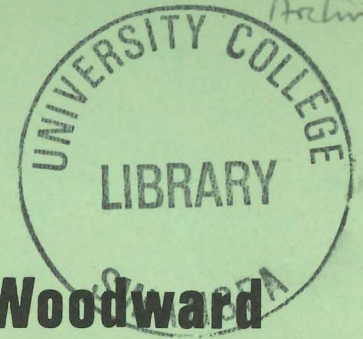


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James Woodward

**Russian Literature
and the Russian Language**

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University College of Swansea

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RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

Inaugural Lecture

Delivered at the College on 9 December 1980

by

JAMES WOODWARD M.A., D.Phil.

Professor of Russian

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SWANSEA

1981

RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

Mr Principal, ladies and gentlemen, of the many peculiar views of life that we obtain from Russian writers perhaps none is quite so peculiar as that of the novelist, short-story writer and dramatist Gogol', whose major idiosyncrasy is commonly held to be his distinctive ability to contemplate life while laughing and weeping simultaneously. As I was contemplating life with the object of composing this inaugural lecture, I was conscious of the same mixture of emotions. The personal pleasure that accrues from elevation to a Chair is, of course, considerable, but for a Professor of Russian it is inevitably coloured by the peculiar spectacle with which life has confronted him in the last year. He is obliged to ponder the fact that at the precise moment when the hand of Soviet friendship was being extended to the people of Afghanistan, when Mr Pym was being exempted from the need to observe his cash limit, and when the Civil Service was complaining about the dearth of recruitable Russian speakers, his discipline was designated by the University Grants Committee the most appropriate subject for a process of unprecedented contraction involving the closure of roughly half the Russian departments in British universities. This proposal, initially enshrined in the so-called Atkinson Report, marked, as you know, the culmination of the difficulties resulting from declining student demand that my discipline has experienced over the last decade in almost every British, and indeed Western, university at which it is taught, and in the context of an educational system in which a controllable higher level is dependent on a notably less controllable lower level a proposal of this kind was naturally predictable. At Swansea, of course, we would seem to have little cause for complaint. Not only are we numbered among the eighteen surviving departments; it is also recommended that we should even be fortified by the transfer of Russian-teaching staff from Aberystwyth and, perhaps ultimately, Bangor and thus become the sole centre of Russian language-based studies in the University of Wales. In addition, we continue to receive from the College the support that it has been our good fortune and privilege to enjoy throughout the seventeen years of our existence, and I am delighted, Mr Principal,

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to have this opportunity of expressing publicly the profound gratitude for that support of my colleagues and myself. But it need hardly be said that the health of Russian at Swansea is ultimately dependent on the health of Russian nationally, and in common with the majority of my fellow Slavists I find it difficult to envisage significant improvements in the national health of the discipline resulting from the UGC's proposals. The position of Russian language-based studies in the universities will show no substantial improvement, one feels, until the government finally authorises the development for the first time in this country of a national policy for modern languages embracing both the secondary and the tertiary sectors - a policy aimed, *inter alia*, at redressing the balance in favour of those languages like Russian which at present are shrivelling in the long shadow cast by French. Only then will the discipline stand any chance of achieving in the universities the position that its self-evident importance and intrinsic merit justify, and we welcome the Atkinson Report's criticism of the present imbalance. It now remains to be seen whether action will ensue.

Naturally I could not have allowed this occasion to pass without making some reference to these recent developments. But it is not my purpose this evening to dwell on problems, either on the problems of my discipline or on the more esoteric problems that concern me in my personal research. I wish instead to take advantage of the singular opportunity afforded by an inaugural lecture to step back for a change, to rise boldly, and perhaps even provocatively, from the particular to the general, and to survey the range of one's discipline in an attempt to convey something of its peculiar fascination and to identify some of its more distinctive, arresting and challenging characteristics. I wish to speak, in short, in rather general terms about the two parts of my discipline - about the literature that induced Virginia Woolf to remark in 1925: "... if the Russians are mentioned one runs the risk of feeling that to write of any fiction save theirs is a waste of time" (1), and about the language which at an earlier stage of its development was described by the Elizabethan traveller Jerome Horsey as "the most copious (*sic*) and elegant in the world"

(2) and which is now the native tongue of perhaps the most powerful nation on earth and the native or second language of more than half the population of Europe.

The self-evident merit of my title, which I was requested to submit some ten months ago, is that it left me with many possible angles of approach when the time more recently came for me to fill the space beneath it. But from the beginning the juxtaposition of "Russian literature" and "the Russian language" was meant to convey a central concern with, and affirmation of, their interdependence, and for a time I toyed with the idea of taking as my starting-point the assertion of the American linguist Edward Sapir that "the literature fashioned out of the form and substance of a language has the colour and texture of its matrix" (3). The implications of this claim, of course, are profound, and it could have served as the basis for an investigation of the kind that has often attracted me over the years - an investigation of the characteristics of Russian verse which are dictated by the prosodic, morphological and syntactic features of the Russian language. It would have drawn attention, for example, to the immense opportunities for subtle emotional colouring, unusual semantic perspectives and rhythmic variety created by the so-called free word-order of Russian; to the virtually unlimited opportunities for personifying the inanimate created by the assignment of words to different grammatical genders; to the potentially dramatic force of the contrasting Russian verbal aspects which is perhaps most notably demonstrated by Pushkin in the contrasting portraits of Peter I and the humble clerk Yevgeniy in his last major poetic work *The Bronze Horseman* (4); to the influence of derivational suffixes and paradigmatic desinences on the character of Russian rhyme; and to the expressive potentialities of word-boundaries in Russian poetry resulting from the variable position of the stressed syllable in Russian words - a feature that distinguishes Russian and the other two East Slavonic languages, Ukrainian and Belorussian, as well as the South Slavonic language Bulgarian, from the West Slavonic languages Czech and Polish and the South Slavonic Serbian.

This is one approach that I could have adopted. Alternatively,

I could have made it my task to highlight the benefits of a knowledge of the language for an understanding not only of Russian poetry but even of certain major Russian novels. The names of fictional characters would have provided a very simple illustration of the point. I could have referred, for example, to the insights that we obtain into Gogol's purpose and the complexities of his technique in his novel *Dead Souls* from the names of his five land-owners Manilov, Korobochka, Nozdryov, Sobakevich and Plyushkin, which are derived respectively from words meaning "to lure", "box", "nostril", "dog" and "ivy". Similarly our surest insight into the drama of the protagonist of Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot* is provided by the contradiction between the notions of "lion" and "mouse" conveyed by his Christian name Lev and his surname Myshkin.

