Aleksandr Pushkin

EUGENE

ONEGIN

IG

A Novel in Verse

Translated by VLADIMIR NABOKOV

VOLUME II Commentary and Index BOLLINGEN SERIES LXXII



Eugene Onegin

A NOVEL IN VERSE BY Aleksandr Pushkin TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN, WITH A COMMENTARY, BY Vladimir Nabokov

IN FOUR VOLUMES

 $\mathbf{2}$

Commentary on Preliminaries and Chapters One to Five



Bollingen Series LXXII Pantheon Books

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THIS FOUR-VOLUME WORK IS THE SEVENTY-SECOND IN A SERIES OF BOOKS SPONSORED BY BOLLINGEN FOUNDATION

Library of Congress catalogue card No. 63–10708 Set and printed in the United States of America by Clarke & Way, Inc., New York, N. Y. Bound by Russell Rutter Co., Inc., New York, N. Y. Designed by Bert Clarke

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NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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Method of Transliteration

Except when otherwise stated, I have followed in all my transcriptions of Russian texts the new spelling adopted in Russia after the Revolution. The reform did not affect, or at least was not supposed to affect, anything in the pronunciation. Its main object was to get rid of certain superfluous ornamental letters. Thus (to mention a few of the changes), it retained only one of the vowels, identically pronounced but differently spelled, corresponding to the English e in "yes"; abolished the so-called "hard sign" that used to follow all nonpalatalized consonants at the end of words; and substituted for the nonaccented ain the ago of genitive endings (pronounced like the a in the ava of Cavalleria) an o, which, being unaccented, is pronounced, or should be pronounced, exactly like the ait replaces. Below is a table of the transliterations used in the present work.

Russian PRONOUNCED A a a Like the Italian a. Resembles the a of "art" (never pronounced as in "man" or "male"). B 6 b As in "Byron." Exceptions: medial b before a voiceless consonant and final b tending to p. Thus próbka, "cork," rhymes with knópka, "tack,"

Russian		
Character	Transliterate	d PRONOUNCED
		and <i>lob</i> , "forehead," rhymes with <i>pop</i> , "priest" (but <i>volshébno</i> , "magi- cally," and <i>velikolépno</i> , "splendidly," do <i>not</i> rhyme).
Вв	v	As in "Victoria." Exceptions: medial v before a voiceless consonant and final v tending to f . Thus bulávka, "pin," rhymes with "Kafka," and nrav, "temper," rhymes with telegráf (but svoenrávniy, "capricious," and telegráfniy, "telegraphic," do not rhyme).
Гг	g	As the hard g of "go" (never as in "gentle" and never mute before n). Exceptions: medial g before a voice- less consonant and, in a few words, final g tending to aspirated h as in $my \acute{a}gkiy$, "soft," and bog , "god." Otherwise, final g tends to k. Thus rog , "horn," rhymes with $ur\acute{o}k$, "les- son." In terminations of adjectives and pronouns in the genitive singu- lar, g is pronounced v. Thus nemógo, "of the mute," rhymes with slóvo, "word."
Дд	d	As in "Dante." Exceptions: medial d before a voiceless consonant and final d tending to t. Thus vódka rhymes with glótka, "throat," and sled, "trace," with let, "of years" (but ládno, "all right," does not rhyme with besplátno, "gratis").
Ее	е	As <i>ye</i> in "yellow."
Ëë	yo	As yo in "yonder" (never as in "yoke").
Жж	$^{\mathrm{zh}}$	As s in "measure" or z in "azure" (never as in "zeal") and as the French j in "Jacques" or the second g in

	sian acter	Transliterated	d PRONOUNCED
			"garage." Exceptions: medial zh be- fore a voiceless consonant and final zh tending to sh. Thus lózhka, "spoon," rhymes with kóshka, "cat," and krazh, "of thefts," rhymes with karandásh, "pencil" (but lózhnöy, "false," does not rhyme with ros- kóshnöy, "luxurious").
3	8	Z	As in "zebra" (never as in "mezzo- soprano" or "azure"). Exceptions: medial z before a voiceless consonant and final z tending to s. Thus skázka, "fairy tale," rhymes with láska, "caress," and glaz, "eye," with nas, "us" (but ráznïy, "different," does not rhyme with prekrásnïy, "beauti- ful").
И	и		As the first <i>e</i> in "scene" (never as <i>i</i> in "mine"), but as <i>i</i> (see p. xxi) after the three letters <i>zh</i> , <i>ts</i> , and <i>sh</i> .*
Й	Й	-у	A semivowel existing only in diph- thongs: thus $tdyna$, "mystery," in which ay is like an English long <i>i</i> or, more exactly, the French <i>aille</i> ; <i>ey</i> , "to her," which sounds like the end of a long-drawn English "away!" in the mist and the distance; very close to the French <i>eille</i> ; <i>kiy</i> , "billiard cue," in which <i>iy</i> is like the French <i>ille</i> in <i>quille</i> ;

^{*}In Pushkin's time, and generally before the new orthography was introduced (in 1918), M, when preceding a vowel, was replaced by the identically pronounced i. There were also other differences: thus e was written as b in a number of words (this letter, although pronounced exactly as e, I have transliterated by ye whenever the necessity to mention it arose, for the sake of differentiation), and words terminating in consonants had the useless "hard sign," \mathcal{T}_{b} , affixed at the end. When medial, it acts as a medial **b** (see further) and is marked thus, '.

	sian acter	Transliterated	d PRONOUNCED
			boy, "battle," in which oy sounds like the oy in the English "boy" (in which, however, the o has greater duration and the y is not so strident); duy, "blow" (imperative), in which uy sounds like the French ouille as in andouille; and -iy, the ending of adjectives (masc. sing.), which sounds like the French αil .
к	к	k.	As in English, but never mute before <i>n</i> .
Л М Н	Л М Н	$\left. \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ m \\ n \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$	As in English.
0	0	0	Like the Italian o ; close to the first o in "cosmos" when accented and close to the second o when not (never as in "go"). In Moscow speech the unac- cented o (as, for example, in <i>Moskva</i>) is pronounced in a manner about as "ah"-like as the accented o in New York English ("jahb," "stahp"). In ordinary good Russian the unac- cented o (as, for example, in <i>koróva</i> , "cow") is pronounced like the final a , which sounds like the ultima of "Eva."
П	п	р	As in English, but never mute before n or s .
Ρ	р	r	A clean, clear vibration that is closer to the Italian than to the English (never amplifying the preceding vowel as it does sometimes in Eng- lish). When burred (by old-fashioned Peterburgians), it is undistinguish- able from a French r and then very annoying to the Moscow ear.

	ssian •acter	Transliterated	d PRONOUNCED
a	С	s	Like the first c in "cicada" (never like the second).
Т	т	t	As in "Tom" (but never as in "ritual" or "nation").
У	у	u	As oo in "boom." Similar to the French ou (never as the u of "buff" or of "flute").
Φ	ф	\mathbf{f}	As in English.
Х	x	h or kh	Close to ch in the German ach or the Scottish "loch." There is no k sound about it, as the usual kh translitera- tion unfortunately suggests to the English eye. I have used kh only in one or two cases when s precedes it (for example, $skhodil$, "descended"), to avoid confusion with sh .
ц	ц	ts	As ts in "tsetse" or the German z in Zermatt. It should be observed, how- ever, that in many words such as otsyúda, "from here," in which ot is a prefix, kázhetsya, "it seems," in which sya is the suffix, and détskiy, "childish," in which skiy is the suffix, the transcription ts corresponds to these two separate letters in Russian.
Ч	ч	\mathbf{ch}	As in English.
Ш	ш	sh	As in English.
Щ	щ	shch	A fusion of sibilants that can be imi- tated in English by such combinations as "fish chowder," "cash check," "hush child," "plush chair," and so forth.
Ы	ы	ï	A medial or final nonpalatal vowel pronounced as a very blunt, short i by trying to say <i>ee</i> while keeping the tensed tongue back so as not to touch

Method of Transliteration

Rus	sian		
Char	acter	Transliterated	d PRONOUNCED
			the inner side of the lower teeth, as it would do in a palatal vowel. The re- sult is a kind of cross between a dull short i and a grunt. (The character chosen to represent this difficult letter should not be mistaken for the sharp French \ddot{i} bearing the same diacritical sign, as in $n a \ddot{i} f$.)
Э	Э	е	As in "Edinburgh." Apart from for- eign words and geographical names, it is found only in <i>étot</i> , "this," and its derivations and in a few interjections such as e , ey , eh , and so forth.
Ю	ю	yu	As u in "use" but of less duration.
Я	я	ya	As in the German γa .
Ь	Ъ	,	A palatal sign modifying (softening) the preceding consonant, so that t' sounds somewhat like ts , d' like tz , and so on. A usual termination of in- finitives (govor t' , "to speak"; pet', "to sing"; pisát', "to write"). When placed after a medial letter it indi- cates not only palatization but also a very slight pause. Thus the n'e of pen'e is like the nie of the French dernierement. Consequently $Il'\gamma a$, "Elijah," sounds very like the French il γ a pronounced rapidly.

Although rigid consistency would require that in transliteration all Russian names ending in $\mu\bar{n}$ should end in $i\gamma$ (such as surnames—e.g., Vyazemskiy—and first names—e.g., Grigoriy—as well as the names of avenues, lanes, and boulevards, all of which are masculine in Russian), I have had to make certain concessions to accepted spellings as given in works of reference.

All surnames lose the γ after the *i* in transliteration (e.g., Vyazemski). All first names retain the γ (e.g.,

Grigoriy), except in the case of one or two Russian names that have lost it in English usage (e.g., Dmitri instead of Dmitriy). The same goes for the names of boulevards, avenues, and lanes, except in the case of the Nevski, or Nevski Avenue (instead of Nevskiy). The word "street," *ulitsa*, is feminine in Russian, and the feminine ending of the adjective to it is completely transliterated in English (e.g., Morskaya Street). All names ending in oŭ (Shahovskoy, Bolshoy) retain the γ in transliteration.

Except for the surnames of female performers, such as dancers, singers, actresses, and so on, which traditionally retain these feminine endings (Istomina, Pavlova), all feminine surnames, although ending in a in Russian, take a masculine ending in transliteration (Anna Sidorov, Anna Karenin, Princess Vyazemski).

I omit the soft sign in Russian names (Bolshoy instead of Bol'shoy, Olga instead of Ol'ga, Gogol instead of Gogol'), unless such names appear in lines of Russian or in other phrases that require exact transliteration in my Commentary.

Not a few Russians have German surnames, and there occur borderline cases in which a transliteration is preferred to the German original. But, generally speaking, I use the simple German spelling of such names whenever this does not clash with tradition (thus, Küchelbecker instead of Kyuhel'beker).

No accents are used in Russian, but I use them to indicate the correct stress whenever it might help the reader in scanning a verse.

In capitalizing the first word of each line when quoting verse, given that it is capitalized in the original, I have adhered to the following principles: it is capitalized in translations when the lines render exactly the form of the original, including rhymes and rhyme pattern; it is also capitalized in lines that are metrically faithful translations of blank verse or rhymeless dactylic hexameters.

Calendar

The Julian calendar (Old Style), introduced by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. and adopted by the First Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325, was used in Russia up to the Revolution of 1917. The Gregorian calendar (New Style), now in general use, was introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. The date October 5, 1582, was called October 15, 1582; thus ten days were dropped. In Great Britain, however, the Old Style lasted till 1752, when, in September, eleven days were dropped.

The years 1700 and 1800 were not leap years by the Gregorian rules (whereas 1600, being divisible by 400, was); therefore, the difference between the two calendars was increased in each of those years by one day, bringing it to eleven days from 1700 to 1800, twelve from 1800 to 1900, and thirteen from 1900 to 1917. Thus the middle of July in Russia would be the end of July elsewhere, while January 12, 1799, and January 13, 1800, in the world at large would both be New Year's Day in Russia.

In the present work all dates pertaining to events in Russia are Old Style unless stated otherwise. Dates pertaining to events in the rest of the world are New Style. When there exists a possibility of confusion, both styles are given thus: 1/12 January. Abbreviations and Symbols

Acad 1937	A. S. Pushkin. Polnoe sobranie sochineniy
	(Complete Collected Works), vol. VI, ed.
	B. Tomashevski. Akademiya nauk SSSR
	(U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences), Lenin-
	grad, 1937. (The so-called "akademiches-
	koe izdanie," or academic edition.)
Acad 1938	A. S. Pushkin. Polnoe sobranie sochineniy
55	(Complete Collected Works), vol. XIII,
	ed. M. A. Tsyavlovski. Akademiya nauk
	SSSR (U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences),
	Leningrad, 1938. (The so-called "akade-
	micheskoe izdanie," or academic edition.)
Acad 1948	A. S. Pushkin. Polnoe sobranie sochineniy
- 51	(Complete Collected Works), vol. V, ed. S.
	M. Bondi. Akademiya nauk SSSR(U.S.S.R.
	Academy of Sciences), Moscow and Lenin-
	grad, 1948. (The so-called "akademiches-
	koe izdanie," or academic edition.)
EO	Eugene Onegin.
Lit. nasl.	Literaturnoe nasledstvo (Literary Heri-
	tage), nos. 16–18. Moscow, 1934.
MA	Moscow Central Archives.
MB	Lenin Public Library, Moscow.
PB	St. Petersburg, later Leningrad, Public
	Library.
PD	Pushkinskiy Dom (Pushkin House), Len-
	ingrad.
	11151 uu.

Abbreviations and Symbols

- Pushkin i ego sovremenniki (Pushkin and P. i ego sovr. His Contemporaries), nos. 1-30. St. Petersburg, 1903-30.
- Vremennik Pushkinskoy komissii (Annals Vremennik of the Pushkin Commission), vols. I-VI. Moscow, 1936-41.
- Works 1936 A. S. Pushkin. Polnoe sobranie sochineniy (Complete Collected Works), ed. Yu. G. Oksman, M. A. Tsyavlovski, and G. O. Vinokur. Akademiya nauk SSSR (U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences), Moscow and Leningrad, 1936. 6 vols.
- Works 1949 A. S. Pushkin. Polnoe sobranie sochineniy (Complete Collected Works), vol. V, ed. B. Tomashevski. Akademiya nauk SSSR (U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences), Moscow and Leningrad, 1949.
- Works 1957 A. S. Pushkin. Polnoe sobranie sochineniy (Complete Collected Works), vol. V, ed. B. Tomashevski. Akademiya nauk SSSR (U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences), Moscow, 1957.
- Translator's interpolations. $\left\lfloor \right\rfloor$
- Canceled readings.

COMMENTARY TO EUGENE ONEGIN

Foreword

The following commentary consists of a series of notes to the whole of *EO*, including rejected stanzas and variants preserved in Pushkin's cahiers as well as projected continuations. Among these comments, the reader will find remarks on various textual, lexical, biographical, and local matters. Numerous instances of Pushkin's creative indebtedness are pointed out, and an attempt has been made, by a discussion of the actual melody of this or that line, to explain the enchantment of his poetry. Most of my notes are the result of original research, or amplify and continue research done by others, but in some cases they reflect a background of anonymous knowledge shared by all Russian lovers of Pushkin.

The four "English," "metrical" "translations" mentioned in my notes and unfortunately available to students are *Eugene Onéguine*, tr. Lt.-Col. Henry Spalding (London, 1881); *Eugene Onegin*, tr. Babette Deutsch, in *The Works of Alexander Pushkin*, ed. A. Yarmolinsky (New York, 1936 and 1943); *Evgeny Onegin*, tr. Oliver Elton (London 1937; also published serially in *The Slavonic Review*, Jan., 1936–Jan., 1938); and *Eugene Onegin*, tr. Dorothea Prall Radin and George Z. Patrick (Berkeley, Cal., 1937).

Even worse than these is a new version, full of omissions and blunders, by Walter Arndt (*Eugene Onegin*, a Dutton Paperback, New York, 1963), which reached me after this Commentary was in press, and too late to be subjected to detailed comment.

V. N.

Preliminaries

MASTER MOTTO

Pétri de vanité . . .: The corrections in PB 8 and the initials "A. P." replacing it in PD 129 lead us to suppose that the quotation is a spurious one—at least in its final aphoristic form. It would be idle to speculate if that "private letter" ever existed, and if it did to wonder who was its author; but for those who like to look for the actual models of fictional characters and who search for "real life" in the dead ends of art, I have prepared a little line of sterile inquiry in One : XLVI : 5–7.

The idea of tipping a flippant tale with a philosophical epigraph is obviously borrowed from Byron. For the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, a Romaunt* (London, 1812), Byron sent R. C. Dallas (Sept. 16, 1811) a motto beginning: "L'univers est une espèce de livre, dont on n'a lu que la première page," etc., from Louis Charles Fougeret de Monbron's *Le Cosmopolite* (London, 1750), p. 1.*

The oblique epigraph was a great favorite with English writers; it aimed at suggesting introspective associa-

^{*}A later edition, 1752, presumably printed in Amsterdam, has the added subtitle, ou *le Citoyen du monde*.

tions; and, of course, Walter Scott is remembered as a most gifted fabricator of mottoes.

Pétri in a metaphorical sense (possessed with, steeped in, consisting of) was not uncommonly used by Pushkin's French models. La Bruyère, in Les Caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle (1688), uses pétri (spelled in the first editions paistri and paitri) in par. 15 of "De la société et de la conversation" ("Ils sont comme pétris de phrases") and in par. 58 of "Des biens de fortune" ("âmes sales, pétries de boue"). Voltaire, in Epistle XLI (1733), says that the poems of Jean Baptiste Rousseau are "pétris d'erreurs, et de haine, et d'ennui," and in Canto III (1767) of La Guerre civile de Genève he refers to Jean Jacques Rousseau as a "sombre énergumène . . . pétri d'orgeuil," which is practically Pushkin's term.

In *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (1849–50), Chateaubriand defines himself as "aventureux et ordonné, passionné et méthodique . . . androgyne bizarre pétri des sangs divers de ma mère et de mon père" (written 1822, rev. 1846); and I find *pétri* at least once in that author's *René* (1802 and 1805): "Mon cœur est naturellement pétri d'ennui et de misère."

In Russian literature the next *pétri* (half a century after Pushkin's) occurs, with a literal sense, in the famous French phrase spoken by the repulsive homunculus in Anna Karenin's fateful dream (*Anna Karenin*, pt. IV, ch. 3).

The master motto contains, I suggest, a possible reminiscence of a passage in Nicolas de Malebranche, *De la Recherche de la vérité* (1674–75; edn. seen, 1712), vol. I, bk. II, pt. III, ch. 5:

Ceux qui se louent se . . . [mettent] au-dessus des autres. . . . Mais c'est une vanité encore plus extravagante . . . de décrire ses défauts. . . . Montaigne me paroît encore plus fier et plus vain quand il se blâme que lorsqu'il se loue, parce que c'est un orgueil insupportable que de tirer vanité de ses défauts.... J'aime mieux un homme qui cache ses crimes avec honte qu'un autre qui les publie avec effronterie.

I also suggest that this epigraph contains, if not a direct allusion to Jean Jacques Rousseau and his influence on education, at least a possible echo of current discussions on the subject. Its rhythm is not unlike the quotation from Rousseau in Pushkin's n. 6 (to One : XXIV : 12). In a pamphlet published early in 1791 (A Letter to a Member [Menonville] of the National Assembly; in answer to some objections to his book on French affairs), Edmund Burke, that "diffuse and ingenious" orator (as Gibbon calls him), thus speaks of Rousseau: "We have had the . . . founder of the philosophy of vanity in England . . . [who] entertained no principle . . . but vanity. With this vice he was possessed to a degree little short of madness. It is from the same deranged eccentric vanity . . ." But let me rather continue in the French translation (Lettre de M. Burke, à un membre de l'Assemblée Nationale de France, Paris, 1811), which Pushkin might have seen: "Ce fut cette . . . extravagante vanité qui [le] détermina . . . à publier une extravagante confession de ses faiblesses . . . et à chercher un nouveau genre de gloire, en mettant au jour ses vices bas et obscurs"; and further, in the original: "Through him [Rousseau] they [the rulers of revolutionary France] infuse into their youth an unfashioned, indelicate, sour, gloomy, ferocious medley of pedantry and lewdness."

Pushkin's library contained a cut copy of *Réflexions* sur la révolution de France, "par Edmond Burke" (Paris, 1823), which is an anonymous translation of *Reflections* on the Revolution in France (London, 1790), the "book on French affairs" referred to in the 1791 pamphlet.

It would be vain, however, to seek in those publications the source of the Burke epigraph in PB 8 (see under

"Dropped Mottoes," below). I have traced it to Burke's Thoughts and Details on Scarcity; originally presented to the Right Hon. William Pitt in the month of November, 1795. The passage where it occurs (my italics) reads:

If the price of the corn should not compensate the price of labour . . . the very destruction of agriculture itself . . . is to be apprehended. Nothing is such an enemy to accuracy of judgment as a coarse discrimination, a want of such classification and distribution as the subject admits of. Increase the rate of wages to the labourer, say the regulators . . .

I cannot imagine Pushkin, who, at the time, had no English (and was as indifferent to blights in England as he was to grasshoppers in Russia), reading Squire Burke on his turnips and pease. Presumably he came across the quotation in somebody's scrapbook and planned touse its in allusion, perhaps, to readers who do not "discriminate" between an author and his characters *---an idea that re-curs in One : LVI, where Pushkin describes himself as anxious to mark the difference between author and protagonist, lest he be accused of imitating Byron, who portraved himself in his characters. It is to be noted that Byron is said by his biographers to have enjoyed sending (from Venice) defamatory paragraphs about himself to the Parisian and Viennese newspapers in the hope that the British press might copy them, and that he was called (by the Duc de Broglie) un fanfaron du vice-which brings us back to the master motto.

DROPPED MOTTOES

The fair copy of Chapter One (listed as PB 8 and termed "The Autograph" in Acad 1937), which was prepared by Pushkin in Odessa not earlier than October, 1823,

^{*}Or to grandees who forget that an impecunious poet may be as noble-born as they (see vol. 3, p. 306).

and before January, 1824, differs in several details from the first edition of the chapter (Feb. 16, 1825). This fair copy is headed by a master motto written on the cover, namely, ll. 252–53 of Evgeniy Baratïnski's poem *The Feasts* (later Pushkin planned to use them as a motto to Four, judging by the fair copy of that canto); then comes the title, *Evgeniy Onegin*, and, under this, another motto: "Nothing is such an ennemy [sic] to accuracy of judgment as a coarse discrimination. Burke." (See above, "Master Motto.") Under this appears "Odessa MDCCC-XXIII." This is followed by two chapter mottoes:

O'er life thus glides young ardency:

to live it hurries and to feel it hastes . . .*

(Pushkin at first wrote "hastes," *speshit*, instead of "glides," *skol'zit*); and

Pas entièrement exempt de vanité il avait encore de cette espèce d'orgueil qui fait avouer avec la même indifférence les bonnes comme les mauvaises actions, suite d'un sentiment de supériorité peut-être imaginaire.

Tiré d'une lettre particulière

Pushkin first wrote "encore plus d'orgueil et de ce genre" and "suite d'un sentiment de supériorité sur les autres."

A thirty-page transcript (termed Kopiya in Acad 1937) of Chapter One made by a copyist in the autumn of 1824, corrected by Pushkin, and sent with Lev Pushkin to Petersburg, omits Baratïnski and Burke. It is headed by a dedication written on the cover in the poet's hand:

> Inscribed to Brother Lev Sergeevich Pushkin

Then comes the autograph title:

Evgeniy Onegin A Novel in Verse The work of A. P.

^{*}These are ll. 75–76 from Pyotr Vyazemski's poem *The First* Snow (1819), discussed in my note to One: motto.

In the French motto that follows, the three initial words ("Pas entièrement exempt") are crossed out by Pushkin; he replaced them by the one word $P\acute{e}tri$ (in pencil, according to V. Sreznevski's description of this MS in *P. i ego sovr.*, II [1904], 3).

The motto from Vyazemski is omitted and does not appear in either the 1825 edition or the 1829 reprint; it heads One in the 1833 and 1837 editions.

DROPPED INTRODUCTIONS

Pushkin prefaced Chapter One, when published separately (1st edn., Feb. 16, 1825; 2nd edn., late March, 1829), with a dedication to his brother and with the following lines (pp. vii–viii), which were meant to suggest the aloofness of an editor and which were not reprinted by him in the complete editions of the novel:

Here is the beginning of a long poem [bol'shogo stihotvoreniya], which probably will not be finished.

Several cantos [pesen] or chapters [glav] of Eugene Onegin are now ready. Written as they are under the influence of favorable circumstances, they bear the imprint of that gaiety * which marked the first works of the author of Ruslan and Lyudmila [1820].

The first chapter [glava] presents a certain unity. It contains the description of a St. Petersburg young man's fashionable life $[svetskoy \ zhizni]$ at the end of 1819 [sts.

Pesen is the gen. pl. of pesnya or pesn' (song, canto), and glav is the gen. pl. of glava (head, chapter).

^{*}Actually, by mid-February, 1825, Pushkin had ready only three chapters (and about half of Four). None of these is particularly gay. We should remember that in 1820 he had been ordered by the government to remain domiciled in southern Russia until further notice and that at the end of July, 1824, he had been expelled from Odessa to Mihaylovskoe, the familial countryseat in northwestern Russia; the indolence of his life in Kishinev (where EO was begun in May, 1823) and Odessa and the not-too-dull retirement of Mihaylovskoe are the "favorable" circumstances mentioned here.

xv-xxxvII] and recalls *Beppo*,* somber Byron's humorous production.

No doubt farsighted critics will notice the lack of plan. Everyone is free to judge the plan of an entire novel after reading the first chapter of the latter [*onogo*]. Critics will also deplore the antipoetical nature of the main character, who tends somewhat to resemble the Caucasian Captive [the hero of Pushkin's romantic poem of the same title published in 1822], as well as certain strophes written in the depressing manner of the latest elegies "wherein the feeling of dejection engulfs all other feelings."⁺ We crave permission, however, to draw our readers' attention to merits rare in a satirical writer: the absence of abusive personal remarks and the presence of strict decorum in the humorous description of mores.

In the MS of this introduction, written in 1824, (Cahier 2370, ff. 10^r, 11^r), with a charming drawing of Onegin's profile above the abbreviated title (*Predislovie k Evg. Oneg.*), the second sentence of the fourth paragraph begins: "One will be right in condemning the nature of the main character, remindful of *Ch* H" (sic; \ddagger altered from *Adol'f*, a reference to Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe*); and the following two paragraphs replace paragraph five:

The status of editor allows us neither to praise nor to blame this new work. Our views may seem partial; but we crave permission to draw the attention of the esteemed

^{*}The allusion is to Beppo (1818) or, rather, to Beppo, nouvelle vénitienne, in the French version of Byron's works. A. Pichot, in his introduction (vol. II, 1820; repr. in vol. IV, 1822), says: "Comme Don Juan, Beppo est un hoax continuel: le poète semble se jouer de toutes les règles de son art. . . . Cependant, au milieu des digressions continuelles, le sujet marche toujours."

[†]From Wilhelm Küchelbecker's critical essay "On the Tendency of Our Poetry, Especially Lyrical, in the Last Decade," *Mnemosyne (Mnemozina)*, pt. II (1824), pp. 29-44. See also n. to Four : XXXII : 1.

[‡]A Russian *Ch* and a Latin H. As further noted: *Childe Harold* is *Chayl'd Garól'd* in Russian and was pronounced *Shild-Aróld* in French.

public and of Messrs. the Reviewers to a merit as yet new in a satirical writer: the observance of strict decorum in the humorous description of mores. Juvenal, Petronius, Voltaire, and Byron far from seldom failed to retain due respect toward readers and toward the fair sex. It is said that our ladies are beginning to read Russian [instead of French]. We boldly offer them a work wherein they will find, beneath a light veil of satirical gaiety, observations both true and entertaining.

Another merit, almost as important, and doing considerable honor to our Author's mildness of heart, is the total absence of abusive personal remarks; for [*ibo*] one should not attribute this solely to the fatherly watchfulness of our censorship, custodian of morals and of the tranquillity of the state, protecting citizens with no less solicitude from the attack of "naïve slander" [and] of derisive levity...

(The last sentence is incomplete.)

In the 1825 and 1829 editions of One, the preface was followed (pp. xi-xxii) by a curtain raiser or Vorspiel in freely rhymed iambic tetrameters (ending in an emphatic sentence in prose) entitled Conversation of Bookseller with Poet (Razgovor knigoprodavtsa s poetom). It was completed Sept. 26, 1824, at Mihaylovskoe, and republished as a separate poem (i.e., not associated with EO, with which indeed it has little to do) in our poet's first collection of poems (1826; it appeared Dec. 28, 1825). In a letter of Dec. 4, 1824, Pushkin had asked his brother Lev to have the piece dated 1823 in printwith the purpose, perhaps, of preventing anyone from identifying certain lines in it (e.g., 144-59) with the author's experiences in Odessa during the early summer of 1824, when he had his affair with Countess Elizaveta Vorontsov. In translating this piece (which contains some admirable lines but is, on the whole, one of Pushkin's least successful poems), I have preserved the measure (and even a few docile rhymes here and there), except in the case of ll. 07-100, which absolutely refused

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to turn into English tetrameters without loss or padding of sense and have therefore been abandoned to prose.

Conversation of Bookseller with Poet

BOOKSELLER*

- Versemaking is for you mere play: you just have to sit down a bit, and in a trice fame everywhere proclaims the pleasantest of news.
 'Tis rumored, a long poem's ready, fruit of new ventures of the mind. Decide, then; I await your word. Name your own price for it. The versets of him whom love Muses and Graces
- 10 we shall at once replace by rubles and turn your little leaves of paper into a bunch of cash in bank notes. May one find out why you have sighed so deeply?

POET

I was far away. I was remembering the time when in the opulence of hope, a carefree poet, I would write from inspiration, not for pay. I saw again the shelt'ring cliffs and the obscure roof of seclusion where to Imagination's feast, time was, I used to call the Muse. There sweeter would my voice resound, there for a longer spell bright visions beauty ineffable†—would whirl

^{*}Pushkin has a footnote here (1825, 1829, p. x): "Let us observe for the edification of the squeamish custodians of decency that the Bookseller and the Poet are fictitious persons. The former's compliments are but social urbanity, a pretense necessary in a conversation, if not in a magazine."

⁺S neiz 'y asnimoyu krasóy, ''with ineffable beauty." The same term is employed in connection with Lenski's vision of Olga, EO, Six : xx : 7–8.

and fly above me, in the hours of my nocturnal inspiration. All would excite the tender mind:* a blooming mead, the moon's effulgence,

- 30 the storm's noise in a moldering chapel, an old crone's wondrous tale of yore. A kind of demon would preside over my games and leisure; he would everywhere fly after me; to me he'd whisper wondrous sounds and with a flaming and oppressive sickness my head was overwhelmed; within it, wondrous dreams were born, into eurythmic measures flowed
- 40 together my obedient words and with a ringing rhyme were closed. In Harmony my rivals were the sough of woods, the raging whirlwind, the golden oriole's vivid note, at night the sea's dull-sounding rote, the gently streaming river's murmur. Then, in the silence of my toil I was not ready with the crowd flaming enthusiasm to share;
- 50 nor did I, by a shameful trade, the sweet gifts of the Muse degrade. I was their miserly protector. Exactly thus, in muted pride, from eyes of the bigoted rabble the favors of his youthful mistress does a foreboding lover hide.

BOOKSELLER

But fame for you has now replaced joys of a secret reverie: you've been snapped up by eager hands,

60 whereas the dusty cumulations of moldy prose and poetry

^{*}Chateaubriand, in *René*, had a similar intonation: "Qu'il falloit peu de chose à ma rêverie: une feuille séchée... une cabane dont la fumée s'élevoit dans la cîme dépouillée des arbres... une roche ecartée, un étang désert..." (ed. Armand Weil [Paris, 1935], pp. 44–45).

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await in vain their readers and the volatile reward of fame.

POET

Ah, blest who in himself conceals the high creations of the soul and from men as from tombs does not expect a recompense for feeling. Blest who in silence is a poet, who unwreathed with the thorn of fame, 70 forgotten by the sordid rabble, quitted the world without a name. E'en more than dreams of hope deceitful, what's fame? Is it a reader's whisper? Base ignorance's persecution? The admiration of a fool?

BOOKSELLER

Lord Byron held the same opinion;* Zhukovski used to say the same; + but the world learned of, and bought up, their sweet-toned works. And verily

most enviable is your lot: 80 the poet crowns, the poet scourges; with levin of eternal darts

"What's Fame? a fancy'd life in others breath.

A thing beyond us, ev'n before our death." Byron (Don Juan), I, CCXVIII, 1-2, 7-8) has:

"What is the end of Fame? 'tis but to fill

A certain portion of uncertain paper: .

. To have, when the original is dust,

.

A name, a wretched picture and worse bust."

.

Pichot's wretched version (a fourth monument) turns Byron's first two lines into: "A quoi aboutit la gloire? à remplir peutêtre une petite page de papier." See also in Lamartine's Harmonies the passage "Qu'est-ce que la gloire? Un vain son répété," etc. Pushkin himself used the formula in a long poem of the same period as the Conversation, his frankly Byronic The Gypsies (ll. 219-23). I quote it in n. to One : VIII : 10-14. †The reference presumably is to Vasiliy Zhukovski's ballad Svetlana, l. 259: "Fame, we have been taught, is smoke."

^{*}Byron went to Pope, and Pushkin went to Pichot. Pope (An Essay on Man, ep. IV, 237-38) has:

he smites in far posterity the villain, and he comforts heroes. Onto the Cytherean throne he hoists his mistress with Corinna.* Praise is for you a tedious din, but hearts of women ask for fame: so write for them. Their ears find pleasing

90 the flattery of Anacreon. In young years roses are to us dearer than bays of Helicon.

POET

Ah, fantasies of vanity, delights of frenzied youth! I too amid the storm of noisy life sought the attention of the fair. Charming eyes read me with a smile of love; magic lips whispered

my dulcet sounds to me.
But 'tis enough. To them his freedom the dreamer immolates no more: let them by Shálikov† be sung, the amiable pet of nature.
To me what are they? In the wild, my life at present mutely rolls.
The moaning of the faithful lyre will not touch their light, giddy souls.
Unclean is their imagination,

^{*}The "mistress" of the Roman poet Ovid, whom he celebrated in his elegies (*Amores*), c. 16-1 B.C.

[†]Why Pushkin thought fit to pay this Gallic compliment (*lyubeznīy baloven' prirodī*, Fr. "aimable favori de la nature") to the lackadaisical poetaster, Prince Pyotr Shalikov (1768– 1852), editor of the *Ladies' Journal (Damskiy zhurnal*, Fr. *Journal des dames*), is not clear—unless it was simply prompted by the professions of rapturous admiration for Pushkin that Shalikov made in his magazine. Anyway, Pushkin replaced "Shalikov" by *yunosha* (the young man) when this *Conversation* appeared in his first collection of poems (1826). The sudden innomination and juvenescence greatly puzzled the elderly journalist, it is said. The draft has *Bdtyushkov* instead, a reference to the poet Konstantin Batyushkov (1787–1855).

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- no inkling does it have of us: to them God's token, Inspiration, is alien and preposterous.
 When to my mind, against my will, there comes a line they have instilled, at once I redden, * my heart aches, and of my idols I'm ashamed.
 Poor wretch, what sought I? My proud mind in front of whom did I debase?
 Whom with the rapture of pure thoughts
- 120 did I not shrink from deifying?

BOOKSELLER

I love your anger. That's your poet! The reasons of your bitterness I cannot know. But some exceptions for charming ladies don't you make? Can it be true that none is worth the inspiration and the passions?† That none appropriates your songs to her almighty loveliness? You do not speak?

POET

Why should a poet disturb the heart's oppressive sleep? Bemembrance he torments in vain:

Remembrance he torments in vain; and then? What is it to the world? To all I'm strange! Does my soul keep an image unforgettable? Did I know th' ecstasy of love? With a long languishment exhausted, in stillness did I hide my tears? Where was the one of whom the eyes‡ like heaven used to smile on me? 140 All life is it one night or two?

· · · · · · · · · §

130

^{*}Altered to "I trepidate" (*ya sodragayus*) in the 1826 collection.

[†]Cf. One : xxxIV : 11–12.

t"Of whom the eyes," kotóroy óchi—a clumsy turn.

[§]The dots are Pushkin's pause, not an omission.

And then? The tedious moan of love, the words I'd utter would appear to be a lunatic's wild babble. Afar, one heart would understand them, and even so—with a sad shudder. Fate once for all has so decided. Ah, thoughts of *that* one could revive the youthhood of a wilted soul, and dreams of whilom poetry

would be again stirred up in swarms.
'Tis she who would have comprehended my hazy verses, only she; she'd in my heart alone have blazed with love's pure luminosity.* Alas, of no avail are wishes: she has rejected exorcisms, complaints, the anguish of my lot;† unbosomings of earthly transports she, a divinity, needs not.

BOOKSELLER

160 To sum up: having tired of love, being ennuied with rumor's prattle, a priori, your inspired lyre you have repudiated. Now that you have left the noisy world, the Muses, and volatile Fashion, what will your choice be?

POET

Freedom.

BOOKSELLER

Fine. Here is my advice to you. Hark to a useful truth: our time's a huckster. In this iron time

170 where there's no money there's no freedom. What's fame? It is a gaudy patch upon the songster's threadbare rags.

^{*}I have allowed myself to say "luminosity" instead of the lampadoy (lamp, light) of the text in order to obtain a rhyme irresistibly echoing the Russian one in i (=ee) here.

[†]Poems (1826) gives "soul" for "lot."

What we need is gold, gold, and gold; accumulate gold to the last! I see beforehand your objection, but then I know you gentlemen: your work to you is valuable while, set upon the flame of toil, Imagination boils and bubbles.

180 Imagination cools, and then you are fed up with your creation. Allow me to say simply this: not salable is inspiration, but one can sell a manuscript. Why then procrastinate? Already impatient readers come to me; around my shop reviewers prowl; next after them spare songsters come; one seeks material for a satire,

190 another for the soul, or food for his own quill; and from your lyre I, to be frank, expect much good.

POET

You are perfectly right. Here, take my manuscript. Let us come to terms.

PREFATORY PIECE

Rhyme sequence: ababececdiidofof (here as elsewhere the vowels stand for feminines). Meter: iambic tetrameter. The story of the publication of this piece (composed Dec. 29, 1827, after three chapters of *EO* had already come out and six had been finished) is rather curious.

The first edition of Chapter One (printing completed Feb. 7, 1825, on sale nine days later) was inscribed by Pushkin to his brother Lev (*Posvyashcheno bratu L'vu* Sergeevichu Pushkinu). Lev Pushkin (1805–52), on leaving Mihaylovskoe in the first week of November, 1824, had taken an apograph of Chapter One to St. Petersburg to have it published there with the assistance of Pletnyov (see below). Lev Pushkin was an enthusiastic literary factotum; but he was negligent in money

matters, and, even worse, he circulated his brother's MS poems, reciting them at parties and allowing them to be transcribed by admirers. He had a marvelous memory and much artistic acumen. The exile in Mihaylovskoe began to grumble in the summer of 1825 and exploded the following spring. Baratïnski did his best to exculpate "Lyovushka" (diminutive of Lev), but Pushkin's relations with his dissipated young brother never regained their initial warmth.

Much more diligent was Pyotr Pletnyov (1792-1862), a gentle scholar, ecstatically devoted to talent and poetry. In the 1820's he taught history and literature to young ladies and cadets at various schools; in 1826 he gave lessons at the Imperial Palace; from 1832 on he was professor of Russian literature at the Petersburg University and in 1840 wound up as its president (*rektor*).

Pushkin wrote to Pletnyov, from Mihaylovskoe to Petersburg, at the end of October, 1824; the draft of this letter (Cahier 2370, f. 34^r) reads:

You published once my uncle. The author of *The Dangerous Neighbor* was very worthy of it, although the late Beséda spared not his countenance.* Now, chum, do publish $\langle me \rangle$, $\langle the fruit \rangle$ of my frivolous labors; but in the name of Phoebus, my Pletnyóv, when will you be *your* publisher?

Lightheartedly and joyfully, I rely upon you in relation to my Onegin! Summon my Areopagus—you, Zh[ukovski], Gned[ich], and Delvig—from you [four] I await judgment and with submissiveness shall accept its decision. I regret that Bara[tïnski] is not among you; it is said he is writing [a long poem].

The first reference in these versicles (iambic tetram-

^{*}Works 1949 (II, 225) has instead ''did not even take notice of him.''

eters) is to Vasiliy Pushkin (a minor poet, 1767-1830), Aleksandr Pushkin's paternal uncle. His best work was the satirical poem mentioned here, The Dangerous Neighbor (Opasniy sosed, 1811), the disreputable hero of which, Buyanov, was to appear in EO (see nn. to Five : XXVI: 9, and XXXIX: 12) as our poet's "first cousin" and the first pretendant to Tatiana's hand (Seven: XXVI: 2). The next reference is to the literary feud between the Moderns, or Westernizers (the Arzamas group), and the Ancients, or Slavonizers (the Beseda group), a feud that had no effect whatever on the course of Russian literature and was marked by execrable taste on both sides (see n. to Eight : XIV : 13). Pletnyov had supervised the publication of Vasiliy Pushkin's poems (Stihotvoreniya, St. Petersburg, 1822), not including, of course, The Dangerous Neighbor.

Pletnyov's participation came about in the following way: in 1821 Vyazemski, writing from the province of Moscow to his Petersburg correspondent, Aleksandr Turgenev, had urged the latter to arrange the publication by subscription of Vasiliy Pushkin's poems. Turgenev procrastinated, saying (Nov. 1, 1821) that since he had "no time to plant the flowers of literature when there were so many weeds to be pulled out elsewhere" he had entrusted the task to Pletnyov. Pletnyov received five hundred rubles for his pains; but only at the end of April, 1822 (a delay that almost drove poor Vasiliy Pushkin insane), had enough subscribers been rounded up-mainly through kindly Vyazemski's efforts-to start printing the book. I cannot discover what financial arrangements Pletnyov had with Aleksandr Pushkin, but there is a genuinely unmercenary ring to the delight with which he undertook the publication of EO, Chapter One, charmingly characterizing it in a letter to the author, of Jan. 22, 1825, as "the pocket speculum of Petersburg's young set."

Pushkinists accuse Pletnyov of having been a poor proofreader and of not having done enough for Pushkin's posthumous fame. He was, however, the poet's first biographer (*Sovremennik*, X [1838]).

The Prefatory Piece first appeared in the separate edition (c. Feb. 1, 1828) of Four and Five, with the dedication "Petru Aleksandrovichu Pletnyovu" and the date "December 29, 1827"; although it introduces only these two chapters, its wording implies the whole set of five chapters. A friendship prompting such an inscription is likely to remain unclouded, even after losing its first careless glow, and there is reason to believe that Pushkin was doing his utmost to make amends for having hurt Pletnyov's feelings (see below); but, in general, dedications have a way of becoming a burden to all concerned. In the first complete edition of EO (Mar. 23, 1833) the piece was relegated—somewhat pathetically to the end of the book (pp. 268-69), among the notes, with n. 23 reading: "Chapters Four and Five came out with the following dedication" (under this, a reprint of the piece). Then, after a sojourn in this purgatory, the piece was shifted again to the front of the novel, where it occupied two unnumbered pages (vii and viii), before p. 1 in the second complete, and final, 16° edition (January, 1837), without any trace of the inscription to Pletnyov. Its vicissitudes did not end here. If we may judge by a specimen of the rare 1837 edition in the Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr., Collection, No. 688, Houghton Library, Harvard University, some copies must have had the fourth leaf with the Prefatory Piece misplaced between pp. 204 (ending on Seven : II : 9) and 205.

Pletnyov wrote very poor verse. In a dreadful little elegy, clumsy and coy but otherwise harmless, which appeared in Aleksandr Voeykov's magazine Son of the Fatherland (Sin otechestva, viii [1821]), Pletnyov described—in the first person!—what purported to be the nostalgic emotions of the poet Batyushkov (whom he did not know personally) in Rome. Thirty-four-year-old Konstantin Batyushkov, who had recently entered the first stage of the thirty-four-year-long madness that was to last till his death in 1855, took exception to the "elegy" much more strongly than he would, had he been sane. The unfortunate incident, which was particularly distressing in view of Pletnyov's passionate admiration for Batyushkov, was harshly commented upon by Pushkin in his correspondence. To Pletnyov's "corpse-pale" style he alluded rather brutally in a letter of Sept. 4, 1822, to Lev Pushkin, who showed it "by mistake" to good Pletnyov; in reply, the latter at once addressed to Pushkin a very poor but very touching poem (beginning "Your caustic censure does not anger me"), in which he expresses the doubt that he, Pletnyov, would ever be able to say about his fellow poets, to whom "the brotherhood of art" united him:

> "Part in their fame I'm given, and I'll live in the immortality of those I cherish." Vain hopes! Perhaps, with all my love for poetry, with deep woe in my soul, under the tempest of menacing days earthward I'll bend like a lone poplar.

From Petersburg, Pletnyov sent his poem to Pushkin in Kishinev sometime in the autumn of 1822, and Pushkin, in his reply (December?), of which only the draft has reached us, did his best to soothe the distressed lover of the Muses and attributed his "flippant sentence" about Pletnyov's style to "the so-called hyp [handra], to which I am subject." "Do not think, however," Pushkin continues in his draft, "that I am not capable of appreciating your indubitable talent. . . . Whenever I am completely myself, your harmony, your poetical accuracy, the nobility of expression, the grace, the purity,

the finish of your verses, captivate me as much as does the poetry of my favorites."

Pushkin's Prefatory Piece is but a versified extension of these well-meant but mendacious blandishments and for fifteen years that albatross hung about our poet's neck.

*

Not only is the Prefatory Piece a good-natured inscription to a friend who has to be soothed, and not only does it adumbrate some of the novel's moods and themes; it also prefigures three constructional devices that the author will use throughout EO: (1) the participial line; (2) the definitional line; and (3) the tabulation device.

The opening participial lines of the Prefatory Piece, as sometimes happens with Pushkin, seem to float alongside the context; their points of attachment are ambiguous. These verses may be understood as: "Since I do not plan to entertain the world and since my main concern is the opinion of my friends, I would have liked to offer you something better than this"; but the subordinate clauses may be also connected with the main clause in another way: "I wish I were concerned only with the opinion of my friends; *then* I might have offered you something better."

The quatrain is followed by definitional phrases and sets of listed items grading into what I have called "tabulation": "My gift ought to have been more worthy of you and your fine soul. Your soul consists of (1) a holy dream, (2) vivid clear poetry, (3) high thoughts, and (4) simplicity. But no matter—accept this collection of pied chapters, which are [here follows a definition of the gift]: (1) half droll, (2) half woeful, (3) plebeian (or "realistic"), and (4) ideal. This gift is also the casual product of [here follows the tabulation]: (1) insomnia, (2) light inspirations, (3) unripe and withered years, (4) the cold observations of the mind, and (5) the mournful memoranda of the heart."

- *
- ¹ The device of beginning a dedication or an address with a negative formula is a common one. In England it goes back to the seventeenth century. James Thomson's epistolary dedication of his *Summer* (1727) to the Right Honorable Mr. Dodington (George Bubb Dodington, Baron Melcombe, 1691-1762) starts on a similar note: "It is not my purpose . . ."
- 3, 5 / zalóg / dushí prekrásnoy: Fr. gage ... d'une belle âme, common lyrical Gallicisms of the day. "Vous verrez quelle belle âme est ce Zhukovski," wrote Pushkin to Praskovia Osipov on July 29, 1825.
- 6 / full of a holy dream: Some editors have been tempted to accept as a final correction a curious misprint in the 1837 edition that fuses the epithet in svyatóy ispólnennoy mechti into svyatoispólnennoy ("holiful"—an impossible compound). I suspect that a proofreader (Pushkin himself?), having noticed a previous misprint, svyatoi ispolnennoy, put in the diacritical sign (see "Method of Transliteration," n) so roughly that it encroached upon the last letter of the first word that it should have crested, seeming to indicate, instead, that the space should be closed up.
- 10 / take / primi: Prinyat' is usually "to accept"; it includes the idea of "to take" (vzyat'), which is dominant in the present passage.
- 11-17 Cf. James Beattie (1735-1803), Letter XIII, to Dr. Blacklock, Sept. 22, 1766: "Not long ago I began a poem [*The Minstrel*, 1771, 1774] in the style and stanza of Spenser, in which I propose to give full scope to my imagination, and be either droll or pathetic, descriptive

or sentimental, tender or satirical, as the humour strikes me" (in Sir William Forbes, *An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie* [2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1807], I, 113).

Byron quotes this in his preface to the first two cantos (February, 1812) of *Childe Harold*, and it fits in rather well with Pushkin's program. Pichot's version (1822) goes: "... en passant tour à tour du ton plaisant au pathétique, du descriptif au sentimental, et du tendre au satirique, selon le caprice de mon humeur" (Œuvres de Lord Byron [1822], vol. II).

15, 17 / [of] years . . . [of] remarks [or "marks"] / let . . . zamet: An improved echo of Baratïnski's rather lame lines in his poem The Feasts (Pirï, 1821; see Three : xxx : 1), ll. 252-53:

Collections of the flaming marks of the rich life of youthful years . . .

Sobrán'e plámennih zamét Bogátoy zhízni yúnih lét . . .

There is a still more curious, though fainter, echo here—namely, of two lines (7–8) of a 23-line dedicatory piece (*To Friends*) by Batyushkov, prefacing pt. II (October, 1817) of his collection *Essays* [Opiti] in Verse and Prose:

[Find here] the story of my passions, the errors of the mind and heart . . .

Istóriyu molh strastéy, Umá i sérdtsa zabluzhdén'ya . . .

Chapter One

MOTTO

K. Vyazemskiy: Prince (knyaz') Pyotr Vyazemski (1792– 1878), a minor poet, was disastrously influenced by the French poetaster Pierre Jean Béranger; otherwise he was a verbal virtuoso, a fine prose stylist, a brilliant (though by no means always reliable) memoirist, critic, and wit. Pushkin was very fond of him and vied with him in scatological metaphors (see their letters). He was Karamzin's ward, Reason's godchild, Romanticism's champion, and an Irishman on his mother's side (O'Reilly).

