forgotten²³.

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²³ This is evidenced by the absence of new editions, and in particular, by the fact that modern translators of Griboedov's aphorisms into Estonian are ignorant of its existence [Aforismid: 181–182].

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STORY OF ARTIST JOHANN KÖLER (in the wake of Jaan Kross's Novel "The Third Range of Hills")

LJUBOV KISSELJOVA

My analysis of Jaan Kross's novel "The Third Range of Hills", about Johann Köler (1826–1899), prompted me to dig deeper into the biography of the founder of Estonian professional painting, a professor of the Imperial Academy of Art in Petersburg; with this goal in mind, I undertook to find new archival sources. The artist's archive is located in the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu, which houses many curious and as yet unpublished documents about the life of this bright and original person¹. However, the most significant discovery was found in the manuscripts section of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, since it concerns the most important source of information about Köler's life: his autobiography².

For more than one hundred years, the text, published in two issues of the journal "Russkaya starina" («Русская старина») from 1882 and 1886³, were regarded as "original". Its first part contains information about Köler's childhood and youth (till 1846), while its second part relates the artist's years of study in Petersburg, travels abroad, and his activities until 1882. A rather serious source study problem lies, however, in the fact that only the second half

¹ For example, letters from Paris to P. N. Semenov regarding the so-called "Crimean" matter, see: ЕКМ. Fond 69. J. Köler. M 11:18; and others.

² See: Биография профессора г. Келлера // РО ИРЛИ. Ф. 265. Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 44. Л. 417–491 об.

³ See: Иван Петрович Кёлер, профессор живописи. 1826–1882 // Русская старина. 1882. № 6. С. 743–754; Иван Петрович Кёлер, профессор живописи. 1826–1886 // Русская старина. 1886. № 11. С. 333–378 (the second issue contains some duplicate material from the issue of four years prior). Passages from this autobiography were translated into Estonian. From here on, "Russkaya starina" will be abbreviated as "PC".

of the text is autobiographical in nature (that is, written in the first person), while the first half is a retelling written in the third person.

Relying solely on the “Russkaya starina” publication, no one among the many scholars of Köler’s work turned to the journal’s archive. As it turns out, the archive contains a transcript of stenographic notes taken from the artist’s oral narration in the presence and with the participation of the journal’s editor, M. I. Semevsky. As an employee of “Russkaya starina” attests, such a practice was typical for the journal: the stories of I. K. Aivazovsky, A. G. Rubinstein, F. G. Solntsev and many others were recorded with the help of a stenographer⁴.

And so the text has been found, which, although not written with the artist’s own hand, has much greater reason to be called the “original” first part of his autobiography. A book of autographs stored by the M. I. Semevsky Fund establishes that the exact dates of the recordings were March 2, 1881 and April 10, 1884. On the first occasion, Köler’s hand is fixed as: “1881, March 2nd,”⁵ professor of historical and portrait painting Ivan Petrovich Köler (born 24th February, 1826) related his life to M. I. Semevsky”; on the second occasion: “Professor of historical and portrait painting, member of the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts Ivan Petrovich Köler. Born in Livonia 24th February 1826. Saint-Petersburg, 10th April 1884”⁶. However, there were more than two stenographic sessions: a third part of the text published below is dated March 21; in Semevsky’s Album there is one more autograph from Köler from April 23, 1886⁷. The editor was not only present at the sessions, but also asked probing and clarifying questions (the text published below clearly follows a pattern of dialogue). Moreover, the transcripts were later reviewed, augmented with notes in the margins, and also edited, since there are several places in the journal’s version containing clarifications that are absent from the manuscript (they will be noted in my footnotes to the text). In addition, the article published in the journal is a shortened and adapted version of Köler’s story; one can only regret that the full version is not to be found.

⁴ See: Тимошук В. В. Михаил Иванович Семевский. Основатель исторического журнала «Русская старина»: Его жизнь и деятельность. 1837–1892. СПб., 1895. С. 132–133.

⁵ It is notable that this recording took place the day after the assassination of Emperor Alexander II, which apparently did not disrupt the stenographic session.

⁶ See: Семевский М. И. Знакомые. Книга автографов. 1880–1888. II // РО ИРЛИ. Архив М. И. Семевского. Ф. 274. Оп. 1. № 396. Л. 104 и 204. These notes are published in the book: Знакомые. Альбом М. И. Семевского, издателя-редактора исторического журнала «Русская старина». Книга автобиографических собственноручных заметок 850 лиц. — Воспоминания. — Стихотворения. — Эпиграммы. — Шутки. — Подписи. 1867–1888. СПб., 1888. С. 160, 206.

⁷ Ibid. С. 253.

The transcript of Köler's oral story captures the period up to 1864; that is, it fully covers the first part published in "Russkaya starina" as a retelling, as well as the beginning of the second part. The archival text differs significantly from the published one: it is longer and contains many curious details that the publication passes over. Unfortunately, starting from 1864, the oral telling either was not preserved or is housed in some unprocessed part of the "Russkaya starina" archives, inaccessible to scholars. However, even in its truncated state, the archival autobiography is an invaluable source. It contains the voice of the living Köler, fixing in text his *oral speech*, including repetitions and several characteristic mistakes and Estonianisms preserved in his speech despite his excellent fluency in Russian: *тех пор, как я запомнил себя (себя помнил); знал (умел) по-эстонски читать; учитель умер, а другого сейчас не было (сразу не нашли); устраивали театры (спектакли)*, among others. Köler learned his Russian from listening to the speech of those around him. His admission that he "had forgotten" Russian grammar is reflected in the fact that his Russian speech was "oral" rather than "literary" in nature. Thus, his speech is characterized by such colloquialisms and vernacularisms as *оттудова; откудова; ндрав; айцы; на узеньку дочечку; стекла были вспотевиши*, among others.

The artist had an excellent memory; in describing his childhood and youth, his period of study at the Academy of Arts, and his travels abroad, he recalls a plethora of vivid and varied details. Some, though not nearly all, of the details of Köler's European travels had been established from his letters to N. P. Grot from Paris and Rome, discovered in the archives of the Academy of Science and published in Estonian in 1972⁸.

The story clearly displays the artist's personality, his honesty and straightforwardness, and his light humor. He graphically describes his first "artistic" experiences: creating the theatrical set decorations in the home of the painter Faber, where his leaves hung on the trees from threads; the first praise his art received: the cannon, the audience agreed, turned out well. Köler's assessment of people is impartial, he tries to speak truthfully and honestly, without embellishing himself or those around him.

⁸ Kiri Pariisist, kaks — Roomast: J. Köleri õpiaastaist / Publ. M. Lepik // Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Kunstimuseumi almanahh, III. Tartu, 1972. Lk 25–35. Further references to this publication are to «Письма», with page numbers indicated. The originals are in German. Publisher M. Lepik, comparing the letters to what was known about Köler's travels from "Russkaya starina", came to the conclusion that memory failed the artist in his old age, that he had forgotten details that were vividly described in the letters to Grot. The text reproduced below refutes this hypothesis. Vivid details that flesh out his story were simply excluded from the published version of the tale.

No less important, Köler's sincere tale reveals valuable details about the daily lives of Estonian peasants in the first half of the 19th century⁹. Köler speaks with deep respect about his parents, and although he regards the family situation as relatively prosperous ("we were not particularly poor"), he admits that their bread was stretched with chaff and they lived with strict frugality. It is impossible to remain unmoved when reading Köler's narrative about how his father, a half-blind peasant (in fact, a farmhand), tried to provide an education to at least one of his five sons, giving all of his savings, which were sufficient for only three years of study. The future professor and court artist "hammered away" at German lessons in the Viljandi district school, poorly understanding the lessons taught in a foreign language, but nonetheless trying not to fall behind, and even receiving a Russian Grammar as an award for his diligent study. At the age of 12 Köler began his career path: at first he worked in a manager's office, then as a housepainter in Cēsis (then called Wenden); from there he set off for Petersburg, selling his coat for travel money, with the hope of entering the Academy of Art. Then followed work under the "signboard-painting" master, attendance at evening classes at the academy, and his first successes in art. Only through his own hard work and persistence did Köler attain a higher education, career, and knowledge of foreign languages (French and Italian in addition to German and Russian).

Köler's story about his years of study in the Imperial Academy of Arts gives an impression of the prevailing customs of the time, as well as of the proud and independent character of the young artist, whose reluctance to curry favor and make requests was often to his own detriment. However, the honest Köler all the same admits that he could not have managed without protection in his own life. Once the Academy of Arts gave him a gold medal, not through the decision of the Council (as was usually done), but through the direct order of the president, daughter of the Emperor Nicholas I, Grand Princess Maria Nikolaevna, to whom the artist became known in a "domestic" fashion — through the royal physician. Many years later, Professor Köler, not without bitterness, reminded his colleague, Rector of the Academy of Arts F. Jordan, how he had been unfairly overlooked by the Academy Council when they distributed the medals, and how the Grand Princess had restored justice.

⁹ To the editor of "Russkaya starina", M. I. Semevsky (1837–1892), a historian and social activist, these details were of great interest both due to his involvement in the Head Committee of the Rural Class, and to his personal conviction that peasants in the Russian empire were disadvantaged and their situation must be improved. Semevsky clearly pressed Köler with his questions to provide a detailed characterization of peasant life.

The artist's acquaintance with Maria Nikolaevna, arising in absentia and not through the initiative of the then-student, played a significant role in his life. In order to be noticed at court and become a court artist — drawing teacher to the royal daughters, as Köler was in the 1860s — it was helpful to have “acquaintances”. “Entrance” into court life was granted to Köler not only by his talent and successes in art, but also through his acquaintance with the royal doctors (K. Hartman and P. Karell); his friend, the future academic Y. K. Grot, may also have played a role, as he was teacher to the Grand Prince in the 1850s.

Köler undertook his travels abroad on his own funds, since the Council of the Academy of Arts denied him his right to a travel grant for a trip to Italy. The young artist spent 1857–1862 abroad: he traveled around Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, France, and Italy, living mostly in Rome¹⁰. Köler, a keen observer of manners, makes fun of Russians (for their work on “perhaps”), English (for their excessive touristic curiosity), Italians (for uncleanness and untidiness), and especially Germans (for their miserliness, vulgarity, and narrow-mindedness). However, his critical views never interfered with his high esteem for everything good and interesting that he encountered, whether people or a work of art. His friendship with A. von Bock was not accidental, and not without reason did Köler keep in closest contact with Germans while in Rome. This was part of his fully deliberate way of life, accurately noted by Jaan Kross in “The Third Range of Hills”. Recalling his time in Europe, the artist more than once mentioned his striving to learn something new (for example, watercolor techniques); hence his desire to live among German artists and intellectuals. He was preoccupied with the constant improvement of his education and the widening of his artistic horizons. Although Köler was not a fan of the renowned German artists Overbeck and Cornelius, he strove nonetheless to acquaint himself with styles of brushwork other than those accepted in the Academy in Petersburg. And there was yet another motive for his contact with the Germans: his determination to prove to himself that he, an Estonian “bumpkin”, was no worse (and in some things better and more successful) than the Germans considered gentlemen in his country.

Speaking about himself, Köler constantly emphasizes his belonging to the Estonian people, and is proud of his “rustic” origin. The artist's tale agrees fully with the central ideas of Kross's “The Third Range of Hills”: Köler's life is the best evidence that the downtrodden Estonian people are capable of rising to

¹⁰ For more information about Köler's time in Italy and about his personality, see: Киселева Л. Эстонец в Италии (Путешествие художника Й. Келера) // *Europa Orientalis*, № 14: «Беспокойные Музы»: к истории русско-итальянских отношений XVIII–XX вв.: В 2 т. Салерно, 2011. Т. 1. С. 133–149.

the heights of culture. However, Kross's Köler reflects constantly on whether he is betraying his humiliated people, since he is busy with art and separate from daily peasant life and the suffering of his people, while the real Köler, as evidenced by the autobiographical story printed below, was not burdened by such reflections. The autobiographical story is imbued with an inner sense that his life — the life of a professor and member of the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts, of a court artist famous throughout Europe — demonstrated the hidden opportunities available to his people. As to physical difficulty and deprivation, there was enough of that along his way.

Kross's Köler is a passionate and happy lover, with a beautiful, young beloved (invented by the author). The autobiographical tale of the real Köler demonstrates his interest in the fairer sex, but also his resistance against his passions: neither others' matrimonial claims, nor his own passions developed into any adventures in love — everything in his life was dedicated to art and indefatigable work.

In any case, the text published herein will serve as an important source both for the study of the biography of the father of Estonian painting, and for the analysis of the version of Köler depicted by Jaan Kross in "The Third Range of Hills".

Since this text is occupied not with Köler's autograph, but with the transcript of the stenographic notes made by a technical worker, the reproduction of all its orthographic and punctuation details is not expedient. Stenographers often make orthographical mistakes, are inconsistent in their use of upper- and lower-case letters (for example, in the names of months), in the spelling of surnames¹¹, and in the placement of punctuation. Such errors in the text have been corrected without special mention. Distorted forms of proper nouns have been preserved to convey the character of the manuscript and are corrected in the footnote commentary.

¹¹ Most often, the artist's last name is written by the stenographer as «Келлер». The artist's surname was actually spelled in various ways: Кёлер, Келер, Келлер. We have chosen the version used by the artist himself in his autograph (see footnote 7).

БИОГРАФИЯ ПРОФЕССОРА Г. КЕЛЕРА

Публикация и комментарии Л. КИСЕЛЕВОЙ

Родился я в 1826 году, 24 февраля, в Лифляндской губернии, близ Феллина <в названии города здесь и далее стоит ударение над «и». — Л. К.>, в деревне Кыбра, в доме одного крестьянина*. Отец мой жил у своего брата в работниках. Дом, в котором жил мой отец, принадлежал тоже его брату. У отца было 4 сына и две дочери¹. Семейство было бедное. Мы жили на так называемой Васте-мыза² <sic!>, т. е. казенная мыза. Эти мызы расположены отдельно, не так, как в деревнях России расположены двory, а в Лифляндии они стоят отдельно, двора два рядом, а потом за версту от них опять двор и т. д.

Не помню, сколько десятин земли было, но земля эта была казенная, брат моего отца арендовал ее, а домик на этой земле был собственный моего дяди. При нем был амбар, баня, маленький скотный двор — это все принадлежало к этому дому, которого хозяин был мой дядя, он все хозяйство имел в большом виде.

* Запись на полях, приписано карандашом: «Отец имел часть в наделе брата, отец имел впоследствии Любья сарья <Lubjasaare> усадьбу. Он сам там себе выстроил новый дом». К сожалению, некоторые дополнения, сделанные карандашом, были стерты, и прочесть их невозможно. Впоследствии усадьбой Лубьясааре в Вильяндском уезде владел брат Й. Келера Андрес и его потомки.

¹ У отца Келера Пеэта (Peet Köhler, 1782–1860) и его жены Кай (Kai Köhler, 1787–1864) к моменту рождения будущего художника было 6 детей: дочери Ану (род. 1811), Анн (род. 1821), Малл (род. 1824) и сыновья Тынис (род. 1812), Адо (род. 1814), Юри (1819–1846). Потом в семье появилось еще двое детей: сын Андрес (род. 1828) и дочь Лийсо (род. 1832) // Väike Köleri sõnastik / Koost. A. Allas ja T. Abel. Tallinn, 2001. Lk 82, 102. Далее ссыла на это издание: Väike Köleri sõnastik, с указанием страницы.

² Здесь слово «мыза» (эст. *mõis*) употребляется в значении «хутор». Современное название: хутор Кёэбра в Вастемыйзаской волости Вильяндского уезда (Ibid. Lk 82).

Я помню себя с 6-го года. Сестра³ меня тогда учила грамоте. Когда мне было 7 лет, тогда я уже был грамотным и был учителем младшего ребенка⁴. Потом я нянчил у старшей сестры⁵ племянницу, тогда мне было 8 лет, когда она, бывало, уйдет на работу, я и нянчил ее ребенка. Как я помню себя, бедность у нас была не особенная, потому что отец был умный человек, но с тех пор, как я запомнил себя, он был почти слепой⁶. Слепым он сделался потому, что однажды что-то ковал в кузнице и искры попали ему в глаза, так что вследствие этого оба глаза его пострадали. Фамилия отца была уже тогда Келер. Эта фамилия была уже потом, вероятно, принята им, при освобождении⁷, так как у эстонцев фамилии не бывает, но при освобождении, при ревизии, все должны были иметь фамилии, то, вероятно отцу и посоветовали взять немецкую фамилию.

Мать моя была из другой деревни, крестьянка, эстонка. Она была грамотная и очень прилежна к работе. Отец также был грамотный, знал по-эстонски читать, но по-немецки совсем не знал.

У нас в доме обычай был, чтобы перед каждым обедом читали «Отче наш» и пели что-нибудь из духовного. Если малейшая крошка хлеба упала на землю, то ее поднимали, и она прикладывалась к губам. В избе у нас было не очень грязно^{*}, в ней мы держали только одних кур, а в курной избе, рядом, весь прочий скот был. Та изба, где был скот, это была у нас рига, в ней еще были холодные комнаты, с маленькими окошечками, там осенью хлеб молотят, там держали зимой скот, а в избе только куры ходили.

Книги у нас были только Библия и Евангелие да сборник духовных песен, да еще календарь.

Дедушку своего я не помню, дедушка никогда не жил у нас, он жил у дяди, у хозяина нашего.

Работником у отца был третий брат, но и отец тоже работал.

³ Видимо, подразумевается сестра Анн. Со следующей сестрой Малл у Келера было всего два года разницы.

⁴ Видимо, брат Андрес. Самая младшая сестра Лийсо была для обучения грамоте еще слишком мала.

⁵ Имеется в виду сестра Ану (род. в 1811 г.).

⁶ Так П. Келер изображен и на портрете, написанном его сыном в 1863 г. и находящимся в Эстонском художественном музее в Таллинне.

⁷ Подразумевается так называемое «безземельное» освобождение крестьян от крепостной зависимости, которое имело место в Лифляндии в 1819 г.

^{*} К этому месту на полях карандашом: «Вечера проводили в курной избе при свете лучины».

Помню я, как однажды, в Троицын день, старший брат⁸, который жил в городе Феллине у столяра, пришел домой, но, идучи домой, он срезал по дороге березки и повесил на них связку кренделей и принес нам, маленьким детям. Это для нас было большим удовольствием.

Затем повезли меня в город к брату и пристроили к мебельному мастеру. Мне дали ларец, в который я прятал хлеб и ветчину, которую мне часто привозили мои родители. Мне сначала нравилось это кушанье, а потом ужасно надоело, потому что хлеб черствел и был ужасен.

Старший брат мой, у которого я жил, учил меня немножко по-немецки и арифметике, что мог, а я помогал ему иногда клей варить.

Потом я поступил в элементарную школу в Феллине, только учение мое продолжалось там не долго, потому что учитель умер, а другого сейчас не было. Через несколько время я поступил в уездное училище. Там пробыл 3 года, и тут, когда меня перевели в старший класс, я был ужасно огорчен тем, что учитель заметил, что я не понимаю преподавание и те вещи, которые он старался объяснить. Я оттого не понимал объяснение учителя, что преподавание шло на немецком языке, который я почти совсем не знал, и вследствие всего этого меня перевели в нижний класс, потому что там, во втором классе, я учился более на память, долбил, но ничего не понимая. Хотя я и жил в немецком семействе и целый день мог практиковаться, но все-таки, в три года, я не мог усвоить чужой язык.

Курса собственно в этой школе не было. Сидели разное там. Я сидел 3 года, потому что у отца денег не оказалось больше за меня платить. Моя школа, т. е. все время моего учения, стоило отцу сто рублей, и эти сто рублей он мог только экономить, ведя необыкновенно суровую жизнь, так что в моей семье не всегда ели чистый хлеб, а ели его с мякиной.

Мои родители имели необыкновенно хороший нрав <sic!>, так что старший брат мой не был ни разу наказан. Я был наказан два раза, за то, что ел неспелые яблоки, а сестра моя, которой тогда было 13 лет⁹, была наказана розгами за то, что она в их (т. е. родителей) отсутствии купила игольник, за который заплатила полторы копейки серебром, мать, придя домой и увидя, что сестра купила игольник, сказала ей: «Ведь у тебя есть один игольник, зачем же ты купила другой?» — и затем наказала ее.

⁸ Старший брат Гынис, столяр, сыграл большую роль в жизни Келера. У него будущий художник жил в Вильянди (см. ниже), а затем в Петербурге, когда приехал поступить в Академию Художеств. Брат и потом помогал ему материально.

⁹ Речь, видимо, идет об одной из двух сестер, примерных ровесниц Й. Келера — Анн (род. в 1821 г.) или Малл (род. в 1824 г.).

Три брата мои были все старше меня¹⁰. Самый старший брат на 15 лет был старше меня.

Когда я был в училище, то жил я в Феллине, у г. Дорбека, он был экономом в обществе бюргеров, т. е. в клубе купцов. У Дорбека иногда устраивали театры, и в клубе, приезжими актерами, тоже давались спектакли. Иногда и я бывал в театре. Когда я жил у Дорбека, мне было 12 лет. Отец платил за меня Дорбеку 20 рублей в год, а иногда привозили масло и яйца Дорбеку. За эти деньги Дорбек и кормил меня. Летом я должен был помогать ставить кегли, потому что иногда и в кегли там играли, я также должен был пасти скот, т. е. быть пастухом.

Немецкая грамота у меня плохо шла, но все-таки мое прилежание понравилось, и я получил в подарок русскую грамматику. Я был один из первых, которые знали ее, но после я забыл ее. Учитель, который был инспектором, предлагал мне учиться латинскому языку и греческому, но я не мог воспользоваться его предложением, потому что не на что было купить книги. За учение мое в училище платили 13 рублей в год, так что содержание мое и учение все три года стоили отцу и матери сто рублей. И после этого уже у отца ничего не осталось, так что он не мог давать воспитание другим братьям.

Когда я кончил учение, тогда я поступил к управляющему мызой (Вастемыза). Я вел его книги, приводил их в порядок, и там, между прочим, хозяин мой заметил, что я имею способности к рисованию. Он вследствие того это заметил, что увидал у меня листок, на котором было мною нарисовано растение. После этого он стал мне давать копировать разные машины винокуренного завода. Когда я кончил его книги, тогда он сказал: «Теперь надо что-нибудь другое приобретать», — и спросил меня, чем я хочу сделаться? Я, говорю, сам не знаю. А хочешь, говорит, живописцем, маляром сделаться? — Нет, говорю, маляры ужасно грязные. — Нет, говорит, <нужно> настоящим художником сделаться, вот, говорит, и у меня есть брат художник, но те не такие, как маляры, не грязные. — «Так я с удовольствием туда пойду», — сказал я.