A third approach that I could have adopted would have involved the more speculative and hazardous task of attempting to relate certain distinctive features of the Russian grammatical system and lexical fund to particular attitudes of mind which repeatedly strike the foreign reader of Russian literature and accordingly prompt him to associate them with that intriguing phenomenon which the Russians still like to call the "Russian soul" (*russkaya dusha*) notwithstanding the fact that, according to hard statistics, use of the noun *dusha* ("soul") has declined by some fifty per cent since the Bolshevik Revolution (5). Again the drastic simplification of the system of tenses occasioned by the development of the much broader verbal category of aspect is especially pertinent in this regard, reflecting an inclination towards breadth of outlook and vagueness about time (6) which may perhaps be plausibly ascribed, at least in part, to geographical factors. In addition, the retention of the ancient tri-generic system of nouns, of a neuter gender as well as masculine and feminine genders, which distinguishes Russian not only from the Romance and most of the Scandinavian languages, but also from the Baltic languages with which the parent language of the Slavs, Proto-Slavonic, is thought by some linguists to have coexisted for a considerable period after the disintegration of Indo-European, may be taken to reflect a special sensitivity to the role of the inanimate, of forces beyond man's control, in human affairs, particularly when it is viewed in conjunction with the uniquely

high incidence in Russian of impersonal constructions which by definition assign the causes of events and experience to the unknown. One might also reflect in this connection on the possible significance of the substitution for the ancient opposition of animate and inanimate in the nominal and verbal systems of a progressively intensifying opposition between feminine and non-feminine. And comparable stimuli to psychological speculation are furnished, for example, by the remarkable profusion in Russian of words meaning "why" and by the absence from the language's lexical fund of indigenous resources for expression of the notion "to shock" and the attribute of "respectability", which are rendered by the grotesque barbarisms *shokirovat'* and *respektabel'nost'*.

All these various manifestations of interdependence between the language and the national psyche as reflected in the literature comprise fascinating areas of study which I was tempted to develop further. But although the Head of the Department of Chemistry had no compunction some years ago about initiating his audience into the mysteries of the thermal decomposition of paraffin hydrocarbons, humanitarian considerations deter me from likewise succumbing to personal preference and undertaking a similar initiation into linguistic and psychological mysteries of this obscure variety. On this occasion it seems rather more appropriate to adopt yet another approach to the subject - a broader approach involving an examination of the interdependence of the language and the literature in the light of their parallel evolution. Such an approach has the obvious disadvantage of excessive breadth, but in addition to ensuring intelligibility, it provides an opportunity to highlight certain distinctive features, ingredients and tensions of Russian literature by reference to the factors that contributed to their development.

In pursuit of this objective we must begin at the beginning and consider, first of all, the language in which the oldest Russian literature is written. My point of departure is supplied by the statements on the modern Russian language of two prominent nineteenth-century literary figures - the poet and dramatist Kyukhel'beker, a contemporary and associate of Pushkin who is

thought by some commentators to have been the prototype of Lensky in *Yevgeniy Onegin*, and the novelist Turgenev. In a lecture of 1821 - delivered, that is, in the year following the appearance of Pushkin's first masterpiece, his mock heroic poem *Ruslan and Lyudmila* - Kyukhel'beker made the confident prediction: "Our language, which is a worthy competitor of Greek, will have its own Homers, its own Platos and its own Demosthenes" (7). Sixty years later, in 1880, by which time all the major nineteenth-century Russian novels except for Tolstoy's *Resurrection* had been written, Turgenev felt entitled to claim: "By virtue of its wealth, power, logic and beauty of form our language is accorded even by foreign philologists a position almost of primacy after ancient Greek" (8). The striking point is the enlistment in both cases of Greek, rather than one of the major West-European languages, as a kind of gauge by which to measure the virtues of Russian. The explanation, we can assume, is provided less by the classical education of the two writers than by history.

The first written language of the Russians, which was adopted after the formal acceptance by the East Slavonic state of Christianity in its Eastern or Byzantine form at the end of the tenth century, was not only devised by Greeks; like the Cyrillic alphabet into which the original Glagolitic script was transliterated in the early tenth century in Bulgaria, it was also modelled on Greek. This is the language known as Old Church Slavonic - a written language imported from Bulgaria and created in the mid-ninth century on the basis of an Old Bulgarian spoken dialect of southern Macedonia by the Byzantine scholar Constantine who was later canonised as St. Cyril - and its introduction into the East Slavonic world marked the beginning of a unique linguistic dualism. Initially confined to ecclesiastical usage, Church Slavonic became the dominant language of Russian literature, in which capacity it appeared with varying admixtures of vernacular elements but retaining throughout the centuries the graphic, phonetic, morphological and lexical features that distinguished it from the East Slavonic vernacular known as Old Russian. The inevitable movement towards fusion of the two languages was checked by historical events - above all, by the Turkish invasion of the

Balkans in the late fourteenth century which prompted the flight to Russia of conservative South Slavonic scholars who were intent on achieving a complete unification of Church Slavonic literature in the South and East Slavonic countries and thus on purging Russian Church Slavonic of all local "impurities". The gulf between the literary and spoken languages was consequently restored, and Old Russian was used thereafter almost exclusively for purely functional, non-literary purposes, such as administrative and legal documents, diplomatic correspondence and private letters. Hence the term "administrative language" by which this written vernacular is generally known.

This dualism of Church Slavonic and Russian persisted throughout the three major periods of Russian history that followed the christianisation of the East Slavonic state centred on Kiev: the period that ended with the Mongol conquest in the mid-thirteenth century; the two centuries of Mongol occupation; and the period of the Muscovite state that extended from the mid-fifteenth century to the accession of Peter the Great in the late seventeenth. The force that undermined it was Western influence which made its first major penetration into Russia in Polish attire when the Ukraine was reabsorbed into the Muscovite state in 1654 after having been subject for three centuries to Polish rule and accordingly to the influence of the golden age of Polish-Latin culture. The Ukrainians brought with them two distinct forms of Church Slavonic: the liturgical or ecclesiastical Church Slavonic which they had preserved in a notably purer form than the Muscovite recension and, more significantly, an unfamiliar adulterated form, permeated by polonisms, latinisms and germanisms, which had developed as a medium for secular literary genres that were totally unknown in Muscovy. The entry into Muscovy of this adulterated form of Church Slavonic, together with the secular literature with which it was associated, marked the first stage of the Western linguistic invasion which disrupted the centuries-old linguistic dualism.