Vyazemski, who was the first correspondent Pushkin informed (Nov. 4, 1823) of his writing EO, plays a curiously pleasing part in it: he presides at its opening (the epigraph is 1. 76 of his *The First Snow*; see also Five : III, where Vyazemski is linked with Baratinski); enlivens with a pun Tatiana's journey to Moscow (see Pushkin's n. 42 and my n. to Seven : XXXIV : 1, on McEve); and then, as the author's proxy, comes to Tatiana's rescue in Moscow, during one of her dullest society chores (see n. to Seven : XLIX : 10).

The First Snow (Perviy sneg, written 1816–19, pub. 1822*) consists of 105 iambic hexameters, freely rhymed.

^{*}In Literary News (Novosti literaturi), the supplement of the Russian Disabled Soldier (Russkiy invalid), no. 9, pp. 173–76.

Let spring be welcomed by the "spoiled child" of the South, where "the shade is more fragrant, the waves are more eloquent"; I am the "sullen son" of the North, "well used [obikliy] to blizzards," and I "welcome the first snow"-this is the gist of its beginning. There follows a description of naked autumn, and then comes the magic of winter: "Burning blue skies . . . dales under brilliant carpets . . . the pine tree's somber emerald powdered with silver . . . the blue glass of the frozen pond." These images are repeated by Pushkin, in sharper outline, in 1826 (EO, Five : I) and especially in 1820 (Winter Morning, a short poem in iambic tetrameter). This takes care of the first third of Vyazemski's piece. There follows a description of bold skaters celebrating the expected return of winter (cf. EO, Four : XLII, late 1825); then there is a glimpse of a hare hunt ("the impatient eye interrogates the tracks") and another of a rosy-cheeked lady abloom in the frost (both images are echoed in Pushkin's descriptive poem in Alexandrines, Winter, 1829). A sleigh ride (alluded to in EO, Five : III: 5-11) is then compared (ll. 75-76) to the passing of youth:

O'er life thus glides young ardency: to live it hurries and to feel it hastes . . .

(The poem is, I repeat, in iambic hexameter, but anything longer than eight or ten syllables would force the translator to pad these two lines. The first line was criticized by Shishkov—see n. to Eight: XIV: 13—as being too Gallic: "ainsi glisse la jeune ardeur"; the second, Pushkin used for his chapter motto.)

Vyazemski goes on to say (I metaphrase in prose):

Happy years!... But what am I saying [the pseudoclassical Gallicism, "que dis-je"]?... Love betrays us ... the soul's losses live in the soul's memory, and it is with this remembered anguish that I promise always to welcome—not you, handsome spring [krasivaya vesná], but you,

O Winter's firstling, brilliant and morose,

first snow, the virgin fabric of our fields [ll. 104-05].

The poem is sumptuously and somewhat archaically worded, and replete with certain Vyazemskian idiosyncrasies that make his diction immediately recognizable amid the rather drab language of Pushkin's contemporaneous imitators (although actually Vyazemski's poetical power was inferior to that of, say, Baratïnski). One seems to be looking through a magnifying but not very clear glass. It will be noted that Pushkin went to the last, philosophical part of the poem for his epigraph, but had in mind the central, pictorial part when alluding to the same poem in Five : III (see n. to Five : III : 6).

Vyazemski, from Moscow, had sent to Pushkin, at Kishinev, a copy of *The First Snow* (which Pushkin had known since April, 1820, in MS) only a couple of months before the first stanza of *EO* was composed.

I

1 / My uncle has most honest principles / Moy dyádya sámih chéstnih právil: Grammatically, "my uncle [is a person] of most honest [honorable] rules."

This is not a very auspicious beginning from the translator's point of view, and a few factual matters have to be brought to the reader's attention before we proceed.

In 1823 Pushkin had no rivals in the camp of the Moderns (there is a tremendous gap between him and, say, Zhukovski, Batyushkov, and Baratïnski, a group of minor poets endowed with more or less equal talent, insensibly grading into the next category, the frankly second-rate group of Vyazemski, Kozlov, Yazïkov, etc.); but c.1820 he did have at least one in the camp of the Ancients: this was Ivan Krïlov (1769–1844), the great fabulist.

In a very curious piece of prose (Cahier 2370, ff. 46^r, 47^{r}), an "imagined conversation" between the author and the tsar (Alexander I, r. 1801-25), jotted down by our poet in the winter of 1824, during his enforced seclusion at Mihaylovskoe (Aug. q, 1824, to Sept. 4, 1826), there occurs the phrase, spoken by the author: "Onegin [Chapter One] is being printed. I shall have the honor of sending two copies to Ivan Krilov for your Majesty's library'' (since 1810 Krilov had been holding a sinecure at the public library of St. Petersburg). The opening line of EO is (as is known, I notice, to Russian commentators) an echo of l. 4 of Krilov's fable The Ass and the Boor (Osyol i muzhik), written in 1818 and published in 1819 (Basni, bk. VI, p. 77). Pushkin, early in 1810, in Petersburg, had heard the portly poet recite it himself, with prodigious humor and gusto, at the house of Aleksey Olenin (1763-1843), the well-known patron of the arts. At this memorable party, complete with parlor games, twenty-year-old Pushkin hardly noticed Olenin's daughter, Annette (1808-88), whom he was to court so passionately, and so unfortunately, in 1828 (see n. to Eight : xxvIa : vars.), but did notice Mrs. Olenin's niece, Anna Kern (Cairn), née Poltoratski (1800–79), to whom at a second meeting (in the Pskovan countryside July, 1825) he was to dedicate the famous short poem beginning, "I recollect a wondrous moment," which he presented to her enclosed in an uncut copy of the separate edition of Chapter One of EO (see n. to Five : XXXII : 11) in exchange for a sprig of heliotrope from her bosom.

Line 4 of Krïlov's fable goes: "The donkey had most honest principles"; grammatically: "the donkey was [a creature] of most honest [honorable] rules." When told by the countryman to patrol the vegetable garden, he did not touch a cabbage leaf; indeed, he galloped about so vigilantly that he ruined the whole place, for which he was cudgeled by its owner: asininity should not accept grave tasks, but he errs, too, who gives an ass a watchman's job.

- 1-2 For these two lines to make sense, the comma must be replaced by a colon; otherwise, the most painstaking translator will go astray. Thus, the usually careful Turgenev-Viardot prose translation (1863) opens with the bungle: "Dès qu'il tombe sérieusement malade, mon oncle professe les principes les plus moraux."
- $_{1-5}$ The first five lines of One are tantalizingly opaque. I submit that it was, in fact, our poet's purpose to have his tale start opaquely and then gradually disengage itself from the initial vagueness.

In the first week of May, 1820, twenty-five-year-old Eugene Onegin receives a letter from his uncle's steward telling him of the old man's being at death's door (see XLII). He forthwith leaves St. Petersburg for his uncle's countryseat, which lies south of that city. On the basis of certain viatic data (discussed in my notes to the journey the Larins make in Seven : xxxy and xxxvII), I situate the cluster of four estates ("Onegino," "Larino," Krasnogorie, and Zaretski's seat) between parallels 56 and 57 (the latitude of Petersburg, Alaska). In other words, I would locate the manor that Eugene inherits the moment he gets there at the junction of the former provinces of Tver and Smolensk, some two hundred miles W of Moscow, thus about midway between Moscow and the Pushkin countryseat Mihaylovskoe (province of Pskov, district of Opochka), and some 250 miles S of St. Petersburg, a distance that Eugene, by bribing coachmen and post innmasters and changing horses every ten miles or so, might cover in a day or two.

We are introduced to him as he bowls along. The first stanza expresses the mists and wisps of his drowsy cerebration: "My uncle...man of principle...Krïlov's

donkey of principle . . . *un parfait honnête homme* . . . a perfect gentleman, but, after all, a fool . . . commands respect only now, when he has sickened not in jest . . . *il ne pouvait trouver mieux* ! . . . this is all he could devise in the way of universal esteem . . . too late . . . good lesson to others . . . I, too, may end up thus. . . . "

Thus flows, I imagine, the inner monologue through Onegin's brain; it forms a specific pool of sense in the second part of the stanza. The bedside ordeal evoked by Onegin with such passive disgust will be spared him: his most proper man of an uncle is even more of an *honnête homme*, or *honnête âne*, than his cynical nephew thinks. Those precepts of conduct include an unobtrusive departure. As we are going to learn from one of the most rollicking strophes ever written on death (One : LIII), Uncle Sava (the MS name, which, I think, is his) will not allow himself any time to enjoy the esteem that, in these immemorial dramas of heritance, has been won for him by a literary tradition going back at least to Rome.

Here and there in the course of these very first lines odd echoes are aroused in the mind of the reader, who recalls "my uncle . . . a man of honor and rectitude" in ch. 21 of Sterne's The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman (1759; which Pushkin had read in a French version made "par une société de gens de lettres," in Paris, 1818), or XXVI, 7, of Beppo (1818), "a woman of the strictest principle" (which Pichot, 1820, translates "une personne avant des principes trèssévères"), or the stanza opener in I, xxxv, of Don Juan (1819), "Yet José was an honorable man" (which Pichot, 1820, translates "C'était un brave homme que don Jose"), or the similarity in position and intonation of Don Juan, I, LXVII, 4, "And certainly this course was much the best" (translated by Pichot "c'était ce qu'elle avait de mieux à faire"). The pursuit of reminiscences

may become a form of insanity on the scholiast's part; but there can be no doubt that, despite Pushkin's having in 1820–25 practically no English, his poetical genius managed somehow to distinguish in Pichot, roughly disguised as Lord Byron, through Pichot's platitudes and Pichot's paraphrases, not Pichot's falsetto but Byron's baritone. For a fuller account of Pushkin's knowledge of Byron and of Pushkin's inability to master the rudiments of the English language, see my notes to One : XXXVIII.

It is curious to compare the following sets:

Evgeniy Onegin, One : 1 : 1-5 (1823)

Moy dyádya sámïh chéstnih právil: Kogdá ne v shútku zanemóg, On uvazháť sebyá zastávil, I lúchshe vídumať ne móg. Egó primér drugím naúka . . .

Moya Rodoslovnaya, Octet VI, ll. 41-45 (1830)

Upryámstva dúh nam vsém podgádil: V rodnyú svoyú neukrotím, S Petróm moy práshchur ne poládil I bíl za tó povéshen ím. Egó primér bud' nám naúkoy...

My Pedigree

A stubborn strain has always let us down: indomitable, after all his kin, my grandsire did not hit it off with Peter, and in result was hanged by him. To us let his example be a lesson . . .

 $M\gamma$ Pedigree, an 84-line piece in iambic tetrameter, with alternate rhymes, consists of eight octets and a postscriptum of five quatrains; it was composed by Pushkin on Oct. 16 and Dec. 3, 1830, soon after he had completed the first draft of EO, Eight. Its composition

was provoked by Fadey Bulgarin's coarse article in the Northern Bee (Severnaya pchela), in which that critic made fun of Pushkin's keen interest in his Russian "six-hundred-year-old" nobility and in his Ethiopian descent (see App. I). The intonations of II. $_{41-45}$ bear a weird resemblance to EO, One : I : 1-5, with an analogous feminine rhyme in the second and fourth lines (EO: právil-zastávil; Pedigree: podgádil-poládil) and an almost identical fifth line.

Why did our poet choose, in *My Pedigree*, to imitate Béranger's vulgar *Le Vilain* (1815), with its refrain, "Je suis vilain et très vilain"? This can only be explained by Pushkin's habit of borrowing from mediocrities to amuse his genius.

- 6 / what a bore / kakáya skúka: Or "how borish," as a London macaroni might have said half a century before.
- 14 It is rather amusing that the first stanzas of both EO and Don Juan close with an invocation of the devil. Pichot (1820 and 1823) has: "Envoyé au diable un peu avant son temps" ("Sent to the Devil somewhat ere his time"—Don Juan, I, I, 8).

Pushkin wrote his first stanza May 9, 1823, by which time he must already have seen the French version of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*, in the 1820 edition. He had certainly seen it by the time he left Odessa in the summer of 1824.

VARIANTS

1-5 A canceled draft (2369, f. 4^v) reads:

My uncle has most honest principles. He nothing better could invent: he forced one to respect him when he was taken gravely ill. To me, too, his example is a lesson . . . The same simple theme occurs in Byron's *Don Juan*, can. I (written Sept. 6–Nov. 1, 1818), CXXV, 1–3:

Sweet is a legacy, and passing sweet The unexpected death of some old lady, Or gentleman of seventy years complete . . .

(Pichot, 1823: "Il est doux de recevoir un héritage, et c'est un bonheur suprême d'apprendre la mort inattendue de quelque vieille douairière, ou d'un vieux cousin de soixante-dix ans accomplis . . .")

A MS variant (unknown to Pichot or Pushkin) of the end of the octave reads:*

Who've made us wait—God knows how long already, For an entailed estate, or country-seat,

Wishing them not exactly damned, but dead—he Knows nought of grief, who has not so been worried— 'Tis strange old people don't like to be buried.

п

- 1 Cf. the beginning of Melmoth the Wanderer, by C. R. Maturin, 1820 (see n. to Three : XII : 9): "In the autumn of 1816 John Melmoth, a student in Trinity College, Dublin, quitted it to attend a dying uncle in whom his hopes for independency chiefly rested." This "solitary passenger in the mail" is "sole heir to his uncle's property." Pushkin read Melmoth, "par Mathurin," in the "free" French version by Jean Cohen (Paris, 1821), who caused four generations of French writers to misspell the original author's name when quoting him.
- 2 The young blade is driving "with posters" or "behind post horses" (*na pochtovih*). Note the accents: *pochtovdya* (*loshad*"), "post horse," but *pochtóvaya proza*, "postal

^{*}Byron, Works, ed. E. H. Coleridge (1903), VI, 49, n. i, ll. 4-8-

prose" (Three : XXVI : 14). However, further on (Seven : XXXV : 11) Pushkin shifts the accent to the second syllable in speaking of posters.

- 3 A vivid vibration of v's (Vsevishney vóleyu Zevésa) somewhat redeems the painful Gallic cliché (par le suprême vouloir). Pushkin had already used this mock-heroic formula in 1815, in a madrigal to Baroness Maria Delvig, a schoolmate's sister (vsevishney blágost'yu Zevésa, "by the most lofty grace of Zeus"). The opulent-looking rhyme povésa (scapegrace)–Zevésa (of Zeus) is merely a borrowing from Vasiliy Maykov's long poem Elisey (1771; see n. to Eight : Ia : 3), where it occurs in can. I, ll. 525–26. The borrowing was more obvious and more amusing in 1823 than it is now, when Elisey is remembered only by a few scholars.
- 5 | Druz'yá Lyudmili i Ruslána: Reference to his own writings is used by Pushkin thematically throughout EO. The allusion here is to his first long work, Ruslan and Lyudmila, a mock epic in six cantos (Ruslan i Lyudmila: Poema v shesti pesnyah, St. Petersburg, [Aug. 10], 1820). This spirited fairy tale, bubbling along in freely rhymed iambic tetrameters, deals with the adventures of pleasantly Gallicized knights, damsels, and enchanters in a cardboard Kiev. Its debt to French poetry and to French imitations of Italian romances is overwhelmingly greater than the influence upon it of Russian folklore, but the purity of its diction and the verve of its colloquial modulations make of it, historically, the first Russian masterpiece in the narrative genre.
- 8 | Pozvol'te poznakómit' vás: Lexically: "let me acquaint you with," but in English that would imply a matter rather than a person, and Pushkin is speaking of a person.

- 9 / Onegin / Onégin, Onyégin (old orthography): The name is derived from that of a Russian river, the Onéga, flowing from Lacha Lake to Onega Bay, White Sea; and there is an Onega Lake in the province of Olonets.
- 13 / promenaded / gulyál: Gulyál: has not only the sense of "to stroll," "to saunter," but also "to go on a spree." From June, 1817, when he graduated from the Lyceum, to the beginning of May, 1820, Pushkin led a rake's life in Petersburg (interrupted, in 1817 and 1819, by two summer sojourns at his mother's country estate, Mihaylovskoe, province of Pskov). See n. to One: LV: 12.
- 14 Pushkin often alludes to personal and political matters in geographical, seasonal, and meteorological terms.

Bessarabia, of Pushkin's n. 1, is the region between the rivers Dnestr (or Dniester) and Prut, with forts Hotin (or Khotin), Akkerman, Izmail, etc., and the main town of Kishinev. If Hotin in a sense is the cradle of the Russian iambic tetrameter (see App. II, "Notes on Prosody"), Kishinev is the birthplace of the greatest poem written in that meter. After beginning his novel there on May 9, 1823, Pushkin revised and completed the first stanzas nineteen days later. Acad 1937 publishes (p. 2) a facsimile of the draft of the first two stanzas (Cahier 2369, f. 4^v). At the top of the page our poet put two dates separated by a full stop, with the first numeral overwritten and thickened by several emphatic strokes of the pen, and the second date underlined:

9 May. 28 May night.

When composing these two stanzas, he synchronized retrospectively his expulsion from the "North," exactly three years before, with Onegin's departure for the country. They will meet again briefly, late in "1823," in Odessa, after a separation of three and a half years.

On Apr. 30, 1823, a few days before Pushkin had begun EO in Bessarabia, Vyazemski in Moscow wrote to Aleksandr Turgenev in Petersburg: "I have recently had a letter from Pushkin, the Arabian devil [bes Arabskiy]"—a pun on bessarabskiy, "the Bessarabian." The epithet should have been, of course, arapskiy, from arap ("Blackamoor," an allusion to Pushkin's Ethiopian blood), and not arabskiy, from arab ("Arab").

III

- 1 / Having served / Sluzhiv: I have followed bald grammar here in rendering what sounds to a modern ear like a perfective form similar to prosluzhiv instead of the protracted sluzhá, "serving." Although this may be splitting dyed hairs, I cannot help suggesting that perhaps what Pushkin really meant was not that Onegin's late father made debts after retiring from the civil service (as the perfective leads one to assume), but that he had simultaneously served, contracted debts, and given balls.
- 1 / excellently, nobly / otlichno, blagoródno: A comma separates the two words in the draft (2369, f. 5^r) and in the fair copy (PB 8). The 1833 and 1837 editions also give otlichno, blagorodno. But the 1825 and 1829 editions omit the comma, and modern editors cannot resist the temptation of following N. Lerner, * who recognized the humor of the archaic formula (otlichno blagorodno, "right honorably," as used, for instance, in official documents of the time) resulting from the absence of a comma and pointed out that the good gentleman apparently did not take bribes (as some other bureaucrats did), hence his debts. Acad 1937 compromises by joining the two words with a hyphen.

^{*}Pushkinologicheskie etyudi, essays in the collection Zven'ya (1935), V, 60–62.

4. / promotálsya: Cf. the French verb escamoter, "to scamble away" something.

In a MS note of 1835 Pushkin carefully computed that Byron's father squandered, at twenty-five rubles to the pound sterling, 587,500 rubles in two years. This was about the sum Pushkin's friend Vyazemski gambled away in his twenties and about three times the sum Pushkin owed various creditors at the time of his death (1837).

For old Onegin's financial operations see also VII : 13-14.

- 5 / Eugene / Evgéniy (rhymes with "Allegheny"): Onegin's Christian name, first mentioned here, will be easy for Pushkin to rhyme with nouns ending in -éniy (gen. pl. of nouns ending in -énie, corresponding to the English "-ation" in general meaning). It also rhymes with geniy, "genius." The surname Onegin has no rhyme in Russian, and rhymes only with "vague in," "plaguin'," and "Fagin" in English.
- 6-14. The names of Pushkin's house tutors, three successive Frenchmen in the first decade of his life, were Monfort (or Montfort or Count de Montfort), Rousselot, and Chedel. He had also a Russian teacher with a German name, Schiller. His sister had at one time (before 1809) an English governess, a Miss or Mrs. Bailey, apparently a relation of John Bailey, lecturer in English at Moscow University; but if she gave Pushkin a few lessons, these were completely forgotten by 1820. A Greek Catholic deacon, Father Aleksandr Belikov, taught him arithmetic. At one time, before Pushkin was enrolled at the Litsey or Lyceum (founded by Alexander I Aug. 12, 1810, and opened Oct. 19, 1811, at Tsarskoe Selo; see nn. to Eight : I), there had been a plan to have him enter a Jesuit boarding school in St. Petersburg; Vyazemski and a number of other distinguished Russians had been educated there. In 1815 the school was accused of striv-

ing to lure its students from the Greek faith to the Roman one, instead of sticking to the teaching of Virgil and Racine. The Jesuits were expelled from St. Petersburg and Moscow in December, 1815, and from the rest of Russia five years later.

At the close of the eighteenth century, during the years of change and bloodshed in their country, many bewildered people left France to be miscast as governesses and domestic tutors in the wilds of Russia. Russian noblemen, most of them Greek Catholics, in their legitimate eagerness to have their children acquire a modish smattering of French culture, thought nothing of engaging a Jesuit priest as uchitel' (tutor). These indigent "outchitels" (Fr.) often had a rough time. According to Pushkin (in a letter to his fiancée dated Sept. 30, 1830), whose creative imagination worked wonders with family tradition, his paternal grandfather, Lev (1723-90), a quick-tempered squire (as given to brutal jealousy, in fact, as was Pushkin's maternal great-grandfather, Abram Gannibal), suspecting the French tutor in his household, an Abbé Nicole, of being his wife's lover, unceremoniously hanged him in the backyard of the Pushkin manor, Boldino.

In Pushkin's day French governesses of gentle birth were referred to in Russian as *Madám* (even if unmarried) or *Mamzél*'. Cf. in his short story *The Miss Turned Peasant* (*Barishnya-Krest'yanka*): "His daughter had an English *Madam* [governess]—Miss Jackson, a prim spinster of forty."

The conjecture that "l'Abbé" may have been meant as a surname is defeated by a canceled reading in the draft (2569, f. 5^r): "mos'e l'abbé" (monsieur l'abbé).

8 / rezóv no míl: Cf. Byron's Don Juan, I, L, 1-3:

... he was a charming child ... Although in infancy a little wild ... Pichot (1823) feebly translates: "le fils d'Inèz était un aimable enfant... [qui] avait été un peu espiègle dans son enfance..."

It is curious that the predicative *rezóv*, with the accent shifted to the last syllable, makes the epithet stronger than the basic adjectival form, *rézviy*, which ordinarily means "frisky," "frolicsome," "gamesome," "sportive," "sprightly" (the last I have used for rendering the archseeming but really quite innocent intonation of the words *Olga rézvaya*, as used by Onegin in speaking of Lenski's fiancée in Four : XLVIII : 2).

- 9 / poor wretch of a Frenchman / Frantsúz ubógoy: The adjective ubogoy* combines the ideas of destitution, humbleness, shabbiness, and mediocrity.
- 11 / taught him all things in play [or "in jest"] / shutyd: His devices do not seem to have been as shrewd as those of Benjamin Constant's tutor, who taught Greek to his pupil by the simple method of suggesting they invent together a new language.
- 14 / Létniy Sad: Le Jardin d'Eté, a public park on the Neva embankment, with avenues of crow-haunted shade trees (imported elms and oaks) and noseless statues of Greek deities (made in Italy); there, a hundred years later, I, too, was walked by a tutor.

VARIANTS

1 Canceled draft (2369, f. 5^r):

His father, a rich widower . . .

^{*}The correct form is, of course, $ubogi\gamma$, but to render a more euphonious old-fashioned pronunciation, as well as for reasons of rhyme (see also Two : VI : 5–6), poets of the time not seldom substituted an o (sounded rather like "uh") for the unaccented i (or i) in the masculine endings of adjectives.

- 9 The tutor was at first (drafts, 2369, f. 5^r) a "noble Swiss," then a "very strict Swiss," then a "very dignified Swiss," and finally (in the fair copy) a "very clever Swiss."
- 13 The draft (2369, f. 5^r) reads:

fed him sometimes preserves . . .

These altered from "bonbons" and "ice cream," and corrected in the fair copy to:

talked to him about Paris . . .

13-14 Canceled draft (2369, f. 5^{r}):

and when about sixteen, my friend saw his whole course of studies end.

In the margin of this page, with the drafts of III and IV, Pushkin wrote:

Evgeniy Onegin a poem in

IV

1 A French cliché; cf. Jacques Delille, *Epître sur la res*source contre la culture des arts et des lettres (1761):

Dans l'age turbulent des passions humaines Lorsqu'un fleuve de feu bouillonne dans nos veines . . .

Bouillonne, Russian kipít, is met several times later (e.g., One : XXXIII : 8: kipyáshchey mládosti moéy, "of my ebullient youth").

Onegin was born in 1795 and completed his studies not later than 1811–12, about the time Pushkin was beginning his at the newly founded Lyceum. Between him and Pushkin there was a difference of four years. Clues to these dates are found in Four : IX : 13; Eight : XII : 11; and the Introduction to the separate edition of Chapter One.

- 4 / prognáli so dvorá: "Driven off the premises," "kicked out of the house." The closest meaning of dvor in this context is "dwelling place," the old "stead."
- 6 Liberal French fashions, such as haircuts à la Titus, (short, with flattened strands), appeared in Russia immediately after the lifting of various preposterous restrictions dealing with dress and appearance that had been inflicted on his subjects by Tsar Paul (who was strangled by a group of exasperated courtiers on a March night in 1801).

In 1812–13 European dandies wore their hair rather short, in ragged locks, which were "composed into a studied negligence by the labour of two hours," as W. M. Praed says of a later exquisite's head ("On Hair-Dressing," in *The Etonian*, I [1820], 212).

7 / London Dandy: To this last word, printed in English, Pushkin appended his n. 2: "Dandy, *frant* [fop]." In the draft of his notes for the 1833 edition he added the definition "un merveilleux."

The word "dandy," which was born on the Scottish border c. 1775, was in vogue in London from 1810 to 1820 and meant "an exquisite," "a swell" ("*swell kids* of the Metropolis," as Egan curiously puts it in bk. II, ch. 1, of the work mentioned below). Pichot, in a footnote to his "translation" (1820) of Byron's *Beppo*, LII, inexactly says of "un Dandy": "Petit-maître anglais."

Pierce Egan, in his *Life in London* (1821), bk. I, ch. 3, thus describes the pedigree of a London dandy:

The DANDY was got by Vanity out of Affectation—his dam, Petit-Maître or Maccaroni—his grand-dam, Fribble

—his great-grand-dam, *Bronze*—his great-great-granddam, *Coxcomb*—and his earliest ancestor, Fop.

Beau Brummell's dandy days in London lasted from 1800 to 1816, but he was still living elegantly in Calais in Onegin's time. His biographer, Captain William Jesse, writing in London in the 1840's, when the term "dandy" had been replaced by "tiger," makes the following remark:*

If, as I apprehend, glaring extravaganzas in dress—such, for instance, as excessive padding, trowsers containing cloth enough for a coat besides, shirt-collars sawing off the wearer's ears and the corners threatening to put out his eyes... constitute dandyism, Brummell most assuredly was no dandy. He was a *beau*... His chief aim was to avoid anything marked.

Onegin, too, was a beau, not a dandy. (See also n. to One : XXVII : 14.)

8 / he saw the World / uvidel svét: Svet, in this sense, is le monde, le beau monde, le grand monde (bol'shoy svet), "the world of Fashion," "the Gay World," "the Great World," "High Life," "High Society"—a bouquet of synonyms.

Cf. Pope: "My only Son, I'd have him see the World: | His French is pure . . ." (*Imitation of Horace*, bk. II, ep. II).

Cf. Byron: "Don Juan saw that Microcosm on stilts, | Yclept the Great World . . ." (Don Juan, XII, LVI, 1–2).

Cf. Egan: "The advantages resulting from 'seeing the World'... excited the curiosity of our Hero" (*Life in London*, bk. II, ch. 3).

10 / write: The text has "wrote" (pisál), a slight solecism, which the English past tense would unduly magnify.

^{*} The Life of George Brummell, Esq., Commonly Called Beau Brummell (London, 1844), I, 58–59.

- 12 / unconstrainedly; V: 9 / without constraint; V: 7 and 11 / learned: Repetition of epithets in close proximity is characteristic of Russian nineteenth-century literature, with its comparatively small vocabulary and youthful contempt for the elegancies of synonymization.
- 14 / Chto ón umyón i óchen' míl: The ring of "he was intelligent and very nice" sounded too modern to me. Mil, which Pushkin had already used in the preceding stanza ("boisterous but charming"), is the French gentil: "Le monde décida qu'il était spirituel et très gentil."

VARIANT

8 Draft (2369, f. 5^r):

no later than at sixteen years . . .

(The "sixteen" is altered from "seventeen.")

v

1-2 | Mï vsé uchílis' ponemnógu | Chemú-nibud' i káknibúd': See App. II, "Notes on Prosody": § 13, Rhyme, for an analysis of the stress accents in the second line.

A paraphrase of these two lines, which are difficult to translate without either impoverishing or enriching the sense, would be: "We all rambled through our studies, which were random in matter and in manner," or simply: "We learned any old thing in any old way."

The whole description of Onegin's desultory education (One : III-VII) is similar, in flippant tone, to Byron's *Don Juan*, I, XXXVIII-LIII, especially LIII, 5-6: "I think I picked up too, as well as most, | Knowledge of matters —but no matter *what*." Pichot (1820): "Je crois bien que c'est là que j'appris aussi, comme tout le monde, certaines choses—peu importe."

Pushkin's text also bears a bizarre resemblance to a

passage, which he could not have known at the time, in Ulric Guttinguer's mediocre *Arthur* (1836):* "Je finissais négligemment une éducation très negligée" (pt. I, ch. 3).

Arthur, incidentally, is one of Onegin's cousins who, like Chaadaev (see n. to One : xxv : 5), found a cure for his spleen in the Roman Catholic faith.

7 / a learned fellow but a pedant: One variety of pedant is the person who likes to perorate, to air, if not to preach, his opinions, with great thoroughness and precision of detail.

The term (Ital. *pedante*, used by Montaigne c. 1580, *un pedante*) originally meant "teacher" (and is probably allied to "pedagogue"); the type was satirized in farces. Shakespeare used it in this sense, and it was so used in eighteenth-century Russia by Denis Fonvizin and others (also in the verbal form *pedantstvovat*', to preach and to prate). In the nineteenth century it appears with various connotations as "one who knows books better than life," etc., or "one who lays excessive stress upon trifling details" (*OED*). It is also applicable to persons who flaunt their esoteric learning, or apply a pet theory in a grotesque way, without discrimination. Scholarship without humility or humor is a basic type of pedantry.

Mathurin Régnier (1573–1613) thus described un pédant (Satire X):

Il me parle Latin, il allegue, il discourt

(See n. to One : $v_{\overline{1}}$: 8.)

^{*}Pt. I consists of "Mémoires"; pt. II, of "Religion et Solitude," the last a pious discourse more or less coinciding with the fragmentary first edition entitled *Arthur*, ou *Religion et Solitude*, troisième partie (Rouen and Paris, 1834).

Malebranche, early in the eighteenth century, in the same passage that I quote in my note to the Master Motto, has the following to say about a pedant (for him Montaigne was a pedant!):

L'air du monde et l'air cavalier soutenus par quelque érudition ... deux vers d'Horace ... petits contes.... Pédants [sont] ceux qui, pour faire parade de leur fausse science, citent à tort et à travers toutes sortes d'auteurs ... parlent simplement pour parler et pour se faire admirer des sots... [sont] vains et fiers, de grande mémoire et de peu de jugement... d'une imagination vigoureuse et spacieuse, mais volage et déreglée.

On the whole, Addison's definition (*The Spectator*, no. 105, June 30, 1711) is the closest to Pushkin's idea of superficially educated Onegin:

A Man that has been brought up among Books, and is able to talk of nothing else, is . . . what we call a Pedant. But, methinks, we should enlarge the Title, and give it every one that does not know how to think out of his Profession and particular way of Life.

What is a greater Pedant than a meer man of the Town? Bar him the Play-houses, a Catalogue of the reigning Beauties, and an Account of a few fashionable Distempers that have befallen him, and you strike him dumb.

See Hazlitt's subtle defense of pedantry in *The Round Table* (1817), no. 22, "On Pedantry": "He who is not in some measure a pedant, though he may be a wise, cannot be a very happy man," etc.

"The vacant scull of a pedant," says William Shenstone, "generally furnishes out a throne and temple of vanity" (*Essays on Men and Manners*, in *Works* [London, 1765], II, 230).

Yet another variety of pedant is one who deceives people with samples of "scholarship." The scholiast who is overabundant and overexact in his references may well be absurd; but he who, in his anxiety to impress with sheer number, neither bothers to verify the items

he copies out (or has others copy out for him) nor cares if his source, or his science, errs is a fraud. Compare, in this connection, Pushkin's short poem in iambic tetrameter, A Good Man (Dobräy chelovek, c. 1819):

> You're right: unbearable is learned Thyrsis, a pedant self-important and abstruse: he gravely judges everything, of everything he knows a little. I love you, neighbor Pachomius: you're merely stupid, and thank God for that.

An appreciation of the fun of EO, v: 7 also depends on the reader's realizing that those solemn and selfsufficient worthies (universal and omnipresent characters, of course) who were deemed "stern judges" by the world of fashion were actually so ignorant that a flippant display of light wit on the part of a modern young man, or his profound silence, struck them as a deliberate show of unduly exact knowledge.

It has been suggested (see note in the Paris edition of 1937) that the "but" (no) is a typographical error for "not" (ne); this does not explain why Pushkin retained the "but" through the next three editions.

In his usual effort to make of Onegin a paragon of progressive virtue, N. Brodski (*Evgeniy Onegin* [1950], pp. 42-44) attempts to prove by the forced cards of specious quotation that in Pushkin's day, as well as in Fonvizin's, *pedánt* meant an honest man and a political rebel. It never did.

8 / the happy talent / schástliviy talánt: A Gallicism. See, for example, in Voltaire's poem Le Pauvre Diable:

> J'ai de l'esprit alors, et tous mes vers Ont, comme moi, l'heureux talent de plaire; Je suis aimé des dames que je sers.

⁹ See n. to One : IV : 12.

13-14 / the fire of unexpected epigrams: Another Gallicism. Cf. le feu d'une saillie.

VARIANTS

1-4 A first draft of the first four lines reads (2369, f. 5^v):

Despite the verdict of stern critics he was, of course, no pedant; many considered that in Eugene more than one talent lay concealed.

5-8 Tomashevski (Acad 1937) quotes the draft (2369, f. 6^v):

My friend was burning with impatience forever to get rid of study: the hum and glitter of high life had long attracted his young mind.

A fair-copy variant of the second half of the stanza reads:

It was suspected he had talent; and Eugene could, in point of fact, join in a pleasant conversation and sometimes in learned discussions concerning Monsieur Marmontel, the Carbonari, and Parny, and General Jomini.

The life of these allusions has somewhat faded by now. An Italian secret society aiming at establishing a republic, a French emperor's Swiss-born general's becoming a Russian emperor's aide-de-camp—these were no doubt likely topics in the teens of the century, though their coincidence is not necessarily typical. Baron Henri Jomini (1779–1869), who switched his allegiance from Napoleon to Alexander I in 1813, was popular in Russian military schools. His main work on military science, in eight volumes, is *Traité des grandes opérations militaires* contenant l'histoire critique des campagnes de Frédéric II, comparées à celles de l'empereur Napoléon; avec un recueil des principes généraux de l'art de la guerre (Paris, 1811–16). According to him, the fundamental

principle of this "art" "consiste à opérer avec la plus grande masse de ses forces un effort combiné sur le point décisif" (VIII, 681).

Marmontel's Contes moraux (see n. to Five : XXIII : 10) was widely read; but the good-natured irony of this combination of names is no longer obvious, and Pushkin showed foresight in canceling a local pattern of tenuous associations. As to Evariste Désiré Desforges, Chevalier de Parny (1753-1814), it was not his lyrical strain that might have interested Eugene, but rather the diverting (though somewhat protracted) blasphemies of *La Guerre* des dieux (see n. to Three : XXIX : 13, 14). The audacities of one age become the platitudes of the next, and some twenty years later it was the barracks-room *esprit fort*, M. Bovary *père*, and the crass Philistine Homais, who thought highly of "naughty" Evariste.

8-14 A draft of the last seven lines reads (2369, f. 6^{r}):

In him the ladies perceived talent, and he indeed with them was able to have a learned conversation, and even a virile discussion on Byron, Manuel, on Carbonari, on Parny, on General Jomini.

Other canceled variants on the same folio read (l. 12):

on Mirabeau, on Marmontel . . . on Bergami, on Manuel . . . on Benjamin, on Manuel . . .

and (l. 13):

on magnetism and on Parny . . . on Benjamin and on Parny . . .

The English poet's name appears here as *Beyron*, a popular Russian (more exactly, Baltic) mispronunciation of the time instead of the correct *Bayron*. (Thus the title of Zhukovski's translation of *The Prisoner of*

Chillon reads in the 1822 edition: Shil'onskiy Uznik, poema lorda Beyrona.) The other persons are: Jacques Antoine Manuel ($1_{775}-18_{77}$), French politician and orator; Honoré Gabriel Victor Riquetti, Count de Mirabeau ($1_{749}-91$), French orator and revolutionist; Bartolommeo Bergami, favorite of Queen Caroline ($1_{768}-18_{21}$), wife of the Regent (George IV), the reference being to the apocryphal *Mémoires de Monsieur le Baron Pergami* (Paris, 1820), widely read in an anonymous translation from the Italian; and, finally, Henri Benjamin Constant de Rebecque ($1_{767}-18_{20}$), French orator and writer.

VI

1-4. This can be construed as (1) "since Latin is obsolete, no wonder Onegin could only make out epigraphs," etc. (and in this case, *tak*, which I have translated as "still," would mean "so" or "consequently"); or as (2) "although Latin is obsolete, yet he could make out epigraphs," etc. The first reading seems pointless to me. The knowledge Onegin had of Latin tags, however meager, is placed in contrast to, rather than seen as a result of, the initial situation; the second, and to me correct, reading contains an element of humor: "Latin is obsolete; but would you believe that he actually was able to decipher trite mottoes and discuss Juvenal [in a French version]!" The irony is echoed by VIII : 1-2:

> All Eugene knew besides I have no leisure to recount.

One of the epigraphs he could decipher heads Two.

- 3 | On znál dovól'no po-latine: Should be latini.
- 5 / expatiate on Juvenal / Potolkováť ob Yuvenále: Pushkin had used the same verb as a rhyme (imperfective, third person singular, tolkovál) to Yuvenál in his first pub-

lished poem, To a Rhyming Friend (K drugu stihotvortsu, 1814).

La Harpe, writing in 1787, in Lycée, ou Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne, * quotes Juvenal's translator, Jean Joseph Dusaulx: "[Juvenal] écrivait dans un siècle détestable [c. A.D. 100]. Le caractère romain était tellement dégradé que personne n'osait proférer le mot de liberté," etc.

Jean François de La Harpe (1739–1803), the celebrated French critic, whose *Cours de littérature* was young Pushkin's textbook at the Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum, should not be confused with Frédéric César de La Harpe (1754– 1838), Swiss statesman and Russian general, who was the tutor of the Grand Duke Alexander, later Tsar Alexander I.

Byron, writing to Francis Hodgson, Sept. 9, 1811 (at the time that Onegin was completing his studies), says: "I have been reading *Juvenal*... The Tenth Sat^e... is the finest recipe for making one miserable with his life...."

Satire x begins, in a French version (with the Latin en regard) by Père Tarteron, "de la compagnie de Jésus" (new edn., Paris, 1729), which Onegin's tutor might have had him read: "De tous les hommes qui sont au monde . . . peu de gens sçavent discerner le vrai bien d'avec le vrai mal." In this satire occurs the famous phrase about the people being content with bread and circuses (ll. 80-81) and the one about a despot's seldom dying a bloodless death (l. 213). Well known to Pushkin was the passage about the misery and ridicule of old age (ll. 188-229). The satire ends with an injunction to be virtuous and to let the gods determine what is good for us (ll. 311-31).

6 / vale: Pushkin, writing to Gnedich, May 13, 1823, closes

^{*(}Paris, 1799-1805), II, 140-41; (Paris, 1825-26), III, 190.

his letter with "Vale, sed delenda est censura" (which does not suggest that his or Onegin's use of *vale* was a "revolutionary gesture," as Soviet commentators might think); and to Delvig, in November, 1828, "Vale et mihi favere, as Evgeniy Onegin would say." It was a French epistolary fashion of the eighteenth century (e.g., Voltaire closed a letter to Cideville in 1731 with "Vale, et tuum ama Voltairium").

8 / two lines from the Aeneid: For example, "Una salus victis, sperare nullam salutem"—"Le seul salut des vaincus est de n'attendre aucun salut" (Aeneid, II, 354, with a comfortable French position for nullam after, instead of before, sperare); or the common Russian mistake of quoting the following as a discrete verse: "sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens Caucasus"—"l'affreux Caucase t'engendra dans ses plus durs rochers" (Dido to Aeneas, IV, 366–67, Charpentier's version), which Jean Regnault de Segrais "translated":

Et le Caucase affreux t'engendrant en courroux; Te fit l'âme et le cœur plus durs que ses cailloux.

There is some family resemblance in these stanzas to Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1663), pt. I, can. I, ll. 136-37:

And as occasion serv'd, would quote; No matter whether right or wrong . . .

VARIANTS

In rough drafts $(2369, f. 6^r)$ there are allusions to Onegin's not being able to understand *Tatsita*, *Liviya*, *Fédra* (all in the genitive), to his not being able to decline *tabula* and *aquila*, and to his being able to quote "three lines from Catullus." The references are to the following.

Cornelius Tacitus, Roman historian, died in the beginning of the second century; Titus Livius, or Livy,

Roman historian, died in the beginning of the first century; Phaedrus, Roman fabulist, flourished in the first century; and Gaius Valerius Catullus, Roman poet, died c. 54 B.C.

5–7 A fragment (2369, f. 6^v) related to this or the preceding stanza reads:

he'd sit down at the clavichord and play but chords on it with $\langle careless \rangle \dots$

This was later assigned, in a moodier vein, to Lenski on the eve of his duel (Six : x_{1X} : 5-6).

9-10 In a canceled draft (2369, f. 6^r), the sextet began:

He knew German literature from the book of Madame de Staël . . .

meaning that the little knowledge Onegin (or Pushkin, for that matter) had of it was derived from Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* ($_3$ vols., Paris, 1810; this first edition was confiscated by Napoleon's police, and only a few copies survived its destruction; a second edition was brought out in London in 1813). For other notes on this work see Two : VI : 8-9.

VII

3-4 | Ne móg on yámba ot horéya, | Kak mť ni bílis', otlichiť: This is not simply the authorial "we," but suggests a participation of the Muse. Pushkin will refer to this theme again in Eight: xxxvIII.

For a discussion of Russian metrical feet, see App. II, "Notes on Prosody."

5 / Theocritus and Homer: Onegin knew Homer, no doubt, from the same French adaptation by the archcriminal P. J. Bitaubé (12 vols., 1787–88) in which Pushkin, as a boy, had read L'Iliade d'Homer and L'Odyssée d'Homer.

The Greek poet Theocritus, born in Syracuse (fl. 284–280 or 274–270 B.C.), was imitated by Virgil (70–19 B.C.) and other Latin poets; and both were imitated by West European lyricists, especially in the three centuries preceding the nineteenth.

In Pushkin's day Theocritus seems to have been known mainly for his pastoral pieces, although his best works are undoubtedly Idyls II and xv.

French writers, before the Romantic revival, paradoxically and ridiculously accused Theocritus of affectation and of giving his Sicilian goatherds more grace of expression than French peasants of 1650 or 1750 had. Actually, the criticism is more applicable to insipid Virgil and his pale pederasts; those of Theocritus have certainly a higher color, and the poetry, though minor, is often rich and picturesque.

What was Onegin's quarrel with Homer and Theocritus? We may guess that he accused Theocritus of being too "sweet" and Homer of being too "extravagant." He may also have considered the whole matter of poetry not serious enough for mature men. A general notion of these poets he obtained from execrable French rhymed versions. In modern times we have of course P. E. Legrand's admirable prose translations of Theocritus (Bucoliques grecs [Paris, 1925], vol. I). Victorian translators managed to expurgate, twist, or veil Theocritus in such a way as to conceal completely from gentle readers that lads rather than lassies were pursued by his pastoral characters. The "slight liberties" that such scholars as Andrew Lang admit taking with "passages which are offensive to Western morality" are far more immoral than the liberties Comatas ever took with Lacon.

Onegin's (and Pushkin's) knowledge of Theocritus was based no doubt on such paltry French "translations" and "imitations" as, for example, Les Idylles de Théocrite, by M. P. G. de Chabanon (Paris, 1777), or another prose version of the same by J. B. Gail (Paris, 1798). Neither is readable.

5-7 / Homer he disparaged, but . . . was a deep economist: I find the following in William Hazlitt (*Table Talk*, 1821-22):

A man is a political economist: Good: but...let him not impose the same pedantic humour as a duty or a mark of taste on others....A man... declares without preface or ceremony his contempt for poetry. Are we therefore to conclude him a greater genius than Homer?

Pyotr Bartenev (1829–1912), who had it from Chaadaev, says, in *Stories about Pushkin* (1851–1860; collected in 1925), that Pushkin began to study English as early as 1818, in St. Petersburg, and for this purpose borrowed from Chaadaev (who had some English) *Table Talk* by "Hazlite." But I do not believe that our poet's interest in English was awakened before 1828; and, anyway, *Table Talk* had not yet appeared (possibly Chaadaev meant Hazlitt's *The Round Table*, 1817).

Cf. Stendhal: "Je lis Smith avec un très grand plaisir" (*Journal*, 1805).

And it will be recalled that Theresa, the maiden in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (1821), was a passionate political economist.

The verse:

and was a deep economist

has again an unpleasant resemblance to *Hudibras* (see n. to One : VI : 8), pt. I, can. I, l. 127 (long rhyme):

Beside he was a shrewd Philósopher . . .

6 / Adam Smith; 12 / simple product / prostóy prodúkt: Primal product, matière première, raw produce, produit net—these and other terms have danced through my mind; I am satisfied, however, that I know as little about economics as Pushkin did, although Prof. A. Kunitsïn had lectured at the Lyceum on Adam Smith (Scottish economist, 1723–90).

Smith, however, in his *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations* (Kunitsïn had a choice of four French translations: by an anonymous "M," 1778; by the Abbé J. L. Blavet, 1781; by J. A. Roucher, 1790–91; and by Germain Garnier, 1802), considered *le travail* the source of that *richesse*. "Labour alone . . . is [the] real price [of all commodities]; money is their nominal price only."

It is apparently to the physiocratic school, before Smith, that we must turn to rationalize Pushkin's ironic stanza. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edn., 1910– 11) has supplied me with some information on the subject (XXI, 549):

Only those labours are truly "productive" which add to the quantity of raw materials available for the purposes of man; and the real annual addition to the wealth of the community consists of the excess of the mass of agricultural products (including, of course, metals) over their cost of production. On the amount of this *produit net*

-sung by J. F. Ducis, c. 1785, in *Mon Produit net*,* and close to Pushkin's *prostoy produkt*, "simple product"—

depends the well-being of the community and the possibility of its advance in civilization.

See also François Quesnay (1694–1774), in his *Physiocratie* (1768): "La terre est la source unique de la richesse et l'agriculture est la seule industrie qui donne un produit net en sus des frais de production."

^{*}Ten tetrameters, reprinted in *Almanach des Muses* (1808), p. 259, ending: "Ton produit net?—Je suis heureux."

Cf. the *Edinburgh Review* (XXXII [July, 1819], 73): "It is obviously by the amount of the *nett* profit and rent of a country, and not, as Dr. Smith seems to have supposed [in *Wealth of Nations*], by the amount of its gross revenue, that its power is to be estimated, and its capacity of happiness determined."

See also David Ricardo (1772-1823), English economist: "It was the endeavour of Bonaparte to prevent the exportation of the raw produce of Russia . . . which produced the astonishing efforts of the people of that country against [his] . . . powerful force" (*Essay on* . . . the Profits of Stock [1815], p. 29).

7 / economist / ekonóm: Russians today say ekonomíst, and this is the form of the word Karamzin used in a letter to Dmitriev, Apr. 8, 1818.

VARIANTS

1–5 Draft (2369, f. 6^r):

(Confucius), the Chinese sage, teaches that youth we should respect (from errors guarding it) (not hastening to condemn it) (alone it holds out hope)...

Pushkin's knowledge of Confucius (K'ung Fu-tzŭ, c. 551-479 B.C.) came from such works as Nicolas Gabriel (Le) Cleri, Yu le Grand et Confucius, histoire chunoise (Soissons, 1769), and Pierre Charles Levesque, Confucius, Pensées morales (Paris, 1782), commonly found in Russian libraries of the time.

2 Canceled drafts (2369, f. 6^r):

with verses to harass his mind

and

not to spare Life for Rhyme . . .

- 5 Instead of "Homer," drafts read (2369, f. 6^{r-v}): Virgil'ya (gen. of Virgiliy; also in fair copy), Bióna (gen. of Bion; Greek poet, fl. c. 100 B.C.), and Tibúlla (gen. of Tibull; Albius Tibullus, Roman poet of the first century B.C.).
- 13–14 Canceled draft (2369, f. 7^r):

With him his father argued half an hour— —and sold his forests [as before].