Меня повезли в Венден (город)¹¹ в <18>39 году 6 апреля. По дороге было очень холодно, хотя я и был одет в шубку. Повез меня простой мужик.

Доехали мы до Вендена 9 апреля, и оставили меня в учение у маляра Фабера на 7 лет. В Вендене, на третий год, мне опять случилось видеть труппу актеров, и мне пришлось декорации писать. Мне никогда не приходилось

¹⁰ Старшие братья Келера: Тьнис (род. в 1812 г.), Адо (род. в 1814 г.) и Юри (1819–1846).

¹¹ Уездный город в Лифляндской губернии, теперь г. Цесис в Латвии.

писать ничего подобного, и помню, что я все листики написал висящими на ниточки, и все вниз висели. Надо еще было пушку писать, они играли что-то из Карла XII¹². Я написал и пушку. Посмотрели — говорят — пушка хороша, будешь художником. Тогда мне было 15 лет.

После этого был еще случай. Граф Сиверс, сенатор¹³, построил русскую церковь¹⁴, и все было для нее сделано по рисункам в Петербурге, а внутри, на потолке, надо было писать ангелов, и также и на стенах, по штукатурке. Фабер выписал для этого из Риги хорошего живописца, в сущности, маляра. Так что тут рисовал сам мастер, а мне надо было смывать краски, если что-нибудь не так. Вот мне раз хозяин и говорит: «Иван, попробуй и ты писать». Я попробовал, написал, — хорошо, говорит.

Пришел старик Сиверс в церковь, ему так понравилось, что он меня взял под руку и очень ласкал. Ученики у маляров ходят в халате, я в это время тоже был в халате, который весь был вымазан масляной и клеевой краской, так что на некоторых местах халат этот был покрыт грязью в палец толщиной, и так как халаты меняются редко, то когда идешь, то материя на халате ломается, и куски хлопают по ногам. Мне ужасно совестно было ходить по улицам, где, бывало, навстречу мне попадались молодые девушки, я как-нибудь сторонкой, бывало, обойду, чтобы только не попадаться навстречу; но граф Сиверс все-таки взял меня под руку, хотя я и в халате был, и так мы шли с ним по улице.

В зимнее время и когда не было заказных работ, то я писал к пасхе, например, что-нибудь на яичках. (Чтобы получить диплом на подмастерье, надо тоже фигуру нарисовать). При этой церкви я раскрасил и снаружи

¹² В журнальной публикации уточнено название пьесы — «Карл XII перед Рюгеном» (РС. 1882. № 6. С. 757).

¹³ Граф Карл Густав (Карл Карлович) фон Сиверс (1772–1856) — действительный тайный советник, сенатор (с 1833 г.). Профессиональный военный, участник Польской кампании 1792–93 гг., войн с Наполеоном в 1805–07 гг. и 1812–1815 гг., русско-турецкой войны. В 1814 г. произведен в генерал-лейтенанты. Был женат на Елене Ивановне (урожд. Дуниной), дочери генерала от кавалерии И. П. Дунина.

¹⁴ Существует две легенды относительно причин возведения в Вендене православного Спасо-Преображенского храма (сохранился до настоящего времени, архитектор неизвестен). По одной из них, граф Сиверс построил ее для своей «русской жены» (супруги были впоследствии похоронены в ограде храма). Согласно другой легенде, мать Сиверса, графиня Марта, лотеранка, при вступлении Наполеона в Россию, дала обет, если враг будет изгнан, пожертвовать 1500 рублей серебром на постройку православного храма. Впоследствии, еще при жизни матери, граф Сиверс инициировал сбор средств для строительства, на 1.01.1839 г. было собрано 15 тыс. Синод также выделил средства, значительные суммы пожертвовали император и члены царской семьи, вельможи, семья Сиверсов и др. Строительство началось на месте бывшего костела Св. Екатерины, на границе парка имения Сиверсов, согласно некоторым данным, в 1842 г. (по другим — в 1840–41 гг.). Освящен 6.08.1845.

купола, потому что никто не полезет туда красить, потому что неудобно было снаружи раскрашивать. Вот меня и послали: «Иван, поди», — и Иван пошел раскрашивать куполы снаружи. Устраивался я красить купол таким образом, что веревку надевал на крючок, делал петлю и одну ногу продевал в петлю, левой рукой держался за веревку, а правой красил. Шары на куполе были золоченные, я смотрел в шарики, любовался, пейзаж был хороший. Я несколько не боялся, что упаду, ниже была поставлена лестница, я так и слезал.

Я работал у Фабера всевозможные вещи; лакировал кареты, красил дома снаружи, красил полы и проч. Писал же я и паркетки. Но что всего хуже было сначала, когда надо было комнаты расписывать, и надо было старую живопись смыть, надо было все тереть тряпкой, а в это время вода холодная течет за шею. От этой грязной холодной воды я получил болячки.

Хозяин обращался со мной хорошо, не бил меня, только один раз получил я плеху, и то виноват был жид, который одно время был работником у хозяина моего. Вот это как произошло: в Троицын день отпустили нас идти из Вендена, на мызу Кремон¹⁵ (Сенваль¹⁶, Треден¹⁷), места старинных замков, где жил Ливонский князь Каупо <сверху исправлено карандашом: Каупо¹⁸. — Л. К.>, который был прародителем князей Ливен, этот Каупо перешел потом к немцам и сражался против своих.

У князей Ливен, в Кремоне, есть картинная галерея. Увидя эту галерею, я думал, что могу остаться в ней без еды 14 дней, такое эта галерея сильное впечатление произвела на меня. Кремон находился от Вендена в 35 верстах, туда-то мы и ходили гулять. Я пошел туда с товарищем, князь Ливен¹⁹ пус-

¹⁵ Имение Кремон (современное название — Кримулда, Krimulda), которое с 1817 г. принадлежало роду Ливенов. В средние века здесь находился рыцарский замок, который, наряду с расположенными по соседству Зигвальдом и Турайдой, ныне входят в состав г. Сигулда.

¹⁶ В публикации в РС уточнено: Зегевольд. До 1917 г. так назывался современный латышский город Сигуада (немецк. Segewold). Замок Зигвальда (Siegwald) был основан меченосцами в 1207 г.

¹⁷ Замок Трейден (Treiden), или Турайда, был построен в XIII в., однако ранее на этом месте располагалось укрепленное поселение ливов, находившееся во владении Каупо (см. ниже).

¹⁸ Имеется в виду старейшина угро-финского племени ливов Каупо (ум. в 1217 г.). Первым среди местных старейшин он принял христианство (около 1191 г.) и был союзником немецких рыцарей. Считался предком рода Ливенов.

¹⁹ Владелец имения на тот момент был князь (в будущем — светлейший князь) Карл Христов (Карл Андреевич) Ливен (1767–1844/1845), генерал-лейтенант в отставке, попечитель Дерптского учебного округа (1817–1828), а затем — министр народного просвещения (1828–1833). В основном кн. Ливен жил в своем курляндском имении Сентен. Вряд ли можно предполагать личную встречу князя с подмастерьями, скорее всего, подразумевается, что он в принципе разрешал посещать его галерею.

тил нас в галерею, и вот это были первые картины, какие я видел, потому что в Вендене картин не было. На товарища моего эти картины не произвели такого сильного впечатления, как на меня, хотя ему они тоже понравились.

Товарищ мой был из самых худших работников, он был старше меня и сильней, он был сын тамошнего сапожника, он был очень дерзкий и распутного нрава, так что от него можно было научиться всему гадкому.

Пошли мы из галереи, а оттуда верст 20, где жили родственники моего товарища, мы зашли к ним и пробыли там денек и на третий уже день Троицы возвратились домой. Хозяин принял нас в ужасном духе, потому что он ожидал меня на второй день назад, и он уже работал, он был сердит необыкновенным образом и дал мне плюху. Это была единственная оплеуха, которую я получил. Это было для меня ужасно, но что же делать! —

После 6 лет учения я был произведен в подмастерья. В мое время в Вендене устроили цех, и я был первым в этом цеху. Хозяин произвел меня в подмастерии раньше срока, так как я прожил у него только 6 — а не 7 лет, он это сделал по ошибке, но я сказал ему, что слово свое сдержу и проживу у него 7 лет. Положил он мне жалованья 75 копеек в неделю. Хозяин мой в это время назначен был от мещан марш комиссаром, он разводил военных по квартирам, и вот он очень ухаживал за одним больным юнкером, который был в тифе. Фабер сам от него заразился тифом, вернулся домой, он слег в постель и больше не вставал, умер.

У меня давно было желание поехать в Петербург и постараться там поступить в академию, но в это время мне нельзя было ехать, жаль было оставить бедное семейство Фабера, надо было у этой семьи привести все в порядок, так как у него остался товар. Детей после хозяина осталось трое, младшему было 12 лет, другие были старше. Стал я приводить дела хозяина в порядок, явился я к Биркен ру — это частная гимназия в Вендене²⁰, пришел я к директору гимназии и сказал, что хотя хозяин и умер, но дело будет ведено так же исправно, как и прежде, в гимназии у нас были постоянные работы.

Директор говорит: «Вы будете работать, вы, вероятно, женитесь на вдове?» — (а жене Фабера было более 30 лет, а мне не было и 20 лет, да к тому же мне нравилась дочь Фабера, красавица Роза, которой был всего шестнадцатый год).

²⁰ Исправлено: в 3 верстах от Вендена. Имя директора частной гимназии в Биркенру названо в РС (1882. № 6. С. 754) — Голландер. По-немецки: Birkenruh и A. W. Hollander (см.: Väike Köleri sõnastik. Lk 31).

Но все-таки я скоро кончил эти дела, и меня решили отпустить в Петербург. Мне было тогда 20 лет, или немножко меньше, не помню хорошенько. Денег у меня не было, так как я не мог их иметь из такого маленького жалованья, так я продал свое пальто и все проч., что мог, и на эти деньги поехал через Ригу на пароходе в Петербург, и 75 коп. <так!> я приехал сюда в <18>46 году, до холеры.

У меня здесь был уже брат²¹, он делал мебель у себя на дому, хотя и не был мастером, я у него остановился и искал работы, рассуждая так, что, вероятно, скорей всего можно занятие найти у вывесочных мастеров — живописцев.

Оттого-то первую работу я и нашел у Бегемана, который жил у каменного моста. Я работал у этого вывесочного мастера две недели. Я пришел к нему без всякой рекомендации, а потом уже Бегеман рекомендовал меня Гёлицу²² (тоже вывесочный мастер), который жил на Малой Садовой улице. У Гёлица обещали мне 6 руб. жалованья в месяц, и пища его. Ходил я в модном костюме, в нынешнем (В Вендене, и там подмастерья ходят в модном платье, а не в халате, только ученики, и те в будни ходят в халате, а в праздник даже все ученики бывают одеты в модном платье).

И так, у Гёлица я получал 6 рубл<ей>. Он жил довольно чисто. В мастерской у него, кроме его самого, было еще двое учеников. У него на вывеске был нарисован живописец с кистью и палитрой в руках, вывеска была очень большая. Мне было там хорошо и полезно работать, потому что там приходилось снимать с природы различные предметы. Мне всегда говорили, чтобы перспектива <так!> хорошо вышла, я там и научился перспективе²³. Гёлиц был довольно талантливый господин, он хвалил меня за перспективу, говорил: «Хорошо!». Гёлиц очень любил театральные представления, и вот все домашние его и знакомые собрались и устроили домашний театр. Пришлось мне опять писать декорации. Играли тут в спектакли актеры-любители. Устроили так, что за вход нельзя было брать плату, так при входе на спектакль продавались маленькие, писанные на картоне пейзажики; эти пейзажики писал я, и каждый из пришедших на спектакль покупал эти кар-

²¹ Старший брат Келера Тынис.

²² Варианты написания фамилии: Гюлиц, Гюльц. Останавливаемся на написании Гёлиц, т. к. эта форма дана в печатном тексте (РС. 1886. № 11. С. 337).

²³ Ср. добавление в печатном тексте: «Я работал тем охотнее, что хозяин был образованнее всех тех людей, с которыми мне приходилось сноситься на родине, и скоро оценил мои способности к живописи. Таким образом, в 1848 году, Гёлиц беспрепятственно разрешил мне посещать вечерние классы академии художеств...» (Там же. С. 338).

тинки. Приходили на спектакль все немцы, и играли немецкие пьески, декламация была, пение, танцы и проч.

В Вендене меня хотели женить, хотя это и делалось все очень деликатно, но я все-таки догадался, устоял и не женился.

Когда я жил у Гёлица, то сделал с ним уговор, чтобы посещать мне вечерние классы в академии, и чтобы не было пререканий никаких, то я условился так, чтобы за каждый вечер, когда я ходил в академию, чтобы хозяин вычитал с меня 15 коп., но если была поспешная работа у хозяина, то я должен был оставаться дома. И так я представил инспектору академии, тогда Крутов²⁴ был, картонку, и там нарисована была Галатея. Я с литографии скопировал и писал по-своему²⁵. Он увидел мою работу, и я прямо попал в гипсовую, минуя оригинальный класс. Я писал дома с себя портрет, и потом по просьбе прачки срисовал с нее портрет, и она за то сшила мне рубашки. Мысли высокой о себе у меня не было, мечты были, чтобы только стараться идти так далеко, как возможно, но никогда не назначал себя на известную степень, я находил это не уместным. Я думал: пойду дальше, если смогу.

Стал я ходить в академию с Пантелеймоновской улицы²⁶. Я с Гёлицем был на 4-х квартирах, с Пантелеймоновской улицы надо было бежать, чтобы дойти до академии в $\frac{3}{4}$ часа. Я начал ходить в академию в <18>48 году. В этом году была холера, и я помню, что я часто покупал землянику, которая тогда была очень дешева, и я с удовольствием ее ел.

Посадили было меня в Академии в гипсовый головной класс, но я оказался слаб, последние номера получал. Товарищей по Академии у меня было мало, потому что я не смотрел налево и направо, потому что надо было домой бежать. Вечерние классы в академии были между 5-ю и 7 часами вечера. В Академию я ходил бесплатно. Я был так слаб в рисовании, так часто манкировал, что два года сидел за гипсовой головкой, и все-таки перешел

²⁴ Крутов Андрей Иванович (1796–1860) — инспектор Академии Художеств (далее — АХ). См. о нем в воспоминаниях Ф. Иордана: «После моего выпуска <1824 г.> поступил в академию, наконец, красивый и весьма образованный капитан гвардии Андрей Иванович Крутов. Он всех забрал в руки, вся экономия была в его руках, нажил хорошее состояние и служил до 1851 г., когда уничтожилась совсем эта должность <должность инспектора. — Л. К.>» (Записки ректора и профессора Академии художеств Федора Ивановича Иордан. М., 1918. С. 25).

²⁵ Ср. в печатном тексте: «Галатея, скопированная с литографии довольно первобытным способом» (РС. 1886. № 11. С. 338).

²⁶ В 1923 г. Пантелеймоновскую улицу переименовали в ул. Пестеля, это название она носит и в настоящее время.

вторым в гипсовый фигур (класс). Там я был год, и там имел все первые номера, а в <18>51 году перешел в натурный последний класс.

В Академии не обращали на меня внимания до тех пор, пока я не получил медаль. Когда я был в натурном классе, решился уйти от Гёлица и попробовать жить самому. Жили мы с г. Брезе²⁷, познакомился я с ним, и жили мы в одной с ним комнате. Я питался колбасами, чаем, хлебом. Брезе занимался литографией, потом начал рисовать в академии и дошел до художника. У него были лишние деньги, а у меня их было очень мало.

Писал я тут портрет с сапожника за 5 рубл.<ей>. Гёлиц мне тоже давал работу, когда что надо было исправить и проч. Потом уж я успешнее стал заниматься в Академии и мало занимался посторонней работой, а более жил в долг, у брата брал деньги, дела брата шли не порядочно, и все-таки я у него рублей 200 забрал в два года. Помощник инспектора в Академии, добрейший человек (теперь он уже умер), который меня знал, вот этот-то помощник, г. Фрикке²⁸, и уговорил меня просить стипендию. Я обратился к профессору Маркову²⁹ (я выбрал Маркова себе учителем), обратился к нему и стал просить, нельзя ли и мне получить стипендию, как другие получают. Он говорит, напишите же прошение. Мне было очень трудно хлопотать самому, я попросил чиновника написать прошение; но все-таки это осталось (хотя я и подал прошение) без всяких последствий. Через несколько времени я обратился опять к Маркову, тогда он мне сказал: «Беднее вас люди есть, которым нужно давать стипендию». — «Но кто же может быть беднее меня, — возразил я, — ведь я живу в долг». — «Вы работаете хорошо, можете сами себе заработать деньги». В то время я уже имел медаль за рисунок — за этюд, так что в один акт я получил разом три серебряные медали. Мне часто выходил первый номер за рисунок, и за эскиз получил один раз первый номер. Потом Фрикке опять хлопотал за меня и говорил обо мне с профессором Воробьевым³⁰, который предлагал мне

²⁷ Брезе Николай Константинович — с 1855 г. — вольноприходящий ученик АХ, с 1861 г. — свободный художник портретной живописи. Литограф, работал в портретном и пейзажном жанрах.

²⁸ Фрикке Христиан Андреевич (1789–1854) — помощник полицмейстера по классам, затем помощник инспектора АХ.

²⁹ Марков Алексей Тарасович (1802–1878) — воспитанник АХ (учился в 1813–24 гг.), в 1830 г. выиграл большую золотую медаль и пенсионерскую поездку в Германию и Италию, во время которой по поручению АХ занимался копированием знаменитых картин. Профессор исторической и портретной живописи АХ с 1841 по 1872 гг. Популярный среди студентов педагог, хотя и слабый художник. Автор росписей в ряде церквей Петербурга, в том числе в Исаакиевском соборе (1840–50-е гг.) и в храме Христа Спасителя в Москве.

³⁰ Воробьев Максим Никифорович (1787–1855) — художник-пейзажист, выпускник АХ (1809), с 1823 г. — профессор. В 1813–14 гг. участвовал в качестве художника в заграничном походе

вступить в Общество поощрения художников³¹. Те приняли меня, потому что вполне знали мои работы. Я в короткое время воспользовался тем, что в то время за первый номер сезона 10 рубл. платили, за второй 5 рубл., кроме месячного. Так как я в то время был самый лучший по этюду и рисунку, то за этюд и за рисунок всегда получал первые номера. Только раз Фрикке видит, что совет дает первый номер другому. Фрикке и говорит: «Почему же Келер не получает первый номер, он взял большой этюд?» — (первый номер Флавицкий³² получил за меня)³³. В рисовальном классе судили страстно. Только один Басин³⁴, профессор, был всегда очень справедлив и не имел любимцев. Когда бывало его дежурство, я всегда первый номер получал, а в другое время не получал; тогда я, бывало, и лучший рисунок получу и проч., но проф. Марков и проч. давали другим, своим любимцам.

Близко или равно шли со мной в Академии Зубров³⁵, Васильев³⁶, Иков³⁷, Церн³⁸ (он рисовал как литография) и Чистяков³⁹, он теперь профессор-

русской армии, в 1820 г. был послан в Палестину для выполнения чертежей и зарисовок христианских святынь (на их основе он потом написал ряд картин), в 1828 г. состоял в свите Николая I и выполнял этюды о русско-турецкой войне. Автор многих видов Петербурга и Москвы. Наставник Айвазовского, Лагорио, Чернецовых и др.

³¹ Общество поощрения художников (1820–1882, затем в 1882–1917 гг. — Императорское общество поощрения художеств) — общественная организация, основанная с целью материальной поддержки талантов, популяризации произведений русских художников и пр. Выплачивало пособия студентам АХ и давало стипендии для пенсионерских поездок за границу (стипендиатами Общества были А. П. и К. П. Брюлловы, А. А. Иванов, Г. Г. и Н. Г. Чернецовы и мн. др.).

³² Флавицкий Константин Дмитриевич (1830–1866) — в 1855 г. окончил курс АХ с большой золотой медалью, получил право пенсионерской поездки в Италию (1855–1862). За картину «Смерть княжны Таракановой» получил звание профессора (1864).

³³ Это неясное место уточнено в печатном тексте. Ср.: РС. 1886. № 11. С. 340. Фрикке не разобрал подписи и ходатайствовал о перемене решения, таким образом по ошибке лишив Келера первого номера.

³⁴ Басин Петр Васильевич (1793–1877) — живописец, автор картин на мифологические и религиозные темы. Выпускник АХ, в 1819–1830 гг. — пенсионер в Италии. Преподавал в АХ с 1831 г., с 1836 г. — профессор по классу исторической и портретной живописи. Автор многих росписей в Казанском, Исаакиевском соборах, в Зимнем дворце. См.: Художники народов СССР XI–XX вв. Биобиблиографический словарь / Издатель Ю. А. Быстров. СПб., 2002. Т. 1. С. 297–298. Далее ссылки на это издание: Художники (с указанием тома и страницы).

³⁵ Зубров (Зубрев) Николай Платонович, вольноприходящий ученик АХ, в 1851 и 1854 гг. получил малые серебряные медали за живопись с натуры, в 1855 и 1857 — большие, в 1857 г. — звание художника. См.: Сборник материалов для истории Императорской С.-Петербургской Академии Художеств за сто лет ее существования / Под ред. П. Н. Петрова. СПб., 1866. Ч. 3. С. 215 (далее — Петров, с указанием страницы); Художники. Т. 4. Кн. 1. С. 360.

³⁶ Васильев Михаил Николаевич (1830–1900) — живописец и иконописец. Учился в АХ у А. Т. Маркова в 1850–1857 гг., в 1853 г. получил малую и большую серебряные медали, в 1854 — малую, в 1857 г. — большую золотую медаль и звание классного художника за картину «Аэндорская волшебница вызывает тень Самуила». В 1859–64 гг. — пенсионер АХ

адъюнкт. Он, Чистяков, был реалист — на мозоли он обратил тогда особенное внимание, и все морщинки выписывал, это был его конек.

В этюдном классе я учился более от старших учеников, напр., там был Кабанов⁴⁰, а также в мое время был Ге⁴¹, он сам хвастал больше о себе. Кабанов был лучше его и Бронников⁴² (он немножко старше был). Зубров обещал много, у него колорит был превосходный, но небрежно писал по рисунку этюд, он вышел из Академии и погиб совершенно. Лагирио⁴³

заграницей. В 1869 г. получил звание академика за иконы. С 1878 г. преподавал в АХ, с 1884 г. — профессор.

³⁷ Иков Павел Петрович (1828–1875) — исторический и портретный живописец, учился в Московском училище живописи и ваяния, в 1847 г. перешел в АХ в класс Ф. Бруни. Большую золотую медаль и право пенсионерской поездки за границу получил за картину «Умовение ног Христом Спасителем» в 1858 г. (см.: Петров. С. 305–306). После возвращения из-за границы преподавал рисование в АХ и в рисовальной школе Общества поощрения художников.