The second, more decisive stage was marked by the radical reorganisation and secularisation of the Muscovite state on the Western model carried out by Peter the Great, which inaugurated a period of linguistic anarchy in which German, French, English,

Dutch, and Italian words were incorporated into the language not only to express the new Western ideas and concepts but even in many cases to replace the perfectly adequate indigenous linguistic resources that already existed. The effect of these developments was not to eliminate Church Slavonic as a medium of literary expression, but rather to undermine its existence as a distinct linguistic system and thus to create the conditions in which the fusion of Church Slavonic and Russian could finally take place. The principles dictating the nature of this fusion or synthesis were formulated in the mid-eighteenth century by Mikhail Lomonosov in his so-called "theory of three styles", which allocated to the various literary genres and styles of writing distinct combinations of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical elements derived from the two languages. Two distinct linguistic systems were replaced by the distinct styles of a single language which derived its abstract and literary vocabulary from Church Slavonic and its lower vocabulary and its phonetic and morphological basis from Russian - a language which accordingly, though living and modern, was directly linked with the Church Slavonic traditions of Muscovite Russia. Contemplating this language, Lomonosov was moved to remark: "Charles V, the Roman Emperor, used to say that it is fitting to address God in Spanish, one's friends in French, one's enemies in German, and the female sex in Italian. But if he had been skilled in Russian, he would have added that it is a fitting language in which to address them all, for he would have discovered in it the splendour of Spanish, the vivacity of French, the vigour of German, the tenderness of Italian and, in addition, the wealth and descriptive brevity of Greek and Latin" (9).

But although Lomonosov's "theory" marked the demise of the ancient linguistic dualism and laid the foundation on which the modern Russian literary language was created, another half-century was to elapse before a generally acceptable synthesis was finally achieved. Two developments in the second half of the eighteenth century were of decisive importance in this connection: the adoption by the aristocracy of the capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, of the literary language in their everyday speech, which had the effect, of course, of facilitating the interpenetration of literary

and colloquial forms of expression, and their increasing adoption of French for both colloquial and literary purposes during the period of the overwhelming influence of French civilisation in the reign of Catherine II - a development which established for the first time in the history of the Russian language a clear distinction of speech between the educated and uneducated classes and which led to the subjection of the literary language to profound French influence. To the extent that this major development in the language of the aristocracy, the period of which is mainly associated with the name of the writer and historian Karamzin, was occasioned by the domination of the spoken language over the written language, it was plainly to be welcomed. Added impetus was given to the rapprochement of the two forms, and outmoded lexical and phraseological Church-Slavonicisms were rigorously ejected. But the development also produced a serious impoverishment of the language by prompting the scrupulous avoidance of vernacular elements adjudged too coarse and vulgar for the tender ears of the gallicised cultural and social elite. It produced, in short, a socially exclusive colloquial and literary medium which by the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the gentry and middle classes were beginning to play an active part in literary life, was predictably found to be too narrow and restrictive. The result was the development in the first decades of the nineteenth century of a new synthesis in the spoken language of Church Slavonic, Russian and Western elements in which the role of the Russian vernacular was notably extended, and it fell to Pushkin - above all, perhaps, in *Yevgeniy Onegin* (10) - to turn this language to literary use. The art of Pushkin, in consequence, marks the birth not only of modern Russian literature, but also of "standard Russian", of Russian as a genuine national language - a language which might be described as deriving its phonetics and the greater part of its morphology from Old Russian, appreciably more than half of its vocabulary from Church Slavonic (11), and its syntax from a mixture of Church Slavonic and Western European principles.

Three main conclusions, therefore, may be drawn from this brief historical survey. The first is that the modern Russian

language is the product of a remarkably protracted conflict between the indigenous language of the Eastern Slavs and the contrasting Eastern (or Church Slavonic) and Western elements with which historical developments brought it into contact. The second is that the resolution of this conflict was a precondition for the birth of a significant literature. And the third is that the Eastern element, in the form of Church Slavonic, has survived in the language to such a degree that its present vocabulary has been described by one of the most eminent Slavonic philologists of this century as basically Church Slavonic with East Slavonic admixtures (12). Hence, perhaps, the common inclination of Kyukhel'beker and Turgenev to compare the virtues of the language with those of Greek. To phrase our conclusions in this way is to pose the two questions to which we must now address ourselves: why is it that the various stages in the history of the Russian language preceding the achievement of the final synthesis were inimical to the development of an important literature? And in what manner are the balance of elements in the synthesis and the tension between them reflected in the literature of which it is the vehicle? In other words, to what extent may these coexisting elements in the language be correlated with the attitudes and modes of thought that give Russian literature its distinctive character? Again, of course, the subject is an immense one, and I can do no more here than concentrate and embroider on one particular aspect of it - an aspect that is relevant to one of the central conflicts of ideas in modern Russian literature.

Given the position of Church Slavonic as the predominant literary language of the Russians for seven centuries and its major importance as a constituent element of the modern language, we must clearly consider in the first instance the thought-world or attitudes of mind that its introduction into Kievan Russia brought in its wake. These attitudes of mind, of course, were those that served to distinguish the Greek or Byzantine form of Catholicism known as Eastern Orthodoxy from its Western counterpart. Vladimir I's choice of the Greek Church in the year 988, after he had rejected Islam (according to one probably apocryphal account) on the grounds that his countrymen were too partial to alcoholic sustenance,

transformed Kievan Russia into a province of Byzantine culture and, in the opinion of some historians, even into a Byzantine vassal state (13), and thus paved the way for a dramatic enrichment of Russian cultural life. The results, however, were appreciably less spectacular than might reasonably have been expected. The cultural achievements of Kievan Russia in certain areas, particularly religious painting and architecture, were undeniably considerable, and initially at least there was a promising response to the cultural challenge. But however much Soviet historiography may seek to idealise the Russian beginnings, the stark fact remains that the blossoming of medieval culture took place not in the lands of the Eastern and Southern Slavs, but in those of the Latinised Germans and Celts. Indeed, the pre-Revolutionary Russian historian Golubinsky is prompted to comment on the seven centuries of Church Slavonic domination: "Literacy, not culture - in these words is summarised all our history for the vast period from Vladimir to Peter the Great" (14). Various explanations have been suggested. It has been argued, for example, that Russia's energies were simply drained by her continual, and ultimately futile, struggles to keep at bay the nomadic Turkic tribes of the southern steppe - the Pechenegs, the Cumans (or Polovtsy) and, finally, the Tatars. But that, of course, prompts the question: how is it that the energies of the medieval Western peoples were not similarly drained by their interminable feudal wars? And since the distance from Kiev to Constantinople was no greater than that which separated northern Europe from Rome, it seems equally unlikely that geographical remoteness from the major centres of classical culture was the crucial factor. Despite the flowering of Byzantine humanism in the ninth and tenth centuries, during the century from Photios to the scholar-emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos which has been called "the Byzantine Renaissance", other commentators have been more inclined to stress the intrinsic deficiencies of Byzantine culture - its conservatism, its senility, its lack of creative vitality (15) - and reference is also frequently made in this connection to the relatively low priority assigned by the Eastern Church to intellectual discipline and logic. But whatever view is taken of these factors and arguments, the major explanation in the end must certainly be that through the medium of Church Slavonic

Russia did not receive, together with Greek Christianity, either the classical culture of Greece or the classical, pre-Christian notion of a secular society.