VIII

- 4 / than all the arts / vséh naúk; 9 / the art / naúka: Naúka usually means "knowledge," "learning," "science," but here the title of Ovid's work gives the translator his cue.
- 10 / Nazon: The Roman poet Ovid, Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.-?A.D. 17). Pushkin's knowledge of him was mainly derived from *Œuvres complèttes d'Ovide*, translated into French by J. J. Le Franc de Pompignan (Paris, 1799).
- 10-14 These lines echo the following dialogue referring to Ovid in Pushkin's *The Gypsies* (*Tsigani*), a Byronic poem begun in winter, 1823, in Odessa and finished Oct. 10, 1824, in Mihaylovskoe; published anonymously in early May, 1827, in Moscow (ll. 181-223):

THE OLD MAN

There is a legend in our midst: hither, into exile, a king once sent a native of the South (I used to know but have by now forgotten his outlandish name). In years he was already old but young and quick in kindly spirit. He had the gift divine of song, and a voice like the sound of waters. And everyone grew fond of him,

and on the Danube's banks he dwelt, doing no harm to anybody, with stories captivating people, and weak and timid as a child. Strangers would catch by means of nets fishes and beasts for his subsistence. When the fast-flowing river froze and whirling winter winds would rage, they covered with a furry hide the old and holy man. But he to hardships of a poor existence never was able to grow used. About he wandered, wasted, pale: he used to say that for some crime a wrathful god had punished him. He waited for release to come and kept, poor wretch, pining away while roaming on the Danube's banks. And he would shed most bitter tears, remembering his distant city, and on his deathbed he desired that to his native South be carried his ever-pining bones, the guests that in this country, not their own, not even death could lay to rest.

ALEKO

So this is what awaits your sons, O Rome, reverberating realm! Poet of love, poet of gods, what, tell me, what is fame? A rumble beyond the grave, a praiseful voice, a sound that runs from race to race or in the smoky shelter of a tent the tale of a wild gypsy!

13 Moldavia included Bessarabia, where this was written (see also vol. 3, p. 155). Pushkin's note appended to the separate edition of One (1825), but omitted from the complete editions of the novel, reads:

The contention that Ovid was banished to what is now Akkerman [Romanian Cetatea Albǎ, SW of Odessa, Russia] is baseless. In his elegies Ex Ponto, he clearly indicates that the place of his residence is the town of Tomi at the very mouth of the Danube. Just as incorrect is the view of Voltaire, who supposed that the reason for Ovid's banishment was the secret favors accorded him by Julia, daughter of Augustus. Ovid was about fifty at the time [this seemed senility to Pushkin at half that age], and the depraved Julia had been herself banished by her jealous sire ten years before. Other conjectures on the part of scholars are mere guesswork. The poet kept his word—and his secret died with him: "Alterius facti culpa silenda mihi" ["About my other faults I should better be silent"; the quotation is from *Tristia*, bk. II].—Author's Note.

"Son exile," says La Harpe (*Cours de littérature* [1825], III, 235), "est un mystère sur lequel la curiosité s'est épuisée en conjectures inutiles."

Pushkin makes a singular mistake in his reference to Voltaire. The latter said nothing of the sort. What he did say was:

Le crime d'Ovide était incontestablement d'avoir vu quelque chose d'honteux dans la famille d'Octave.... Les doctes n'ont pas décidé s'il [Ovide] avait vu Auguste avec un jeune garçon...[ou] quelque écuyer entre les bras de l'impératrice...[ou] Auguste occupé avec sa fille ou sa petite-fille....Il est de la plus grande probabilité qu'Ovide surprit Auguste dans un inceste.

(I quote from *Œuvres de Voltaire*, new edn. "avec des notes et des observations critiques" by C. Palissot de Montenoy, in *Mélanges de littérature*, *d'histoire et de philosophie* [Paris, 1792], II, 239.)

14 / deep in the steppes / v glushí stepéy: The noun glush' and its adjectival form, gluhoy, are pet words of Pushkin's. Gluhoy: "deaf," "muffled," "stifled," "deadened"; gluhoy zvuk, "a dead sound"; gluhoy ston, "a hollow groan." In speaking of vegetation, it means

"thick-set," "close," "matted," "dense." *Glush*': "forest depth," "deep retirement," "stagnant depth," "provincial remoteness," "gloomy seclusion"; "back settlement," "back country," "backwoods," "outback"; *v glushi*, "in the backwood," "in the sticks," "deep in the country," Fr. *au fin fond* (with connotations of density and dullness). See also for the use of *glush*', Two : IV : 5; Three : Tatiana's Letter : 19; Seven : XXVII : 14; Eight : V : 2[3]; Eight : XX : 4.

IX

Canceled in fair copy (PB 8):

The ardor of the heart torments us early. Witching deceit— Chateaubriand or Stael, not nature—

- teaches us love.
 We yearn to learn life in advance and learn it from a novel.
 We have learned everything; meantime
- 8 nothing have we enjoyed. Anticipating nature's voice, we only injure happiness, and then too late, too late
- 12 young ardency flies after it. Onegin had experienced this—but then how well women he'd come to know!
- 12 / young ardency: Another echo of *The First Snow* (l. 75), Vyazemski's poem from which the chapter motto came (see n. to One : motto).

VARIANT

2-4 Draft (2369, f. 8^v):

And, says Chateaubriand, not nature teaches us love, but the first nasty novel [pákostnöy román].

The epithet *pakostniy* connotes ''lewdness.''

3 / shake one's belief / Razuveryát': There is no exact equivalent in English. The verb means to unpersuade, to unconvince, to dispel or change another's belief, to make one stop believing something. The verb, moreover, is in the imperfective. Ona dumala, chto on eyo lyubit, ya dolgo razuveryal eyo: "She thought he loved her; I spent a long time convincing her that she was mistaken."

ХI

2-14 / astonish . . . alarm . . . amuse . . . capture . . . conquer . . .: Cf. one of Pierce Egan's "amorous heroes," Old Evergreen, who "deceived . . . decoyed . . . entreated . . . persuaded . . . inveigled . . . cajoled . . . tricked . . . amused . . . played with . . . cheated . . . deluded . . . seduced . . . betrayed . . . debauched . . . duped . . . frightened . . . coaxed" (*Life in London* [1821], bk. II, ch. 1; a French translation by "S. M." is mentioned by Pichot in his notes to *Don Juan* [1824], vol. VII).

Or Pierre Bernard (Gentil-Bernard, 1710–75), L'Art d'aimer, can. II:

- 11 / vdrug: The brevity of the Russian adverb allows it to be used much more frequently than any of its English equivalents such as "suddenly," "all at once," "all of a sudden," "in a trice," and so on. The same applies to uzhe, uzh, "already."
- 14 / stillness: The word tishind is a great favorite with Russian poets, who use it as a cheville (that is, a phrase or word that is rhyme-ready and gap-filling), since any-

thing can happen "in the stillness," "in the silence." The rhyme -nd collects a tremendous number of welcome words, such as ond ("she"), zhend ("wife"), lund ("moon"), volnd ("wave"), vesnd ("springtime"), snd ("of the dream"), oknd ("of the window"), polnd ("is full," fem.), vlyublend ("is in love," fem.), and many others, without which no poet of 1820–30 could have existed.

14 / lessons: Love lessons, no doubt; but the involuntary association established thereby in the reader's mind with the later, loveless lecture in the seclusion of an avenue (Four: XII-XVI) is unfortunate. The entire stanza is on the verge of light verse, with a derivative eighteenth-century tang about it. My translation of l. 6 hardly scans, I am afraid, but it is at least accurate.

VARIANTS

13-14 Draft (2269, f. 7^v):

How well he knew, alone with her— —but it is time I modest were.

Canceled draft (ibid.):

How he would act alone with her, to this I'd better not refer.

XII

9–10 / sly spouse, Faublas' disciple: Faublas is the hero of the once famous, now hardly readable, novel by Jean Baptiste Louvet de Couvrai or de Couvray (1760–97).

Louvet's novel is generally, and incorrectly, referred to as the *Amours du Chevalier de Faublas*. According to Modzalevski (1910), p. 276, Pushkin's library contained a copy of Vie du Chevalier de Faublas, by Louvet de Coupevray [sic] (Paris, 1813). Actually, the novel came out as follows: 1787, Une Année de la vie du Chevalier de Faublas (5 parts); 1788, Six Semaines de la vie du Chevalier de Faublas (8 parts); 1790, Fin des amours du Chevalier de Faublas (6 parts).

The Marguis de B. and the Count de Lignolle, the two betrayed husbands in this picaresque, easygoing, amiable, but essentially inept novel hovering mostly on the fringe of farce (with an unexpected "romantic" ending -flashing swords, thunderbolts, madness, and mutilated mistresses), are naïve nonentities, so that the sixteenyear-old Faublas, disguised as a damsel, has no difficulty in slipping into their young wives' beds. When a third personage, the Count de Rosambert (a rake and Faublas' abettor), marries at last, he ruefully discovers that his bride has already been deflowered by his friend; not one of these gentlemen can be called a sly husband. The suprúg lukáviy, époux malin, would presumably be one who, having read Faublas, befriends his wife's admirers, either to keep an eye on them or to use their courtships for concealing his own intrigues.

Every time a French novel crops up in the course of EO, Brodski dutifully (but always vaguely, as is the wont of Russian commentators) alludes to Russian translations of it. He forgets, however, that the Onegins and the Larins of 1820 read these books in French, whereas the grotesque, barbarous, monstrously stilted Russian versions were read only by the lower classes.

12 / cornuto / *rogonósetz*: A cornuted, or horned, husband; cornus, cuckold; *encorné*, *cocu*.

A. Lupus, in the commentary to his German version of EO (1899), p. 60, cites an amusing epigram by Lessing:

Einmal wechselt im Jahr der Edelhirsch seine Geweihe,

Doch dein Mann, O Clarissa, der wechselt sie monatlich vielmals.*

The earliest notice of the use of horns as symbolical of a husband's dishonor is, according to C. Forbes (in *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., II [1850], 90), to be found in the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus, who lived during the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-38).

VARIANT

10 Canceled draft $(2369, f. 8^r)$:

Who all his life had spent with rakes . ..

XIII, XIV

These two stanzas were omitted. After stanza XII in the 1837 edition, the Roman numerals are followed by three lines of dots.

XIII

Draft (2369, f. 8^{r-v}):

How well he knew how to attract the pious gaze of a meek widow and with her, modest and confused,

- 4 start, blushing, a conspiracy, to captivate her with a tender (inexperience) (...) a stanch devotion, which are no longer in the world.
- 12 and with an unexpected epigram confuse her—and at last snatch the triumphal crown!

^{*}Once a year does the stag change his antlers, Yet, O Clarissa, your husband changes them many times monthly.

XIV

Draft $(2369, \text{ ff. } 8^r, 7^v, 8^v)$:

Thus the maidservant's frisky pet, guard of the garner, whiskered tom, leaves the stove ledge to stalk a mouse,

- 4 stretches, walks on, walks on, his eyes half closed, approaches, curls up, lumplike, plays with his tail, prepares the claws of cunning paws—
- 8 and, all at once, he scrabs the poor thing up. Thus, the rapacious wolf, anguished with hunger, comes out of the dense depth of woods and prowls near the unwatchful dogs,
- 12 around the inexperienced flock. All sleeps. And suddenly the fierce thief whisks a lamb away into the thick fir forest.
- 14 / thick fir forest / dremúchiy bór: In this old formula, the epithet, derived from "slumber," conveys a sense of impenetrable lichened gloom.

XV

- 5 / here...elsewhere / Tam...tám: "There, a ball will be; there, a children's fete." The "there" does not necessarily refer to any of the three houses mentioned in the preceding line. In fact, the addition of two more invitations, making five in all, yields the best sense.
- 5 / a children's fete / détskiy prázdnik: There is an allusion to these fêtes d'enfants in Lermontov's novel Princess Ligovski (1836), ch. 5, where the mother of the hero "used to give children's soirees [detskie vechera] for her little daughter. These were attended also by grown-up young ladies and overripe maidens." When the children went to bed, the dancing was continued by the adults.

- 9–12 Cf. N. J. L. Gilbert, *Satire* II, *Mon Apologie* (1778): Tous les jours dans Paris, en habit de matin, Monsieur promène á pied son ennui libertin.
- 10 / bolivar: This was a silk hat, slightly funnelform, with a wide, upturned brim, especially fashionable in Paris and Petersburg in 1810. Russian commentators from P. Bartenev to M. Tsyavlovski give an incorrect description of it. Albert Dauzat, Dictionnaire étymologique (Paris, 1938), says of it "à la mode chez les libéraux" (since it was named after the South American liberator, Simón Bolívar, 1783–1830). Lupus, in the commentary to his German version of EO, pp. 46-47, notes that as late as 1883 the Parisian Figaro's special correspondent (reporting on the coronation of Alexander III) loosely described the top hats of Russian coachmen as "une sorte de chapeaux Bolivar." Larousse (Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle) quotes Scribe (c. 1820): "Les avoués maintenant ont des fracs à l'anglaise et des bolivars."
- 11 / boulevard: The Nevski Boulevard (part of the Nevski Avenue), a shaded walk for pedestrians, still flourished in Pushkin's youth. It consisted of several rows of anemic lindens and ran from the Moyka Canal ESE to the Fontanka Canal, along the middle line of the Nevskiy Prospekt (Neva Prospect, *Nevskaya pershpektiva* or *prospektiva*, in the eighteenth century; "the Perspective" of English travelers in the 1930's; "la Perspective de Nevsky" in official French, or, colloquially, "le Nevsky"; the Nevski or Nevskiy Avenue in correct English). In 1820, about the time Pushkin was banned from the city for seven years, most of the trees were cut down, leaving a mere five hundred (to improve—in an Age of Improvement—the broad and stately flow of the *prospekt*). The Nevski "boulevard" was so well forgotten

by the end of the century that Pushkinists of the time sent Eugene for his afternoon stroll to the Admiralteyskiy Boulevard (immediately NW of the Nevski) instead. This, however, was also a fashionable promenade, consisting, in Alexander I's reign, of three avenues of linden trees, and there is no special reason to debar Onegin from access to it, except that strollers may have used it more often in summer than in winter. He might easily have walked to Talon's (instead of taking a hackney sleigh) either from the Admiralteyskiy Boulevard (two blocks) or from the Moyka.

- 12 / unconfined / *na prostóre*: "In free space," "in the open." See n. to Eight : IX : 8.
- 13 / Bréguet: An elegant repeater made by the celebrated French watchmaker, Abraham Louis Bréguet (1747–1823). On a spring being touched at any time, a Bréguet watch struck the hour and the minute. Cf. Pope's "... And the press'd Watch return'd a silver Sound" (*The Rape of the Lock*, I, 18).

At this point, H. Dupont, in his French version of EO (1847), is suddenly moved to comment: "Son large bolivar, son [sic] bréguet... Nous conservons, par respect pour l'original, ces expressions étrangères qui ne sont pas de bon goût en français. On dit à Paris ma montre et mon chapeau." Fastidious Dupont also pulls such boners (in his translation of Two : III and VI) as "l'almanach de l'an VIII" and "Lensky, âme vraiment Goethienne." So much for *le bon goût*.

Actually, Pushkin's Bréguet and bolivar (see n. to One: x) are Gallicisms: une Bréguet (but un bolivar). See Larousse, Dictionnaire . . . du XIX^e siècle: "Maître Pastreni tira de son gousset une magnifique Bréguet . . . (Alexandre Dumas); Mais qu'on se dépêche, il est huit heures à ma Bréguet (Siraudin)."

VARIANTS

5 Draft (2369 f. 9^r):

Ball at the count's, fete at the prince's . . .

In the fair copy, the hosts are transposed.

14 Draft (2369, f. 9^{r-v}): Our poet wavered between having Onegin's repeater "chime six times" or "ring five o'clock."

XVI

- 1-3 / sleigh . . . frostdust: In 1819, the first snow fell on Oct. 5, and the Neva froze ten days later. In 1824 the river was still free on Nov. 7.
- 2 / Way, way! / Padi! padi!: Rhyming with the French pardi and meaning "go," "move," "look out," "away with you"; this padi or podi used to be the crack coachman's traditional warning cry, aimed mainly at foot passengers. Some amusing variations are listed by Leo Tolstoy in his autobiographical sketch, The History of Yesterday (this "yesterday" being Mar. 25, 1851).
- 3-4 | Moróznoy pźl'yu serebrítsya | Egó bobróvzy vorotník: Braving inversions and obsoletes, I have preferred an exact rendering (allowed by the intransitive use of "to silver") to the more elegant but less accurate: "the powder of the frost besilvers his beaver collar."

This is the fur collar of the deep-caped, ample-sleeved *shinel*' of Alexander I's era, which was a cross between a civilian greatcoat (or box coat) and an army cloak of the period; a glorified capote or, quite exactly, a furred carrick—the English homecoming from France of *une*

karrick (derived from Garrick—the English actor David Garrick, 1717–79, whose name, curiously enough, came from Garric—a Huguenot family).

A collar of beaverskin cost two hundred rubles in 1820, with the ruble then worth three English shillings.

In the 1830's, the Nikolaevskaya (from the Tsar's name) shinel', as worn, for instance, by officials in the civil service, might be without fur, or lined with cheaper fur (see Bashmachkin's dream cloak in Gogol's *The Carrick* or *The Overcoat*). This caped greatcoat should not be confused with the later army shinel', which was, and still is, a capeless long military overcoat with a strap in the back and a spinal fold.

According to Charles Philippe Reiff's Etymological Lexicon (Dictionnaire russe-français . . . ou dictionnaire étymologique de la langue russe, St. Petersburg, 1836), the word shinel' comes from "chenille, tissu de soie velouté." Littré, under chenille, says: "Autrefois, un habillement négligé que les hommes portaient avant de faire leur toilette."

- 5 / Talon: Early in 1825 Pierre Talon warned his customers through the gazettes that he was leaving Nevski Avenue (he had had his restaurant at what is now No. 15) for his native France.
- 5-6 / ón uvéren / he is certain . . . [Kavérin]: The unexpected mating by rhyme of a masculine surname (replaced by asterisks in the 1825-37 edns.) with a predicative adjective (uvéren-Kavérin-a rhyme young Pushkin used also, c. 1817, in an epigram, Works 1936, I, 198) surprises the Russian ear and eye most delightfully. As in French orthometry, the punctilious spangle of the consonne d'appui (reckoned tawdry in English) increases the acrobatic brilliance of the Russian rhyme.

Pyotr Kaverin (1794-1855), hussar, man about town,

and former Göttingen student (1810–11), of whom Pushkin says (c. 1817) in an inscription to his portrait:

In him there always boils the heat of punch and war; a warrior fierce he was in fields of Mars; 'mid friends, stanch friend; tormentor of the fair; and everywhere hussar!

A brief message in Pushkin's hand (MS unseen, date uncertain: 1820 or 1836) reads: "Mille pardon, mon cher Kaverine, si je vous fais faux bon—une circonstance imprevue me force à partir de suite." I transcribe from Lerner's "Dopolneniya k pis'mam Pushkina" in the Brockhaus-Efron edition of Pushkin's works (1915), VI, 608, and am not sure who exactly is responsible for these homey mistakes in the French. Tsyavlovski (Acad 1938, p. 451) has *pardons* and *imprévue* but retains the *bon* (*bond*).

In 1817 Pushkin had addressed a poem of sixteen lines to the *lyubezniy* (amiable) Kaverin, advising him to go on leading a happy, thoroughly dissipated life and to despise "the envious murmur of the rabble" (*i chérni preziráy revnívoe roptán'e*; compare these rippling r's with Four : XIX : 4–6), and assured him that one could combine a lofty mind with crazy ventures. Kaverin was able to stow away at one meal four bottles of champagne, one after the other, and leave the restaurant at a casual stroll.

It was Kaverin who is said to have suggested to Pushkin one of the images in his *Ode to Liberty* (namely, the colorful allusion to the murder of Paul I), which was probably composed in December, 1817, and partly written down in Nikolay Turgenev's St. Petersburg flat. (See n. to Ten : XII : 3.)

7-14 (and see var.: 10-11; XVII: 1-2; XXXVII: 8-9): The reader will be amused to compare Onegin's diet with the dinner, a "tumult of fish, flesh, and fowl, | And vegetables, all in masquerade," described by Byron in octaves LXII-LXXXIV of *Don Juan*, can. XV, where LXXI ends with: "But I have dined, and must forego, alas! | The chaste description even of a 'bécasse.'" Compared to the Talon menu, the fare in *Don Juan* is more profuse and more specific, with borrowings from Louis Eustache Ude's *The French Cook* (1813) and an Englishman's awful stress accent on the first syllable of French words (*bécasse* is an exception).

- 8 / of comet wine / viná kométi: Fr. vin de la comète, champagne of the comet year, an allusion to the comet of 1811, which was also a wonderful vintage year. This anonymous but spectacular comet was first seen by Honoré Flaugergues in Viviers Mar. 25, 1811. Then on Aug. 21, 1811, Alexis Bouvard in Paris saw it. Astronomers in St. Petersburg observed it Sept. 6, 1811 (these dates are N.S.). It haunted European skies till Aug. 17, 1812, according to Friedrich Wilhelm August Argelander (Untersuchungen über die Bahn des grossen Cometen vom Jahre 1811, Königsberg, 1823).
- 9 / Rost beef okrovavlénniy: A Gallicism (not a misprint), rost-beef sanglant, which comes, with the chef's compliments, from Parny (Goddam!, can. I; see n. to One : xxxvII : 6-10).
- 10 / truffles: These delicious fungi were appreciated to a degree that we, in a palateless age of artificial flavors, might hardly credit. There is the well-known anecdote (well told in William Cooke's Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Esq., with a Collection of His Genuine Bon-mots, Anecdotes, Opinions, etc., London, 1805) about the poet Samuel Boyse (1708-49), who "was so miserably poor . . . that he was obliged to lie in bed for want of clothes; and when a friend . . . sent him a guinea, he instantly

laid out a crown of it for mushrooms and truffles, to garnish a slice of roast beef."

Joseph Berchoux (1765-1839) has sung truffles in La Gastronomie (1800), penultimate (third) canto:

Du sol périgourdin la truffe vous est chère.

12 | Strázburga piróg: Pâté de foie gras. James Forbes, writing in 1803 (Letters from France [London, 1806], I, 395-96), quotes from the Almanach des gourmands:

... At Strasburg are manufactured those admirable pâtés that form the greatest luxury of an *entremet*. To procure these livers of a sufficient size the [goose] must for a considerable time become a living sacrifice. Crammed with food, deprived of all liquid, and nailed by the feet to a board ... The punishment ... would be intolerable, if the animal was not cheered ... by ... the prospect [of her liver] larded with truffles, and encrusted in a scientific paste, [spreading] through the medium of Mons. Corcellet ... the glory of her name.

Bulwer-Lytton, perhaps availing himself of the same French source, has a similar passage in *Pelham* (1828), ch. 22.

Cf. Pushkin's poem To [Mihail] Shcherbinin (1819), ll. 7-8:

... and Strasbourg's rich pie, with fragrant wine ...

The goose-liver pie should not be, but frequently is, confused with the *foie gras* paste (Russ. *pashtet*) that comes in terrines. The pie was *un vrai gibraltar* (as Brillat-Savarin describes it somewhere) that had to be attacked and "cut into by a carving knife" (as Brummell says in a letter).

14 Everybody remembers the kindly lines (685–87) in James Thomson's Summer (1727):

... thou best anana, thou the pride Of vegetable life, beyond whate'er The poets imag'd in the golden age.

Of less repute is a short poem by William Cowper, The Pineapple and the Bee (1779). Throughout the nineteenth century this fruit was deemed in Russia a symbol of high living.

VARIANTS

z Canceled draft $(2269, f. 9^{v})$:

With flying snow . . .

10-11 A more colorful fair-copy cancellation (*Rukopisi*, 1937) reads:

double *bécasse* and vinaigrette and truffles, luxury of youthful years . . .

The first term, *dvoynóy bekás* (now *dupel'*), refers not to a woodcock but to a great snipe (Fr. *bécassine double*), broiled or roasted. Vinaigrette is a dish of vegetables seasoned with oil and vinegar. Pushkin sent his brother this change, and the latter transferred it to the transcript he had taken to St. Petersburg. The transcript went later to the brothers Turgenev (Aleksandr and Nikolay) and from their collection finally found its way to the Pushkinskiy Dom.

10-12 Canceled drafts (2269, f. 9^v):

- 10 a vol-au-vent and vinaigrette
- 10 a hazel grouse and a double bécasse [bekás]
- 11 and you, fragrant pineapple [ananás]

10 $\dots [bekás],$

11 and my Onegin in an hour [chás]

12 forsakes the animated feast . . .

Vol-au-vent. An ethereal crust filled with braised white of chicken and cut-up mushrooms (vol-au-vent de volaille

aux champignons) or with oysters poached in white wine (vol-au-vent d'huîtres); and there are several other varieties, all delicious.

XVII

3-4. The performance started at half past six, and of the two imperial theaters of the time (1819) presumably the Bolshoy Kamenniy, in the Kolomna quarter, is meant. Ballets were combined in various ways with operas and tragedies.

It will be noticed how dependent this vapid day is on timepieces. "Those who have the least value for their time have usually the greatest number of watches and are the most anxious about the exactness of their going" (Maria Edgeworth, *Ennui* [1809], ch. 1).

- 5 / unkind / *zloy*: Also, "wicked," "evil," "vicious," "malignant," "bad." It enjoys the distinction of being the only monosyllabic adjective in Russian.
- 6-7 / inconstant adorer / Nepostoyánnöy obozhátel': Volage adorateur (as used, for example, by Racine in Phèdre [1677], II, i).
- 7 | adorer of enchanting actresses: Cf. Stendhal, Le Rouge et le noir (1831), ch. 24:

"Ah ça, mon cher [dit le prince Korasoff à Julien Sorel]... seriez-vous amoureux de quelque petite actrice?" Les Russes copient les mœurs françaises, mais toujours à cinquante ans de distance. Ils en sont maintenant [in 1830] au siècle de Louis XV.

So are Stendhal's Russians of 1830: they belong to the eighteenth-century literary type of traveling Muscovite.

How euphemistic is our poet's account here of gay times in the Petersburg of his and Onegin's youth may be gathered from a ribald letter Pushkin wrote to another profligate (Pavel Mansurov, b. 1795, thus Onegin's coeval) from Petersburg to Novgorod, Oct. 27, 1819, about mutual friends and young actresses, with various priapic details (curiously intermixed with flippant political cracks):

... We have not forgotten you; at 7:30 every night at the theater we celebrate your memory with applause and sighs. Good old Pavel, we say, what may he be doing now in Great Novgorod? He envies us, and sheds tears—from a certain lower orifice, no doubt—in memory of Kr[ïlova, a young ballerina]....

... Let us set aside the elegiac, my friend. Turning to the historical, let me talk to you about our pals [a venereological survey follows]. I too am developing a nice little case. [Nikita] Vsevolozhski gambles, the chalk dust twists, the money pours in! The Sosnitska [an actress] and Prince Shahovskoy [the playwright] keep getting fatter and sillier, and, although I am not enamored with them, I still applauded him for his poor comedy and her for her mediocre acting.

[Yakov] Tolstoy is ill—I shall not tell his complaint— I have too much pox in this letter as it is. The Green Lamp [an association of rakes and *frondeurs*] seems to be in need of snuffing and to be going out, which is a pity since there is still oil, mainly the champagne of our friend [Vsevolozhski, at whose house the club met]. Are you writing to me, my confrere, will you write to me, my sweet lad [*holosen'koy*; this lisping endearment has no homosexual implications]? Talk to me about yourself and about military settlements. All this I need because I love you and hate despotism. . . .

Young liberals of 1819 severely condemned the military settlements (voennie poseleniya). These were established in 1817 to reduce the cost of keeping the huge army in times of peace and were directed by Alexander I's military adviser, Count Aleksey Arakcheev (1769–1834). They were formed of governmental peasants (i.e., serfs belonging not to private landowners but

to the state). Such settlements were established in the bleak marshes of Novgorod and in the wild steppes of Herson (Kherson). Each village consisted of one company (228 men). The settlers were obliged to combine army service and agriculture, under conditions of the strictest discipline, with harsh punishment for the least misdemeanor. The idea of these "military settlements" greatly appealed to Alexander's mystical and methodical mind. He saw them, in their perfect form, as a solid band of villages, consisting of permanent recruits, a Chinese wall of chair à canon traversing the whole of Russia from north to south. Neither he nor Arakcheev could understand why this beautiful idea repelled some of Russia's most distinguished generals. Military settlements were a dim foreglimpse of the considerably more efficient and extensive Soviet labor camps established in 1920 by Lenin and still thriving (1962).

- 8 | Pochyótnöy grazhdanín kulís: After some deliberation with my literary conscience, I decided that "freeman of the greenroom" was sufficiently correct (and, in fact, blended more delicately with the relevant associations in English) and had the advantage of better harmony with Pushkin's neat style in this stanza; after which, I went back to literalism.
- 9 / Onégin poletél k teátru: Onegin has made off for the theater but does not fly fast enough: his fellow hero, Pushkin, outstrips him, and has been at the theater for three stanzas (XVIII, XIX, XX) when Onegin arrives there (XXI). The Pursuit Theme, with its alternate phases of overtaking and lagging behind, will last till XXXVI.
- 12 / Fedru, Kleopatru [acc. of Fedra, Kleopatra]: I presume that the first refers to J. B. Lemoyne's three-act opera Phèdre (1786), based on Racine's tragédie and

produced in St. Petersburg Dec. 18, 1818, with a libretto by Pyotr Semyonov adapted from that of F. B. Hoffman and additional music by Steibelt. The role of Fedra was sung by Sandunova.*

Prevented as I am by a barbarous regime from traveling to Leningrad to examine old playbills in its libraries, I cannot say for sure what "Cleopatra" Pushkin had in view. Presumably, it was played by the French company that performed at the Bolshoy three times a week in 1819 (fide Arapov). A French company-the same one? -gave performances from Oct. 4, 1819, on, at the Maliy Teatr, on Nevski Avenue.⁺ Corneille has a Syrian queen of that name in his wretched Rodogune (1644); there have been several operas and tragedies devoted to the more famous Egyptian; I doubt that the opera Cleopatra e Cesare, composed for the inauguration of the Berlin Opera House (Dec. 7, 1742) by my ancestor Karl Heinrich Graun (1701–51) and founded by G. G. Bottarelli on Corneille's miserable La Mort de Pompée (1643), was ever performed in St. Petersburg; but another opera, La Morte di Cleopatra by S. Nasolini (1791), text by A. S. Sografi, which was performed (according to Alfred Loewenberg's admirable Annals of Opera, Cambridge and New York, 1943) in London (1806) and in Paris (1813), may have come to Petersburg. A "ballet historique en trois actes" by J. P. Aumer, entitled Cléopâtre, with music by R. Kreutzer, was performed in Paris Mar. 8, 1809. Alexis Piron (Œuvres complettes [1776], VIII, 105, epistle "Au Comte de Vence sur une estampe de Cléopâtre'') says: ''J'en ai vu plus d'une au théâtre," and adds in a footnote: "La Demoiselle Clairon jouait alors une Cléopâtre dont on ne se souvient plus."

^{*}See Pimen Arapov, *Letopis' russkogo teatra* (Annals of the Russian Theater), St. Petersburg, 1861.

⁺Fide Tsyavlovski, *Letopis' zhizni Pushkina* (Annals of the Life of Pushkin; Moscow, 1951), I, 739.

I have not read Jodelle's *Cléopâtre captive* (1553), and all I care to know about Marmontel's *Cléopâtre* (1750) is that its first-night audience joined in the hissing emitted by a very efficient mechanical asp, with Bièvre quipping: "Je suis de l'avis de l'aspic."

Voltaire never wrote any play on Cleopatra. The legend that the "Cleopatra" in EO is a reference to Kleopatra, tragediya Vol'tera stems from M. Gofman's error in his notes to the Narodnaya Biblioteka edn. of EO (1919) and goes through Brodski's commentaries (Mir edn. of EO, 1932) to D. Chizhevski's careless compilation (Harvard University Press, 1953), although attention to these "nonexisting ballets based on non-existing tragedies" was drawn as early as 1934 by Tomashevski (*Lit. nasl.*, XVI–XVIII, 1110).

13 / call out Moëna / Moinu [acc. of Moina]: Pronounced Mo-eena (rhyming with "arena"). The heroine of V. Ozerov's insipid tragedy, Fingal (St. Petersburg, Dec. 8, 1805), derived from the French version of Macpherson's prose poem. The role was "created" by the great actress Ekaterina Semyonova (1786–1849) and was later graced by her rival, Aleksandra Kolosova (1802–80). Pushkin has some curious "remarks" on these two players in his notes (posthumously published) on the Russian theater, written in the beginning of 1820.

For the Ossianic strain in Russian literature see my n. to Two: xVI: 10-11.

VARIANTS

1-3 Draft (2369, f. 10^r):

Onegin drinks, is noisy, but again (under the finger hissing) his Breguet (informs him) that [a play] by Shahovskoy . . .

The "hissing" is a first-rate image, unfortunately

deleted. For the playwright Shahovskoy, see my n. to XVIII: 4–10.

10 A cancellation in the fair copy and in the transcript reads:

where everybody, breathing liberty $[v \delta l' nost' \gamma u] \dots$

The change to *kritikoy* is probably a concession to censorship. Tomashevski says that in Pushkin's fair copy it is inserted in a strange hand. The transcript has it in Lev Pushkin's hand.

XVIII

Stanzas XVIII and XIX were added in autumn, 1824, at Mihaylovskoe about a year after the chapter was finished. The drafts are in Cahier 2370, f. 20^r, after the last stanza of Three (f. 20^r, dated Oct. 2, 1824).

1-4. I have kept the somewhat ill-balanced syntax whereby the verb that Fonvizin shares with Knyazhnin is suspended between two definitional clauses.

The epithet *pereimchiviy*, which so melodically occupies divisions 2nd to 6th of l. 4, is impossible to render by an English adjective that, if turned back into Russian, would find its exact counterpart *only* in the word used by Pushkin (the proof of accuracy). *Pereimchiviy* combines the significations of "imitational," "adaptorial," and "appropriative," and these three adjectives are rendered respectively by *podrazhátel'nïy*, *prisposóbchiviy*, and *prisvóychiviy*.

3 / Fonvízin: Denis Fonvizin (1745–92), author of a primitive but racy and amusing comedy *The Minor* (*Nedorosl*', produced Sept. 24, 1782). In its temporary slant, as a satire directed by an eighteenth-century liberal's honest pen against cruelty, smugness, and ignorance, it has lost most of its freshness; but the flavor of its idiom and the force of its lusty characterizations endure.

Fonvizin is also the author of some excellent verses, such as his fable in fifty-two Alexandrines about a scheming fox (*Lisitsa koznodey*), and of a boldly satirical (in keeping with the style of Empress Catherine herself at the time) Universal Court Grammar (1783).

In his superficial but admirably written Letters from France (1777-78), Fonvizin reveals very clearly the mixture of fierce nationalism and incomplete liberalism that persistently distinguished the most advanced Russian political thinkers from his times to those of the Decembrists. "In examining the condition of the French nation," says he in a letter from Aachen to Pyotr Panin, Sept. 18/29, 1778, "I learned to distinguish legal liberty from real liberty. Our nation does not possess the former, but in many respects enjoys the latter. On the other hand, the French, who possess the right of liberty, live in essential slavery," etc. He was unpleasantly struck by "the lack of military discipline," when, at the theater in Montpellier, the sentinel assigned to the town governor's box "got bored with standing at his post, moved away from the door, took a chair, and, having placed it beside all the people of rank sitting in the box, sat him down, still holding his musket." Upon Fonvizin's expressing his surprise to the commanding officer, the latter placidly replied, "C'est qu'il est curieux de voir la comédie."

4–10 / Knyazhnín . . . Ózerov . . . Katénin . . . Shahovskóy: A foursome of mediocrities.

Yakov Knyazhnin (1742–91), author of tragedies and comedies awkwardly imitated from more or less worthless French models. I have tried his *Vadim of Novgorod* (1789), but even Voltaire is more readable.

Vladislav Ozerov (1769–1816). "Very mediocre" (as Pushkin himself remarked in the margin of Vyazemski's biography of Ozerov); author of five tragedies in the stilted and sentimental manner of his Frenchified era: Yaropolk i Oleg (1798), Oedipus in Athens (Edip v Afinah, 1804), Fingal (1805), Dmitri Donskoy (1807), and Polyxena (Poliksena, 1809). The writing of a sixth, Medea (Medeya), was interrupted (its MS is now lost) by the poor man's going mad. This fatal insanity was brought on, it is said, by the intrigues of literary foes (among them, Shahovskoy).

Pavel Katenin (1792–1853). Much overrated by his friend Pushkin—who overrated also *le grand* (Pierre) Corneille, whose bombastic and platitudinous *Cid* (1637) Katenin "translated" into Russian (1822). In the draft of a poem referring to a theatrical feud (eighteen lines composed in 1821, published posthumously, 1931), Pushkin had already found the formula (ll. 16–17):

> And for her [Semyonova] youthful Katénin will revive Aeschylus' majestic genius . . .

Prince Aleksandr Shahovskoy (1777-1846), yet another bibliographic burden. Theatrical director and prolific author of various paltry imitations from the French, mainly comedies, such as *A Lesson to Coquettes*, or, *The Lipetsk Waters* (produced Sept. 23, 1815), in which he, a follower of the Archaic School, caricatures Zhukovski in the ballad-maker Fialkin (Mr. Violette), as ten years before he had mocked Karamzin's sentimentality in the farce *The New Sterne* (*Noviy Stern*). *The Lipetsk Waters* (a reference to the mineral springs of Lipetsk in the province of Tambov) was the play that provoked the younger generation of writers to form the group Arzamas (see n. to Eight : XIV : 13).

By winter, 1819, however—Onegin's time—"caustic" Shahovskoy had already given up so-called "classicism" and assumed a so-called "pro-romanticist" position, but

this had no effect whatever on his wretched writings. He is remembered by students of prosody as having been the first to write a Russian comedy (*Do Not Listen If You Do Not Like It*, Sept. 23, 1818) in "free iambics" (that is, freely rhymed lines of varying length), previously used in fables by Krilov, a measure in which the only great Russian comedy in verse, *Woe from Wit*, was to be written by Aleksandr Griboedov (finished 1824). Pushkin in his Lyceum diary, late in 1815, correctly described Shahovskoy as "tasteless" and "mediocre."

In 1824, Bulgarin's publication *The Russian Thalia* announced that it would publish excerpts from a dramatic adaptation by Shahovskoy of Pushkin's long poem *The Fountain of Bahchisaray* and from Shahovskoy's "Magicheskaya trilogiya," *Finn*, based on passages from *Ruslan* and Lyudmila. This *Finn* was performed in St. Petersburg Nov. 3, 1824.

I am not quite sure if the unexpected and unjustified compliment paid to Shahovskoy in this stanza (composed, with the next, a year after the canto had been finished) is not connected with an awareness of these coming events.

5-7 Cf. Voltaire, L'Anti-Giton, à Mademoiselle [Adrienne] Lecouvreur (the French actress; 1714):

> Quand, sous le nom de Phèdre, ou de Monime,* Vous partagez entre Racine & vous De notre encens le tribut légitime

—imperfectly quoted by Lerner, Zven'ya (1935), no. 5, p. 65. L'Anti-Giton attacks the homosexual Marquis de Courcillon, son of the memoirist Philippe de Courcillon, Marquis de Dangeau.

12 Charles Louis Didelot (1767–1837), French dancer and choreographer. From 1801 on he was *baletmeyster* in

^{*}Heroine of Racine's Mithridate.

St. Petersburg, and was dubbed "the Byron of the Ballet" for his "romantic" fancy.

13-14 / kulís / of coulisses / neslís' / sped: A poor rhyme, despite the consonne d'appui.

XIX

 1 / Moi bogini! Chtó vi? Gdé vi?: One of the rare cases in which the situation is reversed, and four Russian words ("What you? Where you?") demand twice as many English ones in translation.

The split rhyme $gd\acute{e}v\ddot{v}-d\acute{e}v\ddot{v}$ is very beautiful. (See App. II.) In English poetry the analogy is of course not the macaronic and Byronic "gay dens"-"maidens," but rather the pristine use of "know it"-"poet" or "sonnet"-"on it," both of which by now have become trite and drab.

7 | Dushóy ispólnenniy polyót: "soul-permeated flight"; but "flight" is ambiguous in English.

хх

3 / in the top gallery / V rayké: Rayók, "little paradise," a Gallicism, the cant term for the top gallery in a theater. Eric Partridge, in his A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English (1951), gives 1864 as the first appearance in England of "paradise" as the gallery of a theater and adds: "always felt to be French; obsolete by 1910." There is no doubt that it is merely an adaptation of the Parisian paradis (a region of plebeian beatitude and infernal heat) mentioned by many eighteenthcentury topicists (e.g., Voltaire). By an odd coincidence, the occupants of the highest seats in London theaters were called (around 1810) "gallery gods" (John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, *Slang and Its Analogues*, 1893).

5-14 Dunyasha Istomina (the first name is a diminutive of Eudocia, Avdotiya; 1799-1848), a very gifted and comely *pantomimnaya tantsovshchitsa*, "pantomimic ballerina," a pupil of Didelot (see n. to XVIII : 12). She made her debut Aug. 30, 1815, in a "pastoral ballet," *Acis et Galathée* (music by C. Cavos, scenario by Didelot). Arapov, in his fascinating *Letopis*' (pp. 237-38), says of her:

She was of middle stature, a brunette, with a lovely countenance and a very shapely figure; her black eyes, replete with fire, were shaded by long lashes that lent a special character to her face; she had great strength in her legs, aplomb on the stage, and, at the same time, grace, lightness, rapidity. She amazed one with her pirouette [gyration on one toe], and her elevation [elevation proper, which is the ability to rise into the air], and *ballon* [which is the ability to remain there for a miraculous moment].

The closest I am able to get to the specific performance Pushkin may have had in mind here is Didelot's two-act ballet, The Caliph of Bagdad, music by Ferdinando Antonolini, given Jan. 12, 1820 (at least a fortnight too late), in which the role of Zetulba was danced by Istomina. It was, however, not new, being the second performance (the first took place Aug. 30, 1818, with Lihutina as Zetulba). Other dates are inconclusive. Arapov says that all the ballerinas participated in a "grand divertissement," Didelot's Sea Victory, music by Antonolini, given July 20, 1819, as an afterpiece, with the first part of Rusalka (see nn. to Two : XII : 14. and Five : xvII : 5). The "dragons" or "serpents" (zmei) and canceled "bears" mentioned further (XXII: 1 and n. to XXII : 1-4) suggest another *ballet magique* staged by Didelot, belonging this time to the genre chinois, namely, the four-act entertainment, *Hen-Zi and Tao* (Beauty and the Beast), music by Antonolini, but the date of the first performance (Aug. 30, 1819) is also too early, and I have reason to believe that Istomina did not dance that particular night. It was repeated Oct. 30 and Nov. 21. On one of these two dates, Pushkin was late in attending the performance; he had just returned from a visit to Tsarskoe. There, a bear had broken his chain and had scampered along an avenue in the park where he might have molested Tsar Alexander, had the latter happened to be passing by. Pushkin quipped: "When at last one good fellow turns up, he is only a bear." (See also XXII : vars. 1-2.)

Pushkin was vegetating in Kishinev when in Petersburg, at the Bolshoy Kamenniy, Istomina danced the Cherkes girl in a ballet derived by Didelot from the long poem The Caucasian Captive, written by Pushkin in 1820-21. This choreographic pantomime (The Caucasian Captive, or, The Shade of the Bride, music by Cavos), complete with Circassian games, combats, and a soaring ghost, was much applauded at its first performance on Jan. 15, 1823. A fortnight later (and a little more than three months before starting EO), Pushkin, from Kishinev, wrote to his brother Lev in St. Petersburg, clamoring for details of the staging and of the dancing of the Cherkeshenka, Istomina, "whom once upon a time I used to court like the Caucasian captive." If, as the sleuths of prototypism believe, the ugly duckling Maria Raevski, who at thirteen was acquainted with Pushkin in the Caucasus, did really provide him, behind Pichot's back, with a "model" for a (not very specific or original) Oriental heroine, then the later replacement of one girl by another, earlier, one should interest them.

This stanza (One : xx), composed in Odessa, was no doubt dictated by Pushkin's desire to thank a talented dancer for her part as the Cherkes girl and for her coming appearance as Lyudmila. And merely to maintain that Tatiana is superior to lewd Helen of Troy will our poet, in November, 1826, facetiously concede (Five : XXXVII : 7-11) that Homer's Cypris is superior to "my Istomina."

By arriving only in the next stanza, Onegin has missed Istomina's number, but seven cantos later he will be told what exactly he missed when (as described in Eight : xxxv : 9, 12-13) he reads, during the winter of 1824, the Russian magazines for that year. In Bulgarin's Literary Leaflets, IV (Feb. 18, 1824), he then may find these ten lines-the very first passage ever published of Pushkin's novel (One : xx : 5-14), said by the editor to have been "dictated from memory by a traveler," perhaps by Onegin himself, who had just been in Odessa; or, more verisimilarly, he may open Bulgarin's "almanac" The Russian Thalia for 1825 (published mid-December, 1824) and find therein the same ten lines reprinted as a legend to Fyodor Yordan's portrait of a rather plump-looking Istomina (she danced in St. Petersburg Dec. 8, 1824, in the first performance of a "magico-heroic" ballet in five acts based by Didelot on Ruslan and Lyudmila), as well as the first passages ever to be published of Griboedov's Woe from Wit. (See nn. to Eight : xxxv : 7-8.)

Istomina was only eighteen in autumn, 1817, when her soft charm, her dark hair, and her rosy beauty were the cause of a famous duel in St. Petersburg. On Nov. 5 of that year, after a tiff with her young protector, Count Sheremetev, she was induced by Griboedov to have a cup of tea at the apartment he shared with Count Zavadovski (in whom prototypists recognize a character mentioned in *Woe from Wit*, IV, iv:

. . . First, Prince Grigoriy, a unique

Side-splitting freak:

Lifelong with Englishmen, all's English about him;

Like them, he through his teeth will speak And wear his hair cut short and trim.)

Zavadovski was passionately in love with her. Sheremetev sought the advice of Yakubovich, the celebrated daredevil (he had already dispatched a dozen brave men), who suggested a partie carrée. Both Zavadovski and Griboedov, naturally enough, were eager to take on Yakubovich; after some deliberations, Zavadovski was paired off with Sheremetev, and Griboedov with Yakubovich. The duel started with the Zavadovski-Sheremetev encounter on the Volkov Field in the early afternoon of Nov. 12 (Onegin probably was still in bed). The weapons were Lepage pistols, the distance in paces was 6+6+6 (see nn. to Six : xxix-xxx); a Dr. Yon (John) and Onegin's friend Kaverin were the seconds. Sheremetev fired first-and his shot ripped off a piece of Zavadovski's surtout collar. "Ah, il en voulait à ma vie! À la barrière!'' cried Count Zavadovski (unconsciously paraphrasing Count de Rosambert's exclamation in Fin des amours de Faublas, when, in a different sort of duel, his enemy's bullet clips a lock of his hair: "C'est à ma cervelle qu'il en veut!'')-and, at six paces, shot Sheremetev through the breast. In his ire and agony, the poor fellow flapped and plunged all over the snow like a large fish. "Vot tebe i repka [Well, that's the end of γour little turnip]," said Kaverin to him, sadly and colloquially. Sheremetey's death delayed the Yakubovich-Griboedov meeting; it took place a year later (Oct. 23, 1818) in Tiflis; the great marksman, knowing how much the great writer liked to play the piano, neatly wounded him in the palm of the left hand, crippling the fifth digit; it did not prevent Griboedov from going on with his musical improvising, but some ten years later this contracted finger provided the sole means of identifying his body, horribly mutilated by a Persian mob in an anti-Russian riot at Teheran, where he was envoy. On June

11, 1829, when traveling south from Georgia, through Armenia, on his way to Erzerum, Pushkin, who had known Griboedov since 1817, chanced to meet, at a turn of the road, the cart drawn by two bullocks that was carrying Griboedov's body to Tiflis. Istomina married the second-rate actor Pavel Ekunin and died of cholera in 1848.

VARIANT

8 The fair copy, instead of "stands Istomina," stoit Istómina, reads "runs Istomina," bezhit Istómina, which, though lacking the subtle alliteration, produces a more vivid effect.

XXI

Onegin's general behavior in this and other stanzas may be compared to that ironically described by an anonymous author in the magazine Son of the Fatherland (Sin otechestva), XX (1817), 17-24:

When entering high society, make it your first rule to esteem no one. . . . Be sure never to be surprised; display cold indifference to everything. . . . Make an appearance everywhere, but only for a moment. To every gathering take with you abstraction, boredom; at the theater, yawn, don't pay any attention [to the performance]. . . . In general, make it clear that you don't care for women and despise them. . . . Pretend that you recognize neither kith nor kin. . . . In general be wary of all attachment: it may ensnare you, may unite your lot to a being with whom you shall have to share everything: joy and sorrow. This will lead to obligations. . . . Obligations are the lot of simple minds—you aspire toward higher achievements.

In curious correlation to this, I cannot forbear quoting a rigmarole à la Voltaire (with an injection of symbolic romanticism) in Stendhal's much overrated *Le Rouge et le noir*, ch. 37: À Londres, [Julien Sorel] connut enfin la haute fatuité. Il s'était lié avec de jeunes seigneurs russes [called further ''les dandys ses amis''] qui l'initièrent.

--Vous êtes prédestiné, mon cher Sorel, lui disaientils, vous avez naturellement cette mine froide et à *mille lieues de la sensation présente*, que nous cherchons tant à nous donner.

-Vous n'avez pas compris votre siècle, lui disait le prince Korasoff: *faites toujours le contraire de ce qu'on attend de vous*....

- 1, 4, 5, 7–9 This is the stanza with the maximum number of lines scudded on the second foot. The bilingual reader should consult the original. As elsewhere (see n. to Four: XLVI: 11–14) the use of this variation coincides with the sense conveyed. No other rhythm could better render Onegin's laborious progress and the moodiness of his survey of the house.
- 2, 5 / toes...tiers: In "My Remarks on the Russian Theater" (*Moi zamechaniya ob russkom teatre*), Pushkin wrote in 1820: "Before the beginning of an opera, tragedy, or ballet, a young blade circulates along all ten rows of stalls, walks on everybody's feet, converses with all the people he knows or does not know." Note the Gallic turn of the sentence.

The Bolshoy Kamennïy Teatr had five tiers.

3 / Dvoynóy lornét: Throughout the novel Pushkin uses "lorgnette" in two senses—in the general sense of an eyeglass, or eyeglasses, modishly perched on a long handle, which a dandy used as elegantly and expertly as a belle her fan, and in the specific sense of "opera glass," Fr. lorgnette double, "binocle," which I presume is the meaning here.