³⁸ Церн — видимо, Церм Петр Иванович, академик живописи. Удостоен звания академика 16.10.1856 г. за «картину, изображающую купца и смерть» (Петров. С. 271). В 1861 г. баллотировался на вакансию адъюнкта, но не был избран (см.: Петров. С. 386).

³⁹ Чистяков Павел Петрович (1832–1919) — сын крепостного, при рождении получил вольную. Учился в АХ в 1849–1861 гг., получил большую золотую медаль за картину «Великая княгиня Софья Витовтовна на свадьбе великого князя Василия Темного...». В 1863–70-х гг. был пенсионером АХ заграницей. С 1870 — академик, с 1872 г. — адъюнкт-профессор, с 1892 г. профессор АХ. Прославленный педагог, учитель Васнецова, Сурикова, Серова, Репина, Врубеля и мн. др. Видимо, Келер вспоминает картины Чистякова «Три мужика», 1858; «Римский нищий», 1867.

⁴⁰ Кабанов Иван Андреевич (1819/1823?–1869) — выпускник АХ, в 1853 г. получил большую золотую медаль и звание классного художника. В 1854–1864 — пенсионер АХ в Риме, с 1860 г. — академик исторической живописи (см.: Художники. Т. 4. Кн. 1. С. 578).

⁴¹ Ге Николай Николаевич (1831–1894) — потомок французских эмигрантов. Окончив гимназию, поступил в 1847 г. в университет в Киеве, затем перевелся в Петербург, где параллельно посещал рисовальные классы АХ. В 1850 г. поступил в АХ в класс проф. П. В. Басина. Своим подлинным учителем считал К. Брюллова. В 1857 г. за картину «Аэндорская волшебница вызывает тень Саула» получил большую золотую медаль, звание художника 14 класса и право пенсионерской поездки за границу. В 1857–1863 гг. жил в Италии, посетил Германию, Швейцарию, Францию. В 1863 г. на выставке в АХ была представлена его «Тайная вечеря», за которую ему было присвоено звание профессора. Один из самых известных русских художников XIX в. — портретист, автор картин на исторические и евангельские сюжеты.

⁴² Бронников Федор Андреевич (1827–1902) — живописец и гравер. Происходил из семьи иконописца из Шадринска. В 1844–1854 гг. учился в АХ, получил большую золотую медаль, звание классного художника и пенсионерскую поездку в Рим. Вернулся в Россию в 1863 г., в 1865 г. переехал в Италию. В 1863–64 гг. получил звание профессора АХ.

⁴³ Лагирио Лев Феликсович (1826–1905) — сын неаполитанского вице-консула в Феодосии. После окончания гимназии был определен в АХ пенсионером герцога Лейхтенбергского, учился пейзажной и батальной живописи. В 1850 г. получил большую золотую медаль и пенсионерскую поездку, которая осуществлялась в 1853 г., жил в Италии и Швейцарии. Вернулся в 1860 г. и сразу получил звание профессора.

был пейзажист. Тут были еще в других классах: Филиппов⁴⁴, баталист, и Микешин⁴⁵.

В то время было довольно иметь одну большую серебряную медаль за рисунок и за живопись, за этюд или даже за картину, чтобы иметь право конкурировать на золотую медаль.

В мое время имели 4 серебряных медали Тимашевский⁴⁶, Кабанов и я. В настоящее время нужно иметь медали за рисунок, за живопись или этюд. Тогда медали одностороннее были, потому что таланты разные бывают, так давались за рисунок и за этюд, давались две больших серебряных и две маленьких перед этим (редко дается прямо большая). Я имел обе.

Нам дали первый конкурс. Профессор был Марков. Я сделал плохой эскиз. Моя композиция вышла плохою, потому что я не имел времени заниматься ею. После этого нечего делать, я стал заниматься композицией. Занятия композицией состоят в том, что профессор задает какой-нибудь сюжет, напр., «Распятие», вот и нужно сочинить эскиз «Распятие»: карандашом или красками, все равно, кто как желает. Во время конкурса вечером призывают всех конкурентов академии выбрать из разных сюжетов один, там находится при этом и профессор. Сюжет должен быть выбран совсем неизвестный, и потом всех конкурентов вводят в одно зало, они могут там заниматься часов до 12 ночи и потом должны представить свои сочинения. Это правило уставлено для того, чтобы вернее можно было узнать, может каждый из конкурентов компоковать <sic!>. Тут уж я стал более заниматься и получал первые номера. Нужда уж была не так велика.

⁴⁴ Филиппов Константин Николаевич (1830–1878) — живописец-баталист, учился в АХ в 1850–1858 гг. у проф. В. Виллевальде, участвовал в качестве художника в Крымской войне и был удостоен медали «За оборону Севастополя». В 1858 г. за картину «Военная дорога между Симферополем и Севастополем в 1855 г.» получил большую золотую медаль и пенсионерскую поездку за границу (1859–1864). В 1865 г. удостоен звания академика батальной живописи.

⁴⁵ Микешин Михаил Осипович (1835–1896) — будущий академик скульптуры, автор памятника «Тысячелетие России» в Новгороде и др., окончил в 1858 г. АХ как художник-баталист (по классу проф. В. Виллевальде), получил большую золотую медаль и право пенсионерской поездки за границу, но этим правом не воспользовался, переключившись на скульптуру.

⁴⁶ Тимашевский Орест Исаакович (1822–1866) учился в АХ как вольноприходящий ученик. Выиграл несколько медалей, поэтому был допущен к конкурсу на большую золотую медаль, которую получил в 1851 г. за картину «Первые христиане-мученики в Киеве» вместе с правом пенсионерской поездки за границу. Вернувшись в 1860 г., получил звание академика.

Львов⁴⁷ и Прянишников⁴⁸ мне много внимания оказали в это время. От Общества поощрения художников я получал в это время рубл. 10 в месяц. После войны⁴⁹ я стал писать на золотую медаль. Во время войны я был в Академии и слышал канонаду⁵⁰, тогда я писал «Давид перед Саулом» на маленькую золотую медаль. Сюжет картины дан был советом⁵¹.

В то время у меня энергия немножко ослабла, так что трудно было прилежно заниматься. Отчего ослабла энергия — не знаю, но вероятно от постоянного напряжения, иногда и квартира не так хороша была. Когда я жил на Васильевском острове, я жил вместе с братом, который тоже стал посещать академию, он хотел архитектором быть, но не сделался им, ему это не удалось, и потом он умер. В настоящее время все мои братья уже умерли, кроме меня да еще сестра одна осталась, она замужем за крестьянином, и зять мой там, на родине, арендатором. Я видел часто, как люди бывали глупы, что относились с пренебрежением к простому народу, зачастую говоря: «Он мужик, ну что от мужика можно ожидать?» У нас было все равно, что эстонец или мужик, только тот, кто в модном платье, тот только считался благородным. Когда в <18>64 году я был в Ревеле и в его окрестностях, меня спросили, откуда я. Я говорю, что я эстонец. «Вас, вероятно, отправили из Эстляндии?» — говорят мне. — «Нет, говорю я, — я из Лифляндии». — «Но такого эстонца, — говорят они, — мы никогда не видали».

Итак, я стал писать картину на золотую медаль. С весны до декабря месяца я работал в мастерской над картиной. В то время я жил в Академии. Там

⁴⁷ Львов Федор Федорович (1819–1895) — секретарь Общества поощрения художников, конференц-секретарь АХ в 1859–1865 гг., впоследствии директор Строгановского училища технического рисования в Москве.

⁴⁸ Прянишников Федор Иванович (1793–1867) — действительный тайный советник, член Государственного Совета с 1854 г. Крупный чиновник, с 1835 г. — петербургский почт-директор, в 1841–1854 гг. — директор Почтового Департамента, в 1857–1863 — главноначальствующий. Известный библиофил, любитель искусств и собиратель картин, член АХ, Общества поощрения художников, Московского Художественного общества. В 1818–1819 гг. — масон, секретарь ложи «Умиравший Сфинкс», друг А. Ф. Лабзина.

⁴⁹ Сверху карандашом приписано — 1854.

⁵⁰ В ходе Крымской войны боевые действия англо-французской эскадры на Балтике велись летом 1854 и 1855 гг. Наиболее интенсивными были действия в 1854 г., канонада из Кронштадта была особенно хорошо слышна в Петергофе и Ораниенбауме. Жители Петербурга ездили в район Красной горки, чтобы наблюдать за действиями вражеского флота.

⁵¹ Программа для картины на получение малой золотой медали по исторической живописи «Давид играющий на арфе перед Саулом» была утверждена Советом АХ «ученикам Ивану Келеру и Василию Васильеву» 22 апреля 1854 г. (Петров. С. 215).

я познакомился с Бутковским⁵², он был учеником академии, старше меня он был на 15 лет. Он пригласил меня жить вместе с ним, как товарищ, и уважал меня за мою живопись. Мы жили у Мещанкова⁵³, он был помощником инспектора. Там я платил не много. Кончил я картину, медали не получил, и после этого горя был я у ректора нашего Шебуева⁵⁴, у которого просил какого-нибудь денежного пособия. Он мне сказал: «Хотели вам дать медаль за экспрессию». «Зачем же не дали?» — спросил я. — «А отчего же вы не говорили?» — сказал Шебуев. После этого я был сильно огорчен. Шебуев был справедливее других, но он требовал, чтобы его просили; но я никогда никого не просил. Я всегда думал так, что если я достоин, так чтобы дали, и не хотел обидеть никого, кто достойнее меня.

Эту картину, которую я писал на малую золотую медаль («Давид перед Саулом»), впоследствии купил Юрьев⁵⁵.

После этой картины я писал Геркулеса⁵⁶ и получил маленькую золотую медаль. Тогда было так устроено, что перед посещением президентом ака-

⁵² Бутковский, точнее — Будковский Густав (Budkovski Gustav Daniel, 1813–1884), академик живописи. Учился в АХ, в 1845 г. получил малую серебряную медаль за картину «Финские импровизаторы» (Петров. С. 43). В 1846 г., по ходатайству К. Брюллова, его ученику Будковскому было назначено пособие «во уважение успехов его в живописи и крайне бедного положения» (Там же. С. 55). В 1855 г. художник Будковский был возведен в академики за картину, изображающую «молодую вдову с дитятей на руках» (Там же. С. 247–248). 12.02.1857 г. «вольноприходящий ученик» И. Келер ходатайствовал перед Советом АХ, чтобы картина Будковского «Вдова в мастерской художника» была представлена императору для покупки за 600 рублей, поскольку ее автор, находясь в Париже, «имеет нужду в деньгах». Совет ходатайство удовлетворил (Там же. С. 277). Но в пособии в 1000 рублей для окончания картины «Появление Мефистофеля у Фауста», о котором Будковский ходатайствовал в письме из Парижа, обещая вернуть деньги по возвращении в Россию, было отказано (Там же. С. 399).

⁵³ Мещанков — личность пока установить не удалось.

⁵⁴ Шебуев Василий Козьмич (1777–1855) — выпускник АХ, с 1807 г. — адъюнкт-профессор исторической живописи, с 1812 г. — профессор, с 1832 г. — ректор АХ. Преподавал рисование великим князьям Николаю и Михаилу Павловичам. Расписывал конференц-зал и церковь в АХ, руководил росписью Исаакиевского собора. Автор картин на исторические сюжеты (см.: Русские живописцы XVIII–XIX вв. Биографический словарь. СПб., 2008. С. 683–688).

⁵⁵ Юрьев Александр (1835–1878) — чиновник морского министерства, эстонец по матери и один из участников так называемого кружка «петербургских патриотов», друг Келера. В конце 1860-х гг. художник написал портреты матери и жены Юрьева.

⁵⁶ Совет АХ утвердил программу для картины на малую золотую медаль «Геркулес выводит Цербера из преддверия ада» 9.04.1855 г. (Петров. С. 215). Ныне картина находится в Художественном музее Эстонии. В связи с этой картиной в печатном тексте излагается эпизод с посещением Келера художником Петцольдом, портреты которого когда-то побудили Келера отправиться в Петербург (РС. 1886. № 11. С. 341).

демии Марии Николаевны⁵⁷ должен был каждый художник стоять около своей картины, чтобы она могла делать замечания.

Когда великая княгиня дошла до моей картины, она посмотрела, улыбнулась и говорит: «По этому предмету я мало сведуща и мало могу делать замечаний» (картина «Геркулес» была чисто голая фигура мужчины⁵⁸), потом прибавила: «Вы протезе Гартмана⁵⁹?»

Я чувствовал себя сконфуженным. Так как я был знаком с лейб-медиком Марии Николаевны, Гартманом, то он и говорил с ней обо мне. После уже оказалось, что в первый день совет академии не нашел эту картину достойной золотой медали, потому что была всего одна только фигура, хотя сюжет сам совет дал, и так как Гартман говорил великой княгине об этом, то она настаивала на том, чтобы медаль мне дала академия⁶⁰. Эта картина висит в академии, и как-то Иордан⁶¹ говорил мне, указывая на нее: «В настоящее время вы не можете писать так хорошо». — «Но вы мне все-таки за нее не дали медаль», — сказал я. — «Как не дали? — спросил Иордан. — Ведь вы получили за нее медаль?» — «Да, я получил медаль, но мне ее дала Мария Николаевна, а не вы».

⁵⁷ Мария Николаевна, великая княгиня (1819–1876) — старшая дочь императора Николая I, президент АХ с 1852 по 1876 г. Пост она унаследовала после смерти своего первого мужа — герцога Максимилиана Лейхтенбергского, в 1854 г. вступила в мorganатический брак с гр. Г. Строгановым. С 1862 г. поселилась во Флоренции, занималась коллекционированием произведений искусства.

⁵⁸ В том же решении Совета АХ от 9.04.1855 г., где были назначены программы, сделан комментарий относительно размеров картины: «для исторических картин принять меру, по сравнению с главною на первом плане фигурою, *в пол-натуры*; кроме программы ученика Келера у которого одна фигура, и назначается написать оную более чем в пол-роста» (Петров. С. 237).

⁵⁹ Гартман (Гаартман) Карл Карлович, фон (Carl Frans Gabriel von Haartman, 1819–1888) — придворный врач, выпускник Гельсингфорского университета, гинеколог по специальности. С 1852 г. стал лейб-медиком великой княгини Марии Николаевны, позже — императора Александра II, его жены и детей. Вышел в отставку в 1875 г. Гартман коллекционировал произведения искусства; в 1856 г. Келер написал его портрет.

⁶⁰ Это отразилось и в решении Совета АХ от 30.09.1855 г. Золотые медали второго достоинства были присуждены Е. Годуну и Н. Ге, а Келеру — «по соизволению Ея Императорского Высочества Президента» (Петров. С. 250).

⁶¹ Иордан Федор Иванович (1800–1883) — известный гравер, ученик Н. И. Уткина по АХ, с 1855 г. — профессор гравировального класса, с 1871 г. — ректор живописного и скульптурного отделений. Автор воспоминаний: Записки ректора и профессора Академии Художеств Федора Ивановича Иордан. М., 1918.

В это время у меня много было знакомства. Тогда я познакомился с Гротом, писал с него портрет⁶². В это время я не нуждался. За портреты мне платили.

Потом на следующий год я конкурировал на большую золотую медаль. Это было в <18>56 году. Сюжет был дан «Саул у Эндорской волшебницы»⁶³. Конкурентами были: Васильев, Мартынов⁶⁴, Ге, Солдаткин⁶⁵ и я. Тогда у меня было расстроено здоровье, так что проходили целые дни, и я не мог ничего сделать⁶⁶, и принял отчасти потому предложение профессора Неффа⁶⁷ помогать писать а ля Ватто в Ораниенбаумском дворце

⁶² Грот Яков Карлович (1812–1893) — выпускник Царскосельского лицея (1832), ставший впоследствии выдающимся филологом, профессором Гельсингфорского университета (1841–1852), основателем Славянской библиотеки в Хельсинки, затем — член-корреспондент АН, профессор Царскосельского лицея, с 1858 — академик, с 1889 — вице-президент АН. В 1850-е гг. был преподавателем великих князей Николая и Александра Александровичей. См.: *Грот К. Я. Материалы для жизнеописания академика Якова Карловича Грота. (1812–1893): Хронологический обзор его жизни и деятельности.* СПб., 1912. С Я. К. Гротом, его женой Н. П. Грот (урожд. Семеновой), с их детьми и родственниками Н. П. Семеновым и П. П. Семеновым-Тянь-Шанским Келер сохранил дружбу до конца жизни и много их портретировал. Посмертный портрет Я. К. Грота — это последнее произведение Й. Келера, стоявшее на мольберте в момент смерти художника.

⁶³ 26.05.1856 г. Совет АХ утвердил программу на получение больших золотых медалей. По «живописи исторической» — «Аэндорская волшебница вызывает тень Самуила» «ученикам Николаю Ге, Дмитрию Мартынову, Ивану Келеру, Петру Солдаткину, Михаилу Васильеву и Ефрему Годуну» (Петров. С. 265).

⁶⁴ Мартынов Дмитрий Никифорович (1826–1889) — окончил Петербургскую рисовальную школу по классу проф. А. Т. Маркова, был вольноприходящим учеником АХ, с 1852 г. регулярно участвовал в конкурсах. Картина «Аэндорская волшебница вызывает тень Самуила», 1857 г., принесла ему большую золотую медаль, звание классного художника и право пенсионерской поездки за границу. В 1864 г. ему было присвоено звание академика исторической и портретной живописи. Был известен как иконописец, расписывал храм Христа Спасителя в Москве.

⁶⁵ Солдаткин Петр — ученик АХ по исторической живописи. Конкурировал на большую золотую медаль в 1855 («Сампсон поражает Филлистимлян») и 1857 гг., но медали не получил, хотя в 1851 г. вместе с Келером был награжден малой серебряной медалью (Петров. С. 175), а в 1853 г. — малой золотой за картину «Фидиас представляет Периклу модель статуи Минервы» (Петров. С. 204).

⁶⁶ Конкуренты Келера на медаль представили свои эскизы уже в начале июля 1856 г. Президент АХ сделала замечания на работы: «Николая Ге: “для чего фигура Бедуина? Все остальное хорошо”. — Дмитрия Мартынова: “средняя фигура волшебницы не хороша”. Петра Солдаткина “открыть лице Самуила и... слабо”. Михаила Васильева: “не хорошо поворот головы Самуила”. Ефрема Годуна “не с охотой написано”» (Петров. С. 268).

⁶⁷ Нефф Карл Тимолеон (Тимофей Андреевич) (1804–1876) — незаконный сын французской гувернантки и прибалтийского дворянина (потом Г. Цёге фон Мантейфель назвал его своим приемным сыном: <http://www.laekvere.ee/dat/file/artikkel/neff.pdf>). Родился в Эстонии, в имении Пюсси (Neu-Isenhof), видимо, учился живописи у прибалтийского художника К. Ф. Кюгельгена, затем в 1823–1825 гг. у частных учителей в Дрездене. С 1827 г. жил в Пе-

вместе с пейзажистом Фрикке⁶⁸. Нефф уверял меня, говоря, что если я не захочу работать, то могу ехать с фрейлинами кататься и т. п. Но на месте совсем не так оказалось. Я принял предложение ехать, рассчитывая так, что это все-таки было весной, и что я возвращусь в Петербург подкрепленным, и могу закончить в сентябре картину, а ехал я туда на полтора месяца. Но я все-таки там не отдохнул, и с трудом кончил свою картину. В Ораниенбауме я делал (писал) только фигуру, а Фрикке писал цветы и проч.

После того, как я представил мою картину, инспектор Академии Эйзенден, который присутствовал в совете и слышал, что все были довольны картиной, поздравил меня, говоря, что я наверное получу медаль.

Профессор Нефф раньше говорил мне, что если одному решат медаль дать, то не наверно я получу, но если дадут две медали, то вы получите, сказал Нефф. (Ге был самый талантливый из конкурентов). Я ответил Неффу, что знаю, как ведется дело. Получили медали 4⁶⁹: Годун⁷⁰, Мартынов, Васильев и Ге. Я остался без медали вследствие интриг. Ге был самый талантливый, а получил больше голосов тот, кто был самый слабый, напр., Годун, он получил первый, это по баллотировке делается, прямо-то не могут высказать, а тут на баллотировке можно.

Я никогда не просил никого, но если делали несправедливости с другими, я не переносил и бранил. Но никогда никому дурного я не сделал.

тербурге, быстро приобрел популярность как портретист, за росписи малой церкви Зимнего дворца (1839) получил звание академика, за иконостас Исаакиевского собора — профессора АХ (1854). С 1864 г. был хранителем картинной галереи Эрмитажа. Келер явно недолюбливал Неффа, считал его пронырливым и нечестным человеком (что отразится далее в рассказе о пребывании в Риме).

⁶⁸ См. уточнение в печатном тексте — имелся в виду товарищ Келера по АХ, сын помощника инспектора. Нам известен лишь один сын помощника инспектора Х. А. Фрикке, ставший художником-пейзажистом — Фрикке Логин Христианович (1820–1893). Однако он был гораздо старше Келера по АХ (окончил в 1839 г.), к 1850-м гг. был уже академиком и жил, в основном, в Крыму, хотя дважды — в 1854 и 1855 гг. — принимал участие в академических выставках, так что мог участвовать и в росписях Ораниенбаумского дворца, но это нуждается в уточнении.

⁶⁹ Совет АХ своим решением от 14.03.1857 г. присудил большие золотые медали за картины «Аэндорская волшебница вызывает тень Самуила» художникам Михаилу Васильеву, Ефрему Годуну, Дмитрию Мартынову и Николаю Ге (см.: Петров. С. 282).

⁷⁰ Годун Ефрем — классный художник исторической живописи. Николай I, посетивший выставку АХ в декабре 1853 г., остался недоволен его «Портретом госпожи Флориановой» (см.: Петров. С. 210). Однако в 1854 г. Годун получил вместе с Ге большую серебряную медаль за живопись с натуры (Там же. С. 212). В том же году получил программу на малую золотую медаль «Пророк Елисей воскрешает сына вдовицы» (Там же. С. 215), но был удостоен этой медали в 1855 г. за картину «Явление Божией Матери Преподобному Сергию» (Там же. С. 250).

После на акте я встретил графа Толстого⁷¹, он протянул мне свою руку, с сожалением пожимая мою. Я отдернул свою руку, думая: «Какой же ты президент, когда не мог поправить дело».

Маркова я встретил на Невском проспекте, после этого он мне сказал, что в будущем году вы наверное получите медаль⁷². Я отвечал, что если сто медалей положите на стол, то я и тогда не буду конкурировать, а иначе ведь мне в гроб нужно лечь.