Again the reasons are a source of heated debate. Some historians have blamed Byzantium, others the Russians themselves. But clearly an important factor was the very specific criteria which dictated the activity of the earliest translators - Constantine, his brother Methodius and their disciples in Moravia and Macedonia in the ninth century, and the South Slavonic scholars assembled by the Bulgarian Khan Symeon in the early tenth, whose primary concern, of course, was to provide the Church with the means of maintaining itself among the newly converted peoples. With the exception, therefore, of a few works on history and geography and a Byzantine treatise on poetics, Greek secular writing, both ancient and contemporary, was almost totally ignored. Indeed, contemporary Byzantine literature of whatever kind seems to have held little appeal for the translators (16). Their attention was focussed chiefly on the New Testament and on the kinds of text to be found in the libraries of the larger Byzantine monasteries, most notably the fourth-, fifth- and sixth-century classics of Greek patristic literature and the sermons and homilies of such major figures as Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom and Ephraem Syrus - texts of an overwhelmingly practical, didactic and ascetic character which provided neither a stimulus to the development of theoretical interests and rational scientific enquiry, even in the theological field, nor an incentive to look beyond them. And even if such an incentive was awakened in the educated Russian, his position was plainly very different from that of the educated Westerner whose ecclesiastical language, Latin, gave him immediate access to the cultural heritage of Greece and Rome. No such access was offered by Church Slavonic, even though it bore "the specific stamp of Greek civilization alike in its vocabulary and in its phraseology and syntax" (17). Since few Russians were inspired by Church Slavonic to turn to the Greek model on which it was based, the language erected for the vast majority an insurmountable barrier between the Greek ecclesiastical and cultural legacies. In any attempt, therefore, to explain the intellectual deficiencies of Old

Russian culture we must take into account not only the limited range of the Slavonic translations, but also the preference of Vladimir for a Church using Church Slavonic rather than Greek - a preference dictated as much by political considerations, by his insistence on retaining at least a degree of ecclesiastical autonomy, as by his wish to accelerate the conversion of his people (18).

Together with the Greek liturgy and scriptures, the indicated corpus of Greek ecclesiastical literature comprised the principal ingredient of the diet on which the Russian spirit was nourished for seven centuries. We are clearly entitled, therefore, to look to its prolonged cultural hegemony for an explanation of at least some of the distinctive attitudes and preoccupations of the great nineteenth-century writers. One thinks especially in this connection, for example, of the conspicuously ethical and social bias of nineteenth-century Russian literature, the origins of which can be plausibly traced, in part, to the particular receptivity of the Russians in the formative stages of their cultural development to the sermons of St. John Chrysostom, which dwell exclusively on the ethico-religious meaning of the Gospel, on the virtues of *agape* or caritative love, particularly in its social aspect, and on defence of the deprived against the rich, while the equally popular writings of St. Ephraem Syrus laid a similar foundation for the well-known obsession of Russian writers with the notion of salvation through suffering, repentance and humility. It seems no coincidence that the first two indigenous Russian saints to be formally canonised - the sons of Vladimir I, Boris and Gleb - were martyrs (or, as the Russians call them, "passion-sufferers" (*strastoterptsy*)) who submitted meekly to the assassins despatched by their power-seeking brother Svyatopolk. From the beginning the idea of the virtue of non-resistance, of the purifying merit of humility, suffering, passivity and death was deeply instilled in the Russian mind, ultimately to receive, of course, its most powerful expression in the novels of the writer described by Edmund Gosse as "the cocaine and morphia of modern literature" (19), Dostoyevsky. And it may be noted that the one surviving work of Old Russian literature in which the religious element is not so

immediately apparent and which towers above all others in every conceivable respect is a celebration not of a Russian victory in battle, but of a Russian defeat. I refer to the heroic epic *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, in which an epic tradition of unknown, though probably Byzantine, origin (20) is fused with the historical style of the Byzantine and Russian chronicles and with the oral Russian poetic tradition. Certainly the idea of honour, of personal value based on military accomplishments, which was alien to Byzantine social ethics, is strongly expressed in this work, probably explaining, together with its predominantly secular content, its relative neglect by medieval Russian readers and its survival in only a single manuscript which was itself a sixteenth-century transcript of the original and which was consumed in the Moscow fire of 1812 - fortunately, after a second copy had been made and the first edition had already been published. But conspicuously absent from the work is the feudal notion of honour through revenge. Although the epic ends on a note of joy, the pretext for rejoicing is not a compensatory Russian triumph, but simply Prince Igor's escape from his Polovtsian captors. The idea of revenge is totally eclipsed by the emphasis on suffering, on the suffering and humiliation of the entire Russian land. And here we perceive perhaps the most significant difference between this Russian epic and its Western counterparts. The source of the tragic effect is not the death of a struggling, doomed hero, but precisely this repeatedly evoked pain of the nation. The protagonist of the epic is not Igor, but the *russkaya zemlya*, the suffering Russian people, and in this subordination of the individual to the collective we see an early reflection of the emphatically social, impersonalistic aspect of Old Russian religious ethics, inspired, or at least reinforced, by Byzantine precept, that has exercised a decisive influence on Russian attitudes to the present day.