In Maykov's *Elisey* (1771), can. 1, l. 559, Hermes disguises himself as a police corporal by making a mustache out of his own dark wings, and, in another impersonation, can. III, l. 278, transforms himself into a *petit-maître* (*petimetr*, fopling). In ll. 282–83:

Hermes had now a cane, Hermes had a lorgnette: Through it he with hauteur gazed at the girls he met.

This is the "quizzing glass" of eighteenth-century beaux. In Griboedov's *Woe from Wit*, III, viii (in which Chatski's day in Moscow is synchronous with Onegin's day in St. Petersburg, winter, 1819–20), the young Countess Hryumin directs her "double lorgnette" at Chatski; in this case it is certainly not a binocle, but quizzing glasses, i.e., eyeglasses attached to a stem.

Toward mid-century and later, when vulgarity and sloppiness pervaded the Russian novel (excepting, of course, Turgenev and Tolstoy), one finds sometimes *dvoynoy lornet* used for pince-nez!*

- 5 / has scanned / okinul vzórom: "Has scanned with the gaze"—which is tautological in English.
- 14 / No i Didló mne nadoćl: The "romantic writer" mentioned in Pushkin's n. 5 appended to Onegin's alliterative yawn is identified in a canceled draft (2370, f. 82^r), where the sentence begins, "Pushkin himself used to say."

VARIANTS

10 In two canceled drafts (2369, f. 10^v) our poet had Onegin survey from the orchestra seats various "Natashas known to him," and "his Anyutas, Natashas, and Annettes" (the reading of the third name is doubtful, according to Tomashevski). The next generation would have called these young ladies "Claras" or "Camelias."

¹³ Canceled draft (2369, f. 10^v):

^{*}Owing to a confusion of lorgnette with lorgnon.

Alone Lih[útina] is sweet . . .

Lihutina (1802-75), one of Didelot's most charming pupils, made a brilliant debut May 23, 1817, in the ballet *Acis et Galathée*, dancing Galatea (as Istomina had at her first appearance; see n. to One : xx : 5-14). The performance was repeated June 12, 1817. Lihutina died, forgotten, some six decades later, without ever learning that the melody of her name lay preserved in a MS line. This line may have been a reference to her appearance Aug. 28, 1819, in a Didelot ballet that graced Boïeldieu's opera *Le Petit Chaperon rouge (Krasnaya shapochka*).

XXII

1-4 Translators have had a good deal of trouble with the first quatrain.

Lt.-Col. Spalding (1881):

Snakes, satyrs, loves with many a shout Across the stage still madly sweep, Whilst the tired serving-men without Wrapped in their sheepskins soundly sleep.

Clive Phillipps-Wolley (1904 [1883]):

Still cupids, demons, dragons, monkeys Upon the boards loud revel kept, Within the porch the weary flunkeys Still curled up in their shubas slept.

Babette Deutsch (1936):

The imps and cupids, quick as monkeys, Upon the boards still flutter free, While in the lobby sleepy flunkeys Are guarding fur-coats faithfully.

Oliver Elton (1937):

Loves, serpents, demons still are leaping Upon the stage, with wild uproar; Still are the weary lackeys sleeping, Wrapt in their mantles, at the door. Dorothea Prall Radin (1937):

But still the cupids, snakes, and devils Career about and scream and roar; The tired lackeys in their sheepskins Still doze before the entrance door.

None of these translators understood that the lackeys, an idle and drowsy tribe, while guarding their masters' coats, sprawled fast asleep *upon* those comfortable heaps of furs. The coachmen were less fortunate.

Incidentally, Pushkin first (draft, 2369, f. 10^v) had "bears" instead of "amors"—which might assist one when tracing a connection in the poet's mind between the theater and Tatiana's dream (Five), with its "shaggy footman."

Those amours, diables et dragons, romping in a Didelot ballet at St. Petersburg in 1819, had been the stock characters of the Parisian Opéra a hundred years earlier. They are mentioned, for instance, in a song by C. F. Panard, *Description de l'Opéra* (to Dufresny's and Ragot de Grandval's tune *Réveillez-vous*, *belle endormie*), *Œuvres* (Paris, 1763).

5-6 This intonation (technically belonging to the Tabulation Device) inaugurates a series of fateful echoes that will follow each other through Tatiana's dream (in Five), the name-day party (ibid.), and her Moscow impressions (in Seven):

One : xxII : 5-6:

Eshchyó ne perestáli tópat', Smorkát'sya, káshlyat', shíkat', hlópat'...

still people have not ceased to stamp, blow noses, cough, hiss, clap . . .

Five : xvII : 7-8:

Lay, hóhot, pén'e, svíst i hlóp, Lyudskáya mólv' i kónskiy tóp . . . Barks, laughter, singing, whistling, claps, the parle of man, the stamp of steed!

Five : xxv : 11-14:

Lay mósek, chmókan'e devíts, Shum, hóhot, dávka u poróga, Poklónï, shárkan'e gostéy, Kormílits krík i plách detéy.

the bark of pugs, girls' smacking kisses, noise, laughter, a crush at the threshold, the bows, the scraping of the guests, wet nurses' shouts, and children's cry.

Seven:LIII:1:

Shum, hóhot, begotnyá, poklónï . . . Noise, laughter, scampering, bows . . .

Also to be marked are:

Six : XXXIX : 11:

Pil, él, skuchál, tolstél, hirél...

[would have] drunk, eaten, moped, got fat, decayed . . .

Seven:LI:2-4:

Tam tesnotá, volnén'e, zhár, Muzíki gróhot, svéch blistán'e, Mel'kán'e, víhor' bístrïh pár . . .

the crush there, the excitement, heat, the music's crash, the tapers' glare, the flicker, whirl of rapid pairs . . .

The last two examples grade into the inventory technique, the many long listings of impressions, things, people, authors, and so forth, of which Seven : XXXVIII is the most striking example.

Analogous intonations are found elsewhere in Pushkin, but nowhere so conspicuously as in his long poem *Poltava* (Oct. 2-16, 1828), pt. III, ll. 243-46:

Shved, rússkiy—kólet, rúbit, rézhet. Boy barabánnïy, klíki, skrézhet, Grom púshek, tópot, rzhán'e, stón, I smért' i ád so vséh storón.

Swede, Russian—stabbing, hacking, slashing. The beat of drums, the cries, the gnashing, the roar of cannons, stamping, neighing, groans, and death and hell on every side.

7 / outside and inside / snarúzhi i vnutrí: "Without and within."

It is wildly unlikely that James Russell Lowell had read *Eugene Onegin* in Russian, or in a literal MS translation, when he wrote his poem in nine quatrains *Without and Within* (in the volume entitled *Under the Willows and Other Poems*, 1868), which begins:

> My coachman, in the moonlight there, Looks through the side-light of the door; I hear him and his brethren swear...

and goes on to describe "the ungyved prance with which his freezing feet he warms"; but the coincidence is charming, and one can well imagine a parallelist's exultation, had Lowell been born in 1770 and been translated by Pichot in 1820.

12 The old English term "to beat goose" tempts one here, meaning as it does to beat one's palms together with a swinging motion of the arms, alternately in front of one's chest and behind one's back; this is exactly what these coachmen, gentlemen's serfs, were doing as they stood, dressed in their well-padded, but not necessarily frostproof, overcoats, blue, brown, green, of a Santa Claus cut, around those bonfires in front of the theater.

The Englishman Thomas Raikes (1777-1848), who visited Petersburg ten years later (1829-30), mentions in his *Journal* the "large bonfires . . . lighted near the

principal theatres for the preservation of coachmen and servants." Still later the fires were replaced by "street stoves."

14. The beau of the times "invariably went home to change ... after the opera, previously to attending ... either ball or supper" (see Captain Jesse's *Brummell*, II, 58).

By Sept. 5, 1823, in Odessa, Pushkin had finished this first part of One, excepting two stanzas (XVIII and XIX), inserted a year later.

VARIANTS

1-2 Drafts (2369, f. 10^v):

- 1 Bears, gods, and dragons
- 1 Chinamen, gods, dragons
- 2 still clatter in act four . . .

And in the fair copy and transcript:

- 1 Bears, and diaboli, and dragons
- 1 Chinamen, diaboli, and dragons . . .

10 Draft (2369, f. 10^v):

in their bright harnesses . . .

XXIII

Alongside the heavily corrected draft of this stanza (2369, f. 11^r; reproduced by A. Efros, *Risunki poeta* [Moscow, 1933], p. 121), in the left-hand margin, Pushkin drew the profiles of Countess Vorontsov, Aleksandr Raevski, and, lower down, against the last lines, Count Vorontsov. Judging by the presence of these drawings, I should not date the stanza before mid-October, 1823—unless Pushkin had glimpsed the Countess immediately upon her arrival in Odessa from Belaya Tserkov, in September, when she was in the last stage of pregnancy. (See n. to One : XXXIII : 1.)

- 1 / Shall I: A Gallic turn; cf. dirai-je.
- 2 / secluded cabinet: A dressing room; a masculine boudoir. Cf. Parny's "Voici le cabinet charmant | Où les Grâces font leur toilette" (*Le Cabinet de toilette*, in *Poésies érotiques*, bk. III, 1778).
- 4. / is dressed, undressed, and dressed again / Odét, razdét i vnóv' odét: The original bears an uncanny resemblance to l. 70 of Samuel Butler's Hudibras (pt. I, can. I, 1663):

Confute, change hands, and still confute.

The French rhymed version-

Change la thèse, et puis réfute.

-Hudibras, "poëme écrit dans le tems des Troubles d'Angleterre" (London, 1757), by John Towneley (1697-1782), was a rare book by 1800. Pushkin probably saw Towneley's tour de force in Jombert's edition, "... poême... écrit pendant les guerres civiles d'Angleterre" (z vols., London and Paris, 1819), with the English *en regard*.

It may be argued that, given the mock-heroic manner, one element must automatically lead to another in the same series, producing here a quadruple coincidence (stylistic formula, meter, rhythm cut, and sound of words). See, for example, ll. 52-53 in *Les Journées de Tancarville* (1807) by Pierre Antoine Lebrun:

> Le lièvre qui, plein de vitesse, S'enfuit, écoute, et puis s'enfuit...

5–8 In Le Mondain (1736), Voltaire has (ll. 20–27): "Tout sert au luxe, aux plaisirs. . . . | Voyez-vous pas ces agiles vaisseaux | Qui . . . de Londres . . . | S'en vont chercher, par un heureux échange, | De nouveaux biens," and Byron, in Don Juan, X (1823), XLV, when steering his hero into Empress Catherine's arms, refers to the commercial treaty between England and Russia and to "the Baltic's navigation, | Hides, train-oil, tallow." But, unless the passage had been quoted in French or Russian periodicals, Pushkin could not have known can. X at the time, as it was not reviewed even in English journals until Sept.-Oct., 1823, and came to Russia in Pichot's version not before the end of 1824 ("... la navigation sur la Baltique ... les fourrures, l'huile de pêche, le suif ...").

6 | Lóndon shchepetil'nüy: This epithet would mean merely "meticulous" today, but in Pushkin's time it still retained its eighteenth-century flavor of "pertaining to fashionable bagatelles." A dealer in such wares would stand midway between a French *bijoutier* or *orfèvre* and an English "haberdasher."

See Shcheptetil'nik (1765), The Trinklet Dealer, a oneact comedy not devoid of talent—and, in fact, charming when compared to the trash appearing in Russia at the time—by the little-known playwright Vladimir Lukin (1737–94), who imitated Pierre Claude Nivelle de la Chaussée (1692–1754). The imported (from France) fancy articles mentioned in the play are spyglasses, Sèvres china, snuffboxes, bronze statuettes of cupids, silk masks, wedding rings, repeaters, and other baubles (bezdelitsi, bezdelki, bezdelushki, bezdelyushki).

11-13 Cases of adjacent position of a second-foot scudder, or Slow line, and a first-and-third-foot scudder, or Fast Flow, occur not infrequently throughout EO; but the occurrence of a Slow line between two Fast Flows is very rare. In fact, the present passage seems to be the only one in EO containing this magnificent modulation:

> Izobretáet dlya zabáv, Dlya róskoshi, dlya négi módnoy— Vsyo ukrashálo kabinét

which can be rhythmically duplicated as:

does manufacture for delights, for luxury, for modish pleasure all decorated the retreat

and schematically represented (with 0 denoting a scudless foot and x a scudded one *) thus:

х	0	х	0
0	х	0	0
х	0	х	0

It is amusing to find among English verses (in which the first-and-third scudder is so much rarer than in Russian) a similar pattern; cf. Emerson's *Threnody*, ll. 19-21:

> And by his cóuntenance repáy The fávor of the lóving Dáy, Has disappéared from the Day's éye.

XXIV

 / Yantár' na trúbkah Tsaregráda: Russian poets used the euphonious Tsar'grad (see also Onegin's Journey, XXVI:
 4) to designate Constantinople, a city that Russian patriotic groups (such as the Slavophiles) were bent on taking from Islam and giving over to Greek Catholicism as represented by "Holy Rus'." The fashionable smoking implements mentioned here, long Turkish pipes, with amber mouthpieces and various ornaments, are the South-Russian chubuks, and the "gem-adorned chibouques" of Byron (who carelessly used a French transcription of the local word in his The Bride of Abydos [1813], I, 233). In rendering Pushkin's rather clumsy line it was difficult to resist the pretty paraphrase:

ambered chubúks from Istanbul . . .

^{*}See App. II, "Notes on Prosody," §3, The Scud.

1-8 Pope (also following French models but transcending them, thanks to English richness of imagery and originality of diction) describes (1714) a lady's dressing room in more sophisticated detail (*The Rape of the Lock*, I, 133-38):

> This Casket India's glowing Gems unlocks, And all Arabia breathes from yonder Box. The Tortoise here and Elephant unite, Transform'd to Combs, the speckled, and the white. Here Files of Pins extend their shining Rows, Puffs, Powders, Patches, Bibles, Billet-doux.

Pope was little known in nineteenth-century Russia, where his name was pronounced with the o as in "pop" and with the closing vowel sounded, so that Pope practically rhymed with "poppy." At the time of writing One (1823), Pushkin knew "the English Boileau" in French versions. His *Œuvres complettes* had been brought out by Joseph de La Porte (Paris, 1779), and there existed several versions of *The Rape of the Lock, La Boucle de cheveux enlevée*—by Marthe, Countess de Caylus (1728), P. F. Guyot-Desfontaines (1738), Marmontel (1746), Alexandre Des Moulins (1801), E. T. M. Ourry (1802), and others.

Among the articles of George Bryan Brummell, the notorious man of fashion (when the effects of the Broken Beau were sold at public auction after he left London for Calais in May, 1816), his biographer, Capt. William Jesse (*Life*, vol. I, ch. 24), mentions "a mahogany-framed sliding cheval dressing-glass on casters, with two brass arms for one light each" and various articles of virtu such as Sèvres ware and a letter scale with an ormolu Cupid in the act of "weighing a heart." Later, in Caen, the seedy but incorrigible virtuoso dissipated large sums in the purchase of bronzes such as a paper

¥

weight of "marble, surmounted by a small bronze eagle," said to have belonged to Napoleon.

The boredom of reading through the English, German, Polish, etc., "translations" of our poem was much too great even to be contemplated, but I find in my files copies of the following atrocious, incredibly "expanded," and abominably vulgar versions of this stanza.

Alexander Puschkin, Dichtungen, tr. Dr. Robert Lippert (vol. I, Leipzig, 1840):

> Hier Bernstein auf den Türkenpfeifen, Porz'lan und Bronzen überall, Und in geschliffenem Krystall Odeurs, den Schwindel abzuwehren, Gerade, sowie krumme Scheeren, Stahlfeilen, Kämmchen, feine Seifen Und Bürsten dreissig an der Zahl, Sowohl für Nägel als für Zähne.

Alexander Puschkin's poetische Werke, tr. Friedrich Bodenstedt (vol. II, Berlin, 1854):

> Gold, Porzellan und Bronze blitzen Auf seinen Tischen überall, An Türkenpfeifen Bernsteinspitzen, Und Wohlgerüche in Krystall. Krumme und grade Scheeren, Schwämme, Stahlfeilen, klein' und grosse Kämme, Zahllose Bürsten jeder Art Für Nägel, Zähne, Kopf und Bart.

Eugén Onégin, "Roman in Versen," tr. Dr. Alexis Lupus (1st can., rev. edn., Leipzig and St. Petersburg, 1800):

> Auf Stambul's Pfeifen Bernsteinspitzen, Porz'llan und Bronze überall, Und Taschentücher anzuspritzen, Odeurs in böhmischem Krystall; In eleganten Necessairen Gerade so wie krumme Scheeren,

Und Bürsten dreissigerlei Art Für Zähne, Nägel, Haar und Bart.

A Polish translation by Julian Tuwim (Warsaw, 1954) grapples with the awful difficulty of finding masculine rhymes in Polish (there are none among words of more than one syllable):

> Cybuchow carogradzkich jantar Fajense, braz na tkanin tle I—rozkosz zmyslow, skarb galanta Perfumy w szlifowanym szkle...

The prize for grotesque achievement goes, however, to an earlier Polish version: *Eugenjusz Oniegin*, tr. L. Belmont (1902), ed. Dr. Waclaw Lednicki (Kraków, 1925):

> Bursztyn na fajkach Carogradu; tu porcelana, ówdzie bronz, w krysztale rznietym won ogrodu, ekstrakty kwiatow—fiolet, pons...

These violet and corn-poppy extracts are superior in circus value to Lippert's smelling salts and soaps, Bodenstedt's sponges and beard brushes, and Lupus' smart toilet sets.

The performance of the English team is on the whole considerably soberer, even when it errs. Spalding (1881), 7–8: "... lo! brushes | Both for the nails and for the tushes"; Elton (Jan., 1936), 5: "... little files of steel for scraping"; Deutsch (1936), 3: "... And, for the senses' sweet confusion"; Radin (1937), 2: "... Bronzes and porcelain *en masse*."

- 4. / perfumes / *duhi*: The Russian word is always in the plural; perhaps only one kind of perfume would be used by a genuine beau.
- 10 / vázhniy Grím: In reference to things this epithet signifies "important," but in reference to people it

passes through a whole prism of merging meanings, related to office (important, high-ranking), position (influential), demeanor (grave, dignified), and general appearance (important-looking, imposing). A similar difficulty attends the exact rendering of *vazhnïy general* in Seven : LIV : 4.

12 / the eloquent crackbrain: Epithetically, midway between Voltaire's coarse definition of Rousseau as "un charlatan déclamateur" (Epilogue to La Guerre civile de Genève, 1768) and Byron's romantic conception of "the self-torturing sophist, wild Rousseau . . . who from Woe | Wrung overwhelming eloquence" (Childe Harold, III, LXXVII).

Pushkin's n. 6 to these lines is a quotation from Les Confessions de Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Geneva, 1781 and 1789), referring to Frédéric Melchior Grimm (1723-1807), French encyclopedist of German descent. The passage is in pt. II, bk. IX, written in 1770 and treating of 1757, and begins:

Aussi fat qu'il étoit vain [compare intonation to that of Master Motto], avec ses gros yeux troubles et sa figure dégingandée [ill-favored], il avoit des prétentions près des femmes . . . il se mit à faire le beau; sa toilette devint une grande affaire; tout le monde sut . . .

XXV

5 / Chadaev: Replaced by asterisks in the first edition. Correctly pronounced "Chadáev," generally spelled "Chaadaev," and sometimes "Chedaev." Colonel Pyotr Chaadaev (1793–1856) was in Onegin's day a strange and brilliant personality, fop and philosopher, a man of mercy and wit, and an influential freethinker—to be later engulfed in organized mysticism. Denis Davïdov, in a striking poem, *A Contemporary Song* (1826), which prefigures Nekrasov's satirical style, refers to Chaadaev contemptuously as "the little abbé." Chaadaev is the author of *Lettres philosophiques*, written in French and begun in the early 1820's. One of these was published in Russian in the review *Telescope*, XXXIV (1836), upon which the author was officially declared insane. The first edition of the *Lettres*, in *Œuvres choisies de Tchadaïef*, was published by Ivan Gagarin, a Jesuit, in Paris, 1862.

12 / Venus: I suppose Pushkin is thinking here of Venus in Her Dressing Room (also known as The Toilette of Venus), by Francesco Albano or Albani (1578–1660), a mediocre painter of maudlin mythologies (his extraordinary fame seems to have rested on conventionally eulogistic allusions to him in French eighteenth-century poetry—see n. to Five : XL : 3).

VARIANT

1-8 In the draft (2369, f. 11^v), a rejected variant stands thus:

All over Europe in our time among civilized people no one considers burdensome the tender finish of his nails. And nowadays the warrior and the courtier, <the poet> and the daring liberal, and the sweet-voiced diplomatist are ready . . .

XXVI

- 1–4 Alongside the draft (2369, f. 12^v; Efros, p. 125), in the left-hand margin, Pushkin drew the Roman-nose profile of Amalia Riznich. (See n. to One : LIV.)
- 4 / his attire: I imagine he wore to that particular ball (winter, 1819) not simply a black *frac* but (following

London rather than Paris), a brass-buttoned, velvetcollared, sky-blue coat—with skirts enclosing the thighs —over a very close-fitting white waistcoat; quite certainly, his Bréguet repeater, with a dangling fob seal, was carried in the right front pocket of the trousers; these, I imagine were blue pantaloons (also termed "tights"—nankeen tights with three buttons at the ankle) strapped over varnished *escarpins*. There were thirty-two styles of tying a cravat.

7 | pantaloni, frak, zhilet: An obviously French listing pantalon, frac, gilet.

Ten years earlier, in his poem *The Monk*, young Pushkin followed Karamzin and other writers in using, for the upper garment clothing the legs, the Russian word *shtani* (*frak s shtanami*...*zhilet*), which initially had meant any kind of linen underwear for the legs (today *podshtanniki* or *kal'soni*, Fr. *caleçon*) but by the end of the eighteenth century had stood for "smallclothes," i.e., knee breeches, reaching only to the top of the stockinged calf. In my youth, before the era of Soviet provincialization, *pantaloni* and *shtani* meant simply trousers, while the synonym *bryuki* was regarded in St. Petersburg as a dreadful vulgarism, on a par with the lower-class variant *zhiletka* for *zhilet* (waistcoat).

In the course of a rather comical examination of Friedrich Engels' tussle with the Russian language (as reflected in his German MS notes to the meaning of words in the first thirty-three stanzas of EO), M. P. Alekseev remarks (collection Pushkin, issledovaniya i materiali, [Leningrad, 1956], p. 89n.) that, although it is true that the words pantaloni, frak, zhilet are absent from the Slovar' Akademii Rossiyskoy (6 vols., St. Petersburg, 1789–94), they had been already incorporated in Yanovski's Noviy slovotolkovatel', raspolozhenniy po alfavitu (St. Petersburg, 1803–04, 1806). 14 / the Academic Dictionary / Akademicheskiy Slovar': A note (6) appended by Pushkin here, in the separate edition to Chapter One (1825), reads:

One cannot but regret that our writers too seldom consult the dictionary of the Russian Academy.* It will remain an everlasting monument to the solicitudinous will of Catherine and to the enlightened labors of Lomonosov's successors, stringent and trustworthy guardians of our native tongue. Here is what Karamzin+ says in his speech [before the Rossivskava Akademiya, Dec. 5, 1818]: "The Russian Academy marked the very beginning of its existence by a work of the utmost importance to the language; indispensable to anybody who desires to present his ideas with clarity, who desires to comprehend himself and others. The complete dictionary, published by the Academy, belongs to the number of those phenomena by means of which Russia astonishes attentive foreigners: our destiny, certainly a fortunate one in all regards, is characterized by a kind of extraordinary velocity: we mature not in the course of centuries, but in the course of decades. Italy, England, Germany were already famous for many great writers, while not yet possessing a dictionary; we have had religious, spiritual books, we have had writers in verse and in prose, but only a single true classic-Lomonosov-and we have produced a system of the language that may vie with the celebrated works of the Academies of Florence and Paris. Catherine the Great [Empress of Russia, 1762-96]—who of us even in the most flourishing age of Alexander I [r. 1801–25] can pronounce her name without a deep feeling of love and gratitude? [a very Gallic oratorical formula]—Catherine, loving the glory of Russia as her own, loving the glory of victory as well as the peaceful glory of Reason [Fr. raison, Russ. razum], accepted this fortunate fruit of the Academy's labors with that flattering benevolence with which she knew how to reward all that was praiseworthy,

^{*}This Slovar' Akademii Rossiyskoy was in Pushkin's library; see Modzalevski, "Biblioteka A. S. Pushkina," P. i ego sovr., III, 9–10 (1909), 94.

⁺Reformer of the language, Gallicist, essayist, novelist, poet, and historian, Pushkin's precursor in literary style, Nikolay Karamzin (1766–1826).

a benevolence that has remained for you, gentlemen, an unforgettable, most precious recollection." [signed] The Author's Note.

(Pushkin evolved a subtle interplay between the "authorial" and the "editorial" in his notes: literary masquerades were fashionable among Romantic writers.)

XXVII

The series of nineteen stanzas from XVIII to XXXVI may be termed The Pursuit. In XXVII Pushkin overtakes his fellow hero and reaches the lighted mansion first. Now Onegin drives up, but Pushkin is already inside. In this stanza XXVII, I have attempted to render exactly the Russian perfective aspects (under other circumstances sufficiently well expressed by the English present) so as to preserve intact the significant structural transition from one character to another at this point, after which Pushkin, the conventional libertine (XXIX) and the inspired preterist (XXX-XXXIV, ending on the initial flippant note), takes over so thoroughly that the troublesome time element in the description of Onegin's night is juggled away (since he is not shown wenching and gaming, the reader has to assume that seven or eight hours are spent by Onegin at the ball) by means of a beautiful lyrical digression, and Pushkin, after lagging behind at the ball (as he had lagged in Onegin's dressing room before it), must again overtake Onegin on his drive home (xxxv)—only to fall behind again while the exhausted beau goes to sleep (XXXVI). The pursuit that Pushkin started upon in xvIII-xx, when, on the wings of a lyrical digression, he arrives at the opera house before Onegin (XXI-XXII), is now over.

If the reader has understood the mechanism of this pursuit he has grasped the basic structure of Chapter One. 3, 7 / in a hack coach / v yamskóy karéte / twin lamps of coupés / Dvoynie fonari karét: The Russian word for any kind of four-wheeled close carriage, with an outside box in front for the coachman—be it a road coach of the berlin type, or a chariot of the eighteenth century (with its two footmen behind), or a post chaise, or the sober functional brougham of modern times—is kareta (Pol. kareta, It. carretta, Eng. chariot, Fr. carrosse). The English were always highly precise in their application of carriage terms; and the difficulty of establishing what specific vehicle a Russian means in this or that case under the generic term of *kareta* is augmented by the difficulty of matching the actual variety of Continental carriage with its nearest English counterpart. Pictures of English post chaises are very close to those of the Russian dorozhnaya (road) kareta.

In Onegin's time the ornate and heavy chariot was already giving way in cities to the *carrosse-coupé* (Fr.), the cut chariot, the coupé. The passenger part of the chariot was, in lateral view, a more or less symmetrical affair (easily derived from the fairy-tale pumpkin) with a door between its two windows, distal and proximal. The passenger part of the cut chariot lost its proximal third, retaining the door and the distal window. The form of the very light coupé called brougham was preserved in the first electric automobiles just as the outline of the passenger part of the chariot was multiplied in the lateral view of the first railway carriage: I have not seen any notice taken before of the curious prudishness with which conventional man disguises transitions from one form to another.

There was no disgrace in Russia for a young man of fashion in not keeping his own horses and chariot. Pushkin's friend Prince Pyotr Vyazemski did not bother to buy a coach during a protracted stay in St. Petersburg. The same was true of London. In Lady Morgan's

Passages from My Autobiography (1859; begun in 1818), Lady Cork notes that "some right honourables of my acquaintance go in hacks" (p. 49).

6-11 Cf. Baratïnski's *The Ball* (begun February, 1825; finished September, 1828; pub. 1828), a story in verse consisting—in the autograph fair copy—of 658 iambic tetrameters in forty-seven stanzas of fourteen lines with rhymes abbaceceddifif (ll. 15-18):

> ... In a long array, besilvered by the moon, coupés stand parked ... before a sumptuous ancient house.

The separate edition of EO, One, appeared Feb. 16, 1825. Baratïnski by the end of February had written forty-six lines. Of these, ll. 15–19 came out in the *Moscow Telegraph*, 1827.

- 9 / rainbows / rádugi: My own fifty-year-old remembrance is not so much of prismatic colors cast upon snowdrifts by the two lateral lanterns of a brougham as of iridescent spicules around blurry street lights coming through its frost-foliated windows and breaking along the rim of the glass.
- 10 / with lampions / *plóshkami*: Cuplike or potlike vessels of glass (often colored—red, green, blue, yellow) containing oil with a wick, used for illuminations.
- 14 / of modish quizzes / módnih chudakóv: Eccentric men of fashion, hommes á la mode. I suspect that my translation is overnice, and that Pushkin tautologically used two words ("fashionable dandies") to render one, namely, "fashionables," "elegants," "exquisites," "extravagants," "fantastics," merveilleux (from merveille, "marvel," Russ. chudo), which does suggest some freak-

ish strain—whereas the trivial *modnik* would have implied conformity. *Chudak* (which I have rendered by "quizz," a modish English word of the time) also means "an odd fellow," "an eccentric," *un original*; and it is in this sense that Pushkin applies it elsewhere to Onegin: Two: IV: 14, "most dangerous eccentric" (reported speech); Five: XXXI: 6, "odd chap" (colloquial); Six: XLII: 11, "begloomed eccentric"; Seven: XXIV: 6, "sad and dangerous eccentric" (as fancied by Tatiana); Eight: VIII: 2, "play the eccentric"; Eight: XL: 4, "my unreformed eccentric" (jocose).

Chudak has no feminine (the dreadful Moscow vulgarism chudachka belongs, of course, to a different word level); but just as chudak, an "odd fellow," graded into "a fashionable" in Pushkin's day, so might the feminine noun prichudnitsa, coming from prichuda (caprice, whim, megrim, fad) and meaning une capricieuse, be made to mean une merveilleuse, i.e., an extravagantly fashionable woman, a capricious belle, an odd female, a spoiled beauty (One : XLII : 1 and Three : XXIII : 2).

VARIANT

1-4 Amalia Riznich in profile, wearing bonnet and shawl, is sketched alongside a first draft (2369, f. 20^r; Efros, p. 129):

But let us save our pages. To work! Let's hasten to the ball whither $\langle \ldots \rangle$ of the city Onegin too has sped.

XXVIII

4. | Rasprávil volosá rukóy: Idiom: "has arranged his hair with his hand." The process here is not necessarily one of smoothing down; on the contrary, a studied rufflement

might be the purpose (see n. to IV : 6). Miss Deutsch has the ridiculous interpolation: "... with his narrow | White hand he swiftly smoothed his hair ..."

- 5 / has entered / Voshyól: The intonation of listed actions in the beginning of this stanza is the same as in XVI: 5-7.
- 7 / crowd / Tolpa: Frequently used in EO. In several instances I have preferred "throng" to "crowd." The image of a ball, a dinner, a rout, or any other convocation is consistently linked up in EO with that of a close-packed (tesnëy) throng, a crush, a squeeze, Fr. la presse (tesnota); see 1. 8 and n. to One: xxx: 6. In English memoirs of the time one often finds such phrases as "at her squeeze," "the squeeze was great," "a rout-compressed company"; Pushkin's tolpa, tesnota, and tesnëy are in the same key. In a metaphorical sense, tolpa is frequently used by Pushkin to mean "the common herd."
- 9 / cavalier guard's / kavalergárda: Or chevalier garde's.
- 9 / spurs: Pushkin's MS note about this (2370, f. 82^r) reads:

Inexact. Cavaliers, as well as hussars, of the guard wore court dress and low shoes for balls. A judicious remark, but the notion lends something poetical to the description. I refer to the opinion of A. I. V.

This is Anna Ivanovna Vulf (Netty Vulf), of whom Pushkin saw a lot at the Osipovs' countryseat, Trigorskoe, near Mihaylovskoe, when this note was made (early in 1826, about a year after One had been published; see also n. to Five : XXXII : 11).

It is not quite clear to which part of the note the word "opinion" should be applied.

Cf. quatrains VIII and IX of Denis Davidov's trochaic ten-stanzaed Song of an Old Hussar (1817):

And what now? In the high world even (ugh!) hussars you see wearing court dress and low shoes waltzing on the parquetry.

They've more brains, 'tis said, than we, but from each of them what's heard? "Jomini" and "Jomini" and of gin not half a word.

(For Jomini, see n. to One : v : vars. 1-4.)

- 11 The adjective "captivating," plenttel'niy, easily fills the middle of the iambic tetrameter with third-scud music. Plenit', "to captivate," and its derivatives are typical pet words of the romantic poetry of the time. Sometimes one can use "enthralled" to relieve the monotony of "captivated," a deadish epithet in English. Two near synonyms: obol'stitel'niy, "enravishing," and ocharovatel'niy, "enchanting." At the lowest level of "attraction," we have prelestniy, "charming"; lyubezniy, Fr. aimable; and miliy, "dear," "sweet," "nice," "winsome" (see n. to Three : XXVII : 6, 12).
- 11-12 / upon their captivating tracks | flit flaming glances: The literal sense is trivial enough, but mark the supple alliterations: Po ih plenitel'nim sledám | Letáyut plámennie vzóri. Here, as so often in EO, a miracle of phrasing turns water into wine.
- 14 An eighteenth-century Gallicism, femmes à la mode, rendered in the English literature of the time as "fashionable women," "ladies of fashion," "modish wives," or even "Modern Ladies." The "jealous whispering" (in the fair copy it reads "perfidious" instead of "jealous") is not quite clear but presumably signifies that some modnïe zhyonï were berating their lovers for attentions to other modnïe zhyonï or perhaps not modnïe zhyonï

(termed in l. 10 "winsome ladies," *milïe dami*, amiable dames).

Cf. Coleridge, Lines Composed in a Concert-Room:

Hark! the deep buzz of Vanity and Hate! Scornful, yet envious, with self-torturing sneer My lady eyes some maid of humbler state . . .

Brodski (1950), p. 90, misinterprets the obvious Europeanism of *modnie zhyoni*, takes "modish" to mean "adulterous," and goes on to rant sociologically: "Pushkin by means of this putative image ... stresses the dissolution ... of society," etc.

A rhymed tale by Dmitriev, *The Fashionable Woman* (*Modnaya zhena*, 1792), a poor imitation of La Fontaine's style in his *Contes*, is as much an echo of the frivolous European fictions of the eighteenth century as is Pushkin's casual image here.

VARIANT

2 / Fair copy:

the bell has sounded; like a dart . . .

This is corrected to the published text in Pushkin's letter to his brother of Oct. 18, 1824.

XXIX

- 9 / most strictly / postrózhe: This is not the simple comparative (which is strozhe, "more strictly"), but a kind of iterative form of the comparative grading into the superlative by implying a strongly sustained repetition of the action it enjoins to perform.
- 12 / *izbávi*, *Bózhe*: Idiom: "God [vocative] spare," "God deliver." Another similar term is *upasi Bozhe*, "God forfend."

ххх

6 / the crush / tesnotú: A word constantly recurring in descriptions of balls and routs. The squeeze, the close throng, Fr. la presse. (See n. to XXVIII: 7.)

8-14 / little feet / nózhki [Fr. petits pieds]: This is the beginning of the famous pedal digression (written in Odessa, begun not before mid-August, 1823), one of the wonders of the work. The theme goes on through five stanzas (xxx-xxxiv), and its last nostalgic vibrations are:

One: LIX: 6-8 (Pushkin mentions the pen drawings of feminine feet in the margin of his manuscripts).

Five : XIV : 6-7 (Pushkin describes with erotic tenderness Tatiana's losing her slipper in the snow of her dream).

Five : XL (Pushkin, about to describe a provincial ball, recalls the digression of One : XXX-XXXIV, to which the invocation of a Petersburg ball had led).

Seven : L (Pushkin clinches the lyrical circle by alluding to the terpsichorean spectacle with which the whole thing started, One : xx, Istomina's volitations, the prelude to the digression One : xxx-xxxiv).

The associative sense of the Russian *nozhki* (conjuring up a pair of small, elegant, high-instepped, slenderankled lady's feet) is a shade tenderer than the French *petits pieds*; it has not the stodginess of the English "foot," large or small, or the mawkishness of the German *Füsschen*.

Neither Ovid, nor Brantôme, nor Casanova has put much grace or originality into his favorable comment on feminine feet. Among the tenderer French poets, Vincent Voiture sang "... deux pieds gentils et bien faits" (*A la reine Anne d'Autriche*, 1644); and other quotations might be added; but on the whole, there do not seem to have been too many tender references to

petits pieds prior to the Romantic era (Hugo, Musset).

Byron has a trite reference to the belles of Cádiz in Don Juan, II, v and vI: "... Their very walk would make your bosom swell" and "... their feet and ankles —well, | Thank Heaven I've got no metaphor quite ready..."

English versionists of *EO* have not been happy: bluff Spalding has "Three pairs of handsome female feet," and entomologically minded Miss Radin mentions "Six pretty feet"; Elton speaks of "Three pairs of feet, in womankind" and of "*one* pair, long kept in mind"; and Miss Deutsch has not only the "little feet" but throws in some "lovely limbs," and has the heart beat "When two feet tripped toward their lover."

For the plain translator, the difficulty of exactly following Pushkin's text is enhanced by his using the nondiminutive $n \delta g i$ (e.g., One : xxx : 10) in the same breath as the diminutive $(n \delta z h k i)$. Taken out of context, and considering that n og a may mean both foot and the entire leg, xxx : 10 might seem to be an invocation of graceful feminine legs. But a little further, in xxxIII, the n og i certainly means feet, and this, as well as current fashions of dress, and the vignettes Pushkin penned in the margins of his MS, decides the issue in favor of ankle, instep, and toe against calf, shin, and thigh.

Cf. P. P., "A Word with Blackwood in His Own Way," London Magazine and Review (Mar. 1, 1825), pp. 413-14:

... All persons who have an atom of taste, or a sense of proportion, will agree that the French women shine in their feet and ankles, and truth compels me to confess that... generally speaking, the foot is not an admirable feature of the British female person.... Even in London there are not more than two or three artists to be found who can make a lady's shoe. The passion for a pretty instep that Pushkin shared with Goethe would have been called "foot-fetishism" by a modern student of the psychology of sex.

The Count in *Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809), pt. I, ch. 11, thus describes the charm of Charlotte O.'s foot:

Ein schöner Fuss ist eine grosse Gabe der Natur. . . . Ich habe sie heute im Gehen beobachtet; noch immer möchte man ihren Schuh küssen und die zwar etwas barbarische, aber doch tief gefühlte Ehrenbezeugung der Sarmaten wiederholen, die sich nichts Besseres kennen, als aus dem Schuh einer geliebten und verehrten Person ihre Gesundheit zu trinken.

12-14 In the transcript (and in the 1825 edn.), where the lines read:

... Despondent, fervorless, even now in my sleep they disturb my heart

Pushkin, without altering them, made a footnote: "An unforgivable Gallicism." This is corrected in the errata affixed to Six (1828).

Pushkin may have recalled such Gallic constructions as André Chénier's "Ainsi, triste et captif, ma lyre toutefois | S'éveillait..." (*La Jeune Captive*, 1794).

VARIANTS

7-9 In canceled drafts (2369, f. 14^r), the "waltz and *écossaise*" are fondly recalled, and "all Petrograd" more logically replaces "all Russia."

XXXI

14 In *Autumn Morning*, a short pentametric poem of 1816, Pushkin had (ll. 10–12):

> ... upon the green of meads, I did not find the scarcely visible prints left by her fair foot ...

See also Lenski looking for Olga's footprints on a mead in Two: xxic, variant of 12-14.

XXXII

3-4 Cf. Le Joli-pied of Nicolas Edme Restif de la Bretonne, a mediocre but entertaining writer of the eighteenth century (1734–1806):

Saintepallaie avait un goût particulier, et tous les charmes ne faisaient pas sur lui une égale impression . . . une taille svelte et légère, une belle main flattait son goût: mais le charme auquel il était le plus sensible . . . c'était un joli pied: rien dans la nature ne lui paraissait audessus de ce charme séduisant, qui semble en effet annoncer la délicatesse et la perfection de tous les autres appas.

7 / with token beauty / uslównoyu krasóy: Although uslowniy means "conditional" or "conventional," the only possible sense here must turn on the idea of un signe convenu, with the emphasis on the sign, the emblem, the cipher, the code of beauty, the secret language of those narrow little feet. (See n. to XXXIV: 14.)

Cf. Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida, IV, v, 55:

There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip, Nay, her foot speaks . . .

7-8 / willful swarm / svoevól'näy róy: A common Gallicism, essaim, with svoevol'näy, "self-willed," echoing alliteratively such cliché epithets as volage, frivole, folâtre.

Cf. La Harpe writing in 1799 on Jean Antoine Roucher (1745–94, author of didactic poems; died on the scaffold with André Chénier) and his *Les Mois*: "[le] défaut dominant dans ses vers... c'est le retour fréquent des mots parasites [tels que] 'essaims'... termes communs trop souvent répétés'' (*Cours de littérature* [1825 edn.], X, 454). The term mots parasites was first employed in a poem by J. B. Rousseau.

A few examples will suffice:

Parny, in *Poésies érotiques*, bk. III (1778), *Souvenir*: "L'essaim des voluptés."

Antoine Bertin, in *Elégie* II, à *Catilie* (1785): "tendre essaim des Désirs."

Ducis, in *Epître à l'amitié* (1786): "... des plaisirs le dangereux essaim."

J. B. L. Gresset, *Vert-vert* (1734; a poem—greatly admired by Pushkin—in four small cantos, about a renegade parrot which had been the pet of a nunnery): "Au printemps de ses jours | L'essaim des folâtres amours . . ."*

For years, Pushkin, not to speak of the minor poets of his day, could not get rid of these Wounds, Charms, and Ardors, of these clusters of cupids coming from their porcelain beehives in the eighteenth-century West. Gresset was a gifted poet, but his idiom was the same as that of the whole *essaim* of the *folâtres* poets of his time.

Yuriy Tïnyanov ("Pushkin i Kyuhelbeker," an essay that should be taken with a lick of salt, in *Lit. nasl.*, nos. 16–18 (1934), pp. 321–78) suggests that Pushkin first read Gresset in 1815, when Küchelbecker's mother sent two volumes of that poet to her son, Pushkin's Lyceum comrade.

Incidentally, the variations in the spelling of the name of Gresset's parrot are amusing. My copy has the following title: Les Œuvres de Gresset, Enrichies de la Critique de Vairvert | Comédie en I acte (Amsterdam, 1748). In the table of contents the title is Vert-Vert. In the half title (p. 9) and in the poem itself it is "Ver-Vert," and in the critique in comedy form appended to the volume, "Vairvert."

^{*}See also Pope, *Imitation of Horace*, bk. IV, ode I: "Thither, the . . . Lyres Shall call the . . . young Desires."

- 9 / Elvina: I suspect this is a natural child of Macpherson's Malvina. It occurs in French imitations of the Ossian poems (e.g., *Elvina*, *prêtresse de Vesta*, by Philidor R., *Almanach des Grâces* [1804], p. 129).
- 11-14; XXXIII: 1-4. In the last lines of XXXII, after the poet's invoking pretty ankles under the long cloth of tables, there comes that rare event, a run of several (namely four) second-foot scudders, which acts as a kind of brake, a pulling up, an impetus-storing retardment before the rush of Fast and Fast Flow lines in the next stanza. To reproduce this effect, the passage can be paraphrased thus:

In springtime on the túrf of méads, In winter on the iron fénder, On glóssiness of bállroom flóor, On gránite of the rócky shóre.

The séa, the témpest that was rúmbling . . . Oh, the temptátion to compéte With billows túrbulently túmbling And lýing dówn to kíss her féet!

Moreover, there are as many as four first-foot scudders in the rest of the stanza, a very rare event.

XXXIII

The search for a historically real lady, whose foot the glass shoe of this stanza would fit, has taxed the ingeniousness or revealed the simplicity of numerous Pushkinists. At least four "prototypes" have been named and defended with considerable heat. Let us examine first a particularly specious candidate, Maria Raevski.

The last week of May, 1820, saw the realization of a pleasant plan that had been devised at least a month before. General Nikolay Raevski, hero of the Napoleonic wars, traveling with one of his two sons and two of his

four daughters from Kiev to Pyatigorsk (N. Caucasus), passed through Ekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk) and picked up Pushkin, who had been sent there from St. Petersburg a fortnight before to join the chancery of another kindly general, Ivan Inzov. General Raevski's party consisted of his son Nikolay, a close friend of Pushkin; little Maria, aged thirteen and a half; little Sofia, aged twelve; a Russian nurse, an English governess (Miss Matten), a Tatar dame de compagnie (the mysterious Anna, of whom further), a physician (Dr. Rudïkovski), and a French tutor (Fournier). The elder son, Aleksandr, whom Pushkin had not vet met, was expecting the travelers at Pyatigorsk, while Mme Raevski and the two elder daughters (Ekaterina and Elena) were to welcome the party in August at Gurzuf (S. Crimea).

The very first lap of the journey from Ekaterinoslav to Taganrog easily cured the ague caught by our poet on the Dnepr. One morning, May 30, between Sambek and Taganrog, the five occupants of one of the two huge berlins or dormeuse-chariots, namely, the two little girls, the old nurse, the governess, and the lady companion, caught a glimpse of the white-capped sea on their right and tumbled out to admire the surf. Young Pushkin quietly emerged from the third coach, a calash.

In her remarkably banal and naïve memoirs (*Mémoires de la Princesse Marie Volkonsky*, "préface et appendices par l'éditeur prince Michel Wolkonsky," St. Petersburg, 1904), the former Maria Raevski thus describes (p. 19), some twenty years later, this scene:

Ne me doutant pas que le poète nous suivait, je m'amusais à courir après la vague et à la fuir quand elle venait sur moi; elle finit par me baigner les pieds.... Pouchkine trouva ce tableau si gracieux qu'il en fit de charmants vers*

^{*}She quotes them below, not mentioning that they represent EO, One : xxxvII : 2-6.

poétisant un jeu d'enfant; je n'avais que quinze ans alors...

The last statement is certainly wrong: Maria Raevski was only thirteen and a half, having been born Dec. 25, 1806, O.S. (see A. Venevitinov, *Russkaya starina*, XII [1875], 822); she died Aug. 10 (O.S.?), 1863 ("agée de 56 ans"; see M. Volkonski's preface to the *Mémoires*, p. x).

After a summer sojourn at the Caucasian spas, where Pushkin fell under the cynical spell of Aleksandr Raevski, our travelers, leaving Aleksandr in the Caucasus, crossed over to the Crimea and reached Gurzuf at dawn on Aug. 19, 1820. Pushkin saw Maria Raevski occasionally in the course of the next four years. Of course, no commentator should ignore our poet's marginal drawings; thus, in the draft of Two : IXa, alongside ll. 6-14, where Lenski is said not to glorify "voluptuous snares . . . exhaling shameful delectation, as one whose avid soul [pursues] the images of former pleasures and to the world in fateful songs madly uncovers them," Pushkin in late October or early November, 1823, in Odessa, left a pen drawing of a bonneted female profile easily determinable as that of Maria Raevski (now almost seventeen years old); above it he sketched his own head, cropped as it was at the time.* If One : XXXIII does refer after all to these wave-wooed feet then the recollection is marked by "delectation" and does divulge "former pleasures" (the drawings representing Maria Raevski are to be found in Cahier 2360, ff. 26^v, 27^v, 28^r, and 30^v; see my nn. to Two : IXa).

She married at eighteen (January, 1825). Her husband, Prince Sergey Volkonski, a prominent Decembrist of the "Southern" group, was arrested when the St.

^{*}After which he let his hair grow, so that it was like Lenski's by the time he journeyed from Odessa to Mihaylovskoe in the summer of 1824.

Petersburg insurrection of Dec. 14, 1825, failed. His heroic young wife followed him into his remote Siberian exile—and there, rather bathetically, fell in love with another man, also a Decembrist. The heroic part of her life has been chanted by Nekrasov in a long jogging poem, unworthy of his real genius, the painfully mediocre *Russian Women* (1873; MS title *Dekabristki*), which has always been a favorite with such readers as are more interested in social intent than in artistic accomplishment. The only lines I ever liked therein are from another, more melodious, section, in a passage related to the hobbies of the Decembrists:

> a collection of butterflies, plants of Chitá, and views of that rigorous region.

After November, 1823, Pushkin saw her again on Dec. 26, 1826, in Moscow (at the house of her sister-inlaw, Princess Zinaida Volkonski), on the eve of her departure for Siberia to join her husband at Blagatski Mine, Nerchinsk, 4000 miles away. On Oct. 27, 1828, at Malinniki, province of Tver, Pushkin wrote the famous dedication of his narrative poem *Poltava*, and it is thought that this dedication (sixteen iambic tetrameters rhymed abab) is addressed to Maria Volkonski:

> To you—but will the Muse's obscure voice reach your ear? Will you, with modest soul,

- 4 my heart's urge comprehend? Or will the poet's dedication, as formerly his love, in front of you without response
- 8 pass, unacknowledged once again? Do recognize at least the measures that pleasing were to you of yore and think that in the days of separation
- 12 in my unstable fate, your melancholy wilderness, the last sound of your words,

are my soul's only treasure, its shrine, its only love.

The draft and the fair copy are headed with the words, written in English, "I love this sweet name" (the heroine of *Poltava* is called Maria). One would like to see for oneself this draft (Cahier 2371, f. 70°), where a canceled variant of l. 13 is said to read (see Bondi, Acad 1948, V, 324):

Sibiri hládnaya pustínya Siberia's cold wilderness . . .

It is on this alone that the supposition that *Poltava* was dedicated to Maria Volkonski rests. The reader will note the curious resemblance between lines 11-16 of the *Poltava* dedication and lines 9-14 of *EO*, Seven : XXXVI (composed a year earlier), where it is Moscow, the dowager empress of Russian cities, that is addressed by our poet in commemoration of the end of his provincial exile.