III

Я решил уехать за границу (на свой счет) в звании классного художника. Мне был заказан портрет Государя во весь рост⁷³, я писал его за границей. У Мартынова, который писал уже раньше, не взяли портрет, а заказали мне, хотя я и не получил медали. Я получил за портрет Государя 1200 рубл. Один портрет Государя пошел во дворец наместнику. Итак, я поехал за границу на свой счет. У меня денег было немного, так как из тех, которые я зарабатывал, мне нужно было посылать родственникам. Я уехал с маленьким заказом графа Сиверса, взялся я «Распятие» писать, хотел его написать здесь, но потом сказал, что лучше сделаю его за границей, и писал его в Париже.

⁷¹ Толстой Федор Петрович, граф (1783–1873) — известный медальер, скульптор, живописец. По сути, уникальный в России начала XIX в. пример титулованного дворянина, ставшего профессиональным художником. С 1825 г. — преподаватель медальерного класса АХ, с 1828 г. — вице-президент, с 1859 г. — товарищ президента АХ. С 1842 г. — профессор медальерного класса, с 1843 — также и скульптурного. Автор замечательных мемуаров, см. их полную версию: Записки графа Ф. П. Толстого. М., 2001.

⁷² В АХ были нередки случаи, когда на медали конкурировали на несколько раз. Например, Д. Мартынов, К. Флавицкий, М. Васильев, П. Солдаткин получили программы на большую золотую медаль в 1855 г., но медали тогда был удостоен только Флавицкий (см.: Петров. С. 236 и 250). Остальные конкурировали заново, причем Солдаткин не получил медали и в 1857 г.

⁷³ По-видимому, речь идет о портрете императора Николая I, написанного Келером по заказу гр. Д. Н. Блудова. О том, портрет какого императора имеется в виду, есть разные точки зрения, т. к. в РС сказано «покойного государя». Однако естественнее принять за точку отсчета хронологию повествования. Более вероятно, что молодому художнику поручили сделать повторение портрета покойного Николая I, а не недавно вступившего на престол Александра II. Келер завершил работу весной 1857 г. (РС. 1886. № 11. С. 343).

Денег я повез с собой 600 рубл.⁷⁴ Я поехал на почтовых до Кенигсберга, от Кенигсберга по железной дороге. Приготовляясь ехать за границу, я в Петербурге учился французскому языку. Я не был так прост, чтобы поехать за границу, не зная иностранного языка. Писем у меня рекомендательных ни к кому не было, да я никогда об этом и не заботился и никогда не мечтал о том, чтобы у кого-нибудь работать в мастерской. Я решился только побывать у Ари Шеффера⁷⁵, я его очень уважал, но потом я услышал, что он не так здоров, а потом уже я не попал к нему, потому что он умер. Германию я проехал, почти не останавливаясь, потому что Будковский был в Париже и ожидал меня, но по дороге со мной случилось то, что я, в утомленном состоянии, я заснул и не заметил, как вместо того, чтобы мне ехать из Кельна в Париж, я очутился в Брюсселе. Мне надо было переменить поезд, но я проспал и не заметил этого, а билет у меня был взят на Париж. Когда я проснулся и спросил, где я, мне говорят: «В Брюсселе!» — «Как в Брюсселе?» — Я сейчас тут же показал билет, хотя я в тот же час и не попал, в который рассчитывал, но меня все-таки за те же деньги довезли до Парижа, так как я сказал, что ваши люди виноваты, зачем меня не высадили раньше.

В Париже я только осмотрел Всемирную художественную выставку⁷⁶, а потом отправился вместе с Будковским⁷⁷ в Германию (Будковский живет

⁷⁴ Если сравнить эту сумму с той, которую получили пенсионеры (3 тыс. рублей в год), то можно сказать, что Келер был весьма ограничен в средствах. Ср. запись в журнале Совета АХ от 20.05.1857 г.: «Награжденных от Академии золотыми медалями 1-го достоинства художников 14-го класса: Николая Ге, Михаила Васильева, Ефрема Годуна, Дмитрия Мартынова, Карла Кольмана, Карла Рахау, Александра Фон-Бока и Александра Романовича-Богомолова, отправить за границу для усовершенствования в искусстве, с производством на содержание их там, каждому по триста червонных в год из Государственного Казначейства, первым семи в течение шести лет; а последнему Богомолу в течение трех лет» (Петров. С. 287).

⁷⁵ Ари Шеффер (Ary Scheffer, 1795–1858) — французский исторический и жанровый живописец. Создал много картин на библейские и евангельские сюжеты, пользовался большой популярностью.

⁷⁶ Видимо, имеется в виду художественный Салон в Париже — Salon de 1857, который посетил и Н. Н. Ге, будучи за границей. См. описание и каталог: Exposition des beaux-arts. Salon de 1857 / Par Louis Auvray. Paris, 1857.

⁷⁷ Маршрут путешествия с Будковским по Германии и Швейцарии можно уточнить по письму Келера к Н. П. Грот из Парижа от 5.01.1858: из Парижа в Страсбург, Баден-Баден, через Шварцвальд (где восходили на Флесберг) в Шафхаузен, потом по Рейну до Констанца, затем в Швейцарию. После этого направились через Боденское озеро, Линдау, Аусбург в Мюнхен, оттуда через Нюрнберг, Бамберг-Вюрцбург во Франкфурт-на-Майне. Далее — Дармштадт, Кассель, Лейпциг, Веймар, Дрезден. Через два дня — Дюссельдорф и Кельн, оттуда — в Голландию, в частности, в Саардам, затем в Брюссель и обратно в Париж. Упоминает и о встрече с доктором Гартманом в Дармштадте и о том, что видел там императора Александра II (см.: Письма. С. 26).

теперь в Риме, он прислал сюда на выставку картины. Будковский не очень талантливый, но старательный, у него до сих пор нет свободы в письме. Он пишет более ... <одно слово нрзб.>, исторический жанр). Будковский теперь в Риме, как я уже сказал, и нуждается, Бранников⁷⁸ тоже в Риме живет. Когда я уезжал отсюда, то Львов мне говорил, что, вероятно, Общество поощрения художников сделает вас своим заграничным пансионером. Я сказал, что с удовольствием приму это, но сам просить не буду. Потом они мне писали (от Общества), что мы все купим, что будете нам писать, но только пишите для нас маленькие вещи. Но первые годы я оттудова ничего не присылал, потому что сам недоволен был своей работой. Если послать сюда что-нибудь, так надо уже что-нибудь солидное, а какую-нибудь вещь в рубль не стоит посылать.

Живя с Будковским в Германии, мы ходили с ним пешком в Шварцвальдер⁷⁹.

Я пробыл за границей 5 лет. Больше всего в Риме. Там жить мне очень нравилось, и там было много художников.

Продолжение биографии г. Келера

Итак, в 1857 я был за границей. Сколько ни было собрано произведений искусства на Всемирной Парижской художественной выставке, но ничего особенно не поражало, потому что у нас в Эрмитаже очень много собрано произведений великих знаменитых художников, и мы, следовательно, уже рассмотрелись на них.

Часто знаменитые картины не дают того, чем воображают их себе знаменитыми! <так!> Я считал давно, что природа — самый великий учитель и мастер, на выставках хорошо посмотреть картины, но учиться все-таки надо у природы, потому что лучше этого учителя нет. Так как у нас в Академии учат порядочно, то учиться на картинах художников и для этого ездить на выставки не стоит, а вот у нас не достает обыкновенно понятия о колорите, поэзии нет, так как у нас в академии смотрят на это более с школьной стороны.

Из Парижа я поехал и посмотрел Дрезденскую галерею. Тут я сидел долго перед «Сикстинской Мадонной», но никак не мог понять, отчего

⁷⁸ Имеется в виду Ф. А. Бронников (см. примеч. 42).

⁷⁹ Шварцвальдер Хохвальд — лес в Заарланде на юге Германии.

немцы так высоко ценят «Мадонну» Гольбейна⁸⁰. «Сикстинская Мадонна» Рафаэля поставлена в особенной зале, а на другом конце этой же залы, и с такой же обстановкой поставлена «Мадонна» Гольбейна, поставлена она потому тут — что немецкая. Мадонна Гольбейна не понравилась мне, выражение в ней и нет божественного, которое требуется от Мадонны, и нет той величественности и грациозности, — как она держит младенца у Рафаэля. Впоследствии оказалось, что это вовсе не оригинал Гольбейна, и немецкие художники долго спорили об этом *про* и *контра*. Большинство было за то, что это не оригинал, а другие даже, что это вовсе не Гольбейном написано, а каким-то неизвестным художником. Что это не оригинал, а из Дармштадта, то я убедился в этом в Мюнхене, там была Дармштадтская выставлена, хотя довольно испорченная.

Немцы ужасно (в Дрездене) гордились «Мадонной» Гольбейна, выставленной в Дрезденской галереи, и меня, кажется, прибили бы, если бы я сказал, что она мне не нравится. То, что эта была не Гольбейна «Мадонна», раскрылось лет 10 тому назад.

В Дрездене я встретился со своим товарищем по Академии с скульптором, получившим также большую медаль, Александром фон-Бок⁸¹. Мы с ним вместе поехали в Вартбург⁸². Осмотрели там фрески, написанные разными художниками, Шевинтом⁸³ и др., и остатки чернил (обновленных), которые еще от Лютера остались, брошенные на дьявола, который помешал ему перевести Библию. Там в капелле мы пели вместе с Герцогом

⁸⁰ «Мадонна» Ганса Гольбейна Младшего (1497–1543) — «Мадонна семейства Мейера» («Мадонна бургомистра Мейера» — с изображением семьи базельского бургомистра у ног Богоматери), ок. 1528 г. Оригинал хранился в Дармштадтской, копия — в Дрезденской галерее.

⁸¹ Бок Александр фон (Alexander von Bock, Бок Александр Романович, 1829–1895) — скульптор. Выходец из Лифляндии, учился в АХ у П. К. Клодта, в 1857 г. получил большую золотую медаль, звание классного художника за барельеф «Распятие Христа Спасителя». В 1858–64 гг. был пенсионером АХ. В 1864 г. получил звание профессора скульптуры. С 1865 по 1895 гг. преподавал в АХ. См.: Художники. Т. 2. С. 17. У Бока учились первые эстонские скульпторы А. Вейценберг и А. Адамсон. Судя по переписке, между Боком и Келером существовали разногласия по политическим и религиозным вопросам, что не помешало им остаться друзьями (см.: Väike Köleri sõnastik. Lk 29–30).

⁸² Вартбург — замок XI в. в Тюрингии, недалеко от города Айзенаха. В 1521–22 гг. в замке под именем «юнкер Йорг» после отлучения от церкви скрывался Мартин Лютер, там он закончил перевод Нового Завета на немецкий язык. По преданию, тогда он запустил чернильницей в дьявола.

⁸³ Швинд (Schwind) Мориц (1804–1871) — представитель романтического направления в немецкой живописи. В Вартбургском замке написал сцены из жизни Св. Елизаветы и состязание миннезингеров.

Веймарским⁸⁴. Оттуда мы отправились пешком в Тюрнгенвальд⁸⁵, наслаждались тут буковыми деревьями, а еще более близ Фруля наслаждались, слушая музыку, которая происходила от колокольчиков, привязанных к каждому из животных пасущегося здесь стада коров. Мы удивлялись, как гармонично наигрывали навязанные колокольчики, в то время как коровы там ходили, пили и ели. Но потом оказалось, что все эти колокольчики были подобраны по тонам и потому так гармонично звучали.

В Вартбурге Бок решил больше не курить, потому что ему надоело курить, но в Фруле мы попали на выставку изделий трубок из морской пены, и Бок купил себе трубку, а сам только что бросил курить; над этим мы очень смеялись после в Вартбурге, откуда Бок поехал прямо в Париж, а я поехал в Голландию, в Амстердам, я хотел там видеть Рембрандта. Надо еще раньше упомянуть, что мы из Вартбурга ездили в Кассель, там я и видел первый раз Рембрандта⁸⁶, совсем иначе писано, чем в Петербурге⁸⁷ и действительно отделано до тонкости, без мастерских мазков.

Общее впечатление Голландия оставила на меня грустное, постоянные туманы, холодно⁸⁸. Голландцы на улицах стояли со своими трубками, они брызгали из них вверх струей воды на дома и мыли их снаружи. Мальчики преследовали меня по улицам, требуя чистки сапог (мальчики, уличные чистильщики сапог). Все это так подействовало на меня, что я рад был выбраться из Голландии, в которой я был один, мне было и то еще очень неприятно, что я языка не знал, а по-немецки там плохо говорят.

В Гааге я любовался еще картиной Рембрандта «Портрет Врачей»⁸⁹. Эта картина очень тонко выписана Рембрандтом, анатомия хорошо выде-

⁸⁴ Карл-Александр-Август-Иоанн, великий герцог Саксен-Веймар-Эйзенахский (1818–1901) — единственный сын Карла Фридриха и великой княгини Марии Павловны, дочери императора Павла I.

⁸⁵ Название искажено при записи: Thüringer Wald, т. е. Тюрингенский Лес — горы средней высоты в Тюрингии.

⁸⁶ В музее Касселя хранятся «Автопортрет в шлеме» 1634, «Зимний пейзаж» 1646, «Иаков, благословляющий детей Иосифа» 1656.

⁸⁷ В Эрмитаже хранятся следующие картины Рембрандта: «Флора» 1634, «Жертвоприношение Авраама» 1635, «Святое семейство» 1645, «Аман в опале» 1662, «Давид и Урия» и «Возвращение блудного сына» 1665. Трудно сказать, какие именно из них видел Келер.

⁸⁸ В письме к Н. Грот Келер упоминает о своем посещении Саардама и домика Петра I. Здесь он также пишет о дождях и туманах, но подчеркивает своеобразие Голландии и то, как ветряные мельницы и пасущиеся на лугах коровы оживляют пейзаж (Письма. С. 26).

⁸⁹ Имеется в виду картина Рембрандта «Урок анатомии доктора Тульпа» 1632, хранящаяся в Королевской художественной галерее в Гааге.

лана. В Антверпене я видел «Снятие с креста» Рубенса⁹⁰, это более отделано, чем другие его известные картины.

Приехавши в Париж, я занял мастерскую рядом с Бутковским, в Рю-де-Дуе Каз⁹¹. Это была настоящая мастерская, светлая, с большими окнами (там таких готовых мастерских много есть).

Там я принялся писать «Распятие» (композиция была тоже моя). Писал я в пол роста человека, более это сделал для себя, чтобы легче было с натуры работать, а заказ исполнил уже в большом виде с этого. Заказ был сделан больше чем в рост человека. Этот заказ был у меня из Петербурга, граф Сиверс мне заказал (когда я программу писал) для Венденской церкви в Лифляндии⁹². Граф Сиверс дал мне вперед за эту работу 200 р. для программы, мне это было очень кстати получить деньги. Я объявил графу Сиверсу, что еду за границу и там напишу картину. Он сожалел, что я не в Петербурге буду ее писать, так как Нефф помог бы мне советом. Я и говорю графу: «Нефф не напишет такую картину, потому что я сильнее в этом деле, чем Нефф». Граф очень удивился тому, что я сказал. Я говорил, что такое Распятие, какое напишу я, Нефф никогда не напишет, и если вы сомневаетесь в этом, то я отдам ваши 200 р. вам назад. После этого граф Сиверс согласился на все, и больше слов не было об этом. Когда он после получил мою картину, то он очень был доволен ею. Разумеется, тут я старался сделать картину, а не просто заказ, чтобы только деньги получить. Сиверс мне тем не понравился, что он, будучи со звездой, влетел ко мне в мастерскую и стал говорить со мной покровительственным тоном. Я его осадил так, что он из мастерской, в которую влетел так величественно, вышел совсем *маленьким* и больше такого тона со мной не принимал. Я был потом у него на мызе (близ Вендена его мыза). Он был со мною очень любезен, поехал со мной, все мне показывал в своем имении.

⁹⁰ Картина Рубенса «Снятие с креста», 1611–1614, написана для городского собора Антверпена.

⁹¹ В письме к Н. Грот от 5.01.1858 г. Келер точно обозначает свой парижский адрес: 15. Rue de Douai (Письма. С. 26).

⁹² Картина Келера по сей день украшает церковь Св. Иоанна Крестителя в г. Цесисе. Заказчик — граф Эммануил Карлович Сиверс (1817–1909), сенатор и обер-гофмейстер Высочайшего двора, в 1856–1876 гг. — директор Главного управления духовных дел иностранных исповеданий Министерства внутренних дел, сын умершего к тому времени покровителя юного Келера. В 1857 г. гр. Э. К. Сиверс пожертвовал деньги на создание нового алтаря для средневековой церкви конца XIII – начала XIV вв. Для него и было заказано Келеру «Распятие». Картина была выставлена в Риме в 1859 г., и художник был избран членом Римского общества немецких художников. Это было первое произведение художника-эстонца, выставленное за границей, и первое, подписанное Келером с прибавлением к своей фамилии указания на происхождение — «Вилианди» (см. об этом: Väike Kõleri sõnastik. Lk 72–73). За него автор был удостоен в 1861 г. звания академика АХ.

В Париже писал я еще головку астронома Галилея⁹³, просто фантастическая головка, старик попался хороший, француз. Я и написал с него. Это было уже в 1858 году, потому что я осенью 1857 года вернулся в Париж и провел там зиму. Зимой со мной в Париже чуть беда не случилась. Шел я раз мимо большой оперы и заметил, что необыкновенно яркое освещение было, я спросил, почему ж такое яркое освещение? и получил в ответ, что император проедет. Хотел я сначала остановиться, посмотреть на него, но так его личность не была мне симпатична, подумал не стоит того, чтобы останавливаться и ушел. Только что повернул за угол, как услышал грохот и подумал: «Что это за представления происходят в опере с такими выстрелами?». На другое утро я узнал, что была брошена бомба в Наполеона III, и потом видел, что стены в зданиях, стоящих на довольно далеком расстоянии от места взрыва, были разбиты, так что если бы я был полюбопытнее, то Бог знает, что бы со мной было. Бомба в Наполеона была брошена в январе или в феврале месяце, это произвело в Париже большие скандалы, была после этого совершена торжественная казнь над Орсини, который бросил бомбу, и еще кого-то другого тогда казнили⁹⁴.

В Париже я стал продолжать брать уроки французского языка. Вообще я старался приобрести хороший выговор, усвоить хорошее произношение. Тут же я стал учиться и итальянскому языку у итальянца Лакони, не помню право, сколько я платил за уроки. В Париже было много товарищей моих, как-то: Чернышов⁹⁵, Лагорио, Рахау⁹⁶ (он уже умер), Сверчков⁹⁷, Клод⁹⁸;

⁹³ «Галилей», или «Старик с глобусом», 1858. Хранится в Государственном музее изобразительных искусств Республики Калмыкия, Элиста.

⁹⁴ Покушение на Наполеона III (1808–1873, император с 1852 по 1870 гг.) было совершено 14 января 1858 г. итальянскими революционерами, боровшимися за объединение Италии и стремившимися к уничтожению империи Наполеона. Во время покушения три бомбы взорвались на Театральной площади с интервалом в несколько секунд, 10 человек были убиты и 150 ранены. Наполеон не пострадал и отправился в театр, чтобы предотвратить распространение слухов. Террористы были арестованы в тот же день. Феличе Орсини (1819–1858) был казнен 13 марта. С ним вместе был казнен другой участник заговора — Пьерри. Келер не симпатизировал императору (племяннику Наполеона I), пришедшему к власти в результате революции 1848 г., затем — государственного переворота 1852 г. и воевавшему против России в Крымской войне.

⁹⁵ Чернышев Алексей Филиппович (1824–1863) — живописец-жанрист. Пенсионером Общества поощрения художников поступил в АХ, которую окончил в 1851 г. Получил большую золотую медаль и пенсионерскую поездку в Италию (1853). В Риме тяжело заболел, почти не мог работать. Вернулся в Петербург в 1860 г., получил звание академика. Умер в лечебнице для душевнобольных.

Годун тоже был, который обещал раз ссудить меня деньгами на короткое время, но на назначенное свидание не явился и, вероятно, раскаивался, что обещал мне. Мне это было очень обидно перенести от Годуна, как от товарища, тем более, что он знал, что пользуется теми деньгами, которые скорее мне принадлежали, чем ему.

Огорчение, которое я получил по поводу медали в Петербурге и которое заставило меня поехать за границу, дало мне возможность поправить мои расстроенные силы в Париже. В парижских весельях я участие не принимал и как только окончил «Распятие» и отправил его, я поспешил оставить Париж. Я писал потому в Париже «Распятие», что хотел потом посетить Рим, чтобы там уже серьезно заняться, и поспешил оставить шумный Париж, который нисколько не привлекал меня, так как я люблю больше природу.

Из Парижа поехал я на воды в Глейз-Вейлар⁹⁹, у подножия горы Хофто. Там мне больше помогло гулянье по горам, чем водное лечение. Сначала у меня едва сил хватало подняться до половины гор, приблизительно тысяча футов вышины, а после я уже ежедневно поднимался до верху гор, и часто там я целые часы лежал на вереске и мечтал и зубрил итальянскую грам-

⁹⁶ Рахау Карл Карлович — потом академик архитектуры. Учился в Академии одновременно с Келером, получил большую золотую медаль и право пенсионерской поездки за границу в 1857 г. за проект высшего театрального училища и театра при нем (см.: Петров. С. 282).

⁹⁷ Сверчков Владимир Дмитриевич (1821–1883) — живописец; автор росписей по стеклу и витражей. Окончил Институт корпуса горных инженеров (1838), служил в Гельсингфорсе. После выхода в отставку учился живописи в Петербурге, Риме, Мюнхене. В 1849–55 гг. — вольноприходящий ученик АХ. В 1855 г. получил большую золотую медаль, звание классного художника и пенсионерскую поездку. В 1857–62 гг. был пенсионером АХ в Париже и Германии. Жил в Германии и Италии, умер во Флоренции, но наездами бывал в России. См.: Русские живописцы XVIII–XIX вв. Биографический словарь. СПб., 2008. С. 547–548.

⁹⁸ В 1850-е гг. в АХ учились два Клодта: 1) Клодт (Клодт фон Юргенсбург) Михаил Константинович, барон (1832–1902) — племянник скульптора П. К. Клодта, художник-пейзажист. Вопреки воле родителей поступил в АХ, учился в 1851–1858 гг., по окончании получил большую золотую медаль, звание классного художника и пенсионерскую поездку за границу. С 1862 г. — академик, с 1864 — профессор. Способствовал открытию в АХ пейзажного класса, с 1873 по 1886 гг. был его руководителем. 2) Клодт (Клодт фон Юргенсбург) Михаил Петрович, барон (1835–1914) — сын скульптора П. К. Клодта, двоюродный брат пейзажиста М. К. Клодта. Видимо, этого Клодта Келер называет своим товарищем, т. к. он учился в АХ с 1852 г. в классе проф. А. Т. Маркова. В 1857–1860 гг. на свои средства жил и учился во Франции. Большую золотую медаль, звание классного художника и пенсионерскую поездку от АХ получил за картину «Последняя весна» (1861). С 1867 — академик. В 1870 г. стал одним из учредителей Товарищества передвижных художественных выставок. Преподавал в рисовальной школе АХ, в училище бар. Штиглица, в 1860-е гг. давал уроки великим князьям Сергею и Павлу Александровичам.