Much has been written, of course, about the calamitous effects on the development of Russian culture of the Mongol conquest and occupation which coincided with the Western Renaissance, and it is obviously undeniable that the almost complete cessation of political and cultural ties with Western Catholic Europe from 1240 onward, complementing the cessation of official ecclesiastical relations

after the schism of 1054, was a historical disaster of the first magnitude. Yet even ignoring the fact that Novgorod, Pskov, Polotsk and Smolensk were spared the devastation inflicted on the other major centres of Old Russian civilisation, it must be judged at least questionable whether the culture of the Russians, as distinct, for example, from their conception of politics, would have evolved in a significantly different direction if the conquest had not taken place. The domination of the religious culture of East Rome was not interrupted by the conversion of Russia into a province of the Mongol Empire; on the contrary, it was actually enhanced by it, for during the two centuries of the occupation the Church became the chief focus of hope, and it may be noted that it was during the period of Mongol rule that the noun *krest'yanin*, meaning "a Christian", came to denote, as it does today, "peasant", that is, the overwhelming majority of the Russian population. Nor was the continuity of the cultural tradition interrupted by the shift of the geographical focus of Russian history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Kiev and the basin of the Dnieper to the region of the upper Volga and the establishment of the Muscovite Tsardom. Far more important in its cultural effects was the Muscovite reaction to the Council of Florence and the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople fifteen years later - events which heralded the birth of the acutely xenophobic brand of post-medieval Russian nationalism, Russia's conscious appropriation of the Byzantine political heritage, symbolised by the marriage of Ivan III in 1472 to the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor and his adoption of the imperial double-headed eagle, and the formulation by the official panegyrists of Holy Russia in the sixteenth century of the theory of "Moscow the Third Rome", destined for all time to replace the fallen Romes of Peter and Constantine. From these events, which isolated Muscovy as the only Orthodox Christian country of any account that was not subject to Muslim rule, we can date the development of that Russian messianic consciousness which was to be sustained through the centuries and which is a no less inalienable element of Bolshevik ideology than of the conservatism of Dostoyevsky. And the corollary of this adoption of the Byzantine political heritage, reinforced by the example of Mongol imperialism, was an increasingly rigorous commitment to the religious, collectivist

ethos of the impoverished Russian recension of the Byzantine cultural tradition (21), one manifestation of which was the marked increase in the number of copies that were made in Russia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of ninth- and tenth-century Old Bulgarian texts (22). It may fairly be claimed, in short, that in the Muscovite, as later in the Soviet, period culture degenerated to a very significant degree into a facet of the politico-social order (23). Its premises and preoccupations were dictated by a theocratic state that was quite impervious to the first stirrings of Western humanism and which, despite the blossoming of Renaissance culture in neighbouring Poland, resisted all invitations to cultural change except in the solitary field of architecture. Herein lies the primary explanation of the intellectual poverty of Russian culture in the period from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century in which Soviet commentators, recently celebrating the completion of the first millenium of Russian literature, have contrived to detect evidence of a "retarded Renaissance" (24).

Yet just as Church Slavonic coexisted throughout the history of Old Russia with the developing indigenous language of the Eastern Slavs, so attitudes instilled by the Byzantine tradition naturally coexisted with certain lingering survivals of the East Slavonic pre-Christian past which have similarly left a permanent imprint on Russian literature. In some cases these indigenous attitudes "acted as a counterbalance preventing the full and unquestioning absorption of the Byzantine heritage" (25); in others they seem to have provided a congenial basis for that process of absorption. I shall limit myself here to mentioning just two of the more pertinacious and better known elements of the pagan legacy which are relevant to the conflict of ideas that primarily concerns me, for they both suggest that the particular receptivity of the Russians to the social or collectivist bias of Byzantine ethics was determined by a similar bias in their native tradition. The first of them is a powerfully expressed conception of social discipline, of the nation as a family - a conception which can be linked with the Slavonic pagan cult of the dead as the parents or ancestors of a kind of eternal kinship-community denoted in Russian by the word *rod* ("family", "kin" or

"clan") which supplies the root of the East Slavonic and Modern Russian word for "native land" *rodina* ("the land of the *rod*"). This ancient *gens* mentality, which seems to have precluded any significant consciousness of the rights and vocation of the individual personality, is reflected not only in the continuing idiosyncrasy which the Russians share with the Balkan Slavs of sporting two personal names, the second of which (the patronymic) is derived from the paternal name that it becomes increasingly anachronistic to call "Christian", and in the Russian habit of addressing even strangers by such kinship names as "father", "grandfather", "uncle", "brother" and their feminine counterparts, but most notably in the pre-Revolutionary popular practice of applying the title *batyushka* ("father") even to the Tsar himself, which implied the extension of the kinship idea to the entire community. And it is indicative of the enduring vigour of this ancient conception of the nation that just as the moral implications of the *rod* cult are clearly sensed in the unknown author's appeal for national unity in the face of the Polovtsian threat in *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, so eight centuries later the disunity of the nation is symbolised in Dostoyevsky's last novel by family disunity, by the disunity of the brothers Karamazov which appropriately gives birth to the crime of parricide.

The novels of Dostoyevsky also provide us with one of our clearest glimpses of the second surviving vestige of the pagan Russian legacy that I wish to refer to. I have in mind that striking obligation that Dostoyevsky makes incumbent on his errant heroes to perform the ritualistic act of kissing the earth - an act which appears to denote the opposite of the parricide in *The Brothers Karamazov*, that is, the achievement of redemption through reintegration with the collective of which the earth is evidently a symbol. It is customary to relate the faith in the earth's regenerative powers implied by these acts to Dostoyevsky's documented interest in the contemporary autochthonist creed known as *pochvennichestvo* (literally "soilism"), which is usually linked with Herder's idea of nationhood and was canvassed by its proponents as an antidote to the rootlessness of the Westernised Russian intelligentsia. But like so many other offshoots of

nineteenth-century Russian Slavophilism, *pochvennichestvo* derived its central inspiration from the ancient beliefs of the Russian people - from the cult of "moist Mother Earth" (*syraya mat'-zemlya*) which from time immemorial has formed the basis of Russian popular religion. The pagan Eastern Slavs were not unique, of course, in concentrating on the earth their religious devotion to natural powers, but the character of this devotion, as reflected in folk songs, oral popular literature and surviving customs, was indeed distinctive in that the earth was venerated not for its beauty or purity, but almost solely for its more emphatically feminine, maternal attribute of fertility. Hence the popular practice in the area of Pskov as late as the nineteenth century of confirming marriages by swallowing a lump of earth. "The Sovereign is father, the earth is mother," reads the Russian proverb (26). Inseparably associated with the *rod*, the national community of past, present and future, the earth was worshipped exclusively as the source of life and, by extension, as the source of moral law. In consequence, the erotic aspect of the Earth-goddess revered by other peoples is conspicuous by its absence from the East Slavonic cult. Aphrodite, to borrow classical terminology, is eclipsed by Demeter, from whose name, not coincidentally, derives that of the eldest of Dostoyevsky's Karamazov brothers, Dmitriy, who appropriately quotes from Schiller's *Das Eleusische Fest* the lines: "For man to rise spiritually from his baseness / Let him enter into union forever / With ancient mother earth" (27). Together with the restored unity of the family or *rod*, restored union with the earth is Dostoyevsky's metaphor of restored national unity. The two symbols are virtually synonymous. Implicitly identified with the earth, the *rod*, the national collective, is itself acclaimed as the source of moral law.