Another candidate for the lady of One : XXXIII is Maria Raevski's elder sister, the twenty-two-year-old Ekaterina (who was to marry Mihail Orlov, a lesser Decembrist, in 1821). While the rest of the family traveled, she, her sister Elena, and their mother were dwelling in a rented palazzo near the Tatar village of Gurzuf on the beautiful southern shore of the Crimea, whose romantic rocks and turfy terraces, dark cypresses and pale minarets, picturesque hovels and pine-covered steeps are surmounted by the jagged stone brow of the high plateau, which from the sea looks like a mountain ridge but degenerates, as soon as you get up there, into a grassy plain gently sloping north. It was at Gurzuf that our poet made the acquaintance of Ekaterina Raevski when a navy brig brought him there from Feodosia on Aug. 19, 1820, with Nikolay Raevski, Sr., Nikolay Raevski, Jr., and the two little girls, Maria and Sofia. Additional details relating to the voyage will be found in my notes to Onegin's *Journey* : XVI, in which, a decade later, Pushkin was to recall a love at first sight in the following rather poor lines:

Beauteous are you, shores of the Tauris, when from the ship one sees you by the light of morning Cypris, as I saw you

4 for the first time.

10 And there . . . What ardency awoke in me! With what magical yearnfulness my flaming bosom was compressed! But, Muse, forget the past!

She was a splendid-looking, goddesslike, proud young woman, and is thus briefly referred to in stanza XVII of Onegin's Journey, where the surf, and the rocks, and romantic ideals are evoked. To her Pushkin probably dedicated the elegy beginning "Sparser becomes the clouds' volatile range" (Alexandrine couplets, 1820), wherein a young maiden, a very Venus in beauty, is alluded to as trying to distinguish in the dusk the planet Venus (which, as noted by N. Kusnetsov, in the publication *Mirovedenie* [1923], pp. 88–89, could not have been seen at that time and place, August, 1820, the Crimea) and calling it by her own name—humorously confusing, perhaps, *katharos* and *Kypris*, Kitty R. and Kythereia (she was something of a bluestocking).

During his three-week stay at Gurzuf, Pushkin may have heard from Katerina ("K"—see his appendix to *Bahchisarayskiy fontan*, 1822) the Tatar legend of the Fountain of Bahchisaray, which he eventually visited with her brother Nikolay about Sept. 5, 1820, on the way north; but whether the Black Sea waves ever kissed her feet is another question.

At this point (before taking leave of the Raevski sisters and welcoming a third candidate, Elizaveta Vorontsov) the actual genesis of One : XXXIII must be discussed.

Certain curious fragments written by our poet not later than 1822, in Kishinev, at least one year before he began EO, include a few verses that he used about June 10, 1824, in Odessa for making One : XXXIII. These fragments are in Cahier 2366, which is preserved (or at least was preserved in 1937) in the Lenin Library in Moscow. They have been described by V. Yakushkin,* Tsyavlovski,† and G. Vinokur.‡ According to Yakushkin, the cahier contains forty-three folios numbered by hand, with many folios torn out before the beginning of the numeration. According to Tsyavlovski, a number of folios are also torn out after f. 13.

The jottings in Cahier 2366 now to be considered belong to a poem, *Tauris* (*Tavrida*), of which a few fragments forming in all about one hundred lines (in iambic tetrameter, freely rhymed) are known to Tomashevski (see the easily accessible, complete, but also unscholarly 1949 edition of Pushkin's works, II, 106). Its title, date of composition (1822), and motto ("Gieb meine Jugend mir zurück," from the prologue to *Faust*, "Vorspiel auf dem Theater," last line of ninth speech [c. 1790], a quotation frequently found in scrapbooks, commonplace books, and table books of Pushkin's time) are written out calligraphically on f. 13^r, probably in preparation or anticipation of a fair copy later canceled.

On f. 13^v we find a not very legible, incomplete note in prose: "My passions calm down, quiet reigns in my soul, hate, repentance [or "despair"?]—all vanishes, love anim—," and this seems to adumbrate the theme

*''Rukopisi A.S. Pushkina, hranyashchiesya v Rumyantzovskom Muzee v Moskve'' (Pushkin's MSS, Preserved in the Rumyantsov Museum, Moscow), Russkaya starina, XLII (1884), 331–32.

†RukoyuPushkina(1935), pp. 293-94, and Acad 1947, II¹, 256-57.
[‡]"Slovo i stih v *Evgenii Onegine*" (EO: Word and Verse), in *Pushkin* (Publications of the Chernishevski Institute of History, Philosophy, and Literature, Moscow, 1941), ed. A. Egolin, pp. 155-213.

of a fragment of Tavrida, represented by a rough draft on both sides of f. 16:

> You are with me again, Delight! Stilled \langle in the soul \rangle is the monotonous turmoil of gloomy thoughts! The senses are revived, the mind is clear. With some languor unknown [*neizvéstnoy*], some kind of sadness, I'm replete. The animated plains, the hills of Tauris—region charming [*preléstnïy*] I visit \langle you again \rangle , with greed drink the voluptuous air, and near me seem to hear the voice of happiness lost long ago.

Ah, happy land, where glisten waters as they caress the sumptuous shores and where, with nature's bright luxuriance the hills, the meadows are illumed; where frowning vaults of rocks . . .

The arbitrary rhyme pattern is ababeccedidi ababa. Going back to f. 13^{v} , we find there a strange spatter of dates (presumably jotted down after our poet canceled the fair copy of *Tavrida*):

1811 1812 1813 1814 1815 1816 1817 1818 1818 1819 1820

The first series would seem to refer to Pushkin's years of schooling in Tsarskoe, 1811-17, and the second to his years of dissipation in St. Petersburg (with the winter of 1817-18 counted separately?).

This is followed on the same page by four irregular columns of dates covering nineteen years, of which at least nine were yet to come:

1821		1814	
1822			
22			
	22		16 avr
22			1822
	22	1815	

22		1816	1820
1822			1823
	1828	1817	1824
22		1819	
1822	1830		
1822	24 31		
33			

Soothsayers affirm that a person cannot help writing the future date of his death in a hand that slightly differs from that in which he writes any other past or future date. Pushkin, whose concern with the fatidic was almost morbid, may have been trying here, on this Apr. 16, 1822, to find out if his "22" was in some way different from the other dates he jotted down. The date "16 avr[il] 1822" can be taken, I think, to refer to the actual writing of a fragment from *Tavrida* that follows. Was this on the eve of Pushkin's duel with Zubov? (See n. to Six : XXIX-XXX.) Incidentally: a mistake on the part of Yakushkin, who read the French *avr* as a Russian *avg*, has misled a number of compilers into having Pushkin write *EO*, One : XXXIII, or its prototype, on "Aug. 16"!

The dates are followed at the bottom of the same page (f. 13^{v}) by twelve lines of verse, of which the last five are the models of *EO*, One : XXXIII : 7–10 and 12:

Behind her on the slope of mountains I went along a road unknown [neizvéstnoy], and my shy gaze observed the prints of her foot charming [preléstnoy]. Why did I not dare touch its prints [sledóv] with my hot lips, besprinkling them with ardent [tears]?

No, never midst the stormy days of my ebullient youth did I long (with such) agitation to kiss the lips of young Circes, breasts full of languor . . .

The rhyme scheme is babacee ddidi.

It is to be noted that insofar as the fragment obviously refers to the unfinished Tavrida, this Crimean mountain trail (presumably above the village of Gurzuf) has nothing to do with the "graceful games" of a child on the Taganrog strand some 300 miles to the northeast, in another part of Russia. Thus it is not a recollection of the specific event Maria Volkonski describes in her memoirs; this glass shoe does not fit her foot; it may fit Ekaterina's, but that is a mere guess based on our knowledge of Pushkin's infatuation with her during his three-week stay at Gurzuf. The really important fact is that, as we shall see presently (for we must interrupt the history of One : XXXIII in order to introduce a third lady), Pushkin derived part of an EO stanza from the fragment at the bottom of f. 13^{v} and transformed a Crimean mountainside into an Odessa seashore.

We can now turn to the lady who particularly occupied our poet's thoughts in 1824. This third candidate for the part of the Lady of the Sea is Countess Elizaveta (Elise) Vorontsov, or Woronzoff as the name was transcribed at the time (following a dreadful Germanic eighteenth-century mode), the handsome, Polish-born wife of the Governor General of Novorossiya, to whose chancery in Odessa Pushkin was attached. The affair between Pushkin and Countess Vorontsov (née Countess Branitski, 1792-1880) does not seem to have gone very far, and its actual course was brief. She came to Odessa (from Belaya Tserkov, "Whitechurch," the Branitski estate in the province of Kiev) on Sept. 6, 1823 (after Pushkin had been in Odessa for about two months). She was in the last month of pregnancy; amorous intrigues in those days used to ignore such trifles, but it would seem that Pushkin's interest in her was kindled only in November of that year. The most passionate period of Pushkin's courtship lasted from then to mid-June, 1824, with the demoniac connivance of her lover, Aleksandr

Raevski, who is said to have used his friend Pushkin as a lightning rod to deflect the betrayed husband's thunder —which must have been of a rather muffled kind, since Vorontsov had amours of his own. Her profile is sketched by our poet in the margin of drafts beginning with One : XXIII (see my notes to that stanza), and crops up again near the end of Two : XXIII (see note) and the beginning of Two : XXIV. She left for the Crimea on a yacht cruise June 14, 1824, and did not return to Odessa until July 25. A week later (July 31) Pushkin left for Mihaylovskoe. (See vol. 3, p. 303.) They corresponded throughout the autumn of that year, after which our poet plunged into a series of more or less unsavory intrigues with various ladies of the Osipov-Vulf clan. (See n. to Five : XXXII : 11.)

We have a curious letter* written by Princess Vera Vyazemski on July 11, 1824, to her husband (Pyotr Vvazemski, the poet, Pushkin's close friend) from Odessa, where she had arrived from Moscow, with her children, on June 7. She describes in rather vivid French a scene on the rocky beach. The event could have taken place only in the second week of June, 1824, or say about June 10. That day Vera Vyazemski, Elizaveta Vorontsov, and Pushkin went to wait at close range for the ninth billow in the crescendo series of the surf and while dodging the breakers got drenched by the spray. Vera Vyazemski was Pushkin's confidante, and his admiration for the Countess' pretty ankles in pretty retreat could not have escaped her notice. I suggest that Pushkin told Vera Vyazemski he would commemorate the promenade by means of an EO stanza. Except for XXXIII, the pedal digression in One had been written several months before (with the stanzas arranged in a different order), but now it occurred to our poet that in an old cahier of 1822 he

^{*}See Ostaf'evskiy arhiv Knyazey Vyazemskih, ed. V. Saitov and V. Sheffer (St. Petersburg, 1899–1913), V, 2 (1913), 119–23.

had certain lines that might be used for an EO stanza. Soon after the promenade, and the promise, not later than June 13, he examined the fragment "Behind her on the slope of mountains," etc., written on f. 13^{v} of his Kishinev Cahier 2366. This fragment I have already quoted. Our poet decided to rework this. On the same page (f. 13^{v}) there is a rapid note in French written in his 1824 hand among the jottings of 1822:

Strophe 4 croisés, 4 de suite, 1.2.1 et deux.

This is the formula of the *EO* type of stanza (four lines rhyming alternately, two consecutive couplets, four lines with enclosed rhyme, and a closing couplet). This formula he decided to apply to the fragment. The first four lines (rhyming baba) could be dismissed, since a marine scene was to replace the montane one. The lines that followed were:

Why did I not dare touch its prints [sledóv] with my hot lips [ustámi], besprinkling them with ardent [obviously "tears," slezámi]...

Sledov has no rhyme, and there is a working gap of probably three lines before the fragment continues:

No, never midst the stormy days [dnéy]of my ebullient youth [grúnosti moéy]did I long (with such) agitation [volnén'em]to kiss the lips of young Circes [Tsirtséy], breasts full of languor $[tomlén'em] \dots$

Pushkin found a blank space on f. 17^{v} of the same twoyear-old cahier and started combining the old lines with a new set having a typical *EO* intonation. I suggest that the "You recollect" (in place of the final "I recollect") is addressed to Vera Vyazemski, who had watched with our poet the waves falling at her (Elizaveta Vorontsov's) feet:

You recollect the sea before a tempest [grozóyu]? How I envied the waves [volnám] running in turbulent succession [cheredóyu] \langle with love to fall down \rangle at her feet [nogám] and how I wished with the waves [volnámi] to touch her feet with my lips [ustámi]. No, never midst \langle the stormy days [dnéy] \rangle of \langle my \rangle ebullient youth [mládosti moéy] did I long \langle with such agitation [volnén'em] \rangle \langle to kiss the lips of young Circes [Tsirtséy] \rangle \langle breasts full of languor [tomlén'em] \rangle no, never [line unfinished]...

The deletion of "with love to fall down" (past'), "with such agitation" (volnén'em—which clashed with volnámi), and "breasts full of languor" (rhyming with volnén'em) is explained by the improvements and readjustments of the final text. The rest of the deletions are evidently due to the trouble Pushkin had in getting rid of a superfluity of rhyme words. Either the rhyme dney-moéy or the rhyme word Tsirtséy had to go. We know that finally Pushkin replaced "Circes" by "Armidas," inserted a new line (the "roses of flaming cheeks," lanít, to rhyme with Armid), and found the closing couplet (obsessively repeating the ey-ey rhyme).

At this time (second week of June, 1824) our poet was in the midst of Chapter Three, so that when he went on working at what is now One : XXXIII, it got written down after Three : XXIX in his Odessa Cahier 2370 (f. 4^{r}), with the variants (ll. 10–11, 12–14):

no, no, of love the fondest gift [dar], of kisses the languorous heat $[zhar] \ldots$

and:

no, never did all the poison of passions [strastéy] thus rive my soul [dusht moéy].

On or before June 13, 1824, our poet reworked the stanza on a scrap of paper (with abbreviations of words,

according to Tomashevski, Acad 1937, p. 550, but apparently in its final form, if I understand my source correctly), which scrap he inadvertently used on June 13 for a letter to his brother in Petersburg. This letter, with One : XXXIII on the back of it, is preserved (1937) at the Lenin Library, Moscow (MS. 1254, f. 24^v). Later, Tomashevski suggested (Pushkin [Moscow and Leningrad, 1956], I, 493n) that this might have been jotted down on the back of "the unsealed but refolded" letter to Lev Pushkin, after the brothers had been reunited at Mihaylovskoe in the autumn of 1824. I am unable to unravel this skein of conjectures without having examined the MS. Anyway, Tsyavlovski errs when stating (Letopis' zhizni ... Pushkina [Moscow, 1951], I, 516) that the stanza was composed in the fall of 1824; it was merely rewritten at the time Pushkin was preparing Chapter One of EO for publication. I suggest that only then, in the latter part of October, did Pushkin send to his confidante Vera Vyazemski "the strophe that [he] owed [her]." The draft of this letter (of which a passage beginning "Tout ce qui me rappelle la mer" will be found below) is in Cahier 2370, f. 34^r, beneath the draft of the letter to Pletnyov accompanying the apograph of Chapter One, which our poet sent to Petersburg with Lev Pushkin (see my notes to the Prefatory Piece).

In this half-French, half-Russian letter to Vera Vyazemski (end of October, 1824, from Mihaylovskoe to Odessa), Pushkin writes:

... Tout ce qui me rappelle la mer m'attriste—le bruit d'une fontaine me fait mal à la lettre—je crois qu'un beau ciel me ferait pleurer de rage; but, thank God, the sky here is dun-colored, and the moon is exactly like a small turnip [*repka*]. A l'égard de mes voisins je n'ai eu que la peine de les rebuter d'abord; ils ne m'excédent pas —je jouis parmi eux de la réputation d'Onéguine—et voilà je suis prophète en mon pays. Soit. Pour toute ressource je vois souvent une bonne vieille voisine—j'écoute

ses conversations patriarcales. Ses filles assez mauvaises sous tous les rapports [i.e., in looks, manners, and morals] me jouent du Rossini que j'ai fait venir. Je suis dans la meilleure position possible pour achever mon roman poétique, mais l'ennui est une froide muse—et mon poème n'avance guère—voilà pourtant une strophe que je vous dois—montrez là au Prince Pierre. Dites lui de ne pas juger du tout par cet enchantillon...

The "assez mauvaises" is obviously a diplomatic move, since a warm friendship, apart from amorous relations, existed between the Osipovs and Pushkin.

It is interesting to place alongside this a letter Pushkin received a little earlier from Aleksandria, near Belaya Tserkov, the Vorontsov estate, from Aleksandr Raevski, written Aug. 21, 1824: he had left Odessa some ten days after Pushkin's departure for Mihaylovskoe. The code name for Elizaveta Vorontsov was "Tatiana"—Pushkin's heroine.

Je remets à une autre lettre le plaisir de vous parler des faits et gestes de nos belles compatriotes; présentement je vous parlerai de Tatiana. Elle a pris une vive part à votre malheur, elle me charge de vous le dire, c'est de son aveu que je vous l'écris, son âme douce et bonne n'a vu dans le moment que l'injustice dont vous étiez la victime; elle me l'a exprimé avec la sensibilité et la grâce du caractère de Tatiana.

Surely, Tatiana's epistle must have been known to Raevski, and thus must have been composed before Pushkin left Odessa.

There is yet a fourth candidate, according to one D. Darski, whose idea was discussed, and dismissed, on a dismally cold evening in Moscow, Dec. 21, 1922, by the Obshchestvo Lyubiteley Rossiyskoy Slovesnosti, Society of Lovers of Russian Letters, heroically meeting amidst the gloom and famine of Lenin's reign. Darski assigned the little feet of stanzas XXXI and XXXIII to the kompan'onka (dame de compagnie) of the two Raevski girls, the aforementioned Tatar lady, Anna Ivanovna (surname unknown).

My final impression is that if the pair of feet chanted in XXXIII does belong to any particular person, one foot should be assigned to Ekaterina Raevski and the other to Elizaveta Vorontsov. In other words, a Crimean impression belonging to August, 1820, and the resulting verses (presumably composed Apr. 16, 1822) were transmuted in the second week of June, 1824, into an *Onegin* stanza related to an Odessa romance.

Incidentally, that seashore sport was a fashionable ritual of the day. "Un des premiers plaisirs que j'aie goûtés," says Chateaubriand, writing in 1846 (*Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, ed. Maurice Levaillant [Paris, 1948], pt. I, bk. I, ch. 7), "était de lutter contre les orages, de me jouer avec les vagues qui se retiraient devant moi, ou couraient après moi sur la rive."

3-4 / running in turbulent succession with love to lie down at her feet: Readers who know Russian will discern a complex of beautifully onomatopoeic alliterations in the original here: Begúshchim búrnoy cheredóyu | S lyubóv'yu léch' k eyő nogám.

Cf. Ben Jonson, *The Poetaster*, IV, vi (Julia's parting with Ovid):

... I kneel beneath thee in my prostrate love And kiss the happy sands that kiss thy feet.

Cf. Thomas Moore, *The Loves of the Angels*, ll. 1697–1702:

He saw, upon the golden sand Of the sea-shore a maiden stand, Before whose feet the expiring waves Flung their last tribute with a sigh— As, in the East, exhausted slaves Lay down the far-brought gift, and die.

(This I find quoted in a review of Moore's Loves of the Angels and Byron's Heaven and Earth in the Edinburgh Review, XXXVIII [Feb., 1823], 38; on p. 31, Byron's poetry is said to be "sometimes a deadly Upas" [Antiaris toxicaria, Leschenault de La Tour, 1810]. Curiously enough, a paraphrase of "exhausted slaves | Lay down the far-brought gift, and die" appears in Pushkin's poem The Upas [Anchar], penultimate stanza. See n. to L: 10-11.)

References to feet-kissing waves abound in English poetry; one more example will suffice. In Byron's enthusiastic description (1816) of Clarens (*Childe Harold*, III, c: "Clarens! by heavenly feet thy paths are trod"), where Undying Love is confusingly identified with the emotions that Rousseau's Julie and Saint-Preux left behind them to permeate Switzerland at low elevations, there occur the lines (CI, 5-6):

... the bowed Waters meet him [Love], and adore, Kissing his feet with murmurs ...

Feet and waves are blended also by Lamartine in Le Lac (September, 1817):

Ainsi le vent jetait l'écume de tes ondes Sur ses pieds adorés

and by Hugo in Tristesse d'Olympio (1837):

D'autres femmes viendront, baigneuses indiscrètes, Troubler le flot sacré qu'ont touché tes pieds nus!

*

As known to Russian commentators, the literary reminiscence here (resulting, I suggest, in one of those deliberate artistic parodies of which EO offers several examples in the first quatrains of its stanzas) is a passage from *Dushen'ka*:

Pursuing her, the billows there keep jostling jealously each other,

and breaking from the throng in haste seek to fall humbly at her feet.

This Sweet Psyche or Little Psyche is a long poem in iambic lines of various length, which its author, Ippolit Bogdanovich (1743-1803), kept improving upon in the course of its several editions (1783-99) after its first "Book" appeared in 1778 under the title Sweet Psyche's Adventures (Dushen'kini pohozhdeniya). It is in the frivolous French style of the day and treats pleasantly of Psyche's and Cupid's amors, following La Fontaine's romance. The airiness of its tetrametric passages and its glancing mother-of-pearl wit are foregleams of young Pushkin's art; it is a significant stage in the development of Russian poetry; its naïve colloquial melodies also influenced Pushkin's direct predecessors, Karamzin, Batyushkov, and Zhukovski. I think that Griboedov's technique also owes it something. It was overrated in its time and then underrated in the dull era of civic criticism inaugurated by the famous but talentless Vissarion Belinski. (See also n. to Three : xxix : 8.)

Cf. "L'onde, pour [Vénus] toucher, à longs flots s'entrepousse; | Et d'une égale ardeur chaque flot à son tour | S'en vient baiser les pieds de la mère d'Amour," the last lines of the second rhymed interpolation in bk. I of *Les Amours de Psiché et de Cupidon* (1669), by Jean de La Fontaine (1621-95), who took its *conduite* and its "fable" from French adaptations of the *Metamorphoses*, also known as *The Golden Ass* (bks. IV-VI), of Lucius Apuleius (b. c. A.D. 123), whose burlesque he tempered with *badineries galantes* and pedestrian common sense dear to his age of *bienséance*, *goût*, and *raison*—that impotent trinity. (I notice after writing this note that G. Lozinski briefly refers to the same reminiscence in his notes to the 1937 Paris edition of *EO*.)

The theme exploited by La Fontaine and Bogdanovich is the allegoric episode of Psyche and her lover

Cupid, son of Venus, in bks. IV-VI of the *Metamorphoses* (11 bks.). In bk. IV of that feeble romance there is a glimpse of gentle waves advancing toward Venus, who with rosy feet touches them as she boards her sea chariot among bobbing mermen and mermaids.

5-6 / How much I wished then with the waves | to touch the dear feet with my lips! / Kak yá zhelál togdá s volnámi | Kosnúť sya mílih nóg ustámi !: "Comme je désirais alors avec les vagues effleurer ses chers pieds de mes lèvres!"

In a compilatory *biographie romancée*, tritely written and teeming with errors (*Pouchkine*, 2 vols., Paris, 1946), Henri Troyat writes (I, 240) in regard to the incident: "Séduit par l'image de cette enfant de quinze ans jouant avec les flots, Pouchkine écrivit une poésie sentimentale à son intention:

> . . . Je désirais comme les vagues Effleurer vos pieds de mes lèvres."

It is odd that Princess Maria Volkonski, who quotes the Russian original in her French memoirs, forgot that this was a passage from EO (One, XXXIII : 5–6); much odder is the fact that Troyat does not know this. But that Miss Deutsch, who had actually translated EO (1936), did not recognize the quotation and rendered* Troyat's version as:

How happy were the waves that were caressing The darling feet my lips should have been pressing!

would be completely incomprehensible, had one not discerned here a kind of poetic justice; for Miss Deutsch's version of One : XXXIII is a paraphrastic mutilation so far removed from the original that even she could not

^{*}In an abridged English translation, in 1 vol., of Troyat's book, Pushkin. A Biography, tr. Randolph T. Weaver, with verse translations by Babette Deutsch, p. 131.

identify it with the (slightly garbled) quotation in Troyat. Her 1936 "translation" reads:

> The billows covered them with kisses, My lips were envious of their blisses!

The other paraphrasts have:

How like the billow I desired To kiss the feet which I admired!

-Matter-of-fact Lt.-Col. Spalding

And those dear feet aroused my longing To kiss them, like the billows thronging!

-Solecistic Prof. Elton

I would have found it ah! how sweet, As did the waves, to kiss her feet.

—Helpless Miss Radin

6 / dear feet / milih nog [gen.]: Since so much has been written on the subject of their particular ownership, I must go into some more details concerning the matter.

In the extraordinary lines, among his greatest, that Pushkin added in 1824, four years after its publication, to the beginning of *Ruslan and Lyudmila*—

> Tam lés i dól vidéniy pólnï; Tam o zaré prihlťnut vólnï Na brég peschánïy i pustóy

There wood and dale are full of visions; there at sunrise the waves come plashing upon the empty sandy shore

—these waves give birth to thirty handsome knights who emerge one after the other from the limpid waters. Here, in XXX-XXIV of EO, One, while the echoes of the stage-wonderland from the preceding digression (XVIII-XX) still ring in his ears, and while Istomina (XX : 8-14) still dances in his mind's eye, the reader witnesses another magic performance, a succession of magical sea waves (XXXIII) and the birth of several feminine

phantoms whose delicate feet are alone perceived.

There has been a tendency among prototypists to concentrate on one lady in the Mystery of the Feet. Actually, Pushkin speaks of several in the course of xxx-xxxiv and confirms this multiplicity in Five : XL : 7, where he recalls his Chapter One digression on "the little feet of ladies known to me":

A. The lady of stanza XXXI, who was brought up in Oriental luxury, had never lived in the North of Russia, and was loved by our poet in the beginning of his Southern peregrinations.

B. A generalized and overlapping lady in stanza XXXII, addressed as "Elvina" (which is a poetical synonym of "Malvina," "Elvira," and "Elmina") and imagined in various surroundings and attitudes.

C. A lady on a seashore: stanza XXXIII.

D. A lady with whom the poet went riding (possibly in Kishinev or Kamenka): stanza XXXIV.

This makes at least four persons, whose presumable or possible existence in "real life" is of no interest whatsoever.

8 / of my ebullient youth / Kipyáshchey mládosti moéy: A widespread French cliché, the Russian version of which appears with irritating frequency in the verses of Pushkin and his constellation. It is the "fervid young age" of Latin poets.

See Voltaire, *Précis de l'Ecclésiaste* (written 1756, pub. 1759), l. 1: "Dans ma bouillante jeunesse . . ."; or, in a collective sense, Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. III, ch. 5, "Sur des vers de Virgile" (written 1586, pub. 1588): "Cette verte et bouillante jeunesse . . ."

10 / Armidas: The French lexicon definition of *Armide* is:
"Nom donné par autonomase à une femme qui réunit l'art de séduire à la beauté et aux grâces."

The sensual image in ll. 8–12 is easily traced to French versions of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581): "Armide... est couchée sur le gazon; Renaud est couché dans ses bras. Son voile ne couvre plus l'albâtre de son sein... elle languit d'amour: sur ses joues enflammées brille une sueur voluptueuse qui l'embellit encore" (Prince Charles François Lebrun's version, *La Jérusalem* délivrée [1774], XVI).

XXXIV

- 8 / the ache / toská: No single word in English renders all the shades of toska. At its deepest and most painful, it is a sensation of great spiritual anguish, often without any specific cause. At less morbid levels it is a dull ache of the soul, a longing with nothing to long for, a sick pining, a vague restlessness, mental throes, yearning. In particular cases it may be the desire for somebody or something specific, nostalgia, lovesickness. At the lowest level it grades into ennui, boredom, *skuka*. The adjective toskliviy is translatable as "dismal," "dreary." (See also n. to Three : VII : 10.)
- 9 / nadménnüh: Although literally this means "proud ones" or "arrogant ones" (accus.), the term is obviously a stylish imitation of the sound and sense of the French inhumaines, beautés inhumaines, "pitiless belles," "the cruel fair," so often met with in eighteenth-century madrigals.
- 11-12 Tomashevski (Acad 1937, p. 262) says that these two lines are found in Cahier 2366, f. 34^v.
- 14 / deceptive / Obmánchivi: One would be tempted to use the formula "as false as fair," but "false," in the context, would have been *izménchivi* (fickle). Furthermore, the translator should bear in mind that the "deception"

really regards the nonfulfillment of anatomical promises (see XXXII)—a bit of sly lewdness with which our poet gets away here in the best manner of his French models.

In the draft $(2369, f. 14^{v})$, stanza XXII comes after what is now XXIV, which follows XXII.

VARIANT

3 In the fair copy a cancellation reads:

I hold the reins, I grasp the stirrup . . .

xxxv

- 1 / And my Onegin?: Cf. Byron in *Beppo*, XXI, "But to my story," and in *Childe Harold*, II, XVI, "But where is Harold?"
- 2 / to bed: "The other night there was a ball at the K.'s," writes a young lady in the "epistolary novel" that Pushkin began in 1829 (experimenting with an archaic form).
 "The dance lasted till five in the morning." Onegin stayed even longer.
- $3-4 \mid A$ Peterbúrg neugomónniy $\mid Uzh barabánom probuzh$ dyón: Mark the beautiful, very Pushkinian, sequenceof two double-scud lines with strikingly apt alliterations.These depend on the repetition of stressed and unstressed<math>u and bu, pronounced as the short *oo* in "book," and on the interplay between *o* and *n*. An approximate transference of melody, with a *t* keynote, would be: "The indefatigable city \mid is stimulated by the drum." It was an indefatigable city of 377,800 inhabitants.
- 5 / Vstayót kupéts, idyót raznóshchik: My version of this line is on the brink of abhorred paraphrase. But somehow I disliked the falsely literal:

Rises the merchant, goes [comes, walks] the hawker . . .

7 / Okhta:* East of the city, on the eastern bank of the Neva along a south-north stretch called in Finnish Okha. The Okhtan girl is carrying a milk jug; the snow "sings" underfoot (as Walter Scott says somewhere of creaking snow).

Although this is not a reminiscence on the part of our poet, it is curious to compare Pushkin's St. Petersburg morning with John Gay's London morning in *Trivia*: or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London (1716), which has a milkmaid chalking her gain on doors, the "vellum thunder" of a drum, hawkers, rolling coaches, opening shops, and so forth.

9 / Prosnúlsya útra shúm priyátnïy: An analogous line occurs in Poltava (1828), pt. II, l. 318: razdálsya útra shúm igrívïy, "morn's frisky hubbub has resounded." Compare these epithets with those used by English poets, e.g., Milton's "the busy hum of men" and John Dyer's "the Noise of busy Man."

Generally speaking, the sense of *shum* implies a more sustained and uniform auditory effect than the English "noise." It is also a shade more remote and confused. It is at heart more of a swoosh than a racket. All its forms —*shum* (n.), *shunniy* (adj.), *shumyashchiy* (part.), *shumet*' (v.)—are beautifully onomatopoeic, which "noisy" and "to noise" are not. *Shum* acquires a number of nuances in connection with various subjects: *shum* goroda, "the hum of the city," "the tumult of the town"; *shum lesov*, "the murmur of woods"; *shumyashchiy les*, "the sough of forests"; *shunniy ruchey*, "the dinning stream"; *shumyashchee more*, "the sound-

^{*}As a rule, I use h (strongly aspirated) to denote the Russian letter generally transliterated kh, since otherwise the Englishspeaking reader is likely to pronounce it as a plain k, saying "Chekov" instead of "Chehov" (and "Krúshchev" instead of "Hrushchyóv"); but in some geographical names I have resigned myself to the kh for the sake of easy identification.

ing sea," the rote, the thud, and the roar of the surf on the shore—"the surgy murmurs of the lonely sea," as Keats has it in *Endymion*, l. 121. *Shum* may also mean "commotion," "clamor," and so forth. The verb *shumet*' is poorly rendered by "to be noisy," "to clatter." (See also n. to One : XXXVII : 2.)

12 / a punctual German / Némets akurátniy: Akuratniy, or akkuratniy (which is of the same origin as "accurate"), a Polonism of the eighteenth century, means more than "punctual" usually implies; it has additional connotations of tidiness and method, virtues that are not typical of Russians. Pushkin, rather cynically, expects here a guffaw from the gallery, if one may judge by a passage in his letter to Gnedich (May 13, 1823, from Kishinev to St. Petersburg) in which he refers to a one-act comedy in verse, The Waverer (Nereshitel'niy, performed for the first time on July 20, 1820), by the third-rate playwright Nikolay Hmelnitski, who adapted it from the French (presumably from L'Irrésolu of Philippe Néricault Destouches):

Well do I know the measure of the public's comprehension, taste, and culture.... Once, I remember Hmelnitski was reading to me his *Nereshitel'nïy*. When I heard the line:

... and one must own, Germans are punctual [akuratni]...

I said to him: Mind my words, at this verse everybody will applaud and roar with laughter. Yet what is there witty or funny about it? I should very much like to know if my prediction came true.

12 | V bumázhnom kolpaké: Not only some translators of EO, but Russian commentators as well, have understood bumazhniy as "made of paper"! Actually, the locution bumazhniy kolpak is an attempt on Pushkin's part to render the French term bonnet de coton, house-cap of cotton. The word calpac, or calpack, or kalpak, represented in English dictionaries, has Oriental implications. I have used it to render the Russian *kolpak* in Five : xvII : 4.

14 / vasisdas: A French word (Academically admitted in 1798), vasistas, meaning a small spy-window or transom with a mobile screen or grate; here the loaves were passed out; believed to come from the German was ist das, "what is it?" (a derivation as fanciful as that of "haberdasher" from habt ihr dass); occurs in the form vagistas in vulgar French.

Pushkin wavered between spelling it *Wass ist das* and *vas-isdas*, settling for the second spelling in his fair copy (*Rukopisi*, 1937).

Lupus, in his notes to his German version of EO (1899), observes (p. 80) that, in their ground-floor shops, German bakers of St. Petersburg had a lower windowpane replaced by a brass plaque that, at the customer's knock, could be lowered like a small drawbridge, forming a counter for the transaction.

In Al'bom Pushkinskoy yubileynoy vöstavki (Album of the Pushkin Anniversary Exhibition), ed. L. Maykov and B. Modzalevski (Moscow, 1899), I find, on pl. 19, a cartoon, an aquarelle painted about 1815 by Pushkin's schoolmate, A. Illichevski, now in the Pushkinskiy Dom, that shows a group of Lyceum students, with vulgar antics, annoying a German baker; he and his wife are depicted at their first-floor window, in dignified wrath, with the baker wearing a striped house-cap.

VARIANT

9-12 Draft (2369, f. 15^r):

Morn's anxious hubbub has awoken [trevózhnïy]

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. . . the baker \lceil ostor \delta z hniy \rceil,
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a careful German in his house-cap . . .

XXXVI

Here ends the description of Onegin's day, winter, 1819, which, interrupted by digressions, occupies only thirteen stanzas (XV-XVII, XX-XXV, XXVII-XXVIII, XXXV-XXXVI).

See, in Modzalevski's biography of Yakov Tolstoy (*Russkaya starina*, XCIX [1899], 586-614; C [1899], 175-99), the amusing parallel between Onegin's day and Yakov Tolstoy's quatrains (devoid of any talent), in rather archaic iambic tetrameter, with a dash of journalistic jauntiness foreshadowing mid-century satire, *Epistle to an Inhabitant of Petersburg* (*Poslanie k Peterburgskomu zhitelyu*, in Tolstoy's collection of execrable verses, *Moyo prazdnoye vremya*, *My Spare Time* [May?], 1821), where the following lines—which I will not bother to iambize—occur:

You awake about ten and by noon have completed your toilet; meanwhile, a billet inviting you to a ball is already lying in the vestibule ... You hurry out as if forced to do so, and pace the boulevard ... But dinnertime is near ... Then it is time to go to the theater, to the ballet ... and five minutes later ... you are directing your lorgnette at the ladies in the boxes ... You drive home, give your little figure [*figúrke*, a dreadful Germanism] the best *ton*, and lo, there you are skipping in the mazurka ... At dawn your day is finished ... and tomorrow you repeat it all over again, you, victim of fashion.

Less than three years before Pushkin wrote Chapter One, this Yakov Tolstoy (1791–1867, military man and poetaster), whom he had met at semiliterary parties in Petersburg (meetings of the liberal Green Lamp Club, which is invariably mentioned, along with the dinner club Arzamas, by every historian of literature, though they have no importance whatsoever in relation to the development of Pushkin's talent; but a group is always impressive to historians of literature), naïvely begged Pushkin in a rhymed epistle to teach him to rid himself of his Germanic rhythms and write just as elegantly as the author of Ruslan. It would seem that Pushkin in Chapter One deliberately gave the poor rhymester a demonstration based on the latter's own theme.

Cf. "Hints for a Reform, particularly of the Gaming Clubs," by a Member of Parliament (1784; quoted by Andrew Steinmetz, *The Gaming Table* [London, 1870], I, 116), on the day of a young London "fashionable":

He rises just time enough to ride to Kensington Gardens; returns to dress; dines late; and then attends the party of gamblers, as he had done the night before. . . . Such do we find the present fashionable style of life, from "his Grace" to the "Ensign" in the Guards.

(Cf. also Two : xxx : 13-14.)

A paper by V. Rezanov on "Voltaire's Influence on Pushkin" * led me to look up Voltaire's satire *Le Mondain* (1736), which depicts the "train des jours d'un honnête homme" (l. 64) and contains such Oneginesque lines as (ll. 65–66, 89, 91, 99, 105–07):

> Entrez chez lui; la foule des beaux arts, Enfants du goût, se montre à vos regards. . . . Il court au bain . . .

... il vole au rendez-vous ... Il va siffler quelque opéra nouveau ... Le vin d'Aï, dont la mousse pressée, De la bouteille avec force élancée Comme un éclair fait voler son bouchon ...

(See also n. to One : XXIII : 5-8.)

In vol. XIV (1785) of Voltaire's complete works (1785–89), this *Le Mondain* (pp. 103–26) consists of an *Avertissement des éditeurs*; the thing itself (pp. 111–15), in abominably pedestrian verses, like all Voltaire's verses; some curious notes to it (including the famous

^{*&#}x27;'K voprosu o vliyanii Vol'tera na Pushkina," P. i ego sovr., IX, 36 (1923), 71–77.

explanation of the author's flight to Sans Souci); two epistles; a *Défense du mondain ou l'apologie du luxe*, and a final doggerel *Sur l'usage de la vie*.

- 7-8 / and tomorrow 'twill be the same as yesterday: Cf. La Bruyère, *Les Caractères* (1688): "Il [Narcisse] fera demain ce qu'il fait aujourd'hui et ce qu'il fit hier" (description of a young man's day, "De la Ville," par. 12).
- 11-14. The unsolicited but welcome rhyme at the end is my reward, I suppose, for carefully rendering the two *sredi* (amidst) and the one *sred*' (midst) of the text.

XXXVII

- 2 / the social hum / svéta shum: An old French cliché, le bruit, le tumulte, le fracas du monde, a standardized echo of Rome and her poets. I have gone to English formulas, e.g., Byron's "the gay World's hum" (Don Juan, XIII, XIII, 4). This is different from the actual buzzing and thudding of town life as described in a recent stanza (see my n. to XXXV : 9).
- 6-10 Cf. Parny, *Goddam!* (in four cantos, "par un French-Dog"), composed in Frimaire (rime month), year XII (October-November, 1804), can. I:

Le Gnome Spleen, noir enfant de la Terre Dont le pouvoir asservit l'Angleterre,

. . . le sanglant rost-beef, Les froids bons mots . . . Le jus d'Aï . . . Et ces messieurs, ivres des vins de France, Hurlent un toast à la mort des Français.

For "spleen," see nn. to next stanza.

8 / beefsteaks: The European beefsteak used to be a small, thick, dark, ruddy, juicy, soft, special cut of tenderloin steak, with a generous edge of amber fat on the knifeside. It had little, if anything, in common with our American "steaks"—the tasteless meat of restless cattle. The nearest approach to it is a *filet mignon*.

Pushkin wrote the word in Latin script, but it had long been Russianized (see, for instance, *Sin otechestva*, 1814, p. 128) as *bifsteks*, singular; later, through German influence, to become *bifshteks*. A serving in Pushkin's time cost a quarter of a ruble, whereas a yearly subscription to a weekly magazine cost thirty rubles.

9 / Shampánskoy [instead of shampánskogo] obliváť butílkoy: I have preserved Pushkin's bad grammar here. The meaning is "wash down with champagne."

In 1818, according to Nikolay Polevoy (*Moscow Telegraph*, pt. 34, no. 14 [1830], p. 229), 158,804 bottles of champagne were imported from France, to the tune of 1,228,579 rubles; and 374,678 bottles in 1824.

14 / strife, saber and lead / brán', i sáblyu, i svinéts: This is an irritatingly vague line. What exactly did Onegin fall out of love with? Bran', implying as it does, warfare, might lead one to suppose that about 1815 Onegin, like many other exquisites of the time, had been on active duty in the army; it is, however, much more probable that the reference is to single combat, as suggested by a MS reading; but (in evaluating Onegin's later behavior, Six) it would have been highly important to be told in plainer terms of Onegin's dueling experience.

Sablyu i svinets, "saber and lead," is a Gallicism: le sabre et le plomb, "broadsword and pistol ball." An Irishman of 1800 would have said "the hilt and the muzzle."

Sir Jonah Barrington, in *Personal Sketches of His Own Times* (1827), II, 6–7, writes:

About the year 1777, the *Fire-eaters* [duelers] were in great repute in Ireland. No young fellow could finish his education till he had exchanged shots with some of his acquaintances. The first two questions always asked as to a young man's respectability . . . were: "What family is he of?" [and] "Did he ever blaze?"

Twenty-seven rules of a MS code of honor accepted at Clonmell are given on pp. 10-14. (See also nn. to Six : xxix-xxx, on duels.)

One wonders if the derivation of the Fr. *blasé* is not connected somehow with this sense of "to blaze."

Pushkin is mentioned as one of the "nobles seigneurs ... qui... appelaient près d'eux pour s'exercer avec lui dans cet art qu'ils aimaient" the famous scriming master A. Grisier, who sojourned in Russia in the reign of Nicholas I ("Notice sur [Augustin] Grisier," by Roger de Beauvoir, in *Les Armes et le duel*, by A. Grisier, Paris, 1847).

VARIANTS

8 The draft (2369, f. 16^v) reads:

bif-sték $\langle i \rangle \langle tryúfel'niy \rangle piróg \dots$

12–14 A direct allusion to Onegin's former duels is found in the draft (2369, f. 16^v) and the fair copy:

> and though he was a fiery scapegrace, he tired at last of offering [to those he challenged] saber or lead.

XXXVIII

1-2 / A malady, the cause of which | 'tis high time were discovered: To this quest Russian critics applied themselves with tremendous zeal, accumulating in the course of a dozen decades one of the most boring masses of comments known to civilized man. Even a special term for Onegin's distemper has been invented (*Oneginstvo*, "Oneginism"); and thousands of pages have been devoted to him as a "type" of something or other (e.g., of a "superfluous man" or a metaphysical "dandy," etc.). Brodski (1950), standing on the soapbox that had been provided a hundred years ago by Belinski, Herzen, and many others, diagnosed Onegin's "sickness" as the result of "tsarist despotism."

Thus a character borrowed from books but brilliantly recomposed by a great poet to whom life and library were one, placed by that poet within a brilliantly reconstructed environment, and played with by that poet in a succession of compositional patterns—lyrical impersonations, tomfooleries of genius, literary parodies, and so on—is treated by Russian pedants as a sociological and historical phenomenon typical of Alexander I's regime (alas, this tendency to generalize and vulgarize the unique fancy of an individual genius has also its advocates in the United States).

3 / English "spleen" [and see XVI: 9 / roast beef; XXXVII: 8 / beefsteaks]: The diet that Pushkin gives Onegin is conducive to the latter's hyp; for I think we should admit here a curious reminiscence leading us back to Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveler*, where, in a letter from London, undated (summer, 1790), the following (even then far from original) thought occurs:

Roast beef, beefsteaks are the staple foods of the English. This is why their blood thickens; this is why they become phlegmatic, melancholic, unbearable to their own selves, and not infrequently suicidal. [This is the] physical cause of their [spleen]...

3-4. Handrá, "chondria," and spleen, "hyp," illustrate a neat division of linguistic labor on the part of two

nations, both famed for ennui, the English choosing "hypo" and the Russian "chondria." There is, of course, nothing especially local or time-significant about hypochondria (in the initial large sense; and excluding the American connotation of maladie imaginaire). The spleen in England and ennui in France came into fashion about the middle of the seventeenth century, and throughout the next hundred years French innkeepers and Swiss mountain folk kept begging hypish Englishmen not to commit suicide on their premises or in their precipices-a drastic measure to which the endemic and more benign ennui did not lead. The theme itself, even if we strictly limit ourselves to literary phenomena, is much too boring to be treated at length in these notes; but a few examples have to be given in order to prove that ennui was by 1820 a seasoned cliché of characterization that Pushkin could play with at leisure, on the flowered brink of parody, by transforming West-European formulas into virgin Russian. French literature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is full of restless young characters suffering from the spleen. It was a convenient device to keep one's hero on the move. Byron endowed it with a new thrill; René, Adolphe, Oberman, and their cosufferers received a transfusion of daemon blood.

In various works that I have glanced through in connection with my *Onegin*, I have found the following authors referring to the subject of this note:

Voltaire, in his *Pucelle d'Orléans* (1755), VIII: "[Sire Christophe Arondel, of the *altière* and *indifférente* soul] Parfait Anglais, voyageant sans dessein... parcourait tristement l'Italie; | Et se sentant fort sujet à l'ennui, | Il amenait sa maîtresse [Lady Judith Rosamore] avec lui..." (intonations that, incidentally, were to be curiously echoed a hundred years later in Alfred de Musset's famous reference to Byron and "sa Guicciolí"—

rhyming with *lui*); and in Voltaire's *La Guerre civile de Genève*, III (1767), there is a similar gentleman, "milord Abington," who "voyageait [in Switzerland] tout excédé d'ennui, | Uniquement pour sortir de chez lui; | Lequel avait, pour charmer sa tristesse, | Trois chiens courans, du punch, et sa maîtresse."

James Boswell, in *The Hypochondriack*, no. 1 (*The London Magazine*, October, 1777):

I flatter myself that *The Hypochondriack* may be agreeably received as a periodical essayist in England, where the malady known by the denomination of melancholy, hypochondria, spleen, or vapours, has been long supposed almost universal.

Further, no. v (February, 1778), he draws a distinction between Melancholy and Hypochondria, defining the first as "gravely dismal" and the second as "fantastically wretched." And of course the malady grades at various points into the classical sense given to it in essays on hypochondriasis and hysteria by medical men. In France, La Fontaine had used the noun *hypocondre* (*Fables*, bk. II, no. XVIII: "Chatte métamorphosée en femme") in the sense of "madly extravagant," which coincides with the first part of Boswell's definition only.

La Harpe's *Lycée* (1799; quoted from 1825 edn., V, 261):

Je ne sais si même en Angleterre, où l'on connait une maladie endémique qui est le dégoût de la vie, on parlerait ainsi [as Seneca does] de la passion de la mort; et le spleen n'était pas connu à Rome.

See also n. to XXXVII : 6-10, Parny's "Spleen, noir ...," and the *chyorniy* (black) *splin* in Six : XV : 3 (in nn. to Six : XV-XVI).

Nodier, writing to a friend (Goy) in 1799:

Je ne suis plus capable d'éprouver aucune sensation vive. ... A vingt ans j'ai tout vu, tout connu ... épuisé la lie

de toutes les douleurs. . . . Je me suis aperçu à vingt ans que le bonheur n'était pas fait pour moi.

Stendhal, 1801 (at eighteen): "... ma maladie habituelle est l'ennui" (*Journal*).

Chateaubriand's René (1802) perceived himself existing only "par un profond sentiment d'ennui."

Mme de Krüdener (1803): "Quelle est donc cette terrible maladie, cette langueur...ennui insupportable...mal affreux..." (Gustave de Linar brooding in *Valérie*).

Senancour, *Oberman* (1804), Letter LXXV:

Dès que je sortis de cette enfance que l'on regrette, j'imaginai, je sentis une vie réelle; mais je n'ai trouvé que des sensations fantastiques: je voyais des êtres, il n'y a que des ombres: je voulais de l'harmonie, je ne trouvais que des contraires. Alors je devins sombre et profond; le vide creusa mon cœur; des besoins sans bornes me consumèrent dans le silence, et l'ennui de la vie fut mon seul sentiment dans l'âge où l'on commence à vivre.

Pushkin had not read *Oberman* when composing *Onegin*; he acquired a copy of the first edition only when the *Delorme* epigraph (1829, from the first paragraph of Oberman's Letter XLV) and a second edition (1833) had made the incomparably charming *Oberman* famous at last. Lermontov imitates the *Oberman* intonations (given above) in \mathcal{A} Hero of Our Time (1840), Pechorin's journal, "June 3."

Pushkin's critical acumen is curiously absent in the extravagant praise he bestows in a published article (*Literaturnaya gazeta*, XXXII [1831], 458-61; see Acad 1936, V, 598) on Sainte-Beuve's derivative and mediocre *Vie*, poésies et pensées de Joseph Delorme (1829). He found therein unusual talent and considered that "never, in any language, has naked spleen expressed itself with such dry precision"—an epithet that is

singularly inappropriate in regard to Sainte-Beuve's florid platitudes.*

Chateaubriand, 1837 (*Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, ed. Levaillant, pt. II, bk. I, ch. 11):

Une famille de Renés-poètes et de Renés-prosateurs a pullulé; on n'a plus entendu bourdonner que des phrases lamentables et décousues . . . il n'y a pas de grimaud . . . qui, à seize ans, n'ait épuisé la vie . . . qui, dans l'abîme de ses pensées, ne se soit livré au "vague de ses passions."

Finally-Byron, Don Juan, XIII, CI, 5-8:

For ennui is a growth of English root,

Though nameless in our language:—we retort The fact for words, and let the French translate That awful yawn which sleep can not abate.