⁹⁹ Gleisweiler — популярный курорт на юге Германии, называемый «пфальцская Ницца».

матику по методу Оллендорфа¹⁰⁰, о которой один тамошний профессор сказал, что «этот учебник годен только для сапожников». Но я на это отвечал: «Положим, я не буду сапожником, но убежден, что когда буду в Италии, то буду в состоянии говорить по-италиански, а вы со своей профессорской грамматикой наверно не смогли бы так ловко и скоро найти слова, которые там нужно». Когда я поехал в Италию, то уже умел говорить.

В Глейз-Вейларе познакомился я с немецким художником, который работал там для Парижа. Писал он маленькие пейзажики, без натуры, от 5-ти до 25-ти франков за штуку, и этой работой он нажил себе целый дом с садом, и жил со своим семейством вполне хорошо.

Силы у меня прибавлялись очень скоро, так что я начал и с другими делать экскурсии к развалинам Трифлиса¹⁰¹.

Тут один англичанин из нашего общества стал поднимать большие камни и бросать их со всей силы на башню, в которой был когда-то заключен английский король Ричард Львиное Сердце. Я спросил: «Что вы делаете?», он мне не ответил и опять изо всей силы бухнул камнем в башню. Я думал, что он хотел разрушить эту башню, в которой был заключен их король, но, однако же, оказалось, что желание англичанина было более невинное, башня осталась цела, а англичанин хотел только отбить маленький кусочек этой башни и взять с собой на память, ведь англичане это любят.

В Глейз-Веларе мне представилась опасность в виде темных глаз одной 14-летней голландки, с которой я писал портрет. Мне казалось, что эта страсть сильно может увеличиться, и чтобы отделаться от нее, я нарочно старался быть смешным, чтобы вызвать к себе неуважение, и таким образом я освободился от этой страсти.

После двухмесячного лечения я чувствовал себя довольно сильным, и было время уже отправиться в путь, так как мне хотелось ехать в Мюнхен, чтобы присутствовать там при праздновании 700-летнего юбилея города Мюнхена¹⁰². Немцы удивительные мастера в отношении устройства праздников. Они устроили громадную процессию из групп, представляющих все 7 веков. Костюмы были на них не театральные, а действительно солидно сшитые и выбраны художественно по колерам, так что процессия была невиданная, и, как видно было, и сами участники наслаждались ею вполне.

¹⁰⁰ Оллендорф Генрих Готфрид (1803–1865) — автор популярных учебников различных иностранных языков в форме диалогов-упражнений.

¹⁰¹ Имеется в виду крепость (замок) Трифельс (Reichsburg Trifels), где в течение трех недель в марте–апреле 1193 г. содержался в плену король Ричард Львиное Сердце. В XIX в. замок был частично реставрирован и перестроен.

¹⁰² Мюнхен впервые упоминается в документах в 1158 г.

Вечером был банкет. Церемония принятия гостей была в костюмах 16 столетия, так что трубачи и герольды объявляли каждый раз о прибытии гостей, т. е. таких гостей, которые участвовали в процессии, как, напр., император Людвиг Баварский¹⁰³, который прибыл со своей свитой и пажам. Любопытно было видеть, как относился на банкете настоящий король баварский с императором — королем церемонии. Банкет этот был очень интересный, все лица, которые участвовали в процессии, видимо от души веселились. Тут были и два настоящих короля: экс-король Людвиг и тот, которому он передал свой престол после революции¹⁰⁴. Я в Мюнхен приехал как раз на праздник, но много говорится о немецкой аккуратности, но ее нельзя было заметить в отношении поездов железной дороги, которые постоянно опаздывали. Из Глейз-Велара до Мюнхена всего 16 часов нужно проехать, а я проехал двое суток, и вовсе не нашел там такой аккуратности, как говорят.

Королю Людвигу Мюнхен обязан большою деятельностью мюнхенских художников. Удивляться нужно, как Людвиг мог с такими относительно малыми средствами настолько изменить даже вид города. Мюнхенцы оттого не любили его, что у него была Лола Монте¹⁰⁵. Людвиг был хороший человек, и если его сменили, то это был просто денежный вопрос и больше ничего. Людвиг относительно Мюнхена много сделал, такое маленькое государство — и столько строений.

Мюнхен остался до сих пор центром искусства в Германии. Мюнхенцы оттого не любили Людвиг, что он *слишком* много сделал для такого маленького государства.

Из Мюнхена мы вместе с Бокм поехали через Швейцарию в Милан¹⁰⁶. От озера Четырех Кантонов¹⁰⁷ мы хотели идти пешком через Сент-Го-

¹⁰³ Имеется в виду костюмированный «император», исполнявший роль Людовика IV Баварского, короля Германии (с 1314 г.), императора Священной Римской империи (1328–1347).

¹⁰⁴ Людвиг I (1786–1868), из династии Виттельсбахов — король Баварии в 1825–1848 гг. Его называли королем-мecenатом, в его правление Мюнхен стал культурной столицей Германии. Привлекал в страну ученых, писателей, художников, архитекторов, способствовал строительству железных дорог. В ходе революции отрекся от престола 20.03.1848 в пользу сына Максимилиана II (король Баварии в 1848–1864 гг.).

¹⁰⁵ Элизабет Розанна (Элиза) Джилберт (1821–1861), по первому мужу Джеймсон, гастролировавшая по Европе как исполнительница испанских танцев под именем Лола Монте. Ее поклонниками были Бальзак, Т. Готье, Дюма, Вагнер, Лист и мн. др. В 1846 г. нее страстно влюбился пожилой баварский король Людвиг I, дал ей титул графини Ландсфельд, построил для нее роскошный дом в центре Мюнхена, назначил большую пенсию. Скандал вокруг Лолы явился одним из поводов к отречению Людвиг от престола.

¹⁰⁶ В письме Келера к Н. П. Грот из Рима от 21.04/3.05.1859 г. маршрут уточнен. Ср.: Письма. С. 28–29.

тард¹⁰⁸. По дороге из гостиницы, где мы остановились, я вышел немножко порисовать. Бок ждал меня, ждал и, думая, что я отправился по дороге (это была большая дорога, проезжая), пустился за мной в путь. Когда я это узнал, я потерял надежду догнать его, потому что он любил ходить скоро и, тем более, что он меня же хотел догнать, и из этого вышло то, что я остался один в этой суровой природе.

Погода была дождлива, ветреная, река бушевала между скалами, так что на одного эта грандиозная природа действовала в сто раз сильнее, чем тогда когда быть в обществе. В сущности, я своим настроением был очень доволен. Я осмотрел Чертов мост, вспомнился Суворов¹⁰⁹. При осмотре этого моста нельзя понять, как через него могло пройти русское войско и пушки. Это просто кажется невероятным, глядя на эту узенькую <sic> дощечку, перекинутую с одной стороны на другую, а там, под этим мостом бушует бездна, и если кто попадет туда, то от него останутся одни куски. Вода под мостом падает так, что поднимается водяной туман или пар наверх, так что при лучах солнца являются радужные лучи. Там теперь есть новый мост, а старый Чертов мост все сохраняется под новым, но я по старому мосту не решался переходить.

Там я осматривал еще знаменитый Унзер-ло¹¹⁰, о котором писал Гете, знаменито тем было, что тут было прорублено в виде туннеля, но теперь, во время нынешних железнодорожных туннелей этот туннель, существующий на безделечном расстоянии, никакого значения не имеет, но во время Гете — он был очень знаменит.

В Фан-дер-Матер я нашел своего друга Бока. Отдохнув до другого дня, утром мы были неприятно поражены новым явлением, которое преградило наше дальнейшее путешествие — шел снег, страшнейшим образом. Я хотел все-таки выждать несколько дней, чтобы пройти пешком через перевал, но

¹⁰⁷ Люцернское озеро, или Фирвальдштеттерзее в центральной части Швейцарии.

¹⁰⁸ Сен-Готар — самый важный горный перевал Швейцарских Альп длиной в 32–48 км, шириной 10–12 км. Высота 2 106 м; южный склон его крутой, северный отлогий.

¹⁰⁹ Чертов мост (нем. *Teufelsbrücke*) представлял собой узкую каменную арку длиной около 25 м, переброшенную через ущелье на высоте 22–23 м над бурной рекой Рейс. Он обеспечивал путь к перевалу Сен-Готар. В 1799 г. в ходе Швейцарского похода русские войска под командованием Суворова с боем перешли через этот мост. Первые части переправились через разрушенный французами мост, связав офицерскими шарфами доски от разобранного сарая. Для переправы основных сил мост был отремонтирован более капитально. В 1830 г. рядом со старым был построен новый мост, который тоже стал называться Чертовым.

¹¹⁰ Т. е. Урзерн-лох, или *Урзернская дыра* — туннель шириной около трех метров, длиной около 60 м, ведущий от деревни Урзерн к Чертову мосту. Уточнение швейцарского маршрута и некоторые дополнительные детали см. в письме к Н. Грот из Рима 21.04/3.05.1859 (Письма. С. 28–31).

Бок был нетерпелив, он ждать не хотел и взял билет на почте. Я не желал остаться тут одним, поневоле должен был делать то же. Вверху на перевале было уже так холодно, что стекла кареты замерзли, ничего не видеть, слышен только один свист ветра.

Доехавши до спуска на южную сторону, к вечеру, увидели бесконечно темно-серую пропасть, и Бок уже стал раскаиваться, что сел в почтовую карету, так как при каждом повороте просто дух захватывало. Карета была полная, в ней было человек шесть. Были сумерки. В Швейцарии едут быстро, а ехать нужно было вниз, я хотя и не боюсь, но а тут было страшно, тут поворот, а тут и конца нет пропасти, если бы случилось какое-нибудь несчастье — то гибель была бы наверная. Пешком тут идти ничего, а ездить страшно. Если бы там поехали русские, и у них, как это часто случается при их небрежности, лопнуло бы что-нибудь — тогда бы кувырком, и туда...

Прочие путешественники, так же как и мы, не смотрели на дорогу, отворачивались, так было страшно. Кроме того было ужасно тесно сидеть, а сидеть в экипаже пришлось 12 часов сряду. Вот тут и пришлось мне первый раз заговорить по-италиански, соседка была молодая римлянка, я заговорил, и ничего — вышло сносно. Бок меньше меня умел говорить по-италиански.

В 12 часов ночи наконец мы доехали до Бенинсона¹¹¹, и спустившись немножко ниже, там вместо снега был уже дождь и гроза (месяц был октябрь). На другое утро мы отправились пешком. Погода была прелестная, солнце ярко светило, тепло (это мы на юг приехали, здесь в октябре еще бывает хорошая погода).

Я уговаривал Бока подняться еще близ дороги на гору Монте-Ченере¹¹², чтобы насладиться видом на все стороны. Бок на это согласился. Шли мы без дороги, гора не очень крутая была, травой покрыта. Мы шли скоро, Бок устал немножко, но я говорю: «Ты сиди здесь, а я туда поднимусь на вышину, а ты потом подходи ко мне». Шел я четверть часа, Бока нет, и другую и третью четверть часа, а Бока все нет, и наконец добрался я до вершины. Шел я целый час до верху горы. Верхушка горы была покрыта снегом, дул сильный ветер, так что я выбрал сторону под ветром. Здесь вид был чудесный, но долго один здесь все-таки не выдержал. Ждал Бока,

¹¹¹ Точнее: Беллинзона — город в южной части Швейцарии, где жители говорят по-итальянски, главный город кантона Тичино. В средние века принадлежал миланским герцогам. Ср. в письме к Н. П. Грот: «Совершенно разбитые, мы прибыли в Bellinzona a mezzo notte, написал по-итальянски, т. к. это было первое место в Италии, где мы остановились» (Письма. С. 30).

¹¹² Монте-Ченере — гора высотой в 553 м. в кантоне Тичино, на границе с Италией.

крикнул ему, ответа не было, опять ждал, не идет ли, наконец вижу, что вечер уже наступает, пора спускаться с гор.

Видя отсюда дорожку и местность, где мы предполагали ночевать, я прямо направил туда свои шаги и больше спускался бегом, прыгая через маленькие камни, в самом веселом расположении духа, хотя и один был. Ниже я увидел какие-то хижины, возле одной из них я увидел старушку, и чтобы сказать что-нибудь, я спросил, куда идет эта дорога. И старушка показала мне в ту сторону, куда я и направил свой путь, она говорила каким-то смешанным языком, не то итальянским, не то французским¹¹³. Потом я продолжал свой путь. Мне опять тут подвернулись трое молодых людей, и я опять так, из учтивости, спросил их о дороге, и они опять так говорили, что я их не понял, и продолжал свой путь, но они вскоре начали кричать. Я думал: «Что же они хотят?» — и стал удирать скорее, но они пустились за мной с собаками, к несчастью, тут гора была довольно крута, так что скоро идти было нельзя. Они начали на меня кидать сверху камнями, которые прямо не долетали до меня, но, падая и делая рикошет, пролетали мимо, только что я не мог больше продолжать путь. Для охраны жизни я должен был повернуть назад, чтобы видеть, откуда камни летят, так что иногда надо было прыгнуть направо, иногда налево, то нагибаться приходилось. Я думаю: «Что делать? — уйти нельзя, а надо попробовать против них идти». И вот приняв вид, что у меня есть какое-нибудь оружие, я пошел прямо против них. Приближаясь к ним, я кричал им, чего они от меня хотят, они кричали мне в ответ что-то непонятное и указывали рукой налево, чтобы я шел туда, я и направил после этого свои шаги налево. Тут я скоро дошел до места, где скала была кверху отвесна, а для них этот верх, разумеется, должен был быть равен, поэтому-то я боялся, что они направятся туда, чтобы оттуда и бросать в меня камни. Тут я прибавил шагу, чтобы миновать этот уголок, но их не видал. По этой дороге я попал в другую долину, и я должен был очень скоро бежать, чтобы не остаться на ночь в горах.

На большой дороге я нашел Бока, который меня уже ждал, он осмотрел гостиницу, и она ему показалась очень нечистоплотной, он спросил меня, что я на счет этого думаю? Я отвечал ему на это, что прежде нужно поужинать, а потом уже осмотреть ее. Я рассказал свою историю в харчевне, и мне там сказали, что эта гора не славится хорошей репутацией, потому что там бродят контрабандисты, и, встретя меня, они, вероятно, приняли меня за лазутчика, который послан был узнать их склады. Если бы они хоте-

¹¹³ Видимо, подразумевается ретороманский язык. В письмах Келер говорит о смешении немецкого и итальянского.

ли меня убить, то отлично могли бы это сделать, так как их было трое, вооруженных, с собаками, а я был один, без всякого оружия, но они, вероятно, хотели только, чтобы пошел в другую сторону. Спать нам не хотелось, и мы, подкрепившись едой, решили продолжать путь ночью, потому что вскоре должна была быть по дороге хорошая гостиница, где можно будет пообедать. Уже темнело. Мы шли, оружия с нами не было, да и вообще кроме плаэдов <sic!> ничего с нами не было, все вещи, чемоданы были посланы вперед.

Наконец стало так темно, что едва заметна была дорога. Гостиницы не было. Мы начали проклинать, что отправились, и так мы, едва таская ноги, дошли до какой-то ветхой гостиницы, где под воротами, освещенный огнем от фонаря, стоял какой-то италианец черный, как его шляпа, и смотрел совсем разбойником. Бок спросил меня, что тут делать? — «Войти туда, — отвечал я, — так как уйти мы не можем, потому что он нас видел, и если он нам желает сделать что-нибудь дурное, он может это, потому что мы не можем уйти с нашими усталыми ногами, и поэтому лучше войти, пусть будет что будет». Вошли в гостиницу, и нашли старика добродушного с мальчиком. Спросили что-нибудь поесть. Он предложил нам сделать омлет (яичницу). Кухня была перед нашими глазами, так что мы видели, как он готовил. Бок говорил: «Не могу есть, это грязно». Я думал: «Мы же идем в Италию, где известно неопрятность, а с голоду нельзя умирать», и я преспокойно ел свою яичницу. Потом повели нас в спальню <sic>, через старинные, полуразрушенные коридоры, и наконец указали нам кровать, широкую, где мы могли лечь оба вместе, и как угодно, вдоль или поперек. Хотели покрепче запереть дверь, но, увы, это сделать не было никакой возможности, до того была дверь испорчена. Мы поставили стул перед дверью, и никто из нас не спал, и как только утром немножко свет показался, и мы — вон отсюда, на улицу, и завтракали уже в Луганах¹¹⁴, куда мы пришли пешком, голодные.

Это все было в 1858 году. В Луганах мы были недолго. Переехали озеро на пароходе, а потом опять пошли пешком. Тут на озере Лаго де Комо забылись все наши неприятные впечатления, и особенно при виде Лаго-де-Гарди¹¹⁵ (это было в северной Италии). В Милане мы осмотрели собор из белого мрамора¹¹⁶. Молодые ноги на этот раз стремились вперед,

¹¹⁴ Лугано — город в Швейцарии на берегу одноименного озера.

¹¹⁵ Озера на севере Италии: Комо (Lago di Como) — третье по величине, Гарда (Lago di Garda) — самое большое озеро Италии.

¹¹⁶ Знаменитый готический Миланский собор (Duomo di Milano), третий по величине в Европе, начал строиться в 1386 г., строительство продолжалось вплоть до XX в.

на башни. По дороге нас поражало, везде на лестницах были надписи, мы удивлялись, читая их, как это могут быть в церковных стенах такие надписи.

Мне не описать все башни собора, это лучше сделают другие, но этот собор производит необыкновенное впечатление.

Оттуда мы отправились в Геную, чтобы сесть на пароход. Лунная ночь была очаровательна и прежде нами никогда не виданная, до такой степени было тихо и тепло, так что переезд до Ливорно был прогулкой, наслаждением.

В Ливорно мы неожиданно встретили Неффа (теперь он уже умер), едва ли он дал докончить поклон, как начал хвастать, какие он все статуи мраморные заказал себе в Риме. Но впоследствии мы узнали, как он заказывал эти статуи. (Мы это узнали от тамошних скульпторов, познакомившись с ними). Нефф, хвастая своими связями при петербургском дворе, уговорил скульпторов сделать ему работы дешевле, обещая потом достать большие заказы от Дворов <так!>. Это ему удалось вполне, и он хотел еще воспользоваться дешевыми трудами этих художников, чтобы заслужить у В.<еликой> К.<нягини> Екатерины Михайловны¹¹⁷, и он заказал им статуи сделать для нее, как будто бы еще для себя, чтобы они дешевле взяли. Однако ж как-то скульптор Фосс¹¹⁸ узнал об этом, что эти хорошие заказы окончились таким печальным образом. Устроили после этого Неффу сцену, невообразимо неприятную, так что пошли в ход слова, которые передать неудобно (говорили по-немецки). Мне рассказывали в Ревеле, Нефф там писал «Ангелов на гробе Господнем», — так ему нужны были крылья, а в Ревеле он жил у какой-то хозяйки, он ее и попросил гуся на рынке купить, та купила, вот он и хотел воспользоваться гусем и пригласил гостей. Хозяйка, разумеется, устроила все так, как нужно было для приема гостей, ну а потом Нефф ничего своей хозяйке не заплатил, и так он на счет своей хозяйки угостил своих гостей. В Риме он пригласил своих старых прежних знакомых в ресторацию, самую лучшую, где действительно хорошо кормят. Те приехали, обедали там, когда кончили, то Нефф, после, при них же стал торговаться за обед. Гостям это, конечно, было очень неприятно, они заплатили сами и ушли, одни рассказывают так про это, а другие говорят, что он пригласил их обедать, а они должны были за все заплатить.

¹¹⁷ Великая княгиня Екатерина Михайловна (1827–1894) — племянница императора Николая I, дочь великого князя Михаила Павловича, после замужества в 1851 г. — герцогиня Мекленбург-Стрелицкая. Жила с мужем и детьми в Петербурге и имела свой двор.

¹¹⁸ Возможно, имеется в виду Фосс Ханс Вильгельм (1817–1892) — скульптор по дереву.

21 Марта

3. Продолжение биографии г. Келлера

После осмотра художественных примечательностей Флоренции, мы с Бокком продолжали путь из Ливорно в Чевитовекио¹¹⁹, только теперь ночь оказалась для нас не так очаровательна, как при переезде нашем из Генуи в Ливорно.

Поднялась буря, она была так жестока, что все предметы в каюте катились из стороны в сторону, свет погас, и с палубы был слышен страшный шум, перекачивание с боку на бок цепей и разных других предметов, так что казалось, что пароход ежеминутно разламывается. Воздух в каюте был для меня невыносим, и я кое-как на четвереньках вскарабкался наверх, на палубу, там судорожно схватился за борт, спиной приперся к выступающему краю, и в такой позиции провел все время, так что волны часто обкачивали меня, но болезнь моя была так страшна, что к жизни я относился довольно равнодушно. При полной темноте и фосфорировании волн воображение мне представляло разных нимф и т. п., но наконец к утру мы были близ Чевито-векио, но войти в порт все-таки не смели, покуда буря не уменьшилась. И когда мы прибыли в город, то сделалось уже холодно, так что Чевито-векио, и без того уже некрасивый город, показался мне, промокшему и дрожащему от холода, еще неприятнее. В тот же день мы по почте отправились далее, в Рим, и приехали туда поздно ночью.

В Риме мы увидали кое-где снег, чего уже никак не ожидали здесь видеть. Высадили нас на улице, в Якондате <?>. Трудно было нам в такой темноте и без всякой помощи отыскать какое-нибудь пристанище. В гостинице, в которой мы, наконец, поместились, было очень холодно, так что первое впечатление, произведенное на нас Римом, — было полное разочарование в нем. Как обдало нас здесь холодом в прямом смысле, так и насчет художественных произведений, при осмотре галереи, хотя и превосходной, но мы ожидали увидеть в ней гораздо большее.

Но как бы то ни было, мы постарались здесь устроиться возможно удобнее, наняли на Весетине¹²⁰ мастерскую и, разумеется, постарались поставить печку, а то совершенно невозможно было работать, спать было, хоть неприятно, но все-таки возможно, при замерзании воды в комнате, таков был холод в мастерской, подобного я в Петербурге никогда не испытывал.