But the novels of Dostoyevsky are not alone in testifying to the lasting vitality of this primitive Russian reverential attitude to the earth's specifically feminine, maternal and spiritually revitalising attributes. Its enduring influence is apparent not only in the exceptional veneration subsequently reserved by the christianised Russians for the Mother of God, before whose image in Old Russian literature and painting the symbol of the Cross recedes rapidly into the background from the mid-twelfth century

onwards, but more generally in the remarkably consistent reverential treatment of the female of the species by almost all the major Russian writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Pushkin's *Yevgeniy Onegin*, Gogol's *Dead Souls*, Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, almost all the novels of Turgenev and Dostoyevsky, the poetic cycles of Blok, Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* - in all these major works of modern Russian literature ideals are invariably embodied in female form, in the form of heroines endowed with the same kind of almost primitive, spontaneous, instinctive wisdom and understanding of life that enable Igor's wife Yaroslavna in *The Lay of Igor's Campaign* to commune with the forces of nature and to succeed with their aid, where the Grand Prince of Kiev Svyatoslav fails, in securing her husband's salvation. From the pagan concept of Mother Earth, fertilised and sublimated by the later Christian images of Holy Womanhood, there seems to be a direct line of descent to the typical heroine of the Russian novel, who presents herself almost invariably as an incarnation of the virtues most highly esteemed by the religious culture of pre-Petrine Russia: humility, compassion, self-abnegation and, above all, that instinctive sense of moral value which is acclaimed by almost every major Russian writer of the nineteenth century as the special attribute of the ordinary Russian people. Like Mother Earth in the ancient myth, she is a symbol of the collective national "soul", and in the recurrent contrast between these heroines and the males who confront them we encounter the symbolic form in which the battle is most graphically fought in modern Russian literature between these time-honoured virtues and the imported ethos of the modern West.

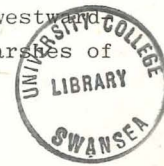
"European culture," writes D.H. Lawrence, "is a toothless thing in the Russians. With us it is our very blood and bones, the very nerve and root of our psyche With the Russians it is different. They have only been inoculated with the virus of European culture and ethics. The virus works in them like a disease. And the inflammation and irritation comes forth as literature" (28). The medical metaphor not only evokes most aptly the essential character of the mature Russian response to the Western influence which in the late seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries destroyed the homogeneity of Russian culture; it also conveys the major preoccupation of most of the great Russian writers of the modern period, for modern Russian literature is to a very significant degree a critical examination of the ravages inflicted on the Russian spirit by the Western "virus". The development of this critical attitude may be viewed as the counterpart in Russian literary history to the achievement of synthesis in the Russian language, and the works of Pushkin are again the crucial landmark. The eighteenth century was a period not of Russian responses to the "virus" but of abject submission to it, and the same spectacle of uncritical submission is often presented in the nineteenth century also by the Russian intelligentsia's avid appropriation of Western ideas. But in the works of the century's most notable writers, who without exception stood apart from the intelligentsia, we encounter a consistently critical response to those three manifestations of the "virus" - individualism, rationalism and materialism - that represented a direct assault on the religious, impersonalistic, collectivist ethos which is the most fundamental common feature of the indigenous and Byzantine strands in the pre-Petrine Russian cultural tradition. We consequently observe in their writings how under the stimulus of the Western "virus" that tradition finally acquired in the nineteenth century the capacity of inspiring a significant literature. From the beginning the conflict that is dramatised in the Russian novel in the relationship between hero and heroine is essentially a conflict between differing conceptions of the individual's role in life and society. And it is testimony to the truth of Lawrence's words, as well as to the power of the native tradition, that however protracted and intensive the exposure of nineteenth-century Russian writers to Western culture may have been, the recurrent conflict in their works is almost invariably resolved in the heroine's favour. Again and again the power of human reason and the individual will displayed by the hero is exposed as bankrupt, ineffectual and self-destructive on colliding with the instinctive sense of moral law embodied in the self-effacing heroine. The same distrust of thought, of the masculine intellect, is voiced by almost every major Russian writer, culminating in the memorable expression of the typical Russian attitude to philosophy by Pasternak's Yuriy Zhivago: "In my opinion, life and art should be sparingly seasoned with philosophy. To devote oneself to

philosophy alone is as strange as eating only horseradish" (29).

Not surprisingly, the manifestation of the "virus" that finally triggered off the development of resolute Russian anti-bodies was the Romantic movement - above all, the works of Byron, whose wilful heroes make their first appearance in Russian attire in the early works of Pushkin. Pushkin's early narrative poems immediately confront the Western reader with that curious blend of the familiar and the alien that was to prompt Western critics some decades later to pronounce such sharply contrasting judgements on those novels of Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy which Henry James termed "fluid puddings" and "baggy monsters" (30). The transition from the first to the last of Pushkin's four "Southern poems", written between 1820 and 1824, is already a transition from imitation to parody, and in *Yevgeniy Onegin* the Byronic hero is comprehensively dethroned. In the works of Pushkin modern Russian literature displays from the beginning its characteristic tendency to treat individualism, the pursuit of personal aims and personal happiness, as an infraction of moral law and accordingly to associate it with crime. Hence the murder of Zemfira by Aleko in *The Gipsies*, of Lensky by Onegin, of the Tsarevich Dmitriy by Boris Godunov, of Mozart by Salieri. Don Juan, Salieri, Boris Godunov, the Covetous Knight, Germann in *The Queen of Spades* - all these heroes of Pushkin either perish or lapse into insanity after the crimes committed in the name of their self-assertion, thus anticipating the experience of Dostoyevsky's Raskol'nikov.