(The last line is a good one, with a first-rate imitation of a yawn at the end.)

Pichot's n. 40 to this passage reads: "*Ennui* est devenu un mot anglais à la longue. Nos voisins ont les mots *blue devils, spleen*, etc., etc."

Byron and Pichot had been forestalled by Maria Edgeworth and her translator, Mme E. de Bon: "For this complaint [ennui] there is no precise English name; but alas! the foreign term is now naturalized in England." (Maria Edgeworth, *Ennui or the Memoirs of the Earl of Glenthorn* [written in 1804, pub. London, 1809], ch. 1. This "Tale of Fashionable Life," hinging on a change at nurse, appeared in French in 1812, but was not very popular on the Continent.)

G. Fonsegrive has thus described ennui in La Grande

"... je valsais ...

^{*}Incidentally, in one of those *Delorme* poems—namely, in one inscribed to Musset—there occurs the most ludicrous piece of imagery I have ever found in French romantic verse:

Entourant ma beauté de mon bras amoureux, Sa main sur mon épaule, et dans ma main sa taille; Ses beaux seins suspendus à mon cœur qui tressaille Comme à l'arbre ses fruits . . ."

Encyclopédie, vol. XV (c. 1885), and his definition (which I translate) applies to the splenetic moods of all fictional characters allied to Onegin:

"Ennui" is a sensation of sadness, anxious and confused, derived from a feeling of lassitude and impotency....

After having enjoyed a pleasure, the soul that reflects is surprised at finding pleasure so vapid. . . .

When this discrepancy between hope and reality... has been registered several times ... the soul sees therein a natural law.... This is René's state of mind.

The profession of Epicureanism engenders ennui.

Judged by a number of early-nineteenth-century English and French novels that I have perused, the four main outlets or cures for ennui found by the characters suffering from it were: (1) making a nuisance of oneself; (2) committing suicide; (3) joining some well-organized religious group; and (4) quietly submitting to the situation.

The vocabulary of ennui also includes *skuka* ("boredom," "tedium," "dullness") and *toska* (a preying misery, a gnawing mental ache), which, according to his prosodic needs, Pushkin often uses as synonyms of *handra*.

9 | Child-Hordld: Pronounced "Chilled-Garóld," influenced by the French pronunciation, "Shild-Aróld." This is Childe Harold, the hero of Byron's "romaunt" (1812), along whose brow "oft-times in his maddest mirthful mood | Strange pangs would flash" (I, VIII), whom "none did love" (IX), whose "early youth [had been] misspent in maddest whim" (XXVII), who has "moping fits" (XXVIII), who is bid to loath his present state by a "weariness which springs | From all [he] meets"—the "settled, ceaseless gloom | The fabled Hebrew Wanderer bore" (inserted tetrameters, after LXXXIV), and so forth. In a canceled draft of this verse $(2369, f. 16^{\circ})$ the name of Byron's man is replaced by that of Benjamin Constant's man, Adolphe.

Pichot and de Salle, when referring to this work in the table of contents prefixed to vol. I of the *Œuvres de Lord Byron* (1819), spelled its title "Childe-Arold." In the fourth French edition the poem appeared in vol. II (1822) as *Childe-Harold*, "poème romantique" (which explains, incidentally, why Pushkin, in a celebrated letter from Odessa to Moscow, in spring, 1824, termed his *EO* "the motley strophes of a romantic poem," *romanticheskoy poemi*. In alluding to *Childe Harold*, later French practice was not only to hyphenize the two words, but to omit the *e* in the first, e.g., Béranger, 1833, in a note to couplets inscribed to Chateaubriand: "... le chantre de Child-Harold est de la famille de René."

Cf. the end of One : XXXVIII with Byron's I, VI, in the French version: "Or Childe-Harold avait le cœur malade d'ennui....Il allait errer seul, et dans une triste rêverie."

The aggregate result of French pronunciation and custom, some knowledge of the English ch, Russian transcription from a mixture of English and French, and, last but not least, the printers' carelessness caused the name Childe Harold (of which the absurd but accepted Russian transliteration is *Chayl'd Garol'd*) to undergo a number of mutations in the various editions of *EO* during Pushkin's lifetime:

Child-Harold (Fr.), One: xxxvIII: 9-1825, 1829 (thus also in the draft, 2269, f. 16^v);

Child-Horald (Fr.), One : xxxvIII : 9-1833, 1837;

Chil'd Garol'd (Russ.), Four : XLIV : 1-1828, 1833, 1837 (with a hyphen in the draft, 2370, f. 77^{v} , and in both fair copies);

Chel'd Garol'd (Russ.), n. 4—1825; Chil'd Garol'd (Russ.), n. 4—1829; Chal'd Garol'd (Russ.), n. 5-1833;

Chal'd Garal'd (Russ.), n. 5-1837.

The last four consecutive varieties occur in Pushkin's note to One : XXI : 14. In the draft of the note, this is abbreviated "Ch H," as if by using the Russian letter Ch Pushkin was reminding himself to pronounce the English correctly and not in the French manner (sh).

Garol'd in Russian, as of course Harold in French, is accented on the ultima. The hyphen is derived from the French manner of linking first names (e.g., Charles-Henri). Actually, of course, "Childe" is an archaic term denoting a youth of tender birth, especially a budding knight.

See also my n. to Four : XLIV : 1.

Russian commentators keep overlooking the significant fact that in Pushkin's day Russian writers knew the literatures of England, Germany, and Italy, as well as the works of the ancients, not from original texts but from the stupendous exertions of French paraphrasts. The ignoble Russian adaptations of popular European novels were read only by the lower classes, whereas the admirable melodies of Zhukovski's versions of English and German poems won such triumphs for Russian letters as to make negligible the loss Schiller or Gray suffered in adaptation. The gentleman author, the St. Petersburg fashionable, the ennuied hussar, the civilized squire, the provincial miss in her linden-shaded château of painted wood-all read Shakespeare and Sterne, Richardson and Scott, Moore and Byron, as well as the German novelists (Goethe, August Lafontaine) and Italian romancers (Ariosto, Tasso), in French versions, and French versions only.

The first French translator of Byron seems to have been Léon Thiessé (Zuleika et Sélim, ou la Vierge d'Abydos, Paris, 1816), but his version was little read. Fragments of the four cantos of Childe Harold, as well as passages from The Prisoner of Chillon, The Corsair, and The Giaour, appeared anonymously in La Bibliothèque universelle de Genève, series Littérature, vols. V-VI (1817), vols. VII and IX (1818), and vol. XI (1819). It is to these versions (which Byron himself, whose French was limited, preferred to Pichot's!) that, for example, Vyazemski refers in a letter of Oct. 11, 1819, to A. Turgenev in Petersburg: "I am permanently immersed in the surf of poetry, reading and rereading Lord Byron—in miserable French excerpts, of course." In France, about the same time, Lamartine and Alfred de Vigny were depending on the same Geneva source.

By 1820, eager Russian readers had already at their disposal the first four volumes of Pichot's and de Salle's first edition (1819) of Byron's works in French, and it is in these prose versions, pale and distorted shadows of the original, that Pushkin read for the first time (possibly during the journey from Petersburg to Pyatigorsk, and certainly at Pyatigorsk, with the Raevski brothers, in the summer of 1820; see nn. to XXXIII) Le Corsaire, Manfred, and the first two cantos of Le Pèlerinage de Childe-Harold. Visions of the Raevski girls (who had learned their English from a governess) teaching, in bowers and grots, the language of Byron to a studious albeit love-stricken Pushkin are the mild hallucinations of Russian editors. It should be noted that while turning the entire poetic production of Byron into easy French prose, Pichot not only made no attempt to be accurate, but methodically transposed the text into the most hackneyed, and thus most "readable," French of the previous age.

In that first edition of Byron's *Œuvres* the translators, Amédée Pichot and Eusèbe de Salle, remained anonymous. In the second, they used the joint pseudonym "A. E. de Chastopalli," which is an (imperfect) anagram of their names and by a bizarre coincidence resembles the

Russian word for "six-fingered" (*shestipaliy*). In the course of the third edition, A. P. and E. D. S. quarreled (see Pichot's note, VI, 241), and beginning with vol. VIII (1821), Pichot became alone responsible for the translation. Here is a brief description of the four editions of this monumental and mediocre product, all brought out in Paris by Ladvocat (for additional bibliographic details, see the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue and the list of French translations in Edmond Estève's *Byron et le Romantisme français* [Paris, 1907], pp. 526–53):

(1) Œuvres de lord Byron, "traduits de l'anglais," 10 vols., Paris, 1819–21 (Le Corsaire, Lara, and Adieu are in vol. I, 1819; Le Siège de Corinthe, Parisina, Le Vampire, Mazeppa, and short pieces are in vol. II, 1819; La Fiancée d'Abydos and Manfred are in vol. III, 1819; the first two cantos of Le Pèlerinage de Childe-Harold are in vol. IV, 1819; the third canto of Childe-Harold, Le Giaour, and Le Prisonnier de Chillon are in vol. V, 1820; the first two cantos of Don Juan are in vol. VI, 1820; the fourth canto of Childe-Harold is in vol. VII, 1820; Beppo and short pieces are in vol. VIII, 1820; four acts of Marino Faliero are in vol. IX, 1820; the fifth act of Marino Faliero, short pieces, and Les Poètes anglais et les Critiques écossais are in vol. X, 1821).

(2) Œuvres complètes de lord Byron, tr. A. E. de Chastopalli (first 3 vols.) and A. P. (last 2 vols.), 5 vols., 1820-22 (vol. II, 1820, includes *Le Giaour*, the first two cantos of *Don Juan*, and *Beppo*; vol. III, 1820, contains *Childe-Harold* and *Le Vampire*; the latter was dropped in later editions).

(3) Œuvres complètes de lord Byron, tr. A. P. and E. D. S. (first 7 vols.) and A. P. only (last 3 vols.), 1821-22.

(4) Œuvres de lord Byron, "4° édition entièrement revue et corrigée," tr. "A. P. . . . t," with an introduction by Charles Nodier, 8 vols., 1822–25 (the first 5 vols. came out in 1822, with *Childe-Harold* in vol. II; the first five cantos of *Don Juan* are in vol. VI, 1823, and the rest in vol. VII, 1824).

For my notes in the commentary I have consulted edns. 2 and 4.

According to a letter of November, 1824, written by Pushkin, in Mihaylovskoe, to Vyazemski, in Moscow, our poet when he "read the first two cantos [of *Don Juan*] immediately said to [Nikolay] Raevski that it was Byron's masterpiece, and was greatly pleased to learn later that this opinion was shared by W. Scott" (Scott's remarks, made in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, May 19, 1824, had been quoted in Russian periodicals).

These first two cantos of Pichot's *Don Juan* appeared in vol. VI, 1820, and Pushkin read them, and the last two cantos of *Le Pèlerinage*, for the first time between January, 1821, and May, 1823, either at Kamenka (province of Kiev) or in Kishinev. Afterward, not later than autumn, 1824, he found the two cantos of *Don Juan*, which he knew already, and three more cantos of the stuff, in vol. VI of Pichot's 4th edn. (1823).

In the same letter to Vyazemski of November, 1824, from Mihaylovskoe to Moscow, the passage preceding the one already quoted reads: "What a marvel—Don Juan! I know only the first five cantos."

Finally, in December, 1825, at Mihaylovskoe, through the good offices of his friends Annette Vulf and Anna Kern, Pushkin obtained from Riga (the gateway to the literary West) the remaining eleven cantos of *Don Juan*, in Pichot's vol. VII (1824).

It may be useful at this point to give a few examples in chronological order illustrating our poet's tussle with the English language. They are based mainly on the MS texts collected in *Rukoyu Pushkina* (In Pushkin's Hand) by Lev Modzalevski, Tsyavlovski, and Zenger (Moscow, 1935).

For some quaint reason, it often happened, among fashionable Russian families of the early 1800's, that, whereas children of both sexes were taught French, only the girls were taught English. Pushkin's sister Olga had at one time a Miss or Mrs. Bailey or Baillie for English governess, but it is quite certain that, when in 1820 our poet left St. Petersburg for his fertile Southern exile, he had no English. Like most Russians, Pushkin was a poor linguist: even the fluent French he had learned as a child lacked personal tang and, judging by his letters, remained throughout his life limited to a brilliant command of eighteenth-century ready-made phrases. When he tried to teach himself English (as he did at various odd moments from the early 1820's to 1836), he never went beyond the beginner's stage. From a letter of June, 1824 (to Vyazemski from Odessa), we find that he still pronounced the "Childe" of Childe Harold as "chilled," which is only one step removed from the French pronunciation.

In 1821 or 1822, Pushkin, attempting to translate without a crib the first fourteen lines of Byron's *The Giaour* into French (the choice of the "into" language is characteristic), renders "the Athenian's grave" as "la grève d'Athènes"—"the strand of Athens," a schoolboy's howler. In Pushkin's magic Russian this came out as *prah Afin*, "the dust of Athens."

In 1853, when attempting, with the help of an English-French dictionary, a literal translation into Russian of the beginning of Wordsworth's *The Excursion*, Pushkin fails to understand such simple phrases as "brooding clouds," "twilight of its own," "side-long eye," and "baffled" (Cahier 2374, f. 31^{r-y}).

In 1835, while compiling a note based on *Mémoires de lord Byron* (ed. Thomas Moore, tr. Mme Louise Sw[anton]-Belloc, Paris, 1830), he still writes "mistriss" for "Mrs.," in the dreadful French manner, just as he had ten years before in a draft of EO, Two: xx1b: 1. In 1836, he still does not know the simplest forms of English and renders 1. 14 of Byron's To Ianthe, "guileless beyond . . . imagining," in Russian prose as (if we English it back) "not false to the imagination," and "hourly brightening" as "a minute's gleam."

No wonder that only a few pages, in several places at random, are cut in his copy of P. J. Pollock's *Cours de langue anglaise*...(St. Petersburg, 1817).*

- 11 / boston / bostón: Not the dance, but the card game, a member of the whist family. This "Russian boston" differs only slightly (diamonds, for instance, not hearts, are the top color) from the ordinary boston. It is a variation of the Fontainebleau boston.
- 12 One is obliged to go all the length of an English Alexandrine to render a Russian tetrameter exactly! Truly, a rare, paradoxical case.
- 13 / Nichtó ne trógalo egó: A Gallicism (rien ne le touchait) that as late as 1860 was still being criticized even by some Westernizers. Today the formula is completely at home in the Russian language.

VARIANTS

3 Draft (2369, f. 16^v):

a paltry imitation of the spleen . . .

9 Draft (ibid.), canceled:

But like Adolphe, gloomy and languid . . .

^{*}According to "Biblioteka A. S. Pushkina," a bibliographic description of Pushkin's library by Boris Modzalevski, in *P. i ego sovr.*, III, 9–10 (1909), 312.

XXXIX, XL, XLI

Nothing in Pushkin's manuscripts has been found that might lend itself to an insertion under these stanza headings. In the fair copy, XLII immediately follows XXXVIII. It is not unthinkable that this gap is a fictitious one, with some musical value—the artifice of a wistful pause, the imitation of a missed heartbeat, the mirage of an emotional horizon, false asterisks of false suspense.

XLII

6 / Say and Bentham: The inimitable Brodski hints that the "bourgeois liberalism" of Jean Baptiste Say's *Traité* d'économie politique (1803) and the "oracular babble" (teste Marx) of the learned jurist Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) could not satisfy Onegin's subconscious Bolshevism. A delightful notion.

Pushkin (later) had in his library Œuvres de J. Bentham, jurisconsulte anglais (Brussels, 1829–31, 3 vols., uncut). He also had Say's Petit Volume contenant quelques aperçus des hommes et de la société (2nd edn., Paris, 1818).

- 9 / *neporochni*: "Immaculate," "stainless," "sinless"—all these are possible renderings of this vague epithet.
- 13 / so inaccessible: Playing the scholiast, Pushkin in his n. 7 refers the reader to Mme de Staël's *Dix Ans* [or *Années*] d'exil. I have perused, in that posthumous work (1818), its last ten chapters, wherein de Staël, a poor observer, describes her visit to Russia in 1812 (she arrived in July) that so curiously synchronized with Napoleon's less happy venture. The passage to which no doubt Pushkin alludes occurs in pt. II, ch. 19; the lady is speaking of a fashionable St. Petersburg boarding

school for girls: "La beauté de leurs traits n'avoit rien de frappant, mais leur grâce étoit extraordinaire; ce sont des filles de l'Orient, avec toute la décence que les mœurs chrétiennes ont introduite parmi les femmes." The *décence* and *mœurs chrétiennes* must have greatly amused Pushkin, who had no illusions about the morals of his fair coevals. Thus the irony describes a full circle.

VARIANT

 9^{-12} The first edition of the chapter gives:

Moreover, they're so stately, so sinless, so intelligent, so full of piety, preserve so chastely morals . . .

XLIII

1 The "young beauties," krasótki molodie, are courtesans, whom dashing rakes whirl away in light open carriages. This type of carriage came to England, through many stages of transliteration, as a droitzschka, but by the 1830's became in London a "drosker" or "drosky," almost reverting to its native form, drozhki.

Pushkin, in the fair copies, wavered between krasotki, "little beauties," and geteri, "hetaerae," or, in the disgusting London idiom of the day, Cyprians. In Russian there was no polite term for these girls (many of whom hailed from Riga and Warsaw). Eighteenth-century writers, including Karamzin, had tried to render *filles* de joie by the impossible nimfi radosti, "nymphs of joy."

2 | drózhki udalie: A difficult epithet to render. It ranges from such qualifications as "jaunty," "with a rakish air," "in dashing style," etc., to connotations of pluck, luck, bold unconcern, and the sort of gallant vitality that is associated with highway robbers and buccaneers. The

onomatopoeic value of the initial u (beautifully accented in the noun *údal*'), suggestive of war whoops, ululation, a whistling wind, or a moan of passion, and the coincidence of the d, a, l with the Russian word for *le lointain* (not merely distance, but the romance of distance, misty remoteness), add a singing note to the virility of *údal*', *udalóy*, *událïy*. A little further (XLVIII : 12), Pushkin uses *udaláya* as a stock epithet (bold, brave) for *pesnya*, "song."

3-4 / over the pavement of Petersburg / Po Peterburgskoy mostovoy: Pronounced pa peterbúrskoy mastovóy. Mark the double scud in this line and the spanking pa pe repetition that the verse is attacked with. Pushkin employed the same device in his long poem The Bronze Horseman: a Petersburg Tale (1833), pt. II, l. 188, where the animated statue of Tsar Peter, with a ponderous reverberation, gallops (I again give the o its positional value)

> pa patryasyónnoy mastovóy. over the shaken pavement.

Here the two rapid identical pa's, detonating the line, make it still more sonorous (in keeping with the beat of the bronze hoofs).

Some streets in St. Petersburg were cobbled, others macadamized. Pavements consisting of hexagonal blocks of pinewood fitted like joiner's work were introduced about 1830.

6 / Apostate from the turbulent delights / Otstúpnik búrnih naslazhdéniy: A somewhat similar term was applied by our poet (at the end of August, 1820, in Gurzuf, Crimea) to the anonymous Russian gentleman, hero of The Caucasian Captive, otstupnik sveta, "apostate from the grand monde," who, having found treachery in the hearts of friends, having recognized the madness of love dreams, and (ll. 75-76)

Weary to be the wonted victim of vain pursuits he long despised

traveled to the distant Caucasus (vicinity of Pyatigorsk —the only Caucasian region Pushkin then knew) in a Byronic search for inner "liberty," and found captivity instead. He is a vague and naïve prototype of Onegin.

XLIV

- 2 / by emptiness of soul / dushévnoy pustotóy: Cf. "my existence [is] a dreary void," Byron's letter to R. C. Dallas, Sept. 7, 1811.
- 4. A commonplace formula of the time. Cf. Matthew Lewis, *The Monk* (1796), ch. 9: "Unable to bear this state of incertitude, [Ambrosio] endeavored to divert it by substituting the thoughts of others to his own."
- 7 / deceit / obmán: This is not the enchanting obman (illusion) of Tatiana's favorite novels, but the cheap imposture of fashionable philosophies and party politics.
- 12-14 With this little professional aside, the second main character of Chapter One, Pushkin, now re-enters; he, rather than Onegin, criticizes contemporaneous literature in XLIV; and from XLV to the last (LX) stanza of the chapter, with the exception of LI-LV (and even here Pushkin's voice is heard in the first two stanzas), he will predominate.

VARIANT

14 In the draft (2369, f. 17^v), Pushkin hesitated between "pink" and "green" taffeta.

XLV

This and the next stanza are transposed in the 1825 edition of Chapter One.

- 2 / vain pursuits: The word suetá, as used here, implies a combination of fuss, bustle, worldliness, vanity, and idle show. Nowadays it is mainly employed in the first sense, except in the locution sueta suet (Lat. vanitas vanitatum). Pushkin and other Russian poets of his time had a romantic predilection for that meaning of sueta which corresponds to Wordsworth's "fever of the world" and Coleridge's "stir and turmoil of the world." The adjective based on the first sense is suetliviy (fussing), and the one based on the fourth sense is suetniy (vain, vacuous, frivolous).
- 3 In the draft (2369, f. 17^{v}), just beneath this line, Pushkin sketched in ink his own, slightly simian, profile, with the long upper lip, sharp nose, and upcurved nostril (somewhat like a written h or an upside-down written 7) that he gave himself as key feature in his autoportraits. The collar of his cambric shirt, English fashion, is highly starched and looks like winkers, its points projecting upward in front with a wide gap between. His hair is short. Similar drawings (says Efros, p. 232) are found on ff. 26^{v} and 26^{v} of the same cahier (drafts of Two : xxvII and xXIX-XXX).
- 4 / traits / cherti: A Gallicism, ses traits, his features, his "lines."
- 5 / to dreams the involuntary addiction / Mechtám nevól'naya predánnosť [note the archaic accent on -dán, instead of the modern pré-]: Cf. Seven : XXII : 12 / to dreaming measurelessly given / Mechtán'yu prédannoy bezmérno.

Onegin's reverism is supposed to be egocentric and sterile in contrast to Lenski's warm *Schwärmerei* (see n. to Two: XIII: 5-7). What exactly were Onegin's dreams in 1820 we neither know nor care (Russian commentators have hoped they were on "politicoeconomical subjects"); but that there must have been some rich and fantastic tinge to them is belatedly suggested by one of the greatest and most artistic stanzas in the entire romance, namely, Eight : XXXVII, where Onegin broods over his entire past.

6 / oddity / stránnosť: "Strangeness"; stranniy, "strange"; this is exactly the French *bizarrerie*, *bizarre*, so persistently employed by French novelists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to characterize their attractively freakish heroes. Pushkin uses the same epithet for both Onegin and Lenski (cf. Two: VI: 11-12; this would be in French "un tempérament ardent et assez bizarre").

To summarize: the "young scapegrace" of stanza II is now clearly portrayed. An attractive fellow, who—although opposed to poetry and lacking all creative capacity —actually depends more upon "dreams" (fanciful interpretations of life, thwarted ideals, doomed ambitions) than upon reason; uniquely bizarre—although this oddity is never to be fully revealed to the reader in direct description or otherwise; endowed with a cutting cold wit—probably of a higher and maturer type than that revealed by the brutal vulgarity of his speech to Lenski in Three : v; gloomy, brooding, disenchanted (rather than embittered); still young, but vastly experienced in "passions"; a sensitive, independent young man, rejected or on the point of being rejected by Fortune and Mankind.

Pushkin at the period of his life within which he retrospectively inserted a meeting with his creature

(represented as persecuted by vague forces of which the clearest are heartless mistresses and old-fashioned people critical of Romanticist trends) had got into trouble with the political police over some of his antidespotist (*not* prorevolutionary, as is popularly believed), widely circulated manuscript verses and was soon (early in May, 1820) to be expelled to a Southern province.

This stanza XLV is one of the most important ones of the chapter. This is how twenty-four-year-old Pushkin (born 1799) saw his twenty-four-year-old hero (born 1795). Not only is it a summary of Onegin's nature (all later clues to it in the novel—which it will take Onegin five years to live through, 1820-25, and Pushkin eight years to write, 1823-31—will be either modulated repetitions or a slow, dreamlike disintegration of direct meaning). It is also the point where Onegin comes into contact with the other main character of the chapter— Pushkin, the character who has been gradually built up by means of the previous sustained digressions or brief interpolations—nostalgic yearnings, sensuous enchantments, bitter memories, professional remarks, and genial banter:

II: 5-14; V: 1-4; VIII: 12-14 (in the light of the author's n. 1); XVIII, XIX, XX (Pushkin overtakes his hero and comes to the theater first, as he will come first to the ball in XXVII); author's n. 5 to XXI: 13-14; XXVI (to which have led asides in the three previous stanzas); XXVII (cf. XX); XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXII, XXXIV (the ballroom and nostalgic "little feet" digression developing the nostalgic ballet theme of XIX, XX); XLII (and author's n. 7 to it); XLIII: 12-14.

Pushkin now meets Onegin on equal terms and establishes similarities before drawing the line of demarcation later in XLV, XLVI, XLVII. He will listen with Onegin to the sounds of the night (XLVIII); will launch upon a third nostalgic digression ("beyond the seas," XLIX, L); will part with Onegin (LI : 1-4); will recall his introduction of his hero in II (LII : 11); will dissociate himself from Onegin (LV, LVI)—and, by implication, from Byron (who despite preambulatory reservations did Byronize his mental men); and will wind up the chapter with a few professional observations (LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX).

8 The specific ill-humor of the younger man (the fair copy reads even more familiarly, *ya bil serdit*, "I was cross") is compared to his friend's generic gloom. Here are the main shades of Onegin's Anglo-French moodiness throughout the romaunt:

tómnïy	languid, languorous
ugryúmïy	gloomy
mráchnïy	darkled
súmrachnïy	somber
pásmurnïy	clouded, begloomed, sullen
tumánnïy	bemisted, morose

This set should not be confused with the states of meditativeness that Onegin shares with other people in the world of our book, which are designated by the epithets:

toskúyushchïy	fretting, pining, yearning
zadúmchivïy	pensive, thoughtful, brooding
mechtáteľ'nïy	daydreaming, musing, given to
	reverie
razséyannïy	distrait, abstracted, absent-minded

A third set of epithets, denoting melancholy, is also employed in regard to Onegin, but is especially lavishly applied to the more poetical characters of the novel, Pushkin, Lenski, and Tatiana:

grústnïy	sorrowful
pecháľ'nïy	sad
unîlîy	glum, dejected (with nuances
	depending on the context)

XLVI

This preceded XLV in the edition of 1825. The error was corrected in the separate edition of Chapter Six (1828), errata.

1-2 / He who has lived and thought ...; 13 / banter blent ... bile: Cf. Chamfort, Maximes et pensées, in Œuvres de Chamfort "recueillies et publiées par un de ses amis [Pierre Louis Ginguiné]" (Paris, 1795), IV, 21: "La meilleure Philosophie, relativement au monde, est d'allier, à son égard, le sarcasme de la gaîté avec l'indulgence du mépris." (See also n. to Eight : xxxv : 4.) Under the draft of the last lines of the stanza Pushkin drew the figure of a demon in a dark cave and other

diableries (2369, f. 18^r).

1-9 There is a touch of the reported-speech style in 1-7 and of retrospective irony in 8-9. Onegin's speech is full of the pseudophilosophic clichés of his times. Cf.: "... we have both seen the world too widely and too well not to contemn in our souls the imaginary consequences of literary people" (Sir Walter Scott, *Journal*, entry of Nov. 22, 1825, on Thomas Moore).

XLVIa

A drafted fragment (2369, f. 29^{v} , where there is also the drafted Two: XVIa) may refer to a false start after One: XLVI:

It saddened me, oppressed me, pained me, but having overcome me in the strife, involuntarily he linked me

to his mysterious fate;
 I started looking with his eyes,
 with his cheerless discourses
 my words would sound in unison . . .

5-7 | Ya stál vziráť egó ochámi, | S egó pechál'nimi rechámi | Moi slová zvucháli v lád: This contains a marvelous fourfold alliteration based on the cha sound, which, with Pushkin, so often shimmers in passages of intense emotion, the two most famous being óchi ocharúyut ("eyes will enchant") in Talisman (1827) and ochéy ocharován'e... proshchál'naya krasá in Autumn (1833). To a Russian's ear the sound ch, which occurs in many beautiful words (such as chúdo, "marvel"; chári, "charms"; chúvstvo, "feeling"; chu, "hark"), is associated with the "chug-chug" of the nightingale's song.

Another charming alliteration on the letter ch occurs in *The Fountain of Bahchisaray* (ll. 493–96), where it is both emotional and onomatopoeic:

> Est' nádpis': édkimi godámi Eshchyó ne sgládilas' oná. Za chúzhdïmi eyó chertámi Zhurchít vo mrámore vodá

There's an inscription: by the acid years 'tis not obliterated yet. Beyond its alien characters, within the marble, water purls...

Baratinski has a somewhat similar, and even more sustained, alliteration in his *The Ball* (1827), ll. 171-74:

Sledť muchíteľnih strastéy, Sledť pecháľnih razmishléniy Nosíl on na chelé; v ocháh Bezpéchnosť mráchnaya dishála...

the traces of tormenting passions, the traces of sad meditations he wore upon his forehead; in his eyes there breathed a gloomy heedlessness . . .

(*Bezpechnost' mrachnaya*—a typical Baratïnskian tight knot of twisted meaning.)

Commentators have compared One: XLVIa with

Pushkin's short poem *The Demon* (1823), in its first draft especially, where the "tempter" has been identified with Aleksandr Raevski (whom our poet had first met in Pyatigorsk during the summer of 1820), son of General Nikolay Raevski, who courted Countess Elizaveta Vorontsov in Odessa; the assumption is that during Pushkin's sojourn there (1823–24) Raevski had his less experienced friend make love to the Countess in order to divert the husband's suspicions from himself. (See also n. to One : XXXIII : 1.)

It may be assumed that in messages exchanged between Pushkin and Eliza Vorontsov at that time remarks were passed, by Pushkin or his correspondent, criticizing or condoning Raevski's cynical ways—and the next step is to conjure up the origin of the Master Motto; but this is mere *biographie romancée*.

For a translation of *The Demon* and additional Raevskiana, see commentary to Eight : XII : 7.

XLVII

1-2 The publication Literaturniy arhiv, I (1938), reproduces (facing p. 76) a beautiful engraved chart from Pushkin's library showing the Neva's melting and freezing dates for 106 years (Hronologicheskoe izobrazhenie vskritiya i zamerzaniya reki Nevi v S. Peterburge s 1718 po 1824 god). In 1820, the ice broke up on Apr. 5, about a week earlier than the average date and some three weeks later than the earliest records. April and the beginning of May (except May 1, which was cold and wet, according to an observation in Otechestvennie zapiski, II [1820]) were warm, but there was an abrupt drop in the temperature on May 13; and on June 7 Karamzin wrote from Petersburg, in a letter to Dmitriev, "This year, we cannot boast of our summer: we have not seen fair days yet." Onegin left Petersburg about the time Pushkin did (May 9, 1820); their summer-night, or rather springnight, walks on the Neva embankment could not have taken place later than the first week in May (O.S.); about May 20 (N.S.; unless, of course, there is a vague backcast to June, 1819). In that latitude (60° N) at that time of the year the sun sets at 8:30 P.M. and rises at 3:15 A.M., with evening twilight ending not long before midnight, and with morning twilight beginning about half an hour after. These are the famous "white" nights (which are at their shortest in June: sunset 9:15 P.M., sunrise 2:30 A.M.), when the sky remains "limpid and luminous," although moonless.

- ³ Gnedich's piece, to which Pushkin refers in his n. 8, is *The Fishermen*, a long-winded and monotonous eclogue in unrhymed amphibrachic pentameters involving two shepherds who fish from the banks of one of the Neva islands (presumably Krestovski Island). The quoted lines come from the first edition of pt. II (1822, in the magazine *Sin otechestva*, VIII), which differs slightly from Gnedich's final text of 1831. This prolix quotation was no doubt prompted by the fact that our poet was grateful to Gnedich for supervising the publication of *Ruslan and Lyudmila* in 1821.
- 4-6 A very pretty example of Pichot's influence sneaking past Byron's is furnished by a line in this magically modulated stanza, where Pushkin describes his and Onegin's strolls along the Palace Quay, in a reverie of retrospection and regret.

Cf. Childe Harold, II, XXIV:

Thus bending o'er the vessel's laving side, To gaze on Dian's wave-reflected sphere, The Soul forgets her schemes of Hope and Pride, And flies unconscious o'er each backward year . . .

The French version (Pichot's 1822 edn.) is a wretched paraphrase:

Penchés sur les flancs arrondis du vaisseau pour contempler le disque de Diane, qui se réfléchit dans le miroir de l'Océan [hence Pushkin's "glass of the waters," vod . . . stekló], nous oublions nos espérances et notre orgueil: notre âme se retrace insensiblement le souvenir du passé.

Mark this curious and significant case: a reminiscence tainted by the influence of a hack coming between two poets.

XLVIII

- 1–4. The allusion is to a stilted mediocrity, the poetaster Mihail Muravyov (1757–1807). See Pushkin's n. 9.
- 2 / granite: The granite of the parapet. In the stanza Onegin and Pushkin are on the south bank of the Neva, on the stretch called the Palace Quay, and stand facing the Petropavlovskaya Krepost', the SS. Peter and Paul Citadel, a fortress used as a prison for political offenders on the so-called Petersburg Island, on the north side of the 500-meter-wide Neva.

In a letter to his brother Lev (November, 1824), when preparing the first edition of One, our poet wrote (from Mihaylovskoe to Petersburg): "Brother, here is [the idea of a] picture for *Onegin*. Find a skillful and prompt illustrator. Even if the picture be altered, see that... the scene remains the same.... I need it absolutely."

In Pushkin v izobrazitel'nom iskusstve, ed. A. Slonimski and E. Gollerbah (Leningrad, 1937), I find a good reproduction of that pencil sketch (MB MS. 1254, f. 25^{r}). It represents the two persons referred to in the stanza leaning upon the Neva's parapet, with numerals from 1 to 4 affixed by Pushkin to the various items. No. 1, "Pushkin" seen from behind, apparently con-

templating the river: he is a shortish man wearing a Bolivar top hat (from under which shoulder-length locks come down in a dense dark stream, corkscrewing at the ends—he had shaved his head in the summer of 1819, at Mihaylovskoe, after a severe illness, of which the less said the better, and had worn a brown curly wig until his hair grew long again), the tapering pantaloons of the times, and an hourglass-shaped, long-skirted frock coat with two back-waist buttons. He is leaning at ease with his left elbow on the parapet, feet crossed, the left one nonchalantly toed. No. 2, Onegin in profile, similarly dressed, minus the romantic curls. His pose is much more constrained than the poet's, as if he had just taken a big stiff step in order to lean perfunctorily on the parapet. No. 3, a sailing boat of sorts on the Neva. No. 4, a rough outline of the Peter and Paul fortress. Under this sketch, Pushkin scribbled in the same rapid pencil: "1. [Pushkin should be made] good-looking [horosh], 2. [Onegin] should lean on the granite, 3. boat, 4. fortress."

The 1825 edition, however, appeared without the picture. It was redrawn eventually by the miserably bad artist, Aleksandr Notbek or Nothbeck, and was one of a series of *EO* illustrations, six engravings, published in January, 1829 (in the *Nevski Almanac*, ed. Egor Aladyin). The boat has been deprived of its sail; some foliage and part of the wrought-iron railings of a park, the Letniy Sad, have been added along one margin; Onegin wears an ample fur carrick; he stands barely touching the parapet with the palm of his hand; his friend Pushkin now blandly faces the spectator with his arms crossed on his chest.

In mid-March, 1829, Pushkin reacted to this little monstrosity with an amusing epigram:

Here, after crossing Bridge Kokushkin, With bottom on the granite propped, Stands Aleksandr Sergeich Pushkin; Near M'sieur Onegin he has stopped.

Ignoring with a look superior The fateful Power's citadel, On it he turns a proud posterior: My dear chap, poison not the well!

The place name in the first line is that of a bridge across the Catherine Canal. It is curious to note that in the initial sketch Pushkin gave himself long dark hair, which immediately makes us think of Lenski, whose only physical characteristics are the epithet "handsome" and those curls. One would like to hear Onegin saying to Lenski in Chapter Two: "You know, you remind me a little of young Pushkin, whom I used to see in Petersburg."

At the same time (1829) Pushkin dedicated some licentious lines to an even worse daub by the miserable Notbek in the same series: "Tatiana writing to Onegin." This represents a portly female in a clinging night dress, with one fat breast completely bare; she sits sideways in a chair, facing the spectator, her laced feet crossed, her hand with a quill pen stretched toward a very formallooking table, with a curtained bed behind it. I have wavered whether to quote these lines. Here they are, for what they are worth:

> Through her chemise a nipple blackens; Delightful sight: one titty shows. Tatiana holds a crumpled paper, For she's beset with stomach throes.

So that is why she got up early With the pale moonlight still about, And tore up for a wiping purpose The *Nevski Almanac*, no doubt.

The funniest picture, however, is the one with which Notbek illustrates Six : XLI (referring to the transient amazon who stops to read the epitaph on Lenski's grave). It depicts an enormous female calmly sitting on a horse as on a bench, with both her legs dangling down one flank of her slender microcephalous white steed, near a formidable marble mausoleum. The whole series of six illustrations reminds one of the artwork produced by inmates of lunatic asylums.

- 5 / 'Twas stillness all / Vsyo bilo tiho: I wished to find some way to render the Russian "all was still" iambically, without either overaccenting the "was" or prefacing the phrase by an "and" not found in the text. James Thomson, whose idiom corresponds so nicely to that of Pushkin and other Russian poets writing a century after him, obliged me with the formula: " 'Tis silence all'' (*The Seasons: Spring*, 1. 161). It is rendered "Tout est tranquille" in a French version (J. Poulin's?), Les Saisons (1802).
- 8 / *Mil'onnoy*: This street runs from the Palace Square to the Field of Mars, parallel to, and south of, the embankment, from which it is separated by a row of palaces and with which it is connected by transverse little streets some hundred meters long.
- 9 See below, pp. 181–2.
- 10 / *Plilá*: I have used the literal translation of the verb, which is archaic in English, in order to link up stylistically the boat with the gondola in the next stanza, as Pushkin does.
- 12 / horn / Rozhók: I think that this means a French horn, not the shepherd's flute or flageolet, as some (basing themselves on a canceled draft, 2369, f. 18^v, reading svirel'—"flute" or "pipe") have suggested, and cer-

tainly not a whole orchestra—"the orchestral diversions of the Russian nobility," as Brodski grotesquely glosses. Had Pushkin in 1823 known Senancour's novel, one might have suspected that these sounds came from the moonlit Swiss lake on which Oberman's valet "donnait du cor" (with "deux femmes allemandes chantant à l'unisson") in one rowboat, while Oberman mused, alone, in another (*Oberman*, Letter LXI).

The epithet udaloy (see n. to XLIII: 2), used by Pushkin for "song" (*pésnya udaláya*), is a telltale echo of the adjective to "oarsmen" in Derzhavin's ode *Felitsa* (composed in 1782, pub. 1783), which contains the following lines (st. IX):

> Ili nad Névskimi bregámi Ya téshus' po nochám rogámi I grébley udalíh grebtsóv.

Or else above the Neva's banks I relish in the night the horns and rowing of the oarsmen bold.

This music on the waters has been assigned by solemn commentators * to the kind of slave orchestra so wittily described by Mme de Staël in reference to Dmitri Narïshkin's musicians, each of whom could draw only one note from his instrument. People said on seeing them: "[There goes] le *sol*, le *mi* ou le *ré* de Narischkin" (*Dix Ans d'exil*, pt. II, ch. 18). This orchestra had existed in the Narïshkin family since 1754. Actually, Pushkin refers to less formal merrymaking; but the impact of de Staël's observation was so overwhelming throughout the world that in mid-century we find Leigh Hunt referring in *Table Talk* to a man converted into a crotchet, and Major W. Cornwallis Harris, in his *Highlands of Aethiopia* (London, 1844), stating (III, 288)

^{*}See, for example, G. Gukovski, Hrestomatiya po russkoy literature XVIII veka (Kiev, 1937), p. 173n.

that an Abyssinian piper in the royal band is "like the Russian, master . . . of [only] one note."

A rare print, c. 1770, showing a horn band (fourteen men and a conductor) is reproduced in M. Pïlyaev's *Starïy Peterburg* (St. Petersburg, 1889), p. 75.

The confusion in the minds of commentators is no doubt enhanced by a passage in the diary of Anton Delvig's cousin Andrey (*Polveka russkoy zhizni*. Vospominaniya [barona] A[ndreya] I[vanovicha] Del'viga, 1820–1870 [Moscow and Leningrad, 1930], I, 146–47):

During the summer of 1830 the Delvigs [the poet and his wife] dwelled on the bank of the Neva, close to the Krestovski ferry.... We listened to the splendid horn music of Dmitri Narïshkin, [whose orchestra of slave musicians] played on the river immediately opposite the summer house occupied by the Delvigs.

9–14 and XLIX If the horn may be felt to have a faint local touch about it, the allusions to gondoliers and Tasso's octaves belong, on the other hand, to the tritest commonplaces of Romanticism, and it is a pity Pushkin used so much talent, verbal ingenuity, and lyrical intensity to render in Russian a theme that had been sung to death in England and France. The fact that it leads to the perfectly original and adorable nostalgic digression in One : L spites its banality but does not condone it.

The Romantic formula—

Rowboat+river or lake+musician (or vocalist) —which, from the *Julie* of Rousseau (the most notorious of the earlier offenders) to passages in Senancour, Byron, Lamartine, and others, continually haunts the poetry and fiction of the time, evolved this special mutation—

Gondola+Brenta+Tasso's octaves —and this had a most powerful fascination for the Romanticists, in both its positive and negative subvariations (gondolier sings Tasso; gondolier no longer sings Tasso).

It would be tedious to list, even briefly, the many tributes this theme received, but a few of the more obvious ones will be found in the course of the following notes.

14 / the strain of Torquato's octaves / Napév Torkvátovih oktáv: The Italian octave rhymes aeaeaeii.

Apart from French prose versions of Gerusalemme liberata (1581), by Torquato Tasso (1544-95), whose handsome witch Armida lures and lulls knights amid the indolent delights of an enchanted garden, the main source of a Russian poet's information regarding Torkvatovi oktavi was, in 1823, Rossini's opera (melodramma eroico) Tancredi (1st performance, Venice, 1813), founded on Tasso's poem, or rather on Voltaire's worthless tragedy Tancrède (1760); this opera was performed in St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1817 and later.

References to gondoliers singing Tasso are innumerable. Here are some that come to mind:

J. J. Rousseau (under "Barcarolles," in his *Dictionnaire de musique*, 1767) speaks of hearing them when he was in Venice (summer of 1744).

A sentence in Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (pt. 11, ch. 11): "Les stances du Tasse sont chantées par les gondoliers de Venise."

French versions of such passages in Byron as (1819): "Tis sweet to hear | At midnight... | The song and oar of Adria's gondolier" (*Don Juan*, I, CXXI, which Pichot in 1820 paraphrases à la Lamartine: "Il est doux, à l'heure de minuit... d'entendre les mouvements cadencés de la rame, et les chants lointains du gondolier de l'Adriatique"); or "In Venice Tasso's echoes are no more | And silent rows the songless Gondolier" (*Childe Harold*, IV, III, 1818).

The last is vulgarly echoed in 1823 by the inept

Casimir Delavigne's "O Venise ... tes guerriers | ... ont perdu leur audace | Plus vite que tes gondoliers | N'ont oublié les vers du Tasse" (*Messéniennes*, bk. II, no. v, *Le Voyageur*, ll. 29–32) and paraphrased with grim satisfaction in 1845 by Chateaubriand (who bore Byron a grudge for his never mentioning René, the Pilgrim's prototype): "Les échos du Lido ne le [Byron's name] répètent plus ... il en est de même à Londres, où sa mémoire périt" (*Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, ed. Levaillant, pt. I, bk. XII, ch. 4).

Pushkin was loath to part with the theme. In a fragment he wrote probably in 1827 ("Who knows the land"), Torquato's octaves "are repeated even now by Adria's waves," and in the same year, in September, he translated into Russian Alexandrines Chénier's poem:

Près des bords où Venise est reine de la mer, Le Gondolier nocturne, au retour de Vesper, D'un aviron léger bat la vague aplanie, Chante Renaud, Tancrède, et la belle Herminie.*

(Œuvres posthumes d' André Chénier, "augmentées d'une notice historique par M. H[enri] de Latouche, revues, corrigées, et mises en ordre par D. Ch[arles] Robert" [Paris, 1826], pp. 257–58.) The model of the poem (written probably in 1789, in England) is, according to L. Becq de Fouquières in his édition critique of Chénier (Paris, 1872, p. 427), a sonnet by Giovanni Battista Felice Zappi (1667–1719).

Finally, in 1829, accepting as it were the Pilgrim's melancholy statement, Pushkin in the course of an unfinished elegy lists various remote lands where he might seek to forget a "cruel mistress" (Russ. *nadmennaya*, Fr. *l'inhumaine*) and evokes Venice, where "the nocturnal boatman does not sing Tasso."

^{*&}quot;Chantant...Erminie," in Chénier, Œuvres, "texte établi et annoté" Gérard Walter (Paris, 1940), p. 509.

Actually, it would seem that Pushkin disliked Tasso (according to Mihayl Pogodin in a letter of May 11, 1831, to Stepan Shevïryov, who had "translated" a few octaves).

In a short poem (*Venetsianskaya noch*', *fantaziya*, 1824), dedicated to Pletnyov, the gentle blind poet Ivan Kozlov (1779-1840) had all these formulas too—Brenta, the besilvering moon, gondolas, and Torquato's octaves (see my n. to Eight : xxxvIII : 12).

Kozlov had taught himself to read English and to write it. Here is a poem he composed in that language, To Countess Fiequelmont (c. 1830):

In desert blush'd a rose; its bloom, So sweetly bright, to desert smiled; Thus are by thee my heavy gloom And broken heart from pain e'er wiled. Let, O let Heaven smile on thee Still more beloved, and still more smiling. Be ever bless'd—but ever be The angel all my work beguiling.

In a charming piece on Venice in *Curiosities of Literature*, Isaac D'Israeli (I quote from the 4th edn., London, 1798; incidentally, Pushkin had the 1835 Paris edn. in his library), the author alludes to what the Italian dramatist Carlo Goldoni (1707–93) has to say in his autobiography about a gondolier who took him back to Venice: he turned the prow of his gondola toward the city, singing all the way the twenty-sixth stanza of canto XVI of the *Gerusalemme* ("Fine alfin posto al vagheggiar . . ."—"At length her toilette o'er . . ."). D'Israeli continues (II, 144–47):

There are always two concerned, who alternately sing [Tasso's] strophes. We know the melody eventually by Rousseau, to whose songs it is printed.... I entered a gondola by moonlight; one singer placed himself forwards, and the other aft... their sounds were hoarse and screaming... [but at a great distance, the vocal perform-

ance is] inexpressibly charming, as it only fulfils its design in the sentiment of remoteness [as Pushkin heard it from Pichot's gondola, across a wilderness of liberty].

The music of Albion's lyre (see next stanza) in a Gallic transposition was, however, not the sole medium; Pushkin had also read the novels he supplied Tatiana with in Three : IX-XII. Valérie, Countess de M., and her husband's secretary, Gustave de Linar, in Mme de Krüdener's novel *Valérie* (1803; for more details on this work see n. to Three : IX : 8) realize the romantic dream of the age: they drift on the Brenta in a gondola—and listen to the "chant de quelque marinier" in the distance.

XLIX

See also n. to XLVIII : 9–14.

1-2 Adriaticheskie vólni, | O, Brénta! nét, uvízhu vás: The rhythms and instrumentation here are divine. The sounds v, to, tov, tav of the flowing line that closes the preceding stanza (napév Torkvátovih oktáv) now swell into the rush and rote of Adriaticheskie vólni, a double-scudded line, rich in echoes of previous alliterations; and then, in a glorious run-on, comes the sunburst of O, Brenta! with its last, apotheotic ta, and the rise of net, which is perhaps better rendered here by "yet" than by "no" or "nay."

And here starts a marvelous digression, which in a way had been promised by the breakers in One : XXXIII, where the evoked surf of the Black Sea had already hinted at some nostalgic exotic remoteness. Adria's waves and the brilliantly vibrating Brenta are of course loci of literature, as in Byron's *Childe Harold*, where "gently flows | The deep-dyed Brenta" (IV, XXVIII); but how heart-rending, how tender, their transfiguration! Pushkin had never been abroad (and this is why a blunder in

the Spalding and Deutsch versions that causes the poet to revisit Venice is so misleading). In a curious poem, the great poet Vladislav Hodasevich (1886-1939), a century later, described the kind of therapeutic shock he experienced when, upon visiting the real Brenta, he found it to be a *rizhaya rechonka*, a rust-colored, mean little stream.

5 / to Apollo's nephews / dlya vnúkov Apollóna: A Gallicism (and a Latinism in French): neveux, Lat. nepotes, "grandchildren," "descendants." In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the English "nephew" was often employed in this sense.

Cf. in the anonymous and mysterious Kievan epic, Slovo o polku Igoreve (1187?, 1787?), the apostrophe veshchey Boyane, Velesov' vnuche ("vatic Boyan, nepote of Veles"—where Boyan is supposed to be an ancient bard, and Veles a kind of Russian Apollo). See The Song of Igor's Campaign, tr. V. Nabokov (New York, 1960), l. 66. (See also n. to Two : XVI : 10-11.)

- 6 / the proud lyre of Albion: The reference is to Byron's poetry as transposed by Pichot into French prose.
- 8 / voluptuousness / négoy: Nega, with its emphasis on otiose euphoria and associations with softness, luxuriousness (iznezhennost'), tenderness (nezhnost'), is not exactly synonymous with sladostrastie, "sweet passion," volupté, "volupty," where the erotic element predominates. In using nega, Pushkin and his constellation were trying to render the French poetical formulas paraisse voluptueuse, mollesse, molles délices, etc., which the English Arcadians had already turned into "soft delights." Elsewhere I have rendered nega by the archaic but very exact "mollitude."