Раз был случай такого рода: проснулся я утром и нашел окна вспотевшими, но так как в комнате было свежо, то я изумился, каким образом стек-

¹¹⁹ Чивитавеккиа (Civitavecchia) — город-курорт на Тирренском море.

¹²⁰ Искаженное: Via Sistina — улица в Риме, где жили многие русские художники.

ла могли вспотеть? Оказалось, что стекла были вспотевши не изнутри, а снаружи, потому что в это время дул теплый южный африканский ветер, так что на улице и было теплее, чем в комнате.

Здесь в Риме из первых работ моих было «Лев с мальчиком» по новелле Гете¹²¹. Меня соблазнил принять этот сюжет прелестный лев, бывший тут в зверинце. Кроме этого я писал еще здесь мелкие вещи, как-то чучаре¹²², то мальчика, то девочку, и кончил «Распятием», которое затеяно было еще в Париже.

Никогда не занимавшийся акварелью, я в Риме первый раз начал практиковаться в этом, в костюмном классе, где каждый вечер по два часа сидели модели в разных костюмах Италии. Я довольно скоро привык к этим краскам, так что иные спрашивали меня, какими красками я пишу, им казалось, будто бы я имею особенные краски.

Из этих акварелей купила несколько В.<еликая> К.<нягиня> Мария Николаевна, при своем посещении Рима.

В одно утро, в кафе Греко¹²³, известный художник рассказывал в комическом духе присутствующим, как один русский художник хвастался перед В.<еликой> К.<нягиней> Марией Николаевной своим скорым писанием, он говорил, что целую фигуру в два часа написал. Я сейчас же заметил, что это я послужил ему темой для рассказа, и сейчас же поправил рассказчика, говоря, что вовсе не хвастался перед В.<еликой> К.<няги>-ней, и говорил ей, что в два часа написал фигуру для оправдания себя, что не лучше окончил ее вследствие того, что так скоро написал. Это все тем более ясно, что В.<еликая> К.<нягиня> нашла рисунки в два часа сделанные хорошими, но она спросила потом, нет ли у меня других, в 4 часа нарисованных. Я, говоря, есть и такие, и именно из этих В.<еликая> К.<нягиня> и выбрала.

После этого В.<еликая> К.<няги>-ня посещала мою мастерскую на Вио-Маргут¹²⁴, она очень интересовалась всем, что я ей показывал. Сидела она

¹²¹ Картина Келера «Лев и мальчик» (1859). Написана по мотивам поэмы Гете «Новелла», впервые опубликованной в 1828 г., о силе добра и искусства — о мальчике, который игрой на флейте укротил льва, вывел его из пещеры, вынул у него из лапы занозу.

¹²² Искаженное «чочара»/ «чочар» — обозначает жителя Чочарии (*Ciocciaria*), т. е. из Римской провинции. Картины, включающие это слово в название, довольно многочисленны у художников, работавших в Риме. У Келера есть несколько картин, изображающих итальянок (римлянок) и итальянцев, итальянских детей, не ясно, какие именно свои работы он здесь подразумевает.

¹²³ Caffè Greco — известное кафе на улице Кондотти (*Via dei Condotti*, 86), рядом с Испанской площадью (*Piazza di Spagna*), основанное в 1760 г., где бывали все знаменитости, посещавшие или жившие в Риме.

¹²⁴ *Via Margutta* — улица в Риме недалеко Испанской площади.

на низенькой скамейке, перед мольбертом, осмотрела все эскизы и видела оконченное «Распятие». Я попросил ее поправить дело о медали, то В.<еликая> К.<нягиня> и советовала мне послать «Распятие» в Петербург в академию, на золотую медаль¹²⁵. Но я отвечал, что так как «Распятие» хотя и написано, но правила конкурса не были мною приняты, то поэтому я считаю не вправе послать его на выставку, но только желал бы, чтобы академия была справедлива за прежние работы мои, которые окончены по всем строгим правилам академии; но прошение все-таки было представлено академии, но совет отклонил его снова. Итак, моя личная гордость отняла у меня очень нужные средства для поправления здоровья и занятий художественных.

Несколько времени позже я в раздумье, смотря вниз, шел по Вио-Кватро-Фонтане¹²⁶. Вдруг слышу «Куда вы, любезный?» — я поднял глаза, и рядом со мной оказалась сидящая в карете В.<еликая> К.<нягиня>. От этого неожиданного вопроса я сконфузился, смотрел на соседку В.<еликой> К.<няги>-ни (с ней вместе была фрейлина). В.<еликая> К.<няги>-ня засмеялась — «Не знаете ли вы, где живет Корнелиус»¹²⁷, — спросила В.<еликая> К.<няги>-ня. Я говорю, что не знаю, и удалился, оставив ее тут, где она меня остановила.

После я вспомнил, что знал адрес Корнелиуса, но в ту минуту, как меня об этом спрашивали, я положительно ничего не мог сообразить, так растерялся. Тем более это вышло смешно, что прежде уже В.<еликая> К.<нягиня> сожалела, что некого из русских молодых художников реко-

¹²⁵ О посещении великой княгиней Марией Николаевной его мастерской, о их беседах и о добром отношении к нему президента АХ Келер пишет и в письме к Н. Грот от 21.04/3.05.1859 (Письма. С. 32). Там же он подчеркивает, что завел разговор о несправедливом распределении медалей не столько ради себя, сколько для будущих студентов, и выражал надежду на то, что президент сможет поправить дело. В письме к Н. Грот из Рима 19/31.12.1860 художник вновь возвращается к визиту великой княгини в его мастерскую, выражая опасения, что, поскольку был очень утомлен, произвел на нее неблагоприятное впечатление. Келер даже просит корреспондентку разузнать у доктора Гартмана, не слышал ли он каких-то отзывов о нем (Письма. С. 34).

¹²⁶ Via Quatro Fontane — улица Четырех Фонтанов.

¹²⁷ Петер Йозеф фон Корнелиус (Peter Joseph von Cornelius, 1783–1867) — немецкий художник, член «Союза Св. Луки», или кружка «назарейцев» — товарищества немецких художников, посвятивших себя религиозному обновлению искусства. В 1820-е гг. был приглашен королем Людвигом Баварским в Мюнхен, где возглавил Академию художеств. Написанные им в Мюнхене фрески на античные сюжеты и «Страшный суд» в церкви св. Людвига (1836–1840) считались образцовыми произведениями немецкого академического искусства. В печатном тексте описано посещение Келером Корнелиуса в Берлине, на обратном пути из Италии в Петербург. Разговор окончился спором о Гарибальди, которому Келер сочувствовал, а Корнелиус — нет (см. подробнее: РС. 1886. № 11. С. 349).

мендовать Корнелиусу и Овербеку¹²⁸, потому что во мне она не нашла уважения к работам великих мастеров немецких, как она того ожидала. Я не имел слишком высокого понятия о этих мастерах, потому что, напр., Корнелиус действительно имеет величие в своих сочинениях, но это величие он достигает более театральными средствами, утрированием, так что иногда перспектива выходит, что где должна быть одна сажень, там у него выходит по крайней мере 5ть, так что случается в его сочинениях, что голова человека бывает перевернута на спину, нога часто выходит из живота, вообще его рассудок хромает сильно, так что я слышал от италианцев, что они не понимают рисунка Корнелиуса, что это должно быть мускулы форестьеры¹²⁹ на его рисунках, т. е. иностранные мускулы. Так Корнелиус плохо знает анатомию. Его сочинения только в маленьком виде, вроде эскизов, сносны, где ошибки не так заметны. Колорит у него невозможно плох, так что его красками в большом виде написанные предметы, как, напр., в Мюнхене в Людвихс-кирхе его Страшный суд, он испортил его вполне своими негармоничными пестрыми красками.

Овербек слишком в другую сторону уклоняется, у него не живые люди выходят, а какие-то туманные образы, хотя иногда и довольно грациозные фигуры бывают¹³⁰.

Жизнь художников зимою в Риме главным образом состоит в том, чтобы работать в мастерской, осматривать галереи, развалины, вообще окрестность Рима, на лето уезжают, оставляют Рим, как слишком жаркий город, а уезжают оттуда к морю или в горы. Когда я первое лето жил в Риме, то всегда чувствовал потребность ходить по солнечной стороне улицы, а не

¹²⁸ Иоганн Фридрих Овербек (Johann Friedrich Overbeck, 1789–1869) — немецкий художник, проживавший в Риме с 1810 г. и оказавший влияние на развитие как немецкой, так и итальянской живописи 1820–30-х гг. В 1813 г. перешел в католичество. Глава и «патриарх» «назарейцев». Наименование это не являлось самоназванием группы и первоначально имело иронический оттенок, отсылая к прическе (длинные волосы) и костюму (черный берет и плащ), который ввели в моду члены кружка. Позже они сделали общими для всех художников, живших в Риме. Творчеством Овербека увлекался В. А. Жуковский (см.: Джулиани Р. «Прогулки по Риму» Гоголя и Жуковского // Джулиани Р. Рим в жизни и творчестве Гоголя, или Потерянный рай: Материалы и исследования. М., 2009. С. 45–47). Восторг Жуковского перед «назарейцами» и, в особенности, перед Овербеком воздействовал и на вкусы царской семьи, члены которой купили немало картин немецких религиозных художников. Позиция вел. кн. Марии Николаевны, засвидетельствованная Келером, отражает эту ситуацию. К 1850-м гг. искусство «назарейцев» уже отошло на второй план в контексте европейской живописи.

¹²⁹ От итальянского *forestiere* — иностранец, приезжий.

¹³⁰ Приведенные здесь мнения о немецких художниках несколько отличаются от выраженных в печатном тексте, но критический тон сохраняется. Ср.: РС. 1886. № 11. С. 347.

по противоположной, там, где тень. Вообще не мною одним замечено, а многими другими, что в первое пребывание в Риме не чувствуешь особенного жара, но спустя два года после моего приезда в Рим, и я наконец стал ходить по той стороне улицы, где тень, а сначала, первые два года, мне приятнее было ходить по солнечной стороне.

В 1859 году, в августе месяце, мы опять с фон Боком поехали на пароходе в Неаполь. Не стану описывать величественный въезд в Неаполитанский залив, с его Везувием, луной и с утренним освещением, скажу только, что это против Рима, где все так серьезно и где труднее понять красоты его, зато в Неаполе грандиозность более декоративная, которая каждого сразу поражает.

Попали мы в Неаполь в то время, когда извержение Везувия уже давно было забыто; но вечером, в тот же день, мы заметили, что на Везувии много огней, и спросили, что это такое? — нам сказали, что это извержение. Это нам было очень приятно слышать, и мы поехали поскорее осмотреть его ближе, так как это извержение было сбоку горы и тихое, значит было вполне безопасно. Но приближаясь к месту извержения, картина, однако же, вышла все-таки ужасная. Мрачная лава лилась очень медленно, приближаясь к дереву, которое начало трепетать, и как только лава коснулась ствола, так все дерево мгновенно вспыхнуло, загорелось доверху, таким пламенем, как будто был фейерверк. Мы любовались этою картиною ночью, так как днем извержение имеет совсем не такой вид, потому что днем огонь не светит. Разливаясь, лава приблизилась к дому, ворвалась внутрь его, под напором лавы и огня дом рушился. Хозяева, видя все это, спасали, что могли, но без особенной суеты, поддаваясь неотвержимой силе и уступая все шаг за шагом. По краям лава, хотя раскаленная, была так тверда, что я попробовал сделать по ней шаг, и она выдержала, но, разумеется, подошвы моей обуви были обожжены. Мы отделили кусочек лавы и вложили в нее итальянскую монету гран, но палка, которой мы отделяли лаву, загорелась ярким пламенем. Во время этого извержения пострадали тут знаменитые виноградники — Лаке-мо Кристе¹³¹.

Нам угрожало после этого еще опасность в дороге. Из Амальфи¹³² по сухому пути можно идти в Соренто¹³³, но отчасти это было невозможно, потому что путь этот был небезопасен от разбойников, и поэтому мы

¹³¹ Искаженое Лакрима Кристи (Lacruma Christi) — «Слезы Христа» — виноградники монастыря, находящегося у подножия Везувия, а также название вина, производящегося с этих виноградников.

¹³² Амальфи — небольшой город на юге Италии, на одноименном побережье Тирренского моря.

¹³³ Соренто — город на гористом полуострове в Неаполитанском заливе в Тирренском море.

решили ехать на лодке до Пазитано¹³⁴. Погода была бурная, с трудом нашли пару рыбаков, которые согласились везти нас. Посадили нас на суше в лодку, волна нас взяла оттуда. Скоро нас укачало, это было очень неприятно, но уже пристать опять к берегу не было никакой возможности, так как тут были отвесные горы, мы очень сожалели, что поехали, а не остались хоть один день. Смотря больше на физиономию товарища, которая была совершенно зеленая, углы рта висели вниз, вообще физиономия была невообразимо несчастная, т. е. до смешного, хотя я и сам страдал в это время, но, глядя на физиономию товарища, я расхохотался. К счастью, мы доехали благополучно, и волна нас также вынесла далеко на сушу, на песочный берег.

Из Соренты мы отправились на Капри¹³⁵, в этот необыкновенный уголок Италии. Местности, равной по своей поэзии с Капри, я в Италии не видал больше. В Капри мы встретили прежних знакомых, немецкого энтузиаста, писателя Алмерса¹³⁶ и доктора Гекеля¹³⁷, который ежедневно возился с морской водой, где искал всевозможных маленьких жителей и даже таких мельчайших, которые он рассматривал под микроскопом; но главное наше занятие во время пребывания на Капри состояло в том, что мы предпринимали разные экскурсии вчетвером и рисовали все, кто карандашом, кто акварелью. Так как остров этот чрезвычайно дик и скалист, то посетителей здесь бывает очень мало, и мы там жили положительно как в дикой стране, особенно Алмерс отличался особенным костюмом. Начиная сверху — у него была соломенная шляпа в форме Меркурия, только без крыльев, он купил ее за 5 гранов, т. е. приблизительно 5 коп. Рубашка обыкновенная была, кажется ночная, грудь открытая, и к рубашке привязано полотенце, чтобы им воспользоваться в то время, когда выступит пот на лицо, так утирать его, панталоны клетчатые, с заплаткой, башмаки подкованы, на них были каблуки сзади и спереди, так что каждый шаг производил ужасно неприятный скрип, так что я неоднократно замечал у Алмерса отсутствие всякого музыкального слуха, но все-таки ничто не портило здесь наше экзальтированное настроение. Раз, проезжая Атозора¹³⁸ с другим приезжим

¹³⁴ Позитано — небольшой город на побережье Амальфи.

¹³⁵ Капри — остров в Тирренском море, в южной части Неаполитанского залива.

¹³⁶ Алмерс Герман (Hermann Allmers, 1821–1902) — немецкий поэт и художник.

¹³⁷ Гекель — Геккель Эрнст Генрих Филипп Август (Ernst Heinrich Philipp August Haeckel; 1834–1919) — немецкий естествоиспытатель и философ, дарвинист.

¹³⁸ Искаженое: Аззура — Grotta Azzurra, т. е. Голубой грот на о. Капри. Длина — 56 м, ширина 30, высота свода над уровнем воды 15 м, высота входа до 1,3 метра. Единственный вход — со стороны моря, и попасть в него можно только на лодке. Из-за низкого входа в штормовую

из Берлина художником, мы были очарованы сказочной красотой находящегося здесь грота, особенно вода здесь получает особенный оттенок, когда плывешь в ней сам, видя перед собой эти волны. Резонанс тут оказался тоже магическим, в то время, когда я купался, другие пели квартет, но так как тут участвовали берлинцы, так все окончилось очень прозаически — по-берлински. Один из берлинцев заметил, что если бы этот грот был в Берлине, то они устроили бы громадные ворота, а не так, как тут должно нагибаться в маленькой лодочке, сидя, и только по парам приезжать туда.

Мы не могли в Капри наслаждаться местным вином, знаменитым вином де Капри, потому что в то время была болезнь виноградников, и так как в то время не умели бороться с этой болезнью, то тогда все виноградники и погибли.

В один день приехала к нам туда старая дева (из Бремена), наша прежняя знакомая из Рима. Она необыкновенно обрадовалась, что нашла тут своих верных немецких братьев, она страшно кокетничала и не давала нам покоя. Нам это было чрезвычайно неприятно, но рыбак, привезший ее туда, приехал с надеждой, чтобы нас взять обратно в Соренто. Так мы и уговорились на другой день в 4 часа отправиться. Мы были на месте у лодки, а фрейлин Синкстак не было там.

Нам говорили, что видели ее где-то на горах, она там гуляла со своими чашками и книгами. Между тем рыбак говорил, что нам пора ехать, а то ветер переменится, и мы не достигнем Соренты. Я говорил: «Но как же оставить здесь барышню одну?» — Но рыбак говорит, что берет это на свой страх и вернется за ней на другой день. Так мы и решили отправиться, но мы все-таки опоздали и должны были высадиться на другом месте и остальной путь делать пешком, и на третий день, вернувшись в гостиницу, нам сказали, что нас спрашивала там одна дама и долго ждала нас, и обещала вернуться опять, но мы опять бегом убежали из гостиницы, прося сказать там, что если эта дама приедет в другой раз, так чтобы сказали, что нас нет дома. Конечно, мы сейчас же догадались, что эта дама была фрейлин Синкстак, и хотя я был убежден, что рыбак свалил всю вину на нас, что мы уехали, не дождавшись ее, однако же лучше было терпеть несправедливое обвинение, но чтобы только не видеть этой приятной особы.

В Риме с ней случился такой анекдот: в галерее Ватикана она пристала к одному немецкому ученому, археологу, и тот из любезности объяснял ей все. Потом и на другой день она опять к нему пристала, и до того она ему

погоду вход в грот недоступен. Дно затоплено морем, благодаря чему свет, проникающий в грот, придает воде и всей пещере красивый лазоревый цвет.

надоела, что когда после этот ученый старик увидит ее издали на улице в Риме, то он убегал от нее во всю мочь куда-нибудь в переулок.

В кафе Грек со мной был следующий случай. Зимой, в тесной комнате этого кафе, вроде омнибуса, во время холодов, тут бывает очень тесно, потому что других теплых мест, где бы можно было погреться, здесь нет, так вот и явилась туда вдруг г-жа Синкстак, и говорит: «Я заметила тут место», — но, разумеется, места тут не было, и в сущности она села на колени двум там сидящим, и с ней постоянно были разодранные, грязные листки из комедии Данте, она думала, что итальянцы станут объяснять ей эту комедию, но итальянцы и сами не понимают Данте. Раз пронесся слух в Риме, что место около Албании¹³⁹ небезопасно, потому что видели там при лунном освещении гуляющих фрейлин Синкстак с Данте.

Синкстак очень мало получала от своих родственников, так что была очень бедно обставлена, но это было ужасно клейкое существо, эта фрейлин Синкстак.

В Сорренто, в течение 6 недель, я писал этюды, это была первая моя проба в пейзажном жанре. Вернувшись опять в Рим, из Сорренто, я получил из Петербурга от Общества поощрения художников, через Федора Федоровича Львова, уведомление, что они назначили меня пансионером общества (тогда я получил на два года только по 300 рубл. от них), но главная польза для меня в этом была та, что общество обещало купить все мои произведения, только небольшие. Но, к сожалению, я не мог много воспользоваться этим обещанием, потому что не чувствовал достаточно энергии, чтобы сделать что-нибудь серьезное, а слишком легкие предметы я не хотел посылать в Петербург.

Летом я поехал из Рима в горы Олевано¹⁴⁰, тут я писал первый год только пейзажные этюды.

Немецкая знаменитость, Фридрих Плерель¹⁴¹, который был тогда в Италии для собирания материалов для исполнения Одиссеи в галерею Веймарского музея, который нарочно для этого строился, он заметил, что никогда не видал, чтобы кто-нибудь из пейзажистов писал бы так серьезно этюды, как я.

¹³⁹ Албани, т. е. Альбанские горы (итал. *Colli Albani*) к юго-востоку от Рима — излюбленное место отдыха римлян.

¹⁴⁰ Олевано — *Olevano Romano*, поселение на горе Селеста в Римской провинции, в регионе Лацио. Очень популярное место среди художников, живших в Риме, для выезда на пленэр.

¹⁴¹ Плерель — точнее, Преллер — *Friedrich Preller* (1804–1878) — известный немецкий художник-пейзажист и гравер, учился в Италии в 1827–31 гг., потом стал преподавателем в Школе искусств в Веймаре. Был автором картин на сюжеты из «Одиссеи», а также «Оберона» Виланда. В 1859–61 гг. снова посетил Италию, по возвращении в Веймар завершил фрески по мотивам «Одиссеи» для герцогского дворца.

В другое за тем лето я писал картину «Италианка, переходящая через ручей»¹⁴², сынок ее, держась за ее платье и поднимая рубашонку, шагает за ней, а на голове у италианки, в корзине, лежит малютка и сосет палец. Эта картина потом пошла в собственность наследника Николая Александровича¹⁴³, после его смерти перешла к Марии Александровне¹⁴⁴, а впоследствии бывший наследник (а в настоящее время Государь) Александр Александрович¹⁴⁵ просил сестру уступить ему эту картину, которая в настоящее время и находится у Государя Императора. Я еще написал тут «Девушку, черпающую воду»¹⁴⁶, она тоже попала в собственность наследника.

За границей я считал полезным жить между иностранными художниками, но так как в Риме были большею частию немецкие художники, то я вертелся более в немецком обществе. У нас было составлено общество, называемое «Колона»¹⁴⁷, оно доходило до 20 человек иногда, оно состояло из людей, занимающихся по разным отраслям художеств и знаний. Так, напр., тут были археологи, филологи, поэты, художники и даже агрономы, и вследствие этого наши разговоры и споры были самые разнообразные. Иногда мы предпринимали целые экскурсии осматривать что-нибудь в окрестностях Рима. Мы ездили вместе в Кастельфузамо¹⁴⁸. За воротами, летом после занятий, кто-нибудь затеивал игру в пестрели¹⁴⁹, а тут перед глазами очаровательные горы и вдали римская Кампания¹⁵⁰. У нас в обществе иногда устраивались чтения, но они были для меня невыносимы, так что как бы ни было интересно чтение, но я, прослушав немного, вставал и уходил прочь. Раз мы устроили даже вроде театра между собою. Составилось у нас две партии — художники с одной стороны и ученые археологи

¹⁴² Картина Келера, известная под названием «Итальянка с детьми у родника», экспонировавшаяся на выставке в Риме в 1862 г. Ныне хранится в Художественном музее Эстонии.

¹⁴³ Николай Александрович (1843–1865) — цесаревич, старший сын императора Александра II, наследник престола, скончался от туберкулеза, и престол перешел к его брату, будущему Александру III.