Yet not without cause is Pushkin acclaimed as the sole embodiment among Russian writers of the Renaissance spirit. In two of his most celebrated fictional portraits - the portraits of Peter the Great in *Poltava* and *The Bronze Horseman* - the power of the individual will is indeed paeaned with a total lack of inhibition. *The Bronze Horseman* begins with the most famous eulogy in Russian literature, and its subject is the act of autocratic will which more than any other came to symbolise the brutal process of Westernisation to which Peter subjected the Muscovite state: the triumph over nature that gave birth to his resplendent, westward-looking capital St. Petersburg on the disease-infested marshes of



the delta of the river Neva - a city which with its long, straight thoroughfares intersecting at right-angles seemed to epitomise the emergence of reason from darkness and obscurantism and which has been described by one commentator as a "paradigm of the intellectualized ego, the autonomous and alienated individual" (31). "Peter I is at one and the same time Robespierre and Napoleon (revolution incarnate)," wrote Pushkin in the rough draft of a political article of 1831 (32). Both Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky would have undoubtedly agreed, but Tolstoy's portrait of Napoleon in *War and Peace*, the collapse of Raskol'nikov's "Napoleonic" idea in *Crime and Punishment*, and the agonies endured by Dostoyevsky's heroes in St. Petersburg's symbolic heat convey the traditional Russian response to the Petrine phenomenon of the unfettered individual will.

After Pushkin the power of the individual will was to be glorified in pre-Revolutionary Russian literature only in the romantic poems of Lermontov and in Chernyshevsky's fictionalised socio-political tract of 1863 *What Is To Be Done?* which is commonly regarded as the worst novel ever written. With Gogol' - or, more precisely, with the imputation to Gogol's art of a cognitive function that many twentieth-century critics have vigorously questioned - begins the harnessing of modern Russian literature to social utility, and thereafter self-fulfilment in the Russian novel was to be conceivable only in communal terms. Never again was a Russian fictional hero to be unequivocally eulogised for such attributes as strength, energy, vitality, passion. With the indicated exceptions, the whole of subsequent Russian literature expresses an uncompromising rejection of the secular, "Western" attributes of the great "Westernising" Tsar and reacclaims, through such figures as Tolstoy's Karatayev and Kutuzov and Dostoyevsky's "idiot", Zosima and Alyosha Karamazov, the impersonalistic social ethos of pre-Petrine Russian culture. Not only for Gogol', Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy, but even for so ardent a Westernist as Turgenev, whose debt to Pushkin's art is so clearly apparent and who was credited by Dostoyevsky in *The Devils* with caring more about the sewage system of Karlsruhe than about the destiny of his native land, the figure of the "strong man" or "man of action" is an object of apprehensive contemplation and is duly condemned,

in the person of the nihilist Bazarov in *Fathers and Sons*, to a premature, futile death. And for Goncharov too the phenomenon of strength is so strange and unnatural that he cannot even bring himself to embody it in a Russian. Alongside his celebrated emblem of Russian impotence and sloth, the horizontal Oblomov, he places the upright, Teutonic Stolz, with the evident intention of creating a living, masculine indictment of his recumbent, effeminate hero. But the intention is subverted by ineradicable prejudice, by the contrasting tones of the two portraits, which suffuse impotence with warmth and equate strength with bourgeois complacency. Together with Tolstoy's prosaic, perfumed, fat-thighed Napoleon and the philosophy of history enunciated in the epilogue of *War and Peace*, the wooden, lifeless, efficient Stolz enshrines Russian literature's response to the titanic figure of Pushkin's Bronze Horseman.

Although Pushkin's entitlement, therefore, to be regarded as the founder of modern Russian literature has never been questioned, the fiction of his most eminent successors expresses, either explicitly or obliquely, a categorical rejection of the harmony or balance between conflicting attitudes to the individual that coexists in his art with the linguistic synthesis to which reference has been made, and it is tempting to draw a parallel between this rejection and the predominance of Church Slavonic elements in the vocabulary of modern Russian. In the literature, as in the language, the pre-Petrine heritage proved remarkably resistant to the Western "virus". After his fleeting appearance in the works of Pushkin the free individual, exulting in the richness of life and of his own personality, in the power of the will, the pleasures of the mind and the experiences of the flesh, is either plagued by doubt, branded a rebel or hounded to his doom. In the fictional world of the Russian novel the Western concept of individual freedom becomes a rejection of God, of moral principle and of the social collective, the penalty for which is self-destruction. Hence the suicides of Anna Karenina and Dostoyevsky's Stavrogin. "Vengeance is mine, and I shall repay," reads the epigraph to Tolstoy's novel, and the victims of this vengeance are those free personalities created by the Russian imagination who, unlike Pushkin's Tat'yana and Turgenev's Liza, refuse to submit to oppressive circumstance,

stultifying dogma or age-old convention and defiantly stake their claim to personal happiness. Almost all the major works of pre-Revolutionary Russian literature centre on Promethean gestures of this kind, which with few exceptions are ascribed to the perverting influence of Western ideas, and in every case the gesture is futile.

Given the unbroken continuity, therefore, of the traditional Russian attitude to the West as reflected in the similar dénouements of these fictional dramas, it seems, perhaps, more than a little ironic that the Russians should ultimately have been inspired by one particular Western creed, developed by two German thinkers and most powerfully promoted by revolutionaries operating in Western European emigration, to transform their political and social structure. Yet it is not so strange, of course, as appearances suggest, for Marxism commended itself to the heirs of both devout Russian Orthodox Christians and nineteenth-century Slavophiles not only as a Western creed that is a critique of Western civilisation, but equally as the expression of a fundamentally social, impersonalistic view of man. Hence the culminating apparition of a strikingly feminine Christ at the head of the column of twelve apostolic Red Guards in Blok's poetic celebration of the Revolution *The Twelve* of 1918. In the form of the feminine ideal, Christ and the twelve standard-bearers of militant Marxism the three strands of Russian culture - the indigenous, the Byzantine and the Western - are tied into a single knot in a scene that marks a fitting conclusion to the history of pre-Revolutionary Russian literature. The relevant entries in Blok's diary and notes convey the surprise, even dismay, with which he reacted to his own creation, to this remarkable fusion of Eastern Christianity and Western atheism (33), but the fact remains that bringing to an end the St. Petersburg period of Russian history, the Revolution seemed to him, as to many others, to symbolise a final purging of the Petrine legacy, of the hopes and ideals of the Westernised intelligentsia, and a reaffirmation of traditional values.