12 The "mysterious gondola" (the draft has "mystic," in the sense of "secrecy") glides straight out of Pichot's version (1820) of Byron's *Beppo*, XIX: "quand on est dedans, personne ne peut voir ni entendre ce qui s'y fait ou ce qu'on y dit." Byron's motto to *Beppo* is from *As You Like It* (IV, i); Rosalind's words, "... you have swam in a gondola," suggested to me the wording of XLIX: 12.

VARIANTS

your merry voice . . .

A canceled draft (ibid.) reads:

your limpid [prozráchnïy] voice . . .

L

This stanza is of such special importance, and a correct translation of it presents such special difficulties, that in order to attain absolute accuracy (while preserving a semblance of the iambic meter), I have found myself obliged to cripple the rhythm and allow a number of lame enjambments (10-11, 12-13, 13-14) that are absent from the original. I could have easily said: "beneath the heavens of my Africa," but Pushkin uses nébo, not nebesá; and "Afric's sky" was too hideous to envisage. Another tangle of difficulties attends the rendering of the third line: Brozhú nad mórem, zhdu pogódi. The preposition nad, though grammatically "above," means little more than "near" or "by" or "along" when used in connection with a body of water (cf. below, Four : xxxv : 11, nad ozerom moim, "along my lake," i.e., along its banks). I have kept "above" only because Pushkin might have said u morya, "by the sea," but did not, having perhaps in mind the elevation

of the Odessa seashore. The Russian word for "weather," pogóda, when used (as here) without an adjective, frequently implies (especially in southern Russia) favorable qualification: "propitious weather," "weather suitable for some kind of purpose." This sense is obsolete in English (the OED gives a few examples of it in the fifteenth century); in modern English usage, adverse weather is pessimistically suggested by the bare noun (and, similarly, pogoda in northern central Russia tends to mean not simply "weather" but "foul weather," despite the existence of the negative nepogoda). The English locution closest to pogoda in the sense employed here by Pushkin would have been "wind and weather"; but that "wind" is the flatus of a paraphrase unsuitable to my purpose. The harassed translator has to bear in mind that Pushkin's verse Brozhú nad mórem, zhdu pogódi is based on the common saying: sidet' u morya i zhdat' pogodï, "to sit by the sea and wait for (suitable) weather," meaning "to wait inertly for circumstances to improve."

And, finally, one cannot afford to overlook the wellknown fact that here, as in other poems, Pushkin makes an allusion to his political plight in meteorological terms.

"I beckon to the sails of ships ... 'Tis time to leave the dull shore ... 'mid the meridian swell ... [to] sigh ... for somber Russia," etc.: These themes, so beautifully expressed here in Russian and animated with such authentic emotion, are, technically, Romantic European commonplaces of the time. Pierre Lebrun, Byronizing in *Le Voyage de Grèce*, can. III, chaunts thus:

J'irai, loin de ce bord que je ne veux plus voir, Chercher . . . quelqu'île fortunée.

Vaisseau, vaisseau que j'aperçoi

One: L

Et pourtant je l'aimais [ce bord]! . . . Je regretterai ses collines; Je les verrai dans mon sommeil.

*

Here are five rhymed English "translations" of this stanza:

Spalding (1881):

When will my hour of freedom come! Time, I invoke thee! favouring gales Awaiting, on the shore I roam And beckon to the passing sails. Upon the highway of the sea When shall I wing my passage free On waves by tempests curdled o'er! 'Tis time to quit this weary shore So uncongenial to my mind, To dream upon the sunny strand Of Africa, ancestral land, Of dreary Russia left behind, Wherein I felt love's fatal dart, Wherein I buried left my heart.

Phillipps-Wolley (1904 [1883]):

When will my hour of freedom come? 'Tis time! 'Tis time! My beckoning hand Implores each sail, when e'er I roam Waiting fair weather on the strand. When shall I set my homing sail, And through the waves before the gale Their shattered crests about me toss Unstayed o'er troubled ocean cross Touch homeland and be free? 'Tis time the dreary land to flee To me ungenial, and my verse. 'Tis time to rest where south seas swell

'Neath native Afric's skies, to dwell In peace, and Russia's cloud-land curse Where, wrecked by grief, to love a slave, My heart has found itself a grave.

(Note the length.)

Elton (January, 1936, Slavonic Review):

High time, high time for me to reckon On freedom; comes she at my cry? I wait for weather, and I beckon The sails, and haunt the sea.—Shall I Never with storm-fringed waves be warring, Or travel swift and freely, sharing The trackless freedom of the sea? This element displeases me, This dry dull shore; I must be flying; For my own skies are African; And there, mid Southern surge, I can Bide, over sombre Russia sighing, —Russia, where once I suffered, where I loved; my heart is buried there.

Deutsch (1936):

'Tis time to loose me from my tether; I call on freedom—naught avails: I pace the beach, await good weather, And beckon to the passing sails. When, wrapped in storm, shall I be battling The billows, while the shrouds are rattling, And roam the sea's expanse, unpent, Quit of the shore's dull element? 'Tis time to seek the southern surges Beneath my Afric's sunny sky, And, there at home, for Russia sigh, Lamenting in new songs and dirges The land that knew my love, my pain, Where long my buried heart has lain.

Radin (1937):

Oh, will it come, my hour of freedom? For it is time to hear my cry.

One: L

I wait fair winds upon the seashore And hail the vessels sailing by. When shall I start my own free course? When, under storm clouds, shall I force My way across the battling sea And leave a land so harsh to me? And when at last I leave it, then By the warm seas beneath the sky Of sunny Africa I'll sigh For gloomy Russia once again, Where I had learned to love and weep And where my heart lies buried deep.

4 | Manyú vetríla korabléy: According to Bartenev, who had it from A. Rosset in the 1850's, Pushkin used to call (in 1824?) Countess Eliza Vorontsov "la princesse Belvetrille," because in Odessa, looking at the sea, she liked to repeat two lines from Zhukovski:

> Ne beléet [shows white] li vetrílo [sail], Ne plïvút li korablí.

These are from Zhukovski's ballad *Achilles* (1814), which consists of 208 trochaic tetrameters with rhymes abab; ll. 89–92:

From the shore with mournful air you will look: in the blank distance does a sail show white, are ships swimming [to harbor].

Bartenev misquotes this; and, furthermore, one cannot help wondering if the reference is not to Countess Vorontsov but to Princess Vyazemski.

5 / Under the cope of storms / Pod rizoy búr': The riza, suggesting to a modern reader rich vestments (festive or ecclesiastic garb), is the iris spot of the line, but it is not Pushkin's find. Cf. a line from Mihail Heraskov's poem *Vladimir* (1785), which describes the Christianization of Russia in the tenth century:

There Pósvist, wrapped around in storms as in a cope . . .

In rococo Russian, Posvist is the Slavic or pseudo-Slavic god of the whistling wind, a neoclassical *nepos* of Stribo (who is mentioned in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*), the strepitant god of atmospheric disturbance, son of Perun, who is the Slavic Jove.

10-11 / beneath the sky of my Africa / Pod nébom Áfriki moéy: A similar intonation occurs in connection with Pushkin's Anchar (Nov. 9, 1828), nine tetrametric quatrains—namely, in a canceled line (5), "the nature of my Africa" replaced in the final text by "the nature of the thirsting plain," which "generated on a day of wrath" the Antiaris or upas tree, a Malayan plant, visualized by Pushkin as growing in generalized tropical surroundings. The poem is based on a French translation by Pichot of a monologue in Colman the Younger's musical drama The Law of Java, first produced in London May 11, 1822.

In an epistle to Nikolay Yazïkov (Sept. 20, 1824, fortynine lines in iambic tetrameter), Pushkin invites him to Mihaylovskoe, where our poet's dark-skinned ancestor had retired from life at court and where (ll. 31-33)

> Beneath the screen of linden walks he thought in years of chilly age about his distant Africa . . .

-a process that directly reverses that in *EO*, One : L. For a detailed discussion of Pushkin's African descent,

see App. I, "Abram Gannibal."

\mathbf{LI}

4 / for a long time: Three and a half years. Within the chronology of the novel the rambles of its two main characters, Pushkin and Onegin, along the Neva take place in the "summer" (XLVII: 1) of 1820. The first

week in May is the latest period we can choose when adjusting "fiction" to "life." After having been denounced (by one Karazin, a littérateur) on Apr. 2, 1820, as a seditious epigrammatist, the real Pushkin left Petersburg for seven years in the beginning of May, 1820, thus exactly three years before he began EO (see also n. to Four : XIX : 5). Traveling post, he covered a thousand miles in twelve days, stayed for a few days in Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk), where he had been assigned to General Inzov's Regional Office, and set out with the Raevski family for Pyatigorsk on May 28. Although planning a trip to the Crimea as early as mid-April, he does not seem to have been then in meditatione fugae, as he was to be in October, 1823, when composing this stanza. He stayed at the N. Caucasian spas from June to August, 1820, spent the second part of August and the beginning of September in Gurzuf, Crimea (which Onegin was to visit three years later), thence proceeded to Kishinev (whither the Ekaterinoslav office, from which he was absent on sick leave, had meanwhile migrated), lived in Kishinev from Sept. 21, 1820, to about July, 1823, and clinched his Southern period of banishment with a year's stay in Odessa (where he was attached to the bureau of the Governor General), leaving for his Northern place of exile (till 1826), the Pushkin countryseat Mihaylovskoe, in the province of Pskov, July 31, 1824. The fragments of Onegin's Journey published during Pushkin's lifetime end with the first line of a fading-out stanza, "And so I lived then in Odessa ..." The intonation promises what we do learn from posthumously published remnants of the canceled continuation of the Journey-that Onegin and Pushkin meet again, in 1823, in Odessa, whence both set out for the North in 1824, Pushkin for Mihaylovskoe and Onegin for St. Petersburg (see also n. to Onegin's Journey, xxx : 13).

8 / U kázhdogo svoy úm i tólk: Fr. chacun à son goût. Apart from the usual difficulty of translating the unqualified tolk (notion, understanding, judgment, interpretation, etc.), there is an additional obscurity here. Does it mean that each of the creditors had his own views, or is this a transitional phrase introducing Onegin's individual attitude toward the matter?

LII

The wording of this stanza is awkward in the original. Derivations from "prepare" are repeated twice (after having been used once in the preceding stanza), and there are two "already's" (uzh). In l. z the pri smerti v postéle (from postelya, not postel') is the dissolution of a Gallicism, sur son lit de mort, "on his deathbed" (which had long ago entered Russian as na smertnom odre). It would have taken a minute to iron out all these creases by means of an English paraphrase, but I preferred to render them faithfully, even if this entailed a good deal of fumbling and fussing.

7 / drove / poskakál: "Translators" have had great difficulties with the verb skakat', which occurs several times throughout the novel. It means literally "to drive at a gallop": see, for example, Thomas Raikes, A Visit to St. Petersburg in the Winter of 1829-30 [Nov. 26, 1829-Mar. 25, 1830, N.S.] (London, 1838): "The four posthorses were harnessed to the carriage abreast: they went at a hand-gallop all the way, and we got over eight or nine wersts [a verst is equal to 0.6629 mile, or 1.067 kilometers] every hour" (Letter IV, from Mittau, Nov. 28, 1829); and his Journal (entry of Friday, Aug. 17, 1838):

Went on a party to Elnbogen, which is distant about eight miles [from Karlsbad], and famous for its romantic scenery. Count de Witt, who has twenty horses here, brought from Russia, supplied three carriages. We travelled at the Russian pace, full gallop, and reached our point in half an hour.

But employed in a general sense as here and elsewhere in the novel, the verb *skakat*', although presupposing a certain velocity of motion, means merely to drive in a carriage—unless the traveler be definitely stated to be riding on horseback, when the verb would mean to go at a gallop or fast canter.

11 / and 'tis with this that I began my novel: The circle is now complete (I-LII-I). It encompasses fifty-two stanzas. Within this circle, Eugene drives on the smaller, concentric one of his daily rounds (XV-XXXVI). The propelling force that spins the wheels of the chapter is the digressive spirit, Pushkin's participation, a succession of lyrical explosions. As Sterne said of his *Tristram Shandy* (vol. I, ch. 22), ". . . my work is digressive, and it is progressive, too. . . . Digressions, incontestably, are the sun-shine they are the life, the soul of reading." Pushkin added the internal combustion.

The next stanza (LIII) will continue the story begun in I-II. It will go on for another stanza (LIV)—and that is all there will be in the way of direct narrative in One (five stanzas: I-II, LII-LIV).

12 / manor / derevnya: In this sense derevnya (which otherwise may mean "village" or "countryside," campagne) means manor, countryseat, place in the country, domain, demesne, estate—and not "village," as "translators" have it here and throughout the novel (a village, or villages, might be in serf-owning days the most important part of the country estate, but that is beside the point). Pushkin himself in his correspondence, when writing in French, was prone to use the glaring Rus-

sism mon village (e.g., letter to Anna Kern, July 25, 1825: "... ce que j'ai de mieux à faire au fond de mon triste village, est de tâcher de ne plus penser à vous") instead of the correct mon bien or ma propriété or ma campagne (terms he and his fellow squires used elsewhere). Tatiana also uses "village" poetically in her epistle (Three), where the Pushkin-Anna Kern situation is as it were reversed (see also n. to Two : I : 1).

VARIANTS

11 Canceled draft (2369, f. 19^v):

Priéhali! skazál Iván. Ivan said: Here we are!

Apparently the coachman says this.

12 Canceled draft (ibid.):

but having ridden more than one day . . . Meaning: more than two hundred miles, with posters, which *could* be done in one day and night.

LIII

1-7 In this stanza, in which Pushkin treats the theme of death with a kind of thumping joviality, very different from the lyrical eschatologics of the next, Lenskian, chapter, the Russian-speaking reader will enjoy the amusing sets of alliterations in ll. 1-7, enhanced by the ponderous double sag (-2 - - - - - 2) in ll. 4 and 5—a rare rhythm, and exceptionally rare in consecutive lines:

Nashyól on pólon dvór uslúgi; K pokóyniku so vséh storón S'ezzhális' nédrugi i drúgi, Ohótniki do pohorón. Pokóynika pohoroníli. Popť i gósti éli, píli, I pósle vázhno razoshlís'... The alliterative elements in these lines are:

These recurrent sounds run through the following words:

nashyól (found), pólon (full);

pólon, k pokóyniku (to the dead man), pohorón (of funerals), pokóynika pohoroníli (l. 5), popť (the priests), pósle (afterward);

ohótniki do pohorón (l. 4), pohoroníli; éli (ate), píli (drank).

The components of *pohoronili* seem to have gone on a spree.

One question in connection with this passage has bothered me since childhood. How could it be that Onegin's country neighbors, the Larins, did not attend the funeral and the burial feast, of which such a definite echo seems to occur in Tatiana's dream (Five : XVI : 3-4), when she hears a clamor of voices and a clinking of glasses Kak na bol'shih pohoronáh, as at some big funeral?

- 8 / had been sensibly engaged / *délom zanyalís*': In this common locution, *delo* means anything worth while in implied contrast to *bezdel'e*, "idleness," "'doing nothing."
- 10 / Zavódov, vód, lesóv, zemél': Vodï, lesa sounds like the "Eaux et forêts" of French officialdom. The word closing the line makes a rather lame ending: the whole hobbles after the parts. Zavodov, vod is marked by a somewhat too conspicuous alliteration. Zavod has many meanings; "works" or "workshops" seems the amplest here, but that still leaves out a few possibilities. The zavodï belonging to a wealthy landowner of the time might in-

clude any kind of manufactory or mill, as well as a stud, a fish hatchery, a distillery, a brickyard, and the like.

LIV

A charmingly drawn figure in the left margin is identified by Efros (who, on p. 133 of *Risunki poeta*, reproduces the draft 2369, f. 20^r) as Amalia Riznich (1803–25) in shawl and bonnet. Her attitude, the position of her hands, suggest to shrewd Efros the quietude of pregnancy (a son was born to her in the beginning of 1824). The same commentator identifies a handsome profile in the right margin as that of her husband, Ivan Riznich (b. 1792).

3 / the coolness of the somber park / Prohláda súmrachnoy dubróvi: I translate dubrova (also spelled dubrava) as park and roshcha as grove. Dubrova is hardly ever used today. It has a poetical, stylized, pseudo-archaic, artificial ring.

In a *dubrova* deciduous trees (though not necessarily *dub*, "oak") predominate—as evergreens do in a *bor*.

In Pushkin's time, and earlier, *dubrova* was used in the sense of both "public park" and, less happily, private park—the stately alleys of trees on a gentleman's country estate. It was also used loosely in the sense of "small wood." An oak wood would be *dubnyak*, not *dubrova*.

4. / the bubbling of the quiet brook / Zhurchán'e tihogo ruch'yá: Cf. Philippe Desportes (1546–1606), Prière au sommeil: "[un petit ruisseau] doux-coulant' — to which the established Russian epithet tihostruyniy (gentlestreaming) is close, though not as close as tihotechniy would have been.

See also André Chénier, La Retraite:

Il ne veut que l'ombre et le frais, Que le silence des forêts, Que le bruit d'un ruisseau paisible . . .

Mark this demure rill on Onegin's estate. Many are the bubbling, babbling, brawling, purling, gurgling, chattering, warbling, murmuring brooks, streams, rills, and rillets running through the bosquets of western European poetry, with their sources in (Virgil's) Arcadia, in Sicily, and in Rome, and their most maudlin meanders in the topiary poetry of the Italian, French, and English sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; and there is invariably the cool shade of foliage near by.

It is with this literary landscape, imported mainly from France or through France, that in *EO* Pushkin replaces a specific description of summer in northwestern Russia, whereas his winters (as will be seen further) belong to the arctic order of such as were described by his predecessors and contemporaries in Russia, but are selected and arranged by him with incomparably greater art and talent.

Actually, the theme goes back not so much to Virgil's elegiac landscape, nor to Horace and his Sabine farm, as to the rococo Arcadias of later Mediterranean poets, the kind of idealized surroundings, turfy and thornless, that would tempt a knight-errant to take off his armor. A famous offender was Ariosto in his dreary Orlando furioso (1532). In 1826, Pushkin transposed into Russian several octaves (c-cxII) of Roland furieux, can. XXIII. The Comte de Tressan's prose version of octave C (where every couple of words is a cliché) goes:

... Le paladin [Roland, Comte d'Angers] arriva sur le rivage agréable d'une belle fontaine qui serpentoit dans une prairie émaillée de fleurs; de grands arbres dont le

faîte s'unissoit en berceaux ombrageoient cette fontaine, et le zéphir qui pénétroit leur feuillage tempéroit la chaleur sur ses bords tranquilles.

Our poet boiled this down to five iambic tetrameters with rhymes ababa:

Before the knight gleam, more pellucid than glass, the waters of a brook. Nature with amiable flowers its shady margin has decked out and planted it about with trees.

We shall recognize the "brook meandering through a meadow" in the landscape around Lenski's tomb (Seven), with a shepherd imported from Ariosto's octave CI.

Specifically the bodies of water mentioned in the novel are:

1. A brook or brooklet running through a meadow, and through a linden bosquet, from a spring located immediately west of Fairhill (Krasnogorie; see Six : IV : 3-4), Lenski's estate and the village on that estate; at this fountainhead he will be buried (dead duelists and suicides not being admitted to the consecrated earth of a cemetery).

2. A continuation of that brook through a neighboring valley, where it joins a river.

3. On the way to this river, it passes in the back of the Larin garden and park (near the linden alley where Tatiana is to be sermonized by Onegin) and, after turning around a hill (the one from which Tatiana will descry Onegin's manor), runs through groves belonging to Onegin.

4. The brook—an emblem of separation in Tatiana's mind—undergoes a curious transformation in her dream, becoming a swollen torrent that, however, is simultaneously perceived as the prototypical idyllic rill.

5. The anonymous river into which the brook flows consists of two stretches; one is the Larin river seen from the Larin house.

6. The other bend of this river is the local "Hellespont" where Onegin goes for swims; it shines at the foot of a hill on a slope of which his manor stands.

The river (*reka*, *rechka*) running through Onegin's estate is clearly indicated in the following passages:

Two : I : 7	[Onegin's house stood] above a river [réchkoyu]
Four : xxxvII : 7	
8	that ran under the hillside.
Seven : V : 5	Let's go with my capricious Muse
- 6	to hear the murmur of a park
7	above a nameless river [rekóy]
7 8	where my Eugene
9	[dwelt] recently
10	in the neighborhood
11	of youthful Tanya
Seven : xv : 8	long did Tatiana walk alone
9	And suddenly before her from a hill
10	she sees a manor house, a village,
11	a grove below hill, and a garden
12	above a luminous river $[rek \delta \gamma u]$.
Seven : xx : 4	[As seen from the window of Onegin's study] The dale is dark; the grove, asleep
5	above the misted river $[rek \acute{oy}u] \dots$

Connected with this river, or perhaps synonymous with it, are streams (*strui*, shafts of water) pertaining to a brook (*ruchey*) running through Onegin's estate:

One : LIV : 3	the coolness of the somber park,
4	the bubbling of the quiet brook
	[ruch'yá]
Four : XXXIX : 2	the sylvan shade, the purl of
	streams [strúy]

The streamlets (*struyki*, small shafts of water) of Onegin's brook reach Krasnogorie and Lenski's grave:

- Six: XL: 5 There is a spot: left of the village 6 where [Lenski] dwelt
 - 8 [there] have meandered streamlets [strúyki]
 - 9 of the neighboring valley's brook [ruch'yá].
 - 13 there, by the brook $[ruch'\gamma \dot{a}]$,
 - 14. a simple monument is set.

These streamlets (or other runlets coming from a fount, *klyuch*) fall into a river:

Seven : VI : 2	let us go thither [to Lenski's grave] where a rill [<i>rucheyók</i>],
3	winding, by way of a green meadow,
4	runs to the river [<i>reké</i>] through a
	linden bosquet.
7	the babble of the fount [góvor
	klyuchevóy] is heard.

This river (*rechka*, *potok*), or another river, runs through the Larins' estate.

Three : XXXII : 10	[As the sun rises] the stream $[pot \delta k]$
11	starts silvering.
Seven : xv : 1	\dots Waters [vod \ddot{i}]
2	streamed [struílis'] quietly.
4	[Fishermen's fire glowed] across the
	river [rekóy].

As in the case of Onegin's river, the Larins' river is supplemented, or replaced, by a brook or brooks:

Three : xxxvIII : 13	[Tatiana flees] across the flower plots to the brook $\lceil ruch'\gamma u \rceil$
Seven : XXIX : 1	Her walks last longer.
2	At present, here a hillock, there a
	brook $[ruche\gamma]$,
3	stop [Tatiana].

Seven : LIII : 10	[In Moscow she recalls] that
	secluded nook
	a limpid brooklet [<i>rucheyók</i>],
13	the gloom of linden avenues

In Tatiana's dream this brook (which in a generalized form—"by the old limes, by the small brook"—appears in Three : XIV : 4, where our poet plans an idyllic novel in prose) undergoes strange transformations:

Five : XI : 7	a churning, dark, and hoary torrent
	$[pot \acute{o}k]$
Five : XII : 2	Tatiana murmurs at the brook
	[ruchéy]
13	[she works her way] across the
Ū.	brook $[ruch e \gamma]$

We suspect that the same waters that connect the three country places are those which (now frozen) pertain to the mill (*mel'nitsa*) mentioned in Six : XII : 11 and XXV : 10, near which Lenski is dispatched in his duel with Onegin. There is also an "ice-clad river" (*rechka*) shining in Four : XLII : 6, which is made level with its banks by snow in Seven : XXX : 5, in fitting Russian conclusion to a Mediterranean theme.

One : LIV : 4–5; Three : XIV : 4; and Four : XXXIX : 2 are especially typical illustrations of the "eaux-etforêts" cliché. Pushkin took a perverse pleasure, it would seem, in finding various elegant Russian versions of this commonplace, already stylized to death through the centuries. It would be pedantic to list the innumerable examples of this "shady wood-murmuring brook" symbiosis in western European poetry; a few examples are given in my n. to Four : XXXIV.

5-8 Cf. Voltaire, La Bégeule (1772):

Le lendemain lui parut un peu fade; Le lendemain fut triste et fatiguant; Le lendemain lui fut insupportable.

- 11 / cards...verses: Pushkin refrained from describing Onegin the gambler, and in the next chapter discarded a magnificent digression on his own passion for banking games. (See nn. to Two:xvII:a-d.) The "verses" allude to the table books of fashionable ladies described in Four:xxvII-xxx.
- 12 / The hyp was waiting for him on the watch: Cf. Jacques Delille, L'Homme des champs, ou les Géorgiques françoises (1800), can. I, ll. 41-46:

Ce riche qui, d'avance usant tous ses plaisirs,

S'écrie à son lever: "Que la ville m'ennuie! Volons aux champs; c'est là qu'on jouit de la vie, Qu'on est heureux." Il part, vole, arrive; l'ennui Le reçoit à la grille et se traîne avec lui.

LV

As a poet, Pushkin does not show any genuine knowledge of the Russian countryside (as Turgenev and Tolstoy were to show fifteen years after our poet's death). Stylistically, he remains true to the eighteenth-century concepts of generalized "nature," and either avoids specific features and subjective details of landscape altogether or serves them up with a self-conscious smile as something that might perplex or amuse an ordinary reader. (I am not speaking here of grotesque selections of country-life characteristics slanted for the purpose of humor or social satire-any journalist can do that.) On the other hand, as an individual, Pushkin not only was fond of villatic seclusion, but actually needed it, especially in autumn, for creative work. It may be useful to the reader if at this point I sum up what is known of Pushkin's country sojourns.

As a boy, Pushkin spent half a dozen summers at Zaharino (or Zaharovo), his maternal grandmother's estate (acquired by Maria Gannibal in November, 1804, and sold in January, 1811), in the province of Moscow, district of Zvenigorod.

Pushkin's nine sojourns in Mihaylovskoe (see below, LV: 12), province of Pskov, district of Opochka, were: Autumn and winter, 1799, in his first year of life.

Mid-June to end of August, 1817, soon after graduation from the Lyceum.

Mid-July to mid-August, 1819.

Aug. 9, 1824, to Sept. 4, 1826—by order of the government.

Early November to mid-December, 1826.

Late July to second week of October, 1827.

May 8 to 12, 1835 (visits Trigorskoe on business).

Second week of September to mid-October, 1835.

Second week of April, 1836 (burial of his mother).

In the autumn of 1830, his last bachelor year, he spent three exceptionally fertile months (September through November) at Boldino, the paternal estate in the southeastern corner of the province of Nizhni-Novgorod, district of Lukoyanov, and stayed there again for two months of work in October-November, 1833. There was a third, and last, visit from mid-September to mid-October, 1834. (See also n. to Eight : XVII : 3.)

Other country places associated with Pushkin's literary occupations are the Davïdovs' estate, Kamenka, in the province of Kiev, where Pushkin sojourned in the winter of 1820-21, and the lands belonging to the Vulf family in the province of Tver, district of Staritsa (Malinniki, Pavlovskoe, etc.), where Pushkin stayed four times (a fortnight in February, 1827; from last week of October to first week of December, 1828; Jan. 7-16, 1829; and mid-October to first week of November, 1829).

1–2 In a letter to Vyazemski, Mar. 27, 1816, from Tsarskoe Selo, Pushkin thus complains of the scholastic seclusion at the Lyceum:

> Happy who in the tumult of the town dreams of seclusion; who only at a distance sees a wilderness, a little garden, a country house, hills with hushed woods, a valley with a sprightly rivulet, and even—a shepherd with his flock . . .

Cf. Ducis: "J'étais né pour les champs" (*Epître à Gérard*) or "C'est pour l'ombre et les champs que le ciel m'a fait naître" (*Vers d'un homme qui se retire à la campagne*).

2-4. The Country (Derevnya, 1819), a sixty-one-line poem by Pushkin in free iambics, contains the following related lines:

- 6 / by a wasteful lake / nad ozerom pustinnüm: The epithet I have used is somewhat archaic, but is textually closer than "desolate" or "lonely."
- 7 | and far niente is my rule | I "fár niénte" móy zakón:
 Cf. François de Bernis (1715-94), Epître sur la paresse:
 "... Goûter voluptueusement | Le doux plaisir de ne rien faire," or Louis de Fontanes (1757-1821), Ode (1812): "Je lis, je dors, tout soin s'efface, | Je ne fais rien et le jour passe | ... je goûte ainsi la volupté," and a hundred other passages in a score of other petits

poètes. The use of the Italian words far niente (which are given four syllables here as if they were Latin) is really a Gallicism (see, for example, Journal des Goncourt, entry Oct. 26, 1856: "un farniente sans la conscience de lui-même, sans le remords").

- 8 / Ya kázhdüm útrom probuzhdyón: The reader's ear is likely to comprehend this weak line as a current solecism for ya kazhdoe utro probuzhdayus', "I every morning wake up."
- 12 / former years: The summers of 1817 and 1819, when our poet visited his mother's country place, Mihaylovskoe (pronounced "me-high-loves-coy-eh"), which he wrote in French Michailovsk, Michailovsky, Michailovskoy, and Michailovsko. This Mihaylovskoe (also known locally as Zuyovo), situated in the province of Pskov, district of Opochka, twenty-six miles from that town, 120 miles from Novorzhev, 285 miles SW of St. Petersburg, and 460 miles W of Moscow, belonged to Abram Gannibal and then to his son Osip (Pushkin's maternal grandfather), after whose death, in 1806, it went to Nadezhda Pushkin. According to the land survey of 1786, the estate comprised about 5500 acres, of which one sixth was heavily timbered (mostly with pine), and several scattered hamlets with some two hundred slaves of both sexes.

The manor house (as described in 1838) was a very modest affair of wood on a stone foundation, one-storied, fifty-six feet long by forty-five and a half broad, with two porches, one balcony, twenty doors, fourteen windows, and six Dutch stoves. It was surrounded by lilac bushes. There were four habitable outbuildings, one with a bagnio, and a three-thousand-foot-long park with fir alleys and a linden avenue. From the garden terrace one could see the fourteen-foot-wide river Sorot (Sorot'),

winding its way through lush meadows, with a lake on either side of it: the small Malinets Lake and the very large Luchanovo Lake. The reader will find the river mentioned in the last stanza of *Onegin's Journey* (and there is a reflection of it in Four : xxxvII), and Luchanovo Lake figures in Four : xxxv and is mentioned in a poem that I cite in my notes to the first stanza of Chapter Two.

13 / in the [shade] / v teni: There is a clerical error here: v tishi, "in the stillness," which does not rhyme in Russian with dni, "days," in both separate editions of the chapter and in the complete 1833 and 1837 editions. The draft (2369, f. 20^v) has v seni, "in the shelter," corrected from v teni. A later correction in the fair copy has v teni (in Pushkin's hand), whereas the transcript has v tishi (in Lev Pushkin's hand).

LVI

 / Flowers, love, the country: The intonation is the banal one of similar enumerations of *objets charmants* in minor French poetry. Cf. J. B. Rousseau, *Odes*, III, VII:

Des objets si charmants, un séjour si tranquille, La verdure, les fleurs, les ruisseaux, les beaux jours . . .

2 / ye fields! / Polya!: Champs, employed in a pseudo-Latin sense (countryside, champaign, campagne), a painful Gallic cliché. Aller aux champs meant in the seventeenth century "to go to the country," aller à la campagne. See, for example, Etienne Martin de Pinchesne (1616–1705), Les Géorgiques de Virgile, II:

Champs, agréables champs, vos bois et vos fontaines Règleront désormais mes plaisirs et mes peines; Je cueillerai vos fleurs, vivrai de votre fruit, Content d'être éloigné de la gloire et du bruit. Praise of the countryside was by 1820 probably the most worn commonplace of poetry. From the great Horace's *Epistles* to Delille's rational trash, the theme had undergone a conventional crystallization and an artistic dissolution. Even the powerful melody of André Chénier at the end of the eighteenth century failed to give new life to the theme:

Quand pourrai-je habiter un champ qui soit à moi? Et, villageois tranquille, ayant pour tout emploi Dormir et ne rien faire, inutile poète, Goûter le doux oubli d'une vie inquiète? Vous savez si toujours, dès mes plus jeunes ans, Mes rustiques souhaits m'ont porté vers les champs... —*Elégies* (ed. Walter), II, ll. 19–24.

Mes rêves nonchalants, l'oisiveté, la paix, A l'ombre, au bord des eaux, le sommeil pur et frais. —*Epîtres* (ed. Walter), IV, 2, to Abel de Fondat, ll. 5–6

See also nn. to Four : XXXIV : 1-4.

Pushkin's *rustiques souhaits* were to be realized, somewhat unexpectedly for him, in the following August (1824).

See also Guillaume Amfrye de Chaulieu (1639–1720), who begins his *Des Louanges de la vie champêtre* thus:

> Désert, aimable solitude, Séjour du calme et de la paix, C'est toi qui me rends à moi-même; Tu calmes mon cœur agité; Et de ma seule oisiveté Tu me fais un bonheur extrême.

In Russian, the theme had already been illustrated as early as 1752 (when Russian metrical verses were not yet twenty years old) by Vasiliy Trediakovski in his Strophes in Praise of Country Life (Strofi pohval'nie poselyanskomu zhitiyu; an imitation of Horace in alternately rhymed trochaic pentameters—a meter to be

beautifully used in the nineteenth century by Lermontov and in the twentieth by Blok), in which the Arcadian *décor* is given in ll. 37-40:

> Meantime rapidly the river flows, sweetly little birds sing in the woods, shepherds blow their vibrant little horns, springs from hills pour forth a sonant stream.

3-4 / the difference between Onegin and myself; 10-11 / [I have not] scrawled my portrait like Byron: Cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, can. IV, dedication to John Hobhouse, Jan. 2, 1818:

... I had become weary of drawing a line which every one seemed determined not to perceive ... it was in vain that I asserted, and imagined that I had drawn, a distinction between the author and the pilgrim; and the very anxiety to preserve this difference, and disappointment at finding it unavailing, so far crushed my efforts in the composition, that I determined to abandon it altogether—and have done so [in the last canto].

In a letter (rough draft) to Nikolay Raevski, Jr., in July, 1825, Mihaylovskoe, while in the middle of composing *Boris Godunov*, Pushkin wrote:

La vraisemblance des situations et la vérité du dialogue ... voilà la véritable règle de la tragédie.... Quel homme que ce Sch[ekspir].... Comme Byron le tragique est mesquin devant lui... ce Byron... a partagé entre ses personnages tels ou tels traits de son caractère: son orgueil à l'un, sa haine à l'autre, sa mélancolie au troisième... ce n'est pas là de la tragédie.... Lisez Sch[ekspir]....

(This is a French eighteenth-century way of spelling Shakespeare; see, for example, La Harpe, in his satire $L'Ombre \ de \ Duclos, 1773$. There were other spellings: Ducis, in his *Epistle*, 1780, to the Curé [Lemaire] of Rocquencourt near Versailles, reveals himself as a fervent admirer of "Sakespir.")

7 / of complicated / Zamïslovátoy: The epithet has no exact English equivalent. "Abstruse," "deep," "mazywitted"—these and similar meanings are, ironically, implied.

LVII

Pushkin expresses here his concept of the workings of the poet's mind, in four stages:

1. Direct perception of a "dear object" or event.

2. The hot, silent shock of irrational rapture accompanying the evocation of that impression in one's fancies or actual dreams.

z. The preservation of the image.

4. The later, cooler touch of creative art, as identified with rationally controlled inspiration, verbal transmutation, and a new harmony.

2 / fancifying / mechtátel'noy: The word mechta, with its derivations, is the main heroine of the Russian romantic vocabulary. Its recurrence forces the translator to use the word "dream" over and over; even if he varies it where possible with "waking dream," "daydream," "fancy," and "reverie" (the last a maudlin and moribund vocable in English), still the process is somewhat of a strain. The combination of sounds in mechtá blending the mellow m with the kissing ch and the musical ta; the natural rhyming of the tá (feminine singular) or tí (gen. sing. and nom. pl.) with words meaning "beauty" (krasotá) and "flowers" (tsvetí), and "thou" (ti); and the numerous shades of meaning, from "chimera" to "ambition," that it serves to convey, make of it the hardest-working member of the romantic team. The term in fact had been overworked by the poets of the nineteenth century until it lost all meaning and all grace in the easy lines of poetasters and the fiction of lady

writers. Pushkin greatly favors not only mechta but all its derivatives such as mechtanie, or mechtan'e ("daydreaming"), mechtat' (to indulge in reverie), mechtatel' ("reverist," "dreamer"), and mechtatel'niy ("dreamy," "meditative"), which is close to zadumchiviy ("pensive"), another Pushkin philologism.

8-9 / a maiden of the mountains ... as well as captives of the Salgir's banks: The two references are: (1) to the Cherkes maiden in *The Caucasian Captive*, "a tale" (*Kavkazskiy Plennik*, povest'), begun in August, 1820, finished in spring, 1821, published in 1822, last week of August; and (2) to the harem captives in *The Fountain* of Bahchisaray (Bahchisarayskiy fontan), written in the first part of 1822, published Mar. 10, 1824, with an interesting foreword by Vyazemski.*

These poems, twin torrents of iambic tetrameters, unstanzaed, belong distinctly to Pushkin's youthful Orientalia. The rudimentary bibliography that our poet outlines in One : LVII will be amplified by him in the first stanzas of Eight, when he tours his works and identifies his Muse with their heroines.

According to B. Nedzelski (see Brodski, 1949), Salgir pronounced to rhyme with "gear"—is a name applied by the Tatars to *any* river in the Crimea; here it stands obviously for Churyuk (Churuk) River, near the Tatar town of Bahchisaray (Bakhchisarai), central Crimea, former residence of the Crimean Khans (1518–1783), afterward a tourist showplace. It may be, however, that Pushkin confused the Churyuk with the true Salghir River that flows in another part of the Crimea, crossing its eastern portion from the vicinity of Ayan northward to Simferopol.

^{*&#}x27;'Conversation between the Editor and the Classicist.''It attacks the review Blagonamerenniy.

LVIII

- 2 / with a dewy caress / Umil'noy láskoy: The same epithet is used in Two: xxxv: 11, and connotes attendrissement, softheartedness, a state of being touched by something that pleasantly affects one's sensibility. It has no exact English equivalent. Pushkin uses it practically as a synonym of umilyonniy, Fr. attendri, experiencing umilen'e, although, to be quite exact, umil'niy denotes the way something or somebody looks when provoking or experiencing umilen'e.
- 5 / Faith: This was the best I could do in trying to render the archaic emphasis of the asseverative interjection *i*. It can be compared to the French *ma foi*.
- 8 / Happy who / Blazhén, kto: It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that all these "happy he," "blessed he,"
 "blest he," and so forth, stem (through the French, heureux qui) from the felix qui or beatus ille qui of the ancient poets (e.g., Horace, Epodes, II, 1).

LIX

6-8 This was written Oct. 22, 1823, in Odessa, and seven months later Pushkin drew in ink, in the left-hand margin of the draft of Three : XXIX (2370, f. 2^r; Efros, p. 197), alongside ll. 6-8---

> to me will Gallicisms remain as sweet as the sins of past youth, as Bogdanovich's verse

—a charming pair of feminine feet, crossed, stretched out from under an elegant skirt, white-stockinged, in pointed black patent-leather slippers with interlaced ribbons on the instep. They are assigned by Efros to Countess Elizaveta Vorontsov, whose portrait (minus

feet) is sketched above and among the rhymes of XXIX, in the same MS, right-hand part of the text. Her shapely neck lacks, however, the necklace. The date of the draft of Three : XXIX is May 22, 1824, which heads (2370, f. 1^r) the first rough draft of Pushkin's famous letter (ending just above Eliza Vorontsov's profile, f. 2^r) to Aleksandr Kaznacheev (1788-1880), director of Count Vorontsov's chancellery, a good friendly man. In this letter Pushkin claims that any actual work as clerk on the staff of the General Governor of New Bussia would interfere with his considerably more remunerative literary occupations. He desires to remain formally attached to the office but, in view of the fact that he suffers from "aneurysms" (this is, sensu stricto, a permanent, abnormal, blood-filled dilatation of an artery resulting from disease of the vessel wall; Pushkin's complaint was actually varicosis of the legs, as diagnosed at the end of September, 1825, in Pskov, after our poet had vainly tried to use his "fatal aneurysm" as a pretext to obtain permission for a journey abroad), asks "to be left in peace for the short period of a life that will surely not last long" (thus ends the 1824 letter on f. 2^r, with the word "surely" half lost in Eliza Vorontsov's hairdo).

S. Vengerov, in his edition of Pushkin's works, III (1909), 247, was the first to reproduce the drawings of feminine feet from Pushkin's drafts of EO (then in the Rumyantsov Museum). He published three such sketches in a row. I identify the middle one as the pair I have just described from Efros' reproduction, p. 197 (2370, f. 2^r). The first in the row depicts a feminine left foot in profile, sheathed in a kind of close-fitting riding boot, with its sharp toe resting on the support of a triangular stirrup. If Vengerov's casual mention of "Cahier 2369, f. 1^v" refers to it and not to the third vignette, this would suggest assigning it to some lady in Kishinev, in the spring of 1823. The third vignette, which may come

from "Cahier 2370, f. 8," following the drafts related to Three : XXII, is obviously the limb of a ballerina, standing on the point of a toe, with a curved instep and a muscular calf.

14 This has the humorously ominous tang of Gresset's "... Et par vingt chants endormir les lecteurs" (Vertvert, I, 19; see n. to One : XXXII : 7-8). Byron promised to have "twelve, or twenty-four" cantos in Don Juan (II, CCXVI, 5), but he died after beginning the seventeenth.

$\mathbf{L}\mathbf{X}$

- 2 This gives an additional touch of life to the chapter, since by a feat of style it implies that Onegin had somehow ("meantime") evolved a strong personality while the author was fussing over the (unknown) hero of *another* epic (promised in LIX : 14), belonging to a long-winded genre and a priori a bore.
- 3-4 / my novel's first chapter: This novel's.
- 6 / inconsistencies: Hardly an allusion to chronological flaws; perhaps a reference to Onegin's dual nature—dry and romantic, chilly and ardent, superficial and penetrating.
- 8 / censorship its due: Meaning that some passages may have to be deleted.
- 10 / reviewers: "Messrs. the Monthly Reviewers!" as Sterne would have said.
- 11-12 An obvious imitation of the well-known passage in Horace, *Epistles*, I, xx. It was often paraphrased in the

eighteenth century. Thus Lewis, in his "Preface" to *The Monk*:

Now, then, your venturous course pursue, Go, my delight! dear book, adieu!

Newborn, novorozhdyónnoe, is in this context a Gallicism. Cf. Gilbert, Le Dix-huitième Siècle (1775), l. 391: "Officieux lecteur de ces vers nouveaux nés..."

14. / false interpretations / Krivie tólki: This seems to be the best sense. In a less specifc context, the phrase might also be "false rumors" or "idle talk."

The preconception that, because the first chapter of EO has some superficial affinity with Beppo, Pushkin was to be regarded as a disciple of Byron led to his being compared by his first readers to the "Russian Byron," Ivan Kozlov, a popular mediocrity; and, quirkishly enough, the comparison was not always in Pushkin's favor. On Apr. 22, 1825, Vyazemski in a letter to Aleksandr Turgenev remarked in connection with the publication of Kozlov's poem The Monk (Chernets; the tetrametric story of a young monk with a grim past): "Let me tell this in your ear-there is in Chernets more feeling, more thought than in Pushkin's poems." And on the very same day, Yazïkov wrote to his brother about the same Chernets, which he had not yet read: "God grant that Chernets be a better poem than Onegin!" Why God should be expected to grant this is not too clear, but when Chapter Two of Onegin came out, Yazïkov had at least the pleasure of finding it "no better than the first canto-mere rhymed prose."

Under this stanza Pushkin wrote in French:

October 22 1823 Odessa

Chapter Two

MOTTO

O rus! O Rus'!: The first ("O countryside!") is from Horace, *Satires*, II, VI:

...O countryside, when shall I behold you ["O rus, quando ego te aspiciam"] and when shall I be allowed, now with books of the ancients, now with slumber and hours of idleness, to taste sweet forgetfulness of the ills of life?

(This theme is taken up again by our poet in Four: XXXIX: 1, to which see nn.)

The second, *Rus*', is the old form, and lyrical abbrevition, of Russia, *Rossiya*.

I find the following in Stendhal's diary for 1837: "En 1799...le parti aristocrate attendait les Russes à Grenoble [Suvorov was in Switzerland]; ils s'écriaient: O Rus, quando ego te aspiciam!..." (*Journal*, Paris, 1888 edn., App. VII). Stendhal chose the same motto ("O rus, quando ego te aspiciam!") for ch. 31, "Les Plaisirs de la campagne," of his novel *Le Rouge et le noir* (1831).

L. Grossman, *Etyudi o Pushkine* (Moscow, 1923), p. 53, has found the same pun in an edition (1799) of *Bievriana*. The collection I have consulted, *Bievriana*, ou Jeux de mots de M. de Bièvre (François Georges Maréchal, Marquis de Bièvre, 1747–89), ed. Albéric Deville

(Paris, 1800), does not contain it. In the various collections of this type many of the bons mots attributed to Bièvre concern events that happened after his death.

In a draft possibly referring to Onegin's Album (see its fourteenth entry in nn. to Seven : XXII alt.), the *Bievriana* anecdotes are correctly termed *ploshchadnie* (vulgar, ignoble, of the market place).

I

From Pushkin's famous piece The Country (Derevnya; see n. to One : LV : 2-4), a poem consisting of two parts (an idyllic description of Mihaylovskoe, which he visited that summer, and an eloquent denunciation of serfdom), the following terms are echoed in EO, Two: "nook," "retreat," "streams," "grainfields," "scattered cots," "roaming cattle," and so forth. In the second part of the poem the "friend of mankind" foreshadows the "friend of innocent delights," and harsh words are hurled at philandering squires. In later years, however, Pushkin was not above walloping a male slave or impregnating a female one (see n. to Four : XXXIX : 1-4).

1 / Derévnya, gde skuchál Evgéniy: "La campagne où s'ennuyait Eugène." The Russian derevnya and the French campagne both include the notions of "countryside" and "countryseat." The word derevnya has three senses, and the translator should know which not to choose: (1) Derevnya, in the general sense of countryside, rural life as opposed to the town; v derevne, "in the country," à la campagne. (2) Derevnya in the sense of a village or hamlet; synonyms: selo, sel'tso. (3) Derevnya in the sense of estate, place in the country, countryseat, manor, demesne, land; synonyms: pomest'e, imen'e; example: Derevnya Pushkina v Pskovskoy Gubernii bila men'she Oneginskoy derevni (Pushkin's country place in the province of Pskov was smaller than Onegin's place). *Derevnya* might include more than one village in the days when a village with all its souls belonged to the landowner. Instead of the correct *ma campagne* or *ma propriété*, a Russian squire might use in French the Russism *mon village*. (See also n. to One : LII : 12.)

2 | nook | ugolók: Lat. angulus mundi (Propertius, IV, IX, 65) and terrarum angulus (Horace, Odes, II, VI, 13-14); Fr. petit coin de terre.

Horace's small domain (*parva rura*, "small fields") nestled in a natural amphitheater among the Sabine hills, thirty miles from Rome. Pushkin draws upon his own rural recollections of 1819 for the end of One and the beginning of Two, but it should be noted that Onegin's manor is not in the province of Pskov, and not in the province of Tver, but in Arcadia.

Pushkin was to repeat the *petit coin* formula twelve years later in his admirable elegy in blank verse beginning... *Vnov'* γa *posetil*..., dedicated to Mihaylovskoe (Sept. 26, 1835):

[Mihaylovskoe!] I've revisited [$Vn\delta v' \gamma a posetil$] That little corner of the earth where I Spent as an exile two unnoticed years.

The bracketed "Mihaylovskoe" is, I suggest, the word, omitted by Pushkin, that most logically fills the first five divisions of the opening line.

The question of the influence of Wordsworth on *Mihaylovskoe Revisited*, as we might entitle the piece, is far too complicated to be discussed here, but in connection with *angulus* I may quote the following from *The Excursion* (1814), I, "The Wanderer," Il. 4.70-75:

... we die, my Friend, Nor we alone, but that which each man loved And prized in his peculiar nook of earth Dies with him, or is changed ...

3 / drúg nevínnih naslazhdéniy: An appreciative dweller would have been, for instance, the Abbé (Pierre) de Villiers (1648–1728). See his stanzas Eloges de la solitude (at Torigny, near Sens):

I

Dans le fond d'un vallon rustique, Entre deux champêtres coteaux, De toute part entourés d'eaux, S'élève un bâtiment antique: Des prés s'étendent d'un côté, De l'autre avec art est planté Un bois percé de vingt allées . . .

II

C'est là l'aimable solitude Où d'un tranquille et doux loisir Je goûte l'innocent plaisir, Libre de toute inquiétude...

VIII

Ici, pour l'Auteur de mon être Tout sollicité mon amour . . .

And see J. B. Rousseau, Cantata III:

Heureux qui de vos doux plaisirs Goûte la douceur toujours pure!

- 8 / freaked . . . lay / *pestréli*: Or "showed their varied hues." Elsewhere I have used the epithet "motley" to translate this word, which in its intransitive verbal form has no English mate.
- 10 / one could glimpse hamlets / Mel'káli syóla: Another difficult intransitive. "Scattered villages were glimpsed." The suggestion of glancing light in mel'kat' has been lost in most applications, so that "villages glinted" would have too sparkling an effect. Modern editions ar-

bitrarily have a comma or semicolon after *syola* and no punctuation after *tam*, "there."

12-14 Impénétrables voûtes, dômes touffus, larges ombrages, épaisse verdure, abris, retraite, dryades, etc., are the amiable clichés of eighteenth-century French poesy (as used, for example, by Fontanes in his La Forêt de Navarre, 1780, in whose dédales the poet wandered "tel jadis à Windsor Pope s'est égaré"), here, in Pushkin, reduced to a neat miniature.

VARIANTS

1–4 Canceled draft (2369, f. 23^r):

The country place where Eugene moped was an empty part. For irreproachable delights it seemed created.