¹⁴⁴ Мария Александровна (1853–1920) — великая княжна, дочь императора Александр II. Келер преподавал ей рисование с 1862 по 1874 г., до ее замужества.

¹⁴⁵ Александр Александрович (1845–1894) — великий князь, с 1881 — император Александр III.

¹⁴⁶ Картина Келера, известная под названием «Девочка у родника». Ныне хранится в Художественном музее Эстонии.

¹⁴⁷ По названию кафе Colonna (via Corso), где собирались немецкие интеллектуалы, жившие в Риме.

¹⁴⁸ Кастельфузано — город в 25 км от центра Рима, недалеко от морского побережья.

¹⁴⁹ Ср.: РС. 1886. № 11. С. 345: Piastrella (камни).

¹⁵⁰ Римская Кампания — Campagna di Roma, низменная местность в окрестностях Рима, в Лацио, окружена горами на севере и на юго-востоке, примыкает к Тирренскому морю на юго-западе. Один из наиболее часто изображаемых в живописи районов Италии.

и друг.<ие> — с другой. Разумеется, каждая партия старалась быть как можно пикантнее другой партии, но так как это все устраивалось дружелюбно, то все и окончилось благополучно.

Скульптор Кауер¹⁵¹ был между прочим отличный каррикатурист, он в один вечер углем нарисовал всех членов общества в разных видах и разведал кругом на стенах. Меня он представил вроде Мамели д'Италия¹⁵² (гора) как блудного сына, окруженного свиньями и рисующего там Мамеле.

Не могу пропустить один случай, бывший со мной в Италии, во время карнавала в Риме¹⁵³. В меня на улице была брошена со всей силы известка, в форме гороха, этот горох был прямо брошен мне в глаза, и с такой силой, что я почувствовал страшную боль. Я ужасно взбешен был этим, и, кажется, попадись мне тогда этот злодей, бросивший в меня, я бы, кажется, убил бы его на месте, потому что это уже не в шутку было сделано, и не италийцами, которые знают границы шуткам, а это было верно сделано кем-нибудь из чужих варваров, и может быть даже кем-нибудь из моих товарищей.

Из Рима мною была послана в Петербург, в Академию, картина «Распятие» хотя я и имел покупателя на эту картину в Риме, но я все-таки послал ее в Академию, и за нее мне дали звание академика. В 1862 году я сам вернулся в Петербург. По дороге сюда я осмотрел все города Италии, Перуджио <т. е. Перуджу. — Л. К.>, Болонью, Ровену <т. е. Равенну. — Л. К.>, Верону и Венецию. Самые летние месяцы провел в Швейцарии, в Оберон-Годен¹⁵⁴. Дорога была довольно утомительна, так что под конец я решился не более 8 часов проводить в дороге (т. е. ехать днем, не более 8 часов). Прибыл я в Петербург 30 Августа 1862 года. По приезде сюда напал на меня сначала сон, так что раз во время дня я спал 10 часов. Хозяйка, где я нанимал квартиру, удивлялась, что это за господин, который все спит!

При первом визите моем прежнему учителю моему профессору Маркову он мне сказал, что уже давно меня ожидал, ему я был нужен, потому что

¹⁵¹ Роберт Кауер (Robert Cauer der Ältere, 1831–1893) — популярный немецкий скульптор, принадлежал к известному немецкому семейству скульпторов, работавших в академической манере. Приезжал в Италию дважды в год, где, по поручению прусского правительства, контролировал немецких стипендиатов.

¹⁵² Мамель д'Италия — Mammelle d'Italia, т. е. гора Costasole в Лацио, называемая по своей форме (две округлых вершины) «грудью» (mammelle).

¹⁵³ Карнавал в Риме — народные гулянья, продолжающиеся 11 дней до среды на первой неделе Великого поста. Участники наряжались в костюмы и маски, среди забав были популярны перестрелка гипсовыми или меловыми шариками (confetti), горохом, устраивались также лошадиные скачки (corso), а в заключение — праздник огней (moccoli).

¹⁵⁴ Оберон-Годен — искаженное написание. Возможно, следует читать: Оберн-Боден, т. е. верхняя часть Боденского озера (*Obersee*), хотя эта часть Боденского озера находится в Германии.

работа была. Оказалось, что Марков получил работу — писать купол в храме Спасителя в Москве¹⁵⁵.

Марков уговаривал меня быть ему вроде помощника в этой работе, и плату за нее получать, как я захочу, поштучно или помесечно. Спросил он меня при этом, сколько я думаю прожить в Петербурге, имею ли я деньги и проч.

Я сказал, что без гроша вернулся, денег у меня нет и работы тоже пока нет. Предложил он мне денег, что я, конечно, отклонил, а на его предложение насчет работы я просил у него время обдумать насчет этого и тогда дать ему ответ. Однако же прошло довольно много времени, а я все не мог решиться взять эту работу, потому что видел, как Марков хочет воспользоваться мною в этом деле, как простым работником, а между тем из его приготовлений я заметил, что он не в состоянии будет справиться с куполом. Я думал так, что если уже взять на себя этот труд, так только с тем условием, чтобы он не вмешивался в это дело; но так как он был моим учителем, то я и церемонился ему это прямо высказать и пошел к нему только тогда, когда он мне встретился опять на улице и сердитым голосом намекнул мне, что уже давно ждет меня для ответа. Тут делать было нечего, я должен был высказаться, и начал с того, что так как я не очень силен здоровьем, а тут в храме сыро, и в куполе воздух сыр, не хорош, спертый, то я и могу взять эту работу только в таком случае, если мне возможно будет после отдохнуть, т. е. если он мне заплотит <sic!> столько, что я по окончании этой работы могу отдыхать, не работая несколько времени. Не знаю, понял ли Марков или нет, что я хотел сказать этим, или просто не хотел понять, но он рассердился и говорит: «Зачем же я потерял время, так долго ждавши твоего ответа?» — Потом спросил меня, чем я буду заниматься. — Мой ответ был: «Не знаю». — «Ну, — сказал Марков, — будешь писать на звание профессора и не получишь» (и, действительно, я написал картину и не получил звание профессора). Долго после этого случая Марков при встрече со мною не кланялся. Ему не легче было, что не хотел за работу заплатить, как следует. Я слышал, что после он обратился к Сорокину¹⁵⁶, тот

¹⁵⁵ А. Т. Марков имел заказ на создание фрески в храме Христа Спасителя в Москве.

¹⁵⁶ Сорокин Евграф Семенович (1821–1892) — первоначальное образование получил у иконописца. В 1841–1849 гг. учился в АХ в классе А. Т. Маркова. В 1850 г. в качестве пенсионера отправился за границу (Германия, Бельгия, Франция). В Париже выполнял заказы на стенные росписи в церквях. Провел три года в Испании, копируя картины испанских художников, писал жанровые сцены. Посетил Египет и Сирию, с 1855 по 1859 гг. жил в Италии. За написанную там картину «Благовещение» получил в 1861 г. звание академика. В 1859 г. поселился в Москве. За росписи в храме Христа Спасителя получил в 1878 г. звание профессора. С 1859 г. до конца жизни руководил натурным классом в Московском училище живописи и ваяния.

требовал за эту работу 30 т.<ысяч> рублей. Марков нашел на эту цену чрезмерною. Потом он вступил в сделку с Макаровым¹⁵⁷, за годовую плату. Но Макаров, с расслабленным здоровьем, прожил год с семейством на счет Маркова и, кажется, и другой год прожил, но работа не двигалась вперед. Вышел между ними разлад: Марков бранил Макарова, а Макаров Маркова, Бог знает, кто из них прав.

Потом Марков нашел других помощников, а вышло наконец то, что купол обошелся Маркову гораздо дороже, чем если бы он мне сразу заплатил эти 30 тысяч и сидел бы беззаботно дома, а то он хотел заплатить мне дешевле, да если бы работа по куполу выходила хорошо, удачно, тогда вся слава была бы его, Маркова, но в случае неудачи все бы знали, что Келер был приглашен писать. —

В 1864 году я поехал в Ревель¹⁵⁸. В Ревеле, как обыкновенно и все художники, я стал посещать места, где много народа, чтобы изучать жизнь народа. Также и тут я пошел на рынок, где много было приезжих мужиков и баб, но вид этого угнетенного народа произвел на меня весьма грустное впечатление. Видел я много в Италии людей в лохмотьях, но они мне все-таки казались людьми, они даже отчасти с известной гордостью протягивали руку и требовали помощи. Но здесь руку не протягивали, но общий склад был невероятно грустный.

Впечатление было до того грустно, что я, вышедши за город, плакал, как дитя. Думал я: «Возможно ли довести народ до такой степени!». И потом стал придумывать, каким бы образом я мог бы что-нибудь сделать для на-

¹⁵⁷ Макаров Иван Кузьмич (1822–1897) — сын бывшего крепостного, окончил Саранское уездное училище, учился живописи у отца и вместе с ним расписывал церкви. Писал картины, в 1842 г. за работу «Две молодые мордовки» АХ присвоила ему звание классного художника. В 1845–1853 гг. был вольноприходящим учеником АХ по классу А. Т. Маркова, дружил с И. К. Айвазовским. Был популярен как портретист (в частности, известны несколько портретов детей Пушкина и Н. Н. Пушкиной-Ланской). В 1840-е гг. давал уроки рисования детям великой княгини Марии Николаевны. В 1853–1855 гг. жил в Италии на средства великой княгини и Общества поощрения художников. В 1855 г. удостоен звания академика. Жил в Петербурге, но участвовал в росписи церквей в Пензе, Иркутске, писал иконы. С 1865 г. работал над росписями в храме Христа Спасителя в Москве. Вместе с И. Н. Крамским, Н. А. Кошелевым и К. Б. Венигом выполнил роспись центрального купола «Трипостасный Бог» по эскизу А. Т. Маркова (см.: Русские живописцы XVIII–XIX вв. Биографический словарь. СПб., 2008. С. 391). Видимо, Келер передает какие-то слухи о жизни Макарова с семейством (женился в 1863 г.) за счет Маркова. Не очень понятно, насколько они соответствовали действительности, т. к. на конец 1850-х и 1860-е гг. приходится расцвет творчества художника и его популярности как портретиста.

¹⁵⁸ Келер ездил в Эстонию в 1863 г. Его пребывание в Ревеле изложено в журнальной версии гораздо подробнее (РС. 1886. № 11. С. 352 и далее).

рода, чтобы вывести его к лучшей жизни¹⁵⁹. При этом мне вспомнилось еще происшествие, недавно случившееся в Ревеле и даже описанное в Герти-лобе <так!>¹⁶⁰. Это было истязание 60 хозяев¹⁶¹. Сущность дела возникла из того, что в церквах с кафедр объявили народу, что быт крестьян будет улучшен старым императором¹⁶². Но сущность дела вышла не так. Хотя по бумаге было действительно улучшение, но в действительности народ не мог этого заметить, потому что прежние законы были так суровы, что не могли быть выполняемы, а теперешние, новые, были только на столько изменены, на сколько они были уже в жизни применены, так что улучшение в практике не сказалось. Долго совещались крестьяне между собою по этому поводу и наконец решили идти в Ревель, узнать у губернатора¹⁶³, в чем

¹⁵⁹ Об этом Келер думал всегда, в том числе и в Риме, когда писал Н. Грот в новогоднем письме от 19/31.12.1860 г. о положении эстонских крестьян — в надежде на то, что ее брат Н. П. Семенов, участвовавший в подготовке крестьянской реформы в России, поможет исправить ситуацию в балтийских провинциях (Письма. С. 34).

¹⁶⁰ Искаженное название немецкого семейного иллюстрированного журнала по садоводству “Die Gartenlaube: Illustriertes Familienblatt”, выходившего в Лейпциге с 1853 г. (просуществовал до 1944 г., в последние годы выходил в Берлине). Это было одно из первых успешных изданий для семейного чтения, ориентированное на массового читателя среднего класса. Там помещались актуальные новости, статьи по естественным наукам, занимательные истории, стихотворения и т. п. Упомянув этот журнал, Келер хочет продемонстрировать масштаб событий, произошедших в Эстонии, и их резонанс в Европе, если даже такой журнал, как “Die Gartenlaube” поместил о них информацию. Благодарю М. И. Леконцеву за помощь в расшифровке искаженного стенографисткой названия.

¹⁶¹ Экзекуция крестьян (ходовков) из Ания (волость на севере Эстонии) в июле 1858 г. (см. ниже). Впоследствии события были описаны во второй части романной трилогии Э. Вильде “Kuidas Anija mehed Tallinnas käisid”, 1903, в русском переводе — «Ходоки из Ания»

¹⁶² Имеется в виду «Положения о крестьянах Эстляндской губернии 5 апреля 1856 г.». Оно было переведено на немецкий и эстонский (см.: Eestimaal Tallorahwa Seadus. Tallinn, 1858) языки и роздано помещикам и пасторам для объявления крестьянам. Закон действительно был призван хотя бы в какой-то мере облегчить положение эстонских крестьян: сократить число барщинных дней на 14 %, запретить помещикам присоединять к мызным землям участки, находящиеся в арендном пользовании крестьян и пр. Однако в действительности немецким землевладельцам, путем махинаций с переводом, удалось создать текст, по которому выходило, что барщинная повинность и условия земельной аренды остаются без изменения. Крестьянами объявление указа 23.04.1858 было расценено, как дарование «воли» со стороны царя, скрытой помещиками, что и вызвало многочисленные акты неповиновения, охватившие более чем 75 поместий Эстонии, вплоть до крестьянского восстания в Махтра. См.: 1858. aasta talurahvarahutused Eestis. Крестьянские волнения в Эстонии в 1858 г. Dokumente ja materjale. Документы и материалы. Tallinn, 1958. Lk 22–25 (Далее ссылки на это издание: 1858. aasta talurahvarahutused, с указанием страницы). Война в Махтра стала сюжетом одноименного романа Э. Вильде (1902 г.).

¹⁶³ Губернатором Эстляндии в 1842–1859 гг. был эстляндский дворянин Иван Егорович Гринвальдт/Грюневальдт (Johann Christoph Engelbrecht von Grünewaldt, 1796–1862). Умер в Петербурге, будучи сенатором и тайным советником.

есть милость Государя, но перед этим обратились к жандармскому полковнику за советом. Тот им сказал, что вас-де слишком много, а это имеет вид возмущения, а вы выберите только троих, а остальные не ходите к губернатору. Так и сделали. Трое пошли к губернатору, а там уже было известно, сколько сначала отправилось. Эти трое были там очень ласково приняты, с вопросом: «А разве вас только трое, а больше нет?» — они отвечают: «Есть у нас и еще». — «Ну, так приходите все вместе, чтобы вас выслушать». Пока те собирались, было приказано держать команду наготове, которая по прибытии депутации окружила ее и с барабанным боем вели их из Вышгорода через город, на нижний край его (города).

Тут уже были привезены возы розог — палок (шпицрутен), и там все они были жестоко истязаны, хотя, конечно, город Ревель и протестовал против этого варварского обхождения. Очевидцы рассказывали, что на том месте были лужи крови, и один крестьянин, которому пришла очередь быть наказываемому, чтобы не лечь лицом в кровь, подложил под лицо свой кафтан, то один из зрителей этой пытки вытащил кафтан из-под лица крестьянина, говоря: «Какое тебе нужно еще удобство» (Это губернское правление так свирепствовало). Пастор Аренд из Кузали¹⁶⁴ назвал этот акт (наказание) спасительным действием — Рейтен-де-та <пара букв захвачена переплетом. — Л. К.>¹⁶⁵.

Пришли в Ревель все хозяева, кто же из бунтовщиков к жандармам обращается, как обратились эти крестьяне? Кроме этого случилось подобное и в других местах, как, напри<ер> на острове Даго¹⁶⁶, были практикованы такие же *спасительные* действия.

Командовал войсками при этом какой-то барон¹⁶⁷, а генерал-губернатором тогда был, кажется, Суворов¹⁶⁸, но он не был в это время дома.

¹⁶⁴ Искажены и имя, и название места. Пастором в приходе Куусалу с 1837 по 1863 гг. был известный исследователь эстонского языка Эдуард Аренс (Eduard Ahrens, 1803–1863), выпускник богословского факультета Дерптского университета, автор эстонской грамматики и один из реформаторов эстонского языка. См. о нем как о лингвисте: Uue ajastu misjonilingvist. Eduard Ahrens 200 / Koost. ja toimet. Kristiina Ross. Tallinn, 2003. Пастор Аренс имеет устойчивую репутацию эстофила, поэтому предстоит проверить, настолько точно свидетельство Келера.

¹⁶⁵ Уточнение по печатной версии: “Das ist eine rettende That” («Это спасительное дело») // РС. 1886. № 11. С. 355.

¹⁶⁶ Даго — или: Дагë (Dagö) — дореволюционное название острова Хийумаа на западе Эстонии. Там в июле 1858 г. происходили крестьянские волнения, получившие начало в имении Ваэмла (Vaemla, нем. *Waimel*). Материалы допросов на наказания шпицрутенами ваэмласских крестьян см.: 1858. aasta talurahvarahutused. Lk 341–342.

¹⁶⁷ Экзекуцией над 50 крестьянами из Ания, произведенной на Русском рынке 21.07.1858, распорядился комендант Ревеля генерал-лейтенант барон А. В. Зальца (Salza), который в на-

Из Ревеля я поехал на остров Даго, там я рисовал разные костюмы. В Выймео Гернете¹⁶⁹, у господина, у которого я гостил две недели, я откровенно говорил, что эстонцы имели бы право так же силою взять то, что отнято у них было силою. Но если таким способом можно деморализовать народ, то я для своих братьев не желал бы деморализации, но я говорю, что они хоть по крайней мере имели бы право, хоть за деньги, покупать назад землю своих предков, которую они, до сегодняшнего дня, обрабатывали для немцев. На это г-н Гернет возражал, или скорей ничего не возражал, а просто сказал: «Погодите, мы все сделаем, только не присылайте русских нам на шею».

У них же я писал с помощью г-жи Гернет головку красивого эстонца, я сделал ее в один сеанс, так как этот эстонец жил очень далеко оттуда¹⁷⁰.

пряженные для власти месяцы иногда исполнял обязанности военного губернатора. Производил экзекуцию солдаты Шансельбургского пехотного полка. См.: 1858. aasta talurahvarahutused. Lk 391–392.

¹⁶⁸ Александр Аркадьевич Суворов (1804–1882), граф Рымникский, князь Италийский, внук знаменитого полководца, был в 1848–1861 гг. генерал-губернатором Лифляндии, Эстляндии и Курляндии. Он придерживался ярко выраженной пронемецкой ориентации. Жил обычно в Риге.

¹⁶⁹ Искажено название имения и имя его владельца: хозяином имения Ваэмла (Waimel) на острове Хийумаа был в тот момент Рихард фон Гернет (Richard von Gernet, 1823–1892). Он родился в Ваэмла, в 1852 г. женился на Магдалине фон Штакельберг (Magdalena Pauline Charlotta Stackelberg).

В романе Я. Кросса «Третьи горы» антагонистом Келера назван Рудольф фон Гернет, видимо, потому, что он стал более известным человеком, первым командором первого в Эстонии яхт-клуба, начавшего свою деятельность в Хаапсалу в 1888 г. (что также обыграно в романе). Однако реальный Рудольф фон Гернет — это сын знакомого художника по его пребыванию на Хийумаа. Его полное имя Friedrich Rudolf Herman von Gernet (1857–1893). Таким образом, реальный Келер беседовал с Рихардом фон Гернетом и его женой Магдаленой; наверное, общался и с их шестилетним сыном Рудольфом, который, как и его отец, родился в Ваэмла.

¹⁷⁰ История крестьянина, точнее, кучера в имении Штакельбергов (на небольшом островке Кассари, рядом с Хийумаа) Виллема Тамма, ставшего впоследствии бурмистром — один из ключевых моментов в романе Я. Кросса «Третьи горы». О взаимодействии мифа и реальности в этом сюжете говорится в нашей статье «Герои и их прототипы у Яана Кросса (на примере новеллы “Третьи горы” и пьесы “Трудная ночь доктора Карелля”».) Приводимые здесь слова Й. Келера — лишнее свидетельство того, что художник несколько не интересовался жизнью и моральными качествами своей модели, для него это просто «красивый эстонец», которого он изобразил на картинах «Цыган с Хийумаа» и «Хийумааский крестьянин с топором». Запомнившиеся ему черты лица крестьянина Келер придал и Христу в алтарной фреске в Карловской церкви в Таллинне, которую написал в 1879 г. (этот эпизод из жизни Келера находится в центре романа Я. Кросса «Третьи горы»).

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SUMMARIES IN ESTONIAN

Eessõna toimetajalt

Väljapaistva eesti kirjaniku Jaan Krossi (1920–2007) looming on ammu köitnud Tartu ülikooli vene kirjanduse kateedri liikmete tähelepanu oma rikkalike võimalustega uurida eesti ja vene kultuuri kokkupuutepunkte, aga ka ajaloolise romaani poeetikat, mille tunnustatud meister kirjanik on. 2009. aastal käivitud uurimisteema “Reception of Russian Literature in Estonia in the 20th Century: from Interpretation to Translation” (“Vene kirjanduse retseptsioon Eestis 20. sajandil: tõlgendus- ja tõlkepoeetika”) raames kujunes see suund üheks tähtsamaks. Uurimistöö tulemus on käesolev kollektiivne monograafia, kuhu koondatud artiklid kujutavad endast ühise töö vilja selle sõna otseses mõttes mitte ainult sellepärast, et need keskenduvad ühe autori, Jaan Krossi proosa- ja draamaloomingule ning luuletõlgetele, vaid ka seetõttu, et teadlased lähtuvad oma töös ühisest eesmärgist ja sarnastest metodoloogilistest põhimõtetest¹.

Käesolev monograafia koosneb kolmest osast. Esimesse on koondatud uurimused, kus vaadeldakse Jaan Krossi vene kultuuriga otse või kaudselt seotud ajalooliste teoste ajaloolisi ja ilukirjanduslikke allikaid. Käsitledes kunstilise teksti eri kihte, puutub uurija vältimatult kokku vajadusega kirjeldada seda teksti kui tervikut. Seetõttu tehakse monograafia selles osas katse analüüsida ka Jaan Krossi ajaloolise proosa poeetika üldisi erijooni. Mitte tahtes pretendeerida Krossi teoste struktuuri igakülgele käsitlemisele, püüavad artiklite autorid ikkagi selgitada välja mõned kirjaniku tekstide dominantsed, võtmetähendusega iseärasused. Monograafia teises osas analüüsitakse Krossi vene keelest tehtud luuletõlgete poeetika mõningaid muutumatuid suursi. Kolmandas osas publitseeritakse esimest korda ühe Krossi kangelase prototüübi, kunstnik Johann Köleri autobiograafiline jutustus.