The silence of Blok's muse in the remaining three years of his life suggests a belated awareness of his error of judgement, a belated awareness that in the form of Marxism with its vision of

of a world rationalised to the highest degree the Western "virus", far from having been purged, was more deeply entrenched than ever before. We can hardly doubt that he was often reminded in these years of the truth proclaimed by Dostoyevsky that the belief in the fundamentally social and rational nature of man leaves little room for the moral, spiritual and aesthetic dimensions of human life. And this same truth is loudly trumpeted by almost every major work of Soviet literature that is not a surrender to the imperatives of that Socialist Realism which Solzhenitsyn has defined as "an oath of abstinence from truth" (34) - by the poetry of Akhmatova and Mandel'shtam, by Zamyatin's *We*, Olesha's *Envy*, Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*, *Doctor Zhivago*, and the novels of Solzhenitsyn himself, for whom the true symbol of the change effected by the Bolsheviks was not the switch of capitals from St. Petersburg (alias Petrograd) to Moscow, but rather the transformation of one of the most enduring symbols of old Muscovy, the great Solovetsky monastery, into the first of the new prison camp complexes of the U.S.S.R.. In the form of these Soviet novels, each of which may be viewed as offering a variation on the theme of Dostoyevsky's *Legend of the Grand Inquisitor*, the Russian struggle against the "virus" continues; the major difference is simply that now the negative pole of the recurrent contrast is represented no longer by assertive, Westernised individuals, but by the collectively euphoric, secularised Utopia. Symbolising, like their precursors in the pre-Revolutionary novel, those permanent values, moral, spiritual and aesthetic, which from time immemorial have dictated Russia's distrust of human reason, such heroines as Bulgakov's Margarita and Pasternak's Lara are now portrayed as the incarnations of a tradition from which not the hero but rather the collective has become fatally estranged.

Viewed from this angle, therefore, the best of post-Revolutionary Russian literature may be justly described as simply a different form of the inflammation and irritation that Lawrence diagnosed. The critical response to Western influence that began with Pushkin has continued to inspire not only the generally execrable products of Socialist Realism, but also, for sharply contrasting reasons, the most notable achievements of Soviet

writers, and it is well to note this unbroken tradition - the tradition of conflict between East and West that developed on the foundation laid by the linguistic synthesis. Only one major aspect of this conflict has received my attention, but I hope it has sufficed to convey something of the flavour of the discipline that I profess and perhaps even to infect the uninitiated among you with the potent virus of Russian culture.

NOTES

- 1 Virginia Woolf, *The Common Reader*, 1st series, 5th edn. (London, 1945), p.193
- 2 Quoted from G Phelps, *The Russian Novel in English Fiction* (London, 1956), p.13.
- 3 E Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1939), p.237.
- 4 Cf. R Jakobson, "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature," *Harvard Slavic Studies*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp.15-16.
- 5 Cf. R Hingley, *The Russian Mind* (London, 1977), p.64.
- 6 Cf. J E Harrison, *Russia and the Russian Verb. A Contribution to the Psychology of the Russian People* (Cambridge, 1925), pp.3,11.
- 7 V K Kyukhel'beker, "Iz lektsii o russkoy literature i russkom yazyke, pročitannoy v Parizhe v iyune 1821 goda," in *Literaturnoye nasledstvo. Dekabristy-literatory*, I (Moscow, 1954), p.380.
- 8 I S Turgenev, *Sochineniya*, XII (Leningrad, 1934), p.235.
- 9 M V Lomonosov, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, VII (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952), pp.391-2
- 10 Cf. V D Levin, "'Yevgeniy Onegin' i russkiy literaturnyy yazyk," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Seriya literatury i yazyka*, XXVIII (1969), vyp. 3, pp.244-58.
- 11 Cf. G H Worth, "The Church Slavonic Elements in Russian", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, New Series, I (1968), p.3.
- 12 Cf. B Unbegaun, "Le russe littéraire est-il d'origine russe?" *Revue des études slaves*, XLIV (1965), p.23 ff..
- 13 Cf. V Ikonnikov, *Opyt issledovaniya o kul'turnom znachenii Vizantii v russkoy istorii* (Kiev, 1869), p.296.
- 14 Ye. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, 2nd edn., I (Moscow, 1901), p.701.

- 15 Cf. G P Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p.25, and V Jagič, *Historija književnosti Naroda Hrvatskoga i Srbskoga*, I (Zagreb, 1867), p.66 ff..
- 16 Cf. I P Yeregin, *Literatura drevney Rusi* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1966), p.9.
- 17 B O Unbegam, "Colloquial and Literary Russian," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, I (1950), p.26.
- 18 Cf. A P Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), pp.261-2.
- 19 Cf. Phelps, p.173.
- 20 Cf. J Besharov, *Imagery of the Igor' Tale in the Light of Byzantino-Slavic Poetic Theory* (Leiden, 1956).
- 21 Cf. M Szeftel, "Some Reflections on the Particular Characteristics of the Russian Historical Process," in his *Russian Institutions and Culture up to Peter the Great* (London, 1975), pp.232-3.
- 22 Cf. P N Dinekov, "O rasprostraneni drevnebolgarskoy literatury na Rusi," in *Kul'turnoye naslediy drevney Rusi* (Moscow, 1976), p.29.
- 23 Cf. G Florovsky, "The Problem of Old Russian Culture," in M Cherniavsky (ed.), *The Structure of Russian History* (New York, 1970), p.135.
- 24 Cf. L A Dmitriyev, D S Likhachev and O V Tvorogov, "Tysyacheletiy russkoy literatury," *Russkaya literatura*, XXII, No. 1 (1979), p.9.
- 25 N Andreyev, "Pagan and Christian Elements in Old Russia," *Slavic Review*, XXI (1962), p.19.
- 26 I I Illyustratov, *Zhizn' russkogo naroda v ego poslovitsakh i pogovorkakh*, 3rd edn. (Moscow, 1915), p.84.
- 27 F M Dostoyevsky, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, XIV (Leningrad, 1976), p.99.

- 28 D H Lawrence, Preface to L Shestov, *All Things Are Possible*, translated by S S Koteliansky (London, 1920), p.7.
- 29 B Pasternak, *Doktor Zhivago* (Milan, 1957), p.418.
- 30 Henry James, *Selected Letters* (London, 1956), p.202, and "The Tragic Mask," reprinted in R Blackmur (ed.), *The Art of the Novel* (London, 1934), p.84.
- 31 S Monas, "The Revelation of St. Boris: Russian Literature and Individual Autonomy," in Cherniavsky, p.147.
- 32 A S Pushkin, *Sobraniye sochineniy*, VI (Moscow, 1962), p.354.
- 33 Cf. A A Blok, *Sobraniye sochineniy*, VII (Moscow-Leningrad, 1963), p.326, and A A Blok, *Zapisnyye knizhki* (Moscow, 1965), pp.388-9.
- 34 A Solzhenitsyn, *Bodalsya telyonok s dubom* (Paris, 1975), p.13.