¹ Käesolevaks ajaks on see juba kolmas Jaan Krossi loomingut käsitlev kollektiivne töö. Vt ka: *Meta-morfiline Kross*. Tallinn, 2003; *Jaan Kross: bilan et découvertes*. Paris, 2011.

Leitmotiivide poeetika Jaan Krossi romaanis "Keisri hull"

Lea Pild

Artiklis on käsitletud Jaan Krossi romaani "Keisri hull" (1978) leitmotiivide kasutamise eripära, mida, nagu ka kogu tema romaaniloomingu mikropoeetikat, ei ole uurijad veel kirjeldanud. Artikli autori arvates võimaldab see mitte ainult läheneda kirjaniku kunstilma ülesehitusele tervikuna, vaid ka lähemalt konkretiseerida tervet hulka aspekte, mis on seotud Krossi teosega ning mida on juba varem käsitletud artiklites ja arvustustes.

Leitmotiivi all on mõistetud vastavalt kirjandusteaduses välja kujunenud traditsioonile tekstis korduvat elementi (selleks võib olla sõna, sõnaühend, paralleelsed episoodid jne), mis koos teiste sarnaste elementidega moodustab mitmekordsete korduste kaudu erilise kompositsioonilise struktuuri. Korduvad motiivid (või leitmotiivid) on jutustuse struktureerimise viis (selle kompositsioonitüüp), mis vältimatult toob empiiriliste kujundite kõrval tekstis esile ka tinglik-sümboolsed detailid, stseenid või episoodid. Kõrvuti leitmotiivi mõistega on artiklis kasutatud ka teist, nimetatuga seotud terminit — *võtmemotiivi*, mille all on mõistetud *süžeed kujundavat* struktuurielementi romaani tekstis. Käesolevas töös on kirjeldatud ja tõlgendatud esmajoones võtmemotiive, pretendeerimata Krossi kõnealuse teose kõigi kordumotiivide ammendavale iseloomustamisele. Romaanis "Keisri hull", nagu ka mõnes teises Krossi ajaloolises romaanis, esmajoones romaanides "Kolme katku vahel" ja "Professor Martensi ärasõit", näeb artikli autor leitmotiivide kordumisele üles ehitatud jutustus, mis on lähedane XX sajandi uusmütoloogilises romaanis kasutatule.

Vene ajalugu ja kultuur Jaan Krossi romaanis "Keisri hull"

Ljubov Kisseljova

Artiklis analüüsitakse Jaan Krossi üht tuntumat teost — romaani "Keisri hull", mis ilmus 1978. aastal ja tõlgiti seejärel paljudesse keeltesse, sealhulgas ka vene keelde. Huvitav on selle suure ja keerulise teksti üks aspektidest, esimesel pilgul mitte keskne, kuid tihedalt põimunud romaani põhiprobleemiga, mida võiks määratleda eestlaste saatusest võõra ikke all. Asi ei ole siin ainult ja võib-olla ka mitte niivõrd Krossi kirjeldatud ajalooepohhis, kui Eesti läks Vene impeeriumi

koosseisu ja jagati kahe Läänemere-äärse kubermangu, Eesti- ja Liivimaa vahel, kus valitsesid baltisakslased ning eestlaste põhimass olid pärisorised talupojad. Krossi huvitab esmajoones see, kuidas kurnatud harimatust rahvamassist sünnib eesti rahvus. Peategelase prototüübiks on reaalne ajalooline isik, Liivimaa mõisnik ja Vene armee erupolkovnik Timotheus Eberhard von Bock, kes pandi 1818. aastal keiser Aleksander I käsul Schlüsselburgi kindlusesse vangi tema meelepaha tekitava mässukirja pärast. Reaalsest ajaloolisest isikust peategelase kõrval on väljamõeldud jutustaja, eestlane Jakob Mättik, Bocki naisevend. Tema õel Eeval, endisel pärisorisel talutüdrukul, kellest saab abielludes Catherine von Bock, on samuti reaalne prototüüp. Siiski võib teda romaani kangelannana pidada kirjaniku mõttetöö viljaks, sest reaalsest Kittyst, nagu teda nimetas abi-kaasa, teame liiga vähe. Krossile, eestlaste saatusest kõneleva romaani autorile, on oluline rõhutada, et eesti talupojad Eeva ja Jakob suutsid lühikese ajaga saada haritud inimesteks ning Kittyst ei saanud mitte ainult Timo naine, vaid ka tema kaasvõitleja ja samuti tõeline daam, kes valdas ilu, mõistuse ja seltskondliku takti kõiki nüansse, kaotamata samal ajal oma talupoeglikke juuri. Ta suhtles võrdselt nii külanaiaste kui ka ülikoolilinna Tartu intellektuaalse eliidiga. Ja muidugi seob Timot ja Kittyt romaanis sügav vastastikune armastus. Krossi romaanis peab balti aadliku valik eesti talutüdruku kasuks kinnitama lugeja silmis uhkust eesti rahva üle ja usku selle rahva suurtesse võimalustesse. Korduvalt rõhutatakse, et äsjastest talupoegadest on saanud Parroti, Moieri, Ewersi, Žukovski jt vestluskaaslased. Irooniliselt trakteeritakse mõne isiku eksalteeritud reaktsiooni (näiteks keisrinna Maria Fjodorovna puhul), kes nägi selles enneolematut imet. Jakob Mättik ei ole üldsegi lihtsameelne maamõõtja ega inimene, kes on kaotanud ühe (eesti) identiteedi ega ole veel omandanud teist, nagu on väitnud mõned uurijad. Ta on keeruline, reflekteeriv kangelane, kes rõhutab oma uues ja üsna määratlematus seisuslikus staatuses eestlust.

Artikli autorit huvitab, kuidas Kross on tõlgendanud “Keisri hullus” Bocki kirja ja millisena kerkib lugeja ette Aleksandri ja Nikolai aegne Venemaa.

Vene kirjanduse tekstid Jaan Krossi novelli “Michelsoni immatrikuleerimine” kommentaaridena

Timur Guzairov

Jaan Krossi novell “Michelsoni immatrikuleerimine” on kirjutatud 1970. aastal ja ilmunud 1972. aastal kogumikus “Klio silma all”. Kogumiku novellid, välja arvatud üks (“Kahe kaotsiläinud paberi lugu”), moodustavad ühtse tähendus-

välja. Autor ehitab üles konfliktse olukorra ja analüüsib seda edu saavutanud eesti rahva esindaja elu põhjal. Kross uurib idealismi ja praktitsismi suhet, võimudega sisemisele kompromissile mineku piire, suhet au ja kohuse vahel, võimatust järgida ühtainsamat moraalinormi. Igas novellis tõlgendatakse peamist eetilist konflikti uut moodi. Kross avastab tähenduste mitmekesisuse, asetades eri ajastutest pärit kangelased eri olukordadesse ja eetiliselt mitmetähendusliku valiku ette, luues samal ajal kangelaste monoloogidest polüfoonia.

Käesolevas artiklis käsitletakse “Michelsoni immatrikuleerimise” ideelist struktuuri uuest, intertekstuaalsest vaatenurgast — tuvastades ja interpreteerides vene kirjanduse koodi Krossi novellis. Selgub, et vene kirjandus, sealhulgas Puškini looming, oli Jaan Krossi jaoks tähtis nii kunstilisest kui ka ideoloogilisest seisukohast — muu hulgas ka kui ajaloolis-kirjanduslik kood.

“Michelsoni immatrikuleerimise” intertekstuaalne analüüs võimaldab teha järeldusi novelli ideelis-kompositsioonilise struktuuri iseärasuste kohta. Autori märkused osutuvad teksti kui terviku lahutamatuks osaks ning võivad erisugusel keerulisel viisil toimida koos põhisüžeeaga: esitades teise seisukoha, selgitades stseenide varjatud tähendust, tuues sisse uusi, ajaloolis-kultuurilisi lisasüžeesid (Puškini duell) — kõike seda, mis iseloomustab Puškini märkusi “Pugatšovi mässu ajaloos”.

Tegelased ja nende prototüübid Jaan Krossi novellis “Kolmandad mäed” ja näidendis “Doktor Karelli raske öö”

Ljubov Kisseljova

Artikkel analüüsib Jaan Krossi nende ajalooliste teoste poeetikat, mille tegevus toimub Tsaari-Venemaal ning kus peategelasteks on eestlased — 19. sajandi teise poole rahvusliku ärkamisaja tegelased — õukonnakunstnik, kunstide akadeemia professor Johann Köler ja õukonnaarst Filipp Karell. Tehakse kindlaks allikad, millele Kross toetus süžeed ja karaktereid konstrueerides, aga ka faktide interpreteerimise viisid, et luua neomütoloogilisi tekste ning kirjutada rahvuslikult orienteeritud eesti kultuurilugu nõukogude režiimi tingimustes. Reaalne kommentaarium toob ilmekalt esile autori eesmärgi taastada Eesti ajaloolis-kultuuriline maastik, ehitada üles rahvuslik projekt ning rõhutada Eesti päritolu tegelaste rolli nn suures ajaloos. Artiklis avatakse ka Krossi teoste allusioonide kiht ja selle probleemistiku seos 20. sajandi teise poole tegelikkusega.

Ärasõit kui vabanemine.

Eesti teema ja Tolstoi traditsioon

Jaan Krossi romaanis "Professor Martensi ärasõit"

Lea Pild

Artiklis käsitletakse Lev Tolstoi loominguga kihistust Jaan Krossi romaanis "Professor Martensi ärasõit" (1984) ning selle seotust eesti teemaga. Peategelase prototüübiks on tuntud jurist ja diplomaat, rahvusvahelise õiguse asjatundja, koguteose "Venemaa poolt välisriikidega sõlmitud traktaatide ja konventsioonide kogu" (1874–1909) koostaja Friedrich Fromhold (venelaste jaoks Fjodor Fjodorovitš) Martens. Teksti kompositsiooniline ühtsus on loodud korduvaid või paralleelseid lühisüžeesid arendades, paljusid läbivaid motiive kasutades ja tegelaste struktuuri isepäraselt organiseerides. Näiteks Martensit on kujutatud kaksik- või mitmikkujuna, kusjuures mõni tema külg ilmestab ka jutustaja hingeelu. Martensi pihtimus on varakult orvuks jäänud inimese oma, kes on otsustanud iga hinna eest ja madalast päritolust hoolimata elus läbi lüüa ja teenida lõpuks välja aadlitiitel. Martensi sisemonoloogid, mis muutuvad kangelase iseendaga peetud ränga võitluse tagajärjel aina siiramaks, avavad tema elu põhilise vastuolu. Nagu Martens ise arvab, seisneb see selles, et tema püüd teenida eeskujulikult Venemaa valitsust ning keisrit diplomaatia ja teaduse valdkonnas on alati olnud vastuolus tema vaikiva, väljapaistmatu kriitilise suhtumisega Venemaa isevalitsejatesse ja nende lähemasse ümbruskonda. Martensi pihtimuse interpreteerimise võti on hilise Tolstoi eetiline positsioon. Martensi pihtimuse süvenedes muutub tema vabanemine vabanemiseks varest kõigis elu valdkondades. On iseloomulik, et eesti kultuuri- ja teaduseinimesi on romaanis kujutatud tegelastena, kes on oma rahva, mitte impeeriumi teenistuses. Nende eesmärk pole isiklik karjäär nagu Martensil, vaid rahvuskultuuri loomine. Nad peavad silmas rahvust kui tervikut, oma tegevust aga vaid osakeseks sellest tervikust.

S. Witte ja F. F. Martensi tegelaskujud

Jaan Krossi romaanis "Professor Martensi ärasõit"

Timur Guzairov

Romaani "Professor Martensi ärasõit" autor Jaan Kross analüüsib teoses kompromissi piire, mis tekivad sisemise vabaduse, rahvusliku identiteedi tunnistamise ning riigiteenistuse ja tõelise mina kaotamise vahel. Selle probleemi uurimine

tingis tegelaskujude süsteemi erilise struktuuri. F. F. Martensi ja S. Witte tegelaskujude omavaheline vastasseis on teksti ideelises struktuuris tähtis element.

Autor teisendab romaanis reaalseid ajaloolisi fakte ja kujutab konflikti tituleerimata, anastatud rahva esindaja ja Vene kõrgema riigivõimu esindaja vahel. Martensi ja Witte suhete kaudu väljendab kirjanik ideed, et inimese teekond sisemise vabaduse poole põhineb oma rahvusliku identiteedi tunnistamisel ja oma rahvuskultuuri mõistmisel.

Kaks süžeed David Samoilovi ja Jaan Krossi kogumikus “Бездонные мгновенья / Põhjatud silmapilgud”

Tatjana Stepaništševa

Artiklis interpreteeritakse D. Samoilovi ja J. Krossi kogumiku “Бездонные мгновенья / Põhjatud silmapilgud” esimese osa kompositsioonilist lahendust. Raamatu koostamise ajalugu ei ole seni üldse uuritud, mistõttu autor esitab kogumiku Samoilovi osa kompositsioonilise ülesehituse kohta kaks hüpoteesi. Kui eeldada, et tekstide valiku ja paigutuse tegi nende autor, siis joonistub välja Samoilovi omamoodi alternatiivne poeetiline biograafia. Selle lõpptulemuseks on idüll — lüüriline kangelane leiab õnne uues keskkonnas. Kui selle tegi tõlkija (või toimetaja), siis on rõhk just nimelt ruumilisel määratlusel: poeet “valis merelahe”, leides uue kodu Eestis. Ja raamatu järgmine osa, Jaan Krossi luuletused Samoilovi tõlkes, avaneb kui dialoog poeediga, kes kuulub leitud ruumi juurde kui märk Samoilovi poeetilise ja kultuurilise valiku lõplikust tunnustamisest. Kahe poeedi miniatuurne luulekogumik sobitub Venemaa ja Eesti muutuvasse suhetesse 1980.–1990. aastate piiril. Järgnev uurimus võimaldab täpsustada artiklis püstitatud hüpoteesi.

David Samoilovi luuletus “Majamuuseum” Jaan Krossi tõlkes (kogumikust “Põhjatud silmapilgud”)

Tatjana Stepaništševa

Käesolev artikkel keskendub esimesele Samoilovi tekstile kogumikus “Põhjatud silmapilgud” ja selle tõlkele. See on luuletus “Majamuuseum” (1961), mis esimest korda ilmus 1963. aastal ajakirjas “Новый мир”. Luuletuse paigutamine valikus esimesele kohale ei olnud ilmselt juhuslik. Samoilovi luuletuste arv oli liiga väike, et anda ettekujutus autori loomingulisest evolutsioonist. Sellest hoo-

limata on kogumiku “Põhjatud silmapilgud” tekstide organiseerimise kronoloogiline põhimõte tervikuna jälgitav, kuigi sellest rangelt kinni ei peeta (“Iivani surm” — enne 1953. aastat, “Ballaad saksa tsensorist” — 1958, “Püsivõõras” — 1978, “Richter” — 1981, “Afanassi Fet” — mitte hiljem kui 1980, “Laht” — 1978 jne). Püüdes originaalist kinni pidada, muutis Kross tõlkimise käigus teksti nii, et tuua esile selle potentsiaalne tähendus. Jaan Krossi tõlkes kaotas Samoilovi luuletus “Majamuuseum” Puškiniga seotud allusioonilise kihistuse (reaalide arvu, elulooliste assotsiatsioonide jne vähendamise kaudu), kuid omandas sellega palju laiema mõtte. See ei olnud enam (oletatavasti 19. sajandi) vene poeedi biograafia, vaid “poeedi elulugu üldse”.

“И ему показалась Россия...”:

David Samoilovi ballaad Jaan Krossi tõlkes

Tatjana Stepaništševa

Artiklis on esitatud David Samoilovi luuletuse “Баллада о немецком цензоре” ja selle Jaan Krossi tõlke interpretatsioon. Samoilovi ballaad ilmus esimest korda 1961. aastal ning lisati hiljem rоеemile “Ближние страны”. Роеemi põhisüžeeaga on ballaad seotud nõrgalt. Seetõttu on üsna tõenäoline, et tegelikult oli sellel allusiooniline iseloom, mis pidanuks sõjateemalise роеemi kontekstis vähem silma paistma.

Ilmselt aktualiseeris Jaan Kross oma tõlkes taas nõukogude allusioonid, et teha luuletus eesti lugejale huvitavamaks. Seejuures loobus ta kirjanduslike assotsiatsioonide edasiandmisest, mis olid ilmsed ballaadi vene keeles lugejatele (need on eelkõige assotsiatsioonid vene klassikalise kirjanduse jutustustega nn väikesest inimesest).

David Samoilovi luuletus “Рихтер” Jaan Krossi tõlkes

Lea Pild

D. Samoilovi luuletus “Рихтер” on kirjutatud 1980. aastal ja ilmus esimest korda 9. jaanuaril 1981. aastal ajalehes “Литературная Россия” realkirja all “Рихтеру”. Luuletus kuulub luulekogusse “Залив” (1981).

Svjatoslav Teofilovitš **Richter** (1915–1997), saksa päritolu geniaalne vene pianist, kellest juba tema noorusaastatel kujunes kaasaegsete jaoks legendaarne, peaaegu müütiline kuju mitte ainult imepärase muusikalise talendi, vaid ka

silmapaistvate isiksuseomaduste tõttu. 1990. aastal Tallinnas ilmunud kakskeelses kogumikus “Бездонные мгновения” esindab luuletus “Рихтер” nii originaali autori kui ka tõlkija seisukohast äärmiselt olulist kultuuri (kunstniku) teemat, mis esmajärjekorras ühendab kaht eri rahvusest poeti. Jaan Krossi tõlkes leiduvad erisused on seletatavad pigem sellega, et Kross ei taastanud seda intertekstuaalset ruumi, milles sündis Samoilovi luuletus. Hoolimata sellest on luuletuse tähtsad mõtted edasi antud. Esmajoones on luuletuses kujutatud kunstnikku, kellel on materjali käsitlemisel vabadus. Erinevalt sõnakunstnikust on selline vabadus alati (ajast sõltumata) kättesaadav suurele muusikule, mida rõhutaski oma tõlkes Jaan Kross, muutes mõnevõrra originaali autori peamist mõtet, kuid säilitades siiski läheduse hilise Samoilovi üldiste esteetiliste tõekspidamistega.

Vene klassikud Nõukogude Eestis: Gribojedovi komöödia Jaan Krossi tõlkes

Dmitry Ivanov, Maria Tamm

Uurimuses käsitletakse A. Gribojedovi komöödia “Häda mõistuse pärast” (1824) tõlkeid eesti keelde, tõlkijateks Jaan Kärner (1945) ning Jaan Kross (1962). Töö eesmärk on vaadelda mõlemat tõlget Stalini-aegse ning -järgse ajastu peamiste kultuurisuundumuste kontekstis tõlkijate valitud tõlkestrateegiast lähtuvalt. Gribojedovi kui n-ö ametlikku antoloogiasse kuuluva autori retseptiooni uurimine Eestis andis võimaluse selgitada välja kirjandusliku kaanoni ülekandemehhanismid, mida nõukogude võim rakendas uute vabariikide sovetiseerimisel.

Kärneri tõlge valmis ametliku tellimuse tulemusena, mille eesmärk oli demonstreerida eelkõige Gribojedovi sünniaastapäeva (1945) juubelipidustuste kontekstis eesti “rahva” ja NSVL “rahvaste pere” jagatavate kultuuriväärtuste ühtsust ning teisalt luua tekst, mis vastaks üleliiduliste normide järgi kirjanduse uuendatud programmile Eesti koolis. Kärner valis täpse tõlke strateegia. Tema töö võeti selle väärtusest hoolimata vastu kui kirjanduslik ja eluvõõras ning tehti koolidele kohustuslikuks.

Krossi rakendatud vabatõlke strateegia oli allutatud komöödia “Häda mõistuse pärast” tänapäevase, teatraalse teksti loomisele. Vanemuise teatri eritellimusel tehtud tõlge valmis hiljemalt 20. jaanuariks 1963 ning edastati alles hiljem trükikotta. Tõlkija eesmärk säilitada algne mõte, seejuures teksti arusaamatute reaalidega koormamata, lihtsustas Eesti vaatajate poolt komöödia omaksvõttu. Vabanedes liialt konkreetsetest ajaloolistest detailidest, saavutas Kross lisaks sellele komöödia universaalsema ja allusioonilisema kõla, mis oli kooskõ-

las sulaaaja vaimu ning publiku ootustega. Tulemusena sündis komöödia “Häda mõistuse pärast” täisväärtuslik lavaline ekvivalent, mis võeti vastu kui teos, millel oli 1960. aastate eesti kirjanduses iseseisev poeetiline väärtus.

Kunstnik Johann Köleri autobiograafiline jutustus (Jaan Krossi romaani “Kolmandad mäed” järgedel)

Ljubov Kisseljova

Artikkel on sissejuhatus Venemaa teaduste akadeemia vene kirjanduse instituudi arhiivist leitud J. Köleri biograafia teksti publikatsioonile. Tõuke uute dokumentide otsinguteks eesti maalikunsti isa elukäigu kohta andis Jaan Krossi romaan “Kolmandad mäed”. Otsingute tulemusena avastati kunstniku autobiograafilise jutustuse stenograafiliste märkmete dešifreeringud, mis olid tehtud ajakirja “Русская старина” toimetuses selle toimetaja M. Semevski initsiatiivil ja osavõtul. Stenografeerimine toimus aastatel 1881, 1884 ja 1886. Nende põhjal ilmus ajakirja kahes numbris publikatsioon, mida kasutas ka Kross oma romaani kirjutamisel. Leitud allikas sisaldab Köleri elu kohta palju rikkalikumat ja üksikasjalikumat informatsiooni enne 1864. aastat, kuid pärast seda märkmed katkevad. Ajakirja suur arhiiv ei ole lõpuni läbi töötatud, seega võib-olla leitakse kunagi tulevikus ka teksti puuduvad osad. Artiklis on esile toodud mõned Köleri suulise kõne iseloomulikud jooned ja analüüsitakse ka tema isiksuse eripära. Autobiograafilist jutustust võrreldakse Jaan Krossi loodud tegelaskujuga. Artiklis kirjeldatakse ka publikatsiooni tekstoloogilisi põhimõtteid.

Professor J. Köleri biograafia

L. Kisseljova publikatsioon ja kommentaarid

Siin publitseeritakse stenografi üleskirjutatud Keiserliku kunstide akadeemia professori Johann Köleri autobiograafiline jutustus. Tekst on varustatud märkustega, mis kommenteerivad selles esinevaid nimesid ja mõisteid, aga ka stenografiistile ebaselgeks jäänud või muudetud kujul esitatud kohtade dešifreeringuid. Tekst sisaldab Köleri elukäigu kohta palju uusi detaile.

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