6 Canceled draft (ibid.):

protected by two gardens . . .

II

- 1 / castle / zámok: This is a commonly used Russian translation of the French *château*. Chizhevski's explication of Pushkin's use of the word ("perhaps under the influence of the Baltic provinces near by"—what influence? near what?) is a typical example of the comic naïvetés in his running, or rather stumbling, commentary to EO (see n. to Two : xxx : 3).
- 1-3 There is a surplus of predicative forms in the original. The colon does not really do away with the solecism: *postróen*... *próchen* instead of *postróen*... *próchno*, "built comfortably."

- 4 / ancientry / starini: In a work where "novelty" (novizna) and "fashion" (moda) are constantly referred to, their juxtaposition with the old, the dismoded, the old times, is inevitable. Moreover, stariná belongs to the rhymes on -ná group, for which Pushkin had a special predilection.
- 4-7 The descriptive formulas in this stanza were common to the European novel of the time, whether the locale was Muscovy or Northamptonshire. A case in point is the description of James Rushworth's house (in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* [1814]—a novel little known in Russia: see my n. to Three : Tatiana's Letter : 61), which consisted of "a number of rooms, all lofty... amply furnished in the taste of fifty years back, with shining floors [and] rich damask.... [The] larger part [of the pictures] were family portraits" (vol. I, ch. 9).
- 7 Pushkin had first written "of tsars the portraits"; but dlya tsenzuri, "for reasons of censorship" (tsars were not to be mentioned in so offhand a way), he altered the line to portréti dédov, "portraits of grandsires."

His MS footnote in both fair copies reads:

 $Dl[\gamma a]$ tsenz[uri]: portréti prédkov. For censorship: portraits of forebears.

14 / modish / módnih: Perhaps the epithet "modern" would do better here.

VARIANTS

5 Canceled draft (2369, f. 24^v):

The sumptuous chambers glitter.

7-8 Canceled draft (ibid.):

but very little cared for this the miserly old uncle . . .

- 11 | eau-de-pomme | yablochnaya voda: "Apple water," an apple decoction, ciderkin. The French term, of which the Russian is a literal translation, occurs constantly in medical prescriptions of the eighteenth century. Other readers understand this to mean yablochnaya voditsa or yablochnaya vodka, "applejack," kept in corked or otherwise closed jugs. Cf. the lingonberry decoction, brusnichnaya vodá, mentioned in Three: III: 8 and IV: 13.
- 12 / calendar / kalendár': I derive my conception of kalendar' from a passage in the first chapter of Pushkin's novel The Captain's Daughter, begun ten years later (Jan. 23, 1833):

By the window Father was reading the Court Calendar [*Pridvorniy Kalendar*'], annually received by him. This book always had a strong influence upon him: never did he reread it without a special sense of participation, and its perusal always produced in him a remarkable agitation of the bile....

It should be noted, however, that the yearly *Bruce's* Calendar, a kind of Farmer's Almanack (see my n. to Two: XLI: var. 7), might have been in the present case just as obvious a book, except that a landowner might have been supposed to use a newer edition of it.

VARIANTS

In a canceled draft $(2369, f. 25^r)$, the room is identified as *kabinét*, a "study"; the "housekeeper" is replaced by a "steward," the room is furnished with "large armchairs, a table of oak" (l. 5), and when Onegin opens the cupboards he finds "liqueurs, sugar," in one, "tea" in the other (l. 11). In this draft III comes after v. 6-7 | corvée ... quitrent | bárshchinï ... Obrókom: Barshchina: unpaid labor due from a serf to his owner; obrok:
a kind of quitrent paid by the serf in commutation of his corvée or in consideration of being allowed to ply a trade elsewhere.

Civilized squires in the first half of the nineteenth century did what they could to lighten the lot of the slave—often against their own interests, which a Marxist would hardly believe. They were none too numerous, but humanity prevailed in the long run, and the serfs were officially liberated in 1861.

In their prime, various people—poets, potentates, and others—are anxious to improve the world, later to become serene conservatives or seedy despots. Onegin, under Pushkin's amused supervision, makes his little oblation to compassionate and venturous youth—and cynical neighbors smile (IV : 12), knowing this fad will not last.

Brodski makes a tremendous fuss over the matter, devoting four pages to macabre discussions of such questions as: "How come that *dvoryanin* [nobleman] Onegin was carrying out a non-*dvoryanski* program?" He answers it, too.

- 8 Muzhik, "peasant," in all editions 1825–37. In the draft (2369, f. 24^v), *i Nébo*, "Heaven," and *ráb*, "slave": "the slave blest Heaven." In canceled drafts, *naród*, "the people," and *muzhik*. In the fair copy, *i ráb sud'bú* (fate) *blagoslovil* (blest).
- 11 / neighbor / soséd: Here and throughout the romance (e.g., Eight: XVIII: 4), sosed, "neighbor," tends to mean "country neighbor," "local landowner," "fellow squire," and in two cases simply "squire" (Five: xxxv: 6; Six: xxxv: 4). Its adaptive iambic form and the ease

with which it can be rhymed make of it one of those verse words that slip nicely into place, hence its rather monotonous recurrence.

VARIANT

5 The draft (2369, f. 24^v) reads:

Of freedom (solitary sower) Svobódï (séyatel' pustínnïy),

which Pushkin used for a short poem written soon afterward (Odessa, Nov., 1823):

> Of freedom solitary sower, early I went, before the star. With a hand pure and guiltless into the enslaved furrows I cast the vivifying seed; but all I did was lose my time, well-meaning thoughts and labors.

Graze, placid peoples! What are to herds the gifts of liberty? They have to be slaughtered or shorn. Their heirdom is from race to race a yoke with jinglers and the whip.

v

- 5-6 / one made out . . . the sound of / Zasli'shat: The meaning of the transitive verb zasli'shat' (used in the text in the third person plural) is, in terms of hearing, equivalent to what "to descry" or "to espy" means in terms of seeing.
- 6 / runabouts / drógi: The word drogi used here may mean either "antiquated carriages" in a general sense or, as I think it does here, a specific homemade vehicle of simple, sturdy construction, without springs, which a Russian squire would employ much as an English squire might his shooting brake or dogcart.

- 7 / by such behavior / Postúpkom . . . takím: Basically, postupok is almost synonymous with deystvie, which is "act" or "action"; but contextually (i.e., given the reiteration of the action) it is closer to povedenie, which is "behavior" or "conduct."
- 10 / Freemason / farmazón: Eighteenth-century liberal thought had sought refuge in masonic organizations. A provincial squire would regard a Freemason as a revolutionary. Masonic lodges were forbidden in Russia in the spring of 1822 (see also, in my introd., "The Genesis of EO," vol. 1, pp. 61–62).

A canceled draft $(2369, f. 24^{r})$ reads "a liberal," *liberál*, instead of *farmazón*; it is restored in the first fair copy of the canto.

The term *farmazón* (a vulgarism of the time for *frankmasón* or *masón*) is derived from the French *franc-maçon* and was used in the sense of "arrogant free-thinker."

10-11 / drinks only red wine / p'yót odnó... krásnoe vinó: The implication is presumably that Onegin prefers a beaker of foreign wine to a jigger of national, rightthinking vodka. However, it is possible to understand the word odno as meaning not "only" but "straight "

> he's a Freemason, drinks red wine unwatered in tumblerfuls.

But in those days the one to dilute his drink would have been the jaded beau from St. Petersburg rather than the provincial tippler. It would seem that Onegin has graduated, like Pushkin, from champagne to Bordeaux (see Four : XLVI).

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, ripe gentlemen watered their wine. Anthologically, Pushkin advocated it in stylized little pieces of 1833 and 1835 (*Yúnosha skrómno pirúy*, "Youth, feast modestly," Chtó zhe súho v cháshe dnó, "Why is the bottom dry in the cup"); and, biographically, added seltzer to his champagne, as Byron did to his hock. According to a remark of Wellington's (1821) reported by Samuel Rogers in his *Recollections* (1856), Louis XVIII mixed water with his champagne.

14 Provincial fogies deem Onegin a freak; actually, his brand of eccentricity (Byronic moodiness, the metaphysical cult of Napoleon, French clichés, English clothes, an attitude of "revolt"—derived from "Voltaire" rather than from "Revolution"—and so forth) is itself characteristic of a certain set, to the conventions of which he conforms as closely as the Philistines he despises do to those of their own, larger, group. Of late, Soviet idealists have considerably idealized Onegin's ideology. And this is the only reason why, in this note, I have gone out of my way to discuss him as if he were a "real" person.

One wonders if at the back of Pushkin's prismatic mind there did not lurk the remarkable story of the Decembrist Ivan Yakushkin's attempts in 1819 to improve the condition of his peasants on his estate (province of Smolensk). (Yakushkin had perhaps told it to Pushkin in 1821.) Yakushkin says in his memoirs (1853–55, in *Izbrannïe* ... proizvedeniya dekabristov, ed. I. Shchipanov, Leningrad, 1951, I, 115–17) that his neighbors deemed him "an eccentric" (chudak), which is the term applied to Onegin. (See also n. to Ten : xvI.)

VI

5 / Lenski: The third main male character in the novel. In the present stanzas eighteen-year-old Lenski strikes up a closer friendship with twenty-five-year-old Onegin than twenty-year-old Pushkin had in Chapter One; but

on the other hand, the naïve enthusiast, who more than replaces Pushkin in Onegin's affection, differs more from Onegin than Pushkin, who is at least as experienced and disillusioned as he. Both Lenski and Pushkin know more about poetry than Onegin does; but Pushkin was at eighteen (in 1817) an incomparably better poet than Lenski is now (in "1820"), despite their sharing of the modish influence of the French elegy, Frenchified "Ossian," and Zhukovski's and Mme de Staël's versions of German poets. Onegin will develop a protective attitude toward Lenski, with alternate fits of condescension and raillery; Onegin and Pushkin meet on equal terms despite the difference in age; and if Onegin is Pushkin's master in Byronic gloom, Pushkin can teach him a number of additional things about women, not found in Ovid.

The name Lenski (derived from that of a river in eastern Siberia) had been used before. In the first edition (April, 1779) of the epic *Rossiada*, by Mihail Heraskov (1733-1807), a monstrously boring accumulation of pseudoclassical platitudes (but considered immortal by his coevals), one of Tsar Ivan's counselors is a villain called Lenski. In the one-act comedy *Feigned Infidelity* (*Pritvornaya nevernost*'), adapted from Nicolas Thomas Barthe's *Les Fausses infidélités* (1768) by Griboedov and Andrey Zhandr or Gendre (1789-1873), first performed Feb. 11, 1818, there lurks a Lenski among the Russian names that replace the French (this Lenski, a merry young man, and a friend of his make fun of an old fop by having their sweethearts feign love for him).

6 / Göttingenian: Göttingen University (in the town of that name, province of Hannover, NW Germany) is pleasingly alluded to in a letter from the poet Batyushkov to Aleksandr Turgenev (a Göttingen graduate), Sept. 10, 1818, from Moscow to St. Petersburg: What is Sverchok * doing? Has he finished his long poem [Ruslan and Lyudmila]? It would not be bad to lock him up at Göttingen and for some three years feed him milk soup and logic... However great his talent, he will squander it if— But let our muses and our oraisons preserve him.

Aleksandr Turgenev (1784–1845) had been instrumental in enrolling Pushkin in the Lyceum in 1811, and it was he who accompanied Pushkin's coffin from Petersburg to Svyatïe Gorï (province of Pskov) in February, 1837.

It is amusing to note that the fictional Vladimir Lenski is the second Göttingen student to be Onegin's friend: the first was Kaverin (One: XVI: 6; see n.), who, in terms of historical reality, finished his studies there at seventeen, Lenski's age.

Tinyanov (see n. to Two : VIII : 9-14, vars.) has seen in the Lenski of Two a portrait of Küchelbecker, who, in 1820, had visited Germany. I object to the prototypical quest as blurring the authentic, always atypical methods of genius.

The adverb prydmo (really, directly, genuinely, frankly) qualifying gettingénskoy is a weak afterthought. Both separate editions of Two (1826, 1830) have dushóy (in soul) filister gettingénskiy instead of the final s dushóyu (with soul) prydmo gettingénskoy. In reviewing Two, Bulgarin pointed out in his Northern Bee, CXXXII (1826), that Philister was student cant for "townsman," an outsider as opposed to a collegian, whereas Pushkin (who, incidentally, makes the same mistake in a letter of May 7, 1826, to Aleksey Vulf, a Dorpat student) had in mind the word Bursch, or Schwärmer, applied to students. Had Pushkin been pre-

^{*&}quot;Cricket"—the nickname of dissolute nineteen-year-old Pushkin as member of the literary goose-dinner club Arzamas, founded in 1815.

pared to take the advice of that critic, he might have simply altered the line to *Dushóyu shvérmer gettingénskiy*: but then Bulgarin's exultation would have been unbearable. It is a pity our poet did not, at least, revert to his draft (2369, f. 25^v) and first fair copy: . . . *shkól'nik* (scholar, schoolboy) *gettingénskoy*. (*Gettingenskoy* is the older form of the nominative masculine ending and happens to coincide with the instrumental feminine ending.)

- 7 / full / pólnom: The adjective pólnäy, "full," "complete," is often used by poets to fill the middle of the line (as here) or to close it. The feminine predicative form, polná, is an easy rhyme, and the masculine predicative form is the only rhyme to voln ("of the waves") and chyoln ("of the skiff"). Polnaya luna is the full-orbed moon.
- 8-9 / Kant's votary . . . misty Germany: Apart from translations and adaptations from German writers by Zhukovski and others, it was Mme de Staël's De l'Allemagne (a very mediocre work, which she completed in collaboration with the well-meaning but talentlos August Wilhelm Schlegel in 1810) that was almost entirely responsible for Pushkin's knowledge of German literature (see One : vi : var. q-10). Such passages therein (vol. X of the complete edition of her works, 1820-21) as "Les Allemands . . . se plaisent dans les ténèbres" (pt. II, ch. 1), "[ils] peignent les sentimens comme les idées, à travers des nuages'' (pt. II, ch. 2), "[et ne font] que rêver la gloire et la liberté" (ibid.) (cf. Two : VI : 11, vol'nolvubivie mechti, "liberty-loving dreams"), as well as the sentiments exaltés (cf. Two: IX: 12, vozvishennie chúvstva) that she attributes to Wieland's poetry (pt. II, ch. 4) or the enthousiasme vague of her Klopstock (pt. II, ch. 5), are the stuff of which Lenski's mentality is formed

by his maker. As will be seen further, however, Lenski's own poetry and vocabulary owe French minor poetry at least as much as they do French or Russian versions of Schiller.

What Lenski derived from Kant may be found in the same *De l'Allemagne* (pt. III, ch. 6: *Œuvres*, vol. XI): "[Kant] assigne [au sentiment] le premier rang de la nature humaine . . . le sentiment du juste et de l'injuste est, selon lui, la loi primitive du cœur, comme l'espace et le temps celle de l'intelligence." And further: ". . . [De l']application du sentiment de l'infini aux beaux-arts, doit naître l'idéal, c'est-à-dire le beau, considéré . . . comme l'image réalisée de ce que notre âme se représente." The noun "ideal" will be the last word of the last poem upon which poor Lenski will fall asleep for the last time before his duel in Chapter Six. Curiously enough, it is also the main component in the last stanza of the last canto of *EO*.

- 11 / vol'nalyubivë: Pushkin, who had used this artificial epithet before (*To Chaadaev*, 1821, l. 82), observed in a letter to Nikolay Grech (Sept. 21, 1821, Kishinev) that it rendered well the French *libéral*. The rhyme *plodímecht*ï ("fruits"—"dreams") is poor.
- 13 / a speech always enthusiastic / vostorzhennaya: "Transported" would seem closer, but is a deadish epithet. Cf. Rousseau, Julie, Seconde Préface: "... une diction toujours dans les nues."
- 14 It was in those days no mark of effeminacy in a stripling to wear his hair down upon his shoulders.

VARIANTS

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2-3 Canceled draft (2369, f. 25^{v}):
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another squire 〈arrived〉— Vladímir Hólmskoy . . .

It seems clear that Pushkin altered this surname to Lénskoy (spelling it subsequently Lenskiy, "Lenski") to have it rhyme with the adjectival gettingénskoy (thus l. 6 ends in the draft).

- 6-8 Canceled drafts (2269, f. 25^v) read:
 - 6 a curly-headed schoolboy from Göttingen [shkól'nik gettingénskoy]...
 - 6 in soul a reverist [mechtátel'] from Göttingen . . .

8–12 Draft 2369, f. 25^v:

vociferous [krikún], a rebel [my atézhnik], and a poet, he from free Germany {brought} the results of learning: fame-loving dreams, a spirit impetuous, really noble.

In this draft Pushkin toyed with "slightly liberal dreams" (*nemnógo vól'nïe mechti*) and "imprudent dreams."

In the first fair copy *myatézhnik* is prudently changed to *krasávets*, "a handsome chap."

VII

Here Pushkin commences his special treatment of the Lenski theme. It consists in describing the nature of that young and mediocre poet in the idiom Lenski himself uses in his elegies (a sample is given in Six), an idiom now blurred by the drift of unfocused words, now naively stilted in the pseudoclassical manner of minor French songsters. Even the closest translation is prone to touch up with some applied sense the ambiguous *flou* of Pushkin's remarkable impersonation.

This stanza (see "The Publication of EO," vol. 1, p.

74) was the first stanza of EO ever to be published by Pushkin (in Delvig's Northern Flowers for 1825, end of December, 1824). I suspect that the reason our poet chose these passages (from VII-X) for preliminary publication is that he did not mind drawing his friends' attention (in VIII) to the fact that none had done much to break the vessel of *his* slanderers (see my n. to Four : XIX : 5).

VARIANTS

4 A canceled draft (2369, f. 25^v) reads:

and with the welcome of Parnassian maids.

This proves that Lenski was true to his betrothed and dallied only with the Muses.

9-14 The first fair copy reads:

He knew both work and inspiration and the refreshment of repose, and toward *something* a young life's indescribable urge; of stormy passions the wild feast, and tears, and the heart's peace.

VIII

- 1, 5 / He believed / On véril: I prefer a bumpy reverse tilt to the smooth paraphrase of "his faith was" or "he held" or " 'twas his conviction."
- 5-6 / friends . . . chains: There is an echo here of the story of Damon and Pythias (the latter obtaining three days to arrange his affairs before his execution; the former pledging his life for his friend's return) as told by Schiller in his ballad *Die Bürgschaft* (1799), of which there were several French versions.

VARIANTS

9-14. The expunged lines (10-14) are supplied in two variants.

First fair copy (PB 9):

that there were some chosen by fate, whose life—heaven's best gift and ardor of thoughts incorruptible, and genius of power over minds, were dedicated to the good of mankind and valorously equaled fame.

Second fair copy (from the Turgenev brothers' archives):

that there were some chosen by fate, the holy friends of men, that their immortal family with overwhelming rays someday would shine on us and with felicity endow the world.

The censor may have perceived in 10-14 of either fair copy a political implication, hence the deletion. Actually, as Tinyanov (1934) has shown, the passage is a subtle allusion to a very Schillerian poem by Küchelbecker (*The Poets*, 1820) on the mythical origin of poets. Man initially was immortal and happy, but the fleeting phantoms of carnal pleasure seduced him. In result "he suffers in his delights and grieves when surfeited." So the gods delegate to our world certain beings composed of celestial essence whom in their incarnation we call poets. The idiom of the Küchelbecker poem with its terms "chosen ones," "immortal bliss," "race of mortals," and so forth is obviously imitated by Pushkin.

IX

1 / Indignation, compassion / Negodován'e, sozhalén'e: My English hardly scans, but I did not care to transpose the order of the words. 1-2 Keats, whom Pushkin did not know, begins a sonnet (*Addressed to Haydon*, composed 1816) with a strikingly similar intonation:

Highmindedness, a jealousy for good . . .

Such coincidences baffle and thwart similarity chasers, source hunters, relentless pursuers of parallel passages.

- 2 Perhaps I should have translated *blago* as "what is right" (instead of "Good," which would be *dobro*), to have it correspond to the philosophic *blago* in Six : XXI : 10, to which see notes.
- 5-6 / on earth... Goethe / na svéte... Géte: This dreadful rhyme (with the German poet's name, in a slovenly Russian pronunciation, made to sound almost like "gaiety") was, oddly enough, repeated in 1827 by Zhukovski, in a poem inscribed to Goethe, of which the fourth of six quatrains reads:

In a remote boreal world [*svéte*], I lived because I loved your muse; and thus for me my genius Goethe [*Géte*] was what gave life to life itself.

Pushkin had even less German than he had English, and only very vaguely knew German literature. He was immune to its influence and hostile to its trends. The little he had read of it was either in French versions (which quickened Schiller but asphyxiated Goethe) or in Russian adaptations: Zhukovski's treatment of Schiller's "Thecla" theme, for instance, is, in art and harmony, far superior to its model; but gentle Zhukovski made (in 1818, *Lesnoy tsar*') a miserable hash of Goethe's hallucinatory *Erlkönig* (as Lermontov was to do, in 1840, *Gornïe vershinï*, of the marvelous *Auf allen Gipfeln*). On the other hand, there are readers who prefer Pushkin's *Scene from Faust* (1825) to the whole of Goethe's *Faust*, in which they distinguish a queer strain of triviality impairing the pounding of its profundities.

A somewhat Lenskian figure, the minor poet Dmitri Venevitinov (he committed suicide in 1827, at the age of twenty-one), had, I think, more talent than Lenski, but the same naïve urge to seek spiritual guides and masters. With other young men, he ardently flocked to the altars of German "romantic philosophy" (whose fumes were to mingle so paradoxically with those of Slavophilism, one of the most tedious creeds ever thought of), adoring Schelling and Kant, as the young men of the next generation were to adore Hegel, sinking thence to Feuerbach.

Although still ready to talk about "Schiller, glory, and love" with his mistier young friends (see in his 1825 poem commemorating the Lyceum anniversary, Oct. 19, the stanza addressed to Küchelbecker), and although professing a boundless admiration for Goethe, whom he placed above Voltaire and Byron, next to Shakespeare (Pierre Letourneur's Shakespeare, of course), Pushkin was never very specific on the subject of *le Cygne de Weimar*. In a faintly ridiculous poem (*To Pushkin*, 1826) Venevitinov vainly pleaded with him to address an ode to Goethe: "And believe me, in the seclusion of gloomy old age, he may hear your voice, and perhaps, charmed by it, in a last glow of inspiration, the swan will respond ... and, soaring heavenward with that last song, may name you, O Pushkin."

- 9-10 | I múz vozvíshennih iskússtva | ... ón ne postidíl: I am not quite sure that there is not a violent inversion here, making the meaning: "and he did not disgrace the art of the exalted Muses" (i on ne postidil iskusstva vozvishennih muz).
- 13-14 It would seem that here, when conceiving the image

of Lenski, Pushkin had a higher opinion of him than in Six : XXI-XXIII, where Lenski's verses, as quoted and described, hardly can be called "the surgings [*portvi*, Fr. *les élans*] of a virgin fancy," but are deliberately made by Pushkin to conform to Russian derivations from French rhymed platitudes of the times.

ıxa, b, c, d

An interesting variant sequence of four stanzas meant to follow IX is canceled in the first fair copy (a, b, c) and represented (d) in a draft $(2269, f. 21^v)$:

IXa

He did not sing corrupt amusement, he did not sing disdainful Circes; he shrank from outraging morality

- 4 with his elected lyre. A votary of true felicity, the snares of volupty he did not glorify, breathing disgraceful mollitude,
- 8 as one whose avid soul, the victim of pernicious errors, the pitiful victim of passions, in its dull anguish keeps pursuing
- 12 the images of former pleasures and to the world in fateful songs madly uncovers them.
- a: 5-7 Note the frightful jumble of definitional clauses:
 "A votary . . . he," etc., "did not glorify," etc., while in the act of "breathing," etc.
- a: 8–10; XI : 12–14; XIVa : 8–14; and XVIIb : 9–12: Alongside the draft of these lines (2369, ff. 26^v, 27^v, 28^r, 30^v), in the left-hand margins, Pushkin made sketches of Maria Raevski's profile: short nose, heavyish jaw, and curly strands of dark hair escaping from under an elaborate

bonnet. The time is late October or early November, 1823; the place, Odessa. She is not quite seventeen. It is much too cold to race the surf. Her profile is beside that of beautiful Amalia Riznich in the draft of XVIIb : 9-12, f. 30° . (Reproductions of these four autographs have been published by Efros in his useful, albeit sadly unscholarly, *Risunki poeta*, pp. 145, 149, 153, 157.)

ıxb

Bards of blind pleasure, in vain for us you render the impressions of your wanton days 4 in vivid elegies; in vain the virgin furtively,

heeding the sounds of a sweet lyre, directs at you her tender gaze,

- 8 not daring to begin a conversation; in vain does giddy youth, over the brimming bowl, in garlands, recall at banquets the mollitious
- 12 sweetness of verses —or, overcoming shyness, whisper them into the ears of modest maidens;

іхс

unfortunates, judge for yourselves what trade is yours; by means of empty sounds and words

- 4. you sow debauchery's evil. Before the tribunal of Pallas you get no crown, you get no prize, but dearer is to you, I know myself,
- 8 a tear blent halfwise with a smile. For feminine fame you were born, worthless to you is rumor's judgment, I pity you . . . and you are charming.
- 12 For you proud Lenski was no mate: a mother certainly would tell her daughter his verse to read.

- c: 9-10 | Vi rozhdení dlya slávi zhénskoy, | Dlya vás nuchtózhen súd molví: The idea somewhat obscurely expressed here is the juxtaposition of popularity and a good name: "Yours is the fame that depends on a feminine audience; otherwise, reputation means nothing to you."
- c: 13-14 / a mother certainly would tell her daughter his verse to read / Egó stihí konéchno máť | Veléla b dócheri chitáť: In the draft of this stanza (2369, f. 27^r) Pushkin appended a footnote to the last two lines:

"[La mère] en prescrira la lecture à sa fille." Piron. This verse has become a proverb. It should be noted that apart from his *Métrom[anie]*, Piron is good only in such poems as are impossible even to be hinted at without offending propriety.

In La Métromanie, by Alexis Piron (1689-1773), a comedy first performed in 1733, Damis, a young poet enthusiastically dedicated to his art, explains to an unconvinced uncle that he will conquer Paris merely by his writings (act III, sc. 7):

Je veux que la vertu plus que l'esprit y brille. La mère en prescrira la lecture à sa fille; Et j'ai, grâce à vos soins, le cœur fait de façon, À monter aisément ma lyre sur ce ton.

Dmitriev has a couplet similar to IXC: 13-14 among his *Legends to Portraits*, namely the lines assigned (c. 1800) to Mihail Muravyov, tutor of the Grand Dukes Constantine and Nicholas:

He earns the highest tribute: to her daughter The mother says that read his works she ought to.

Pushkin's 13-14, echo a little grudge that he bore against those who three years earlier had criticized *Ruslan and Lyudmila* from the point of view of its morals: the *konechno*, "certainly," in regard to Lenski's absolutely chaste poesy implies a stress on *his* verse, which in

his case maidens might read in contrast to the author's not presentable works.

Dmitriev, in a letter to Vyazemski, soon after *Ruslan* and Lyudmila had appeared, remarked (in French) that mothers would surely forbid daughters to read it. And eight years later, at the end of a witty preface (dated Feb. 12, 1828) to the second edition of *Ruslan*, Pushkin alluded to Dmitriev's remark thus: "A first-rate national writer crowned with bays greeted this effort of a young poet with the following verse: Mother tells daughter to ignore [Russ. idiom: "to spit on"] this tale."

The Piron quotation had been done to death by 1824, when Yazïkov, with his usual display of bad taste, used that hackneyed line as a motto for his collection of poems.

In his *Curiosités littéraires* (Paris, 1845), Ludovic Lalanne says (p. 279):

Nous ne pouvons dire l'espèce d'agacement que nous éprouvons à la lecture...du vers suivant, que l'on a modifié si souvent en le prenant pour épigraphe, qu'il est assez difficile de retrouver sa forme primitive:

La mère) (permettra) (sa fille
L'époux	en	défendra	> la lecture à	sa femme
Le père) (prescrira) (son fils.

гхd

But the good youth who is prepared a high deed to accomplish, in his stern pride will not

- 4 declaim foul verses; nor will the just man, worn away, to chains condemned unjustly, on his last night, in prison,
- 8 before a lamp that dozes in the dark, let fall in solitary stillness his eyes upon your scroll, and your licentious line upon the wall
- 12 will not write with his guiltless hand

in mute and mournful greeting meant for a prisoner (of future years).

Tomashevski (Acad 1937, p. 282) finds another place for 1Xd, namely, immediately before XVIII. I use his latest recension (*Works* 1957, p. 517).

d: 9, 12 The rhyme *pustinnoy* (solitary) and *bezvinnoy* (guiltless) echoes that in the beginning of the poem quoted in connection with Two : IV : var. 5.

x

- 2 / clear / yasná: The Russian word has connotations of limpidity, purity, and serenity that its English counterpart does not reveal quite so lucidly (i.e., in regard to the "thoughts" and the "sleep" in the comparisons). On the other hand, we learn later that Lenski's crowning achievement, the last elegy he composed, was even more obscure than the "dim remoteness" mentioned here. The "clarity" obviously refers to his nature rather than to his art.
- 8-9 / and a vague something, and a dim remoteness / I néchto, i tumánnu dál': The nechto of bookish Russian cannot be rendered by one word in English. The line would go in French as "Je ne sais quoi de vague, et le lointain brumeux."

Cf. Chateaubriand's note on "le vague de ses passions," "the haze of his emotions," which I quote in my n. to One: xxxvIII: 3-4. See also my nn. to Four: xxxII.

An additional touch of vagueness is beautifully given by using the stylized and archaic contraction *tumánnu* instead of *tumánnuyu*, all this modulated in the sighing key of the second-foot scud (see App. II, "Notes on Prosody"). A wonderful line in a wonderful stanza.

- 9 Dal'—"distance," "remoteness," "the faraway," Fr. le lointain; a far range, reach, or stretch; a long view, a vista; the mystery of distant space—a great favorite with Russian romanticists, has poetical connotations that are absent in English and rhymes well with associative words such as *zhal* ("pity"), *pechal*? ("sadness"), and hrustal? ("crystal"). The derivative otdalenie is Fr. l'éloignement, which has no exact equivalent in English; and there is also udalyat'sya, Fr. s'éloigner, "move away," which Lenski uses in his elegy, Six : XXI : 3.
- 11 / bosom of the stillness / lóno tishini: The French sein, a word that in the trite parlance of eighteenth-century French poesy and prose is used for "womb" (and technically lono is "womb") in such phrases as "l'enfant que je porte dans mon sein." Even busy bees were said by poets to carry honey in their sein.

The "lap," "womb," or "bosom of the stillness," *lono tishini*, is a common Gallicism: *le sein du repos*. Its English equivalent would be James Beattie's "When in the lap of Peace reclin'd . . ." (*Retirement*, 1758, l. 35). A perfect French model is Charles Pierre Colardeau (1732– 76), *Vers pour mettre au bas d'une statue*:

> . . . cette jeune beauté . . . Rêveuse au sein de la tranquillité . . .

or Mme Bourdic-Viot, *Epître à la campagne (Almanach des Muses* for 1801, p. 195):

Au sein de la tranquillité, Loin du tumulte de la ville . . .

Numerous other French examples might be listed.

This *lono tishini* haunted the verses of Pushkin's contemporaries long after Lenski's death. Yazikov (whose elegies are referred to in the same breath as Lenski's in Four : xxxI) uses it in his poem *Trigorskoe* (Mme Osipov's countryseat; see *Onegin's Journey*, last stanzas),

and it is found in Aleksandr Polezhaev's *A Ballad* (*Romans*, 1831). Curiously enough, Pushkin himself uses it in Seven: II: 8, *na lóne sél'skoy* [rural] *tishini*, in a romantic evocation of spring's languors. It will be noted, however, that in Two: X : 11 the phrase is in the accusative; an odd estuary for Lenski's tears.

As with most Gallicisms in EO, the otherwise inexact and very mediocre, but in regard to clichés idiomatic, Dupont translates the locution correctly, whereas the ambitious, hard-working, and on the whole much more accurate Turgenev-Viardot team produces the artificial "sur le sein de la placidité."

13-14 As young Pushkin had sung, at seventeen, in his senior year at the Lyceum (*Enjoyment*, 1816, ll. 1-2):

The bloom of life, hardly expanded, must fade in dull captivity.

Here is the beginning of the "bloom-doom" theme that will go through Four : XXVII (Lenski's contributions to Olga's album: a dove, a tombstone), will find complete expression in Lenski's last elegy ("Whither, ah! whither are ye fled, my springtime's golden days," Six : XXI-XXII; see nn.), will link up with Pushkin's 1816 elegy Lenski's death in Six : XXXI : 12-13 ("The storm has blown; the beauteous bloom has withered"), and will culminate in the synthesis of Six : XLIV : 7-8, where the wreath of the author's youth has "withered."

Note that Two: x: 14 nicely matches One: xxIII: 14.

VARIANTS

8–9 The draft (2369, f. 27^r) and first fair copy read: and the romantic faraway, and dying roses.

The "dying," *umiráyushchie*, was altered to "fading," *uvyadáyushchie*, in the 1825 publication, but this clashed with another line in the stanza.

13–14 The draft (2369, f. 27^r) has, according to Tomashevski, *Works* 1949:

> and the groves' shade where he would meet his everlasting true Ideal.

хI

1 / wilderness / pustinya: In monastic language, the retreat of an eremite. It might also be translated "desert" or "desart," which in the sixteenth century often meant a wild forest or any wild desolate place. Cf. French désert in such locutions as mes déserts, beau désert, etc.

See, for instance, Chaulieu, who begins his *Des Louanges de la vie champêtre* with "Désert, aimable solitude." (See One : LVI : 2.)

See also Eight: XLIV: 1.

In the preceding stanza (x : 5) the word *pustini*, "deserts," is employed in the sense of vast empty spaces. In this stanza, *pustiny a* is practically synonymous with *glush*' or *zaholust'e*, meaning a remote, sparsely populated place, a provincial hole, backwoods, forlorn place, neck of the woods, backwater. (See n. to One : VIII : 14.)

3-4 | Gospód sosédstvennüh seléniy: This merely means "landowners," except that there is a slight Gallic flavor of ces messieurs in gospod (gen. pl. of gospodin) as used with ironic ceremony here.

It is never easy to decide between "village" and "manor" whenever *selenie* (habitation, rural community, homestall) is used. The French *manoir* meant both "village" and "domain." The "masters of villages" make a worse combination than the clumsy *gospoda seleniy*.

7 / liquor: The unqualified singular here means hard liquor, rye, gin, vodka; and, moreover, the making of vino is implied; hence "distilleries." The plural (vina) always means "wines."

VARIANTS

 $_{1-2}$ A false start canceled in the draft (2369, f. 27^v) reads:

More often, though, with angry satire his numbers would be animated . . .

This variant is interesting in the light of Six : xxxvIII. Pushkin wavered between making Lenski a feeble elegiac minstrel and having him be a violent political poet.

14 / much / Gorázdo: "Still" (eshchyó) in the first edition of the chapter.

XII

- 2 / a marriageable man / *zhenth*: The whole passage rings false since we have been led to presume that Lenski avoided his fellow squires. Moreover (in the light of XXI), everybody surely knew that Lenski was in love with Olga. The transition to Onegin (what does this "But" mean?) in the beginning of XIII is very lame. It would seem that at this point Pushkin had not yet evolved the plan of having an Olga Larin exist.
- 5 / half-Russian / *polurússkogo* [acc.]: A jocular allusion to Lenski's having been educated abroad.
- 6 / drops in / Vzoydyót: An old-fashioned provincialism for zaydyot.
- 11 / "Dunya, mark!": Transposed into English, this diminutive of Avdotia (Eudocia) corresponds to Annie, Dotty, or Edie. The peremptory "mark!"—i.e., "take notice of this eligible bachelor!"—is only a peg below the nudge Tatiana will be given in Seven : LIV.

- 12 / the guitar (that, too) is brought / prinósyat i gitáru: I can find no better way of expressing the positional value of this i.
- 14 As Pushkin's note reads: "From the first part of *Dnieper Rusalka*" (a *rusalka* is a female water sprite, a water nymph, a hydriad, a riparian mermaid, and, in the strict sense, differs from the maritime mermaid in having legs).

The tune is that of Hulda's aria from the once popular comic opera ("Ein romantisches komisches Volksmärchen mit Gesang nach einer Sage der Vorzeit," in three acts, first performed in Vienna, Jan. 11, 1798), *Das Donauweibchen*, by Ferdinand Kauer (1751–1831) whom, in retaliation, the nixie caused to lose most of his manuscripts in the Danube flood of 1830.

For some unknown reason, the author of an otherwise excellent paper on the source of an unfinished drama by Pushkin* does not give the composer's name at all, confuses "opera" with "play," and calls the author of its book "Gensler" (here, in reverse transliteration) instead of Karl Friedrich Hensler (1759-1825)—and it is funny to follow uninformed but wary compiler Brodski's maneuvers (1950), p. 139, to circumnavigate the issue without revealing his ignorance.

The complete couplet, sung by Lesta, Hulda's counterpart, in the Krasnopolski adaptation of the first part of the opera under the title *Dneprovskaya Rusalka* (first performed Oct. 26, 1803, in St. Petersburg; published 1804), the sheet music of which was everywhere at home—on the pianoforte of a provincial miss, in the attic of an amorous clerk, and on the window sill of a

^{*}Ivan Zhdanov, "Rusalka Pushkina i Das Donauweibchen Genslera," in *Pamyati Pushkina* (Zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo fakul'teta imperatorskogo S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta LVII; St. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 139–78.

whorehouse (as mentioned in Vasiliy Pushkin's poem Opasnïy sosed [1811], l. 101)—runs: "Come to me in my golden castle, come, O my prince, my dear"; in Russian: Pridi v chertóg ko mné zlatóy, pridí, o knyáz' tï móy dragóy; or in the no less trashy German original: "In meinem Schlosse ist's gar fein, komm, Ritter, kehre bei mir ein" (act I, sc. 4).

Curiously enough, the *Dneprovskaya Rusalka* not only served Pushkin as a working base for his unfinished drama, labeled by later editors *Rusalka*, "The Hydriad" (he worked at it at various times between 1826 and 1831), but also affected some details in Tatiana's dream in EO (see n. to Five : XVII : 5).

I note that Pushkin's library contained a copy of *Rusalka*, "Opera komicheskaya v tryoh deystviyah," in three parts, adapted from the German by Nikolay Krasnopolski, with music by Kauer, Cavos, and Davïdov (St. Petersburg, 1804).

Pushkin had a strange leaning toward borrowing from ludicrous sources. Tomashevski* shows that from Rossini's *Gazza ladra*, act I, sc. 8, Pushkin lifted a situation for the frontier scene in *Boris Godunov*, in which the fugitive deliberately misreads aloud his own description in a sheriff's warrant.

I find, from Loewenberg's Annals of Opera, various French encyclopedias, and other sources, that Gioacchino Antonio Rossini's opera La Gazza ladra (libretto by G. Gherardini, founded on La Pie voleuse, 1815, a melodrama by J. M. T. Baudouin d'Aubigny, or Daubigny, and L. C. Caigniez) was first performed May 31, 1817, at La Scala, Milan, had its first Russian performance in St. Petersburg, Feb. 7, 1821, N.S. (in a translation by I. Svichinski), and was given in Odessa (during Pushkin's stay there) in 1823–24, by an Italian company.

^{*&#}x27;'Pushkin i ital'yanskaya opera," P. i ego sovr., VIII, 31-32 (1927), 50.

VARIANT

14 Canceled draft (2269, f. 27^v): "I'm Cupid, if you want to know."

хш

- 1-2 Perhaps we should understand that while courting Olga metaphysically, as a heavenly ideal of love, Lenski thinks he is not thinking of mundane marriage. But the plans his parents and Dmitri Larin had laid for him have not died with them as automatically as Lenski seems to think here and in XXXVII. By the end of the summer he will be formally engaged.
- 4. / close / pokoróche: This curious Russian form, giving a conditional slant to the comparative koroche of korotkiy (adj. "short," "close"), implies here the idea of "as close as circumstances might permit."
- 5 / They got together / Oni soshlis': This is ambiguous: soytis' may mean either "to meet" or "to become closely united." (The rest of the stanza is, then, either a development or a recapitulation.)
- 5-7 Actually, Lenski's temperament, that philosophic melancholy which Margery Bailey, in reference to Thomson's Seasons (see the Introduction, p. 78, to her edition [1928] of Boswell's The Hypochondriack), nicely defines as "a sort of gusty, expansive sympathy with the distant woes of others" resulting in "a mystic love of mankind, nature, God, fame, virtue, one's country, etc.," is but a variety of the same Melancholy Madness that takes the form of Byronic ennui and Russian "chondria" in Onegin (see also x : 7, etc.).

The "wave and stone" are replaced by "dawn and midnight" in both fair copies.

- 13-14 No, Pushkin was not the "first": Cf. "... le désœuvrement rendant les hommes assez liants, il [Lord Bomston] me [St.-Preux] rechercha" (Rousseau, Julie, pt. I, Letter XLV).
- 14 | Ot délat' néchego—druz'yá: Ot is "from," delat' is "to do," nechego is "nothing," and druz'ya is "friends."

Three days after Pushkin had completed Chapter Two, Dec. 8, 1823, and more than a month after he had composed XIII (on, or before, Nov. 1), he used the same expression in a note addressed to Küchelbecker (see n. to Four : XXXII : 1) under the following circumstances. On Dec. 11, 1823, Vasiliy Tumanski (1800-60), a pallid elegiac poet, wrote from Odessa, where he was Pushkin's coworker under Vorontsov, a long letter on literary matters (obviously composed in collaboration with Pushkin). It begins: "Thank you, my friend Wilhelm, for remembering me: I was always sure that you loved me from the heart and not ot delat' nechego [out of do-nothingness]." Here in the MS an asterisk leads to a twin asterisk and footnote at the bottom of the page, both in Pushkin's hand. The note reads: "Citation de mon nouveau poème. Suum cuique" ("To each his own").

XIV

- 9 / More tolerant: To the modern reader *terpimee* would seem preferable here to Pushkin's *snosnée*, which would be taken to mean "more tolerable." (Cf. Four : XXXIII : 7, where the word is used in the ordinary sense.)
- 12 Commentators have regarded this as reported speech; I think they are right.
- 13–14. Iníh on óchen' otlichál, | I vchúzhe chúvstvo uvazhál: Again the enchanting alliteration on ch, for which Push-

kin, in emotional passages, had a particular predilection. In connection with this stanza, the ascetical Brodski (1950), p. 140, suddenly says that, through Onegin, Pushkin denounced the way of life of the young noblemen of his day, such as "parties, dances, restaurants, the ballet, and other pleasures"!

14 / though estranged from it / vchúzhe: Vchuzhe is an adverb that has no mate in English. The implications are "as one who is strange to the issue," "as an impartial observer," "neutrally," "detachedly," "from outside," "while remaining uninvolved," and so forth.

VARIANTS

The first fair copy contains the following variants, of which the second is canceled:

XIVa

- 8 To sacrifice oneself is funny; to have enthusiastic sentiments is pardonable at sixteen; he who's full of them is a poet—
 12 or wishes to display his art
- before the credulous crowd: so what are we? O Lord....

(See n. to xxxviii: 4-14.)

xıvb

Eugene, however, was more tolerant: he simply did not care for people, and to direct the rudder of opinions

4 did not find a great urge, did not promote friends unto spies, although he did consider that "Good," "Laws," "Love for one's Country," "Rights,"

- 8 were but conventional words. He understood Necessity, and would have sacrificed for nobody one moment of his peace, but he respected
- 12 in others: resolution, of persecuted fame, the beauty, talent, and rectitude of heart.
- b: 5 The meaning of this rather unexpected line is, "Onegin did not spread rumors about his friends, accusing them of being secret agents of the government—of prying, for example, into the activities of clandestine groups" (see also *Onegin's Journey*, VIII: 12, given in my nn.).
- b: 6–13 Draft (2369, f. 28^v):

8	"L are	ove 〈or	for 1ly>	one	's C an	oun ode	try, son	,, í,	Rigl	Law hts,' ords	,
	·	·	•	·	·	·	·	·	•	·	·
	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
12	of p			the ed t				L			

xv

- 2-5 / conversation . . . mind . . . gaze . . . all this: An adumbration of the stylistic form of introductory description used more fully in relation to Olga in XXIII : 1-8. See n. to XXIII : 5-8.
- 13-14. The meaning is: "Let us ascribe to the fever of youth its heat and rant—and condone them." The lines are built around a stale Gallicism. See, for example, Claude Joseph Dorat (1734-80), *A Monsieur Hume*:

. . . les tendres erreurs, Et le délire du bel âge . . . XVI

There seems to be a reminiscence here, leading us back to the source of the chapter's motto, Horace, *Satires*, II, VI, namely to ll. 71-76, where the host and his guests at the rural board discuss whether people find happiness in riches or virtue, what makes friends—usefulness or uprightness—and what is the nature of good.

Pushkin's dormitory discussions with Küchelbecker at the Lyceum are no doubt in the background of this stanza. In fact, it would seem that Pushkin was much obsessed by personal memories of Küchelbecker, which threatened to make of the invented relationship between invented Onegin and invented Lenski a parody of a relationship between two other persons on different levels of time, Pushkin as he was at the end of 1823 and the remembered Küchelbecker of 1815–17.

According to Tinyanov (*Lit. nasl.*, 1934), young Küchelbecker's favorite book had been a work by a Swiss follower of Rousseau, François Rudolphe (Franz Rudolf) Weiss, *Principes philosophiques, politiques et moraux* (1785), on which Küchelbecker at the Lyceum had based a MS encyclopedia for his private use. The dangerous prejudices listed in Weiss are: idolatry, sacrificial rites, religious persecution.

The pacts (dogovóri) and the effects of sciences and arts (plodi naúk, "fruits of studies, of learning") are obvious references to Rousseau—to his Contrat social (1762) and his Si le rétablissement des sciences et des arts a contribué à épurer les mœurs (1750).

The incredible Brodski (1950), pp. 143-45 (who spells the title of Rousseau's work *Contrat sociale*), suggests that the *plodi nauk* that the progressive squires Onegin and Lenski discuss (in 1820) were the attainments of technology, such as new agricultural machines, and remarks that people who had been abroad were appalled by the reactionary mentality of ordinary Russian squires, who discussed haymaking, gin, and hounds!

The incredulous reader is reminded that Brodski's book is "A Manual for the Use of High-School Teachers," published by the State Scholastic and Pedagogical Publishing Department of the Ministry of Education of the USSR, Moscow, 1950.

- 10 The untranslatable Russian *mézhdu tém* (or *mezh tém*) is the French *cependant*, a kind of abstraction of our "meantime."
- 10-11 [Lenski] recited, in a trance . . . fragments of Nordic poems / Otrívki sévernih poém: Where had he found those fragments? The answer is: in Mme de Staël's De l'Allemagne:

Sur le rocher de la mousse antique, asseyons-nous, ô bardes!

> —Klopstock, Hermann, chanté par les bardes (De l'Allemagne, pt. II, ch. 12)

... les morts vont vite, les morts vont vite.... Ah! laisse en paix les morts!

-Bürger, Lenore (ibid., pt. II, ch. 13)

Il est, pour les mortels, des jours mystérieux Où, des liens du corps notre âme dégagée, Au sein de l'avenir est tout à coup plongée, Et saisit, je ne sais par quel heureux effort, Le droit inattendu d'interroger le sort. La nuit qui précéda la sanglante journée, Qui du héros du Nord trancha la destinée . . .

> -Schiller, *Walstein* (sic), act II, "translated" by Constant (ibid., pt. II, ch. 18; note the ridiculous *cheville* of "heureux effort")

Coupe dorée! tu me rappelles les nuits bruyantes de ma jeunesse.

-Goethe, Faust (ibid., pt. II, ch. 23)

That these were the "Nordic poems" recited by Lenski is clear from yet another passage in the same work (pt. II, ch. 13):

Ce qui caractérise les poètes du Nord [c'est] la mélancolie et la méditation... La source inépuisable des effets poétiques en Allemagne [c'est] la terreur: les revenans et les sorciers plaisent au peuple comme aux hommes éclairés... une disposition qu'inspirent... les longues nuits des climats septentrionaux.... Shakespeare a tiré des effets prodigieux des spectres et de la magie, et la poésie ne sauroit être populaire [= national] quand elle méprise ce qui exerce un empire irréfléchi sur l'imagination.

He also recited, no doubt, bits from Ossian, fils de Fingal, "barde du troisième siècle, poésies galliques, traduites sur l'anglais de M. Macpherson, par M. Le Tourneur," Paris, 1777 (or, more probably, the nouvelle édition of the same, "ornée de belles gravures," which have to be seen to be believed, of 1805). The "anglais de Monsieur Macpherson" is the edition of 1765, in two volumes, of the Works of Ossian, which in its turn is a snowball accumulation of Fragments of Antient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic of Erse Language (Edinburgh, 1760) and two other installments, Fingal, "an ancient epic poem" in six books, published in 1762, and Temora, another "ancient epic poem," in eight books, 1763.

James Macpherson's famous fraud is a mass of more or less rhythmic, primitively worded English prose, which can be easily translated into French, German, or Russian. The recitative coagulates here and there into short iambic lines with tetrameter-trimeter alternations of the ballad type in some passages—e.g., in *Fingal*, bk. III: "The wind was in her loose dark hair, her rosy cheeks had tears"; but this, of course, was lost in the French paraphrastic prose that popularized Ossian on the Continent. The kings of Morven, their blue shields beneath the mountain mist upon a haunted heath, the hypnotic repetitions of vaguely meaningful epithets, the resounding, crag-echoed names, the blurred outlines of fabulous events, all this permeated romantic minds with its nebulous magic so unlike the flat classical backdrop colonnades of the Age of Taste and Reason.

Macpherson's lucubrations had as tremendous an impact upon Russian literature as upon that of other nations.

Ryno, son of Fingal, Malvina, daughter of Toscar, and Ullin, chief of Fingal's bards, found their way into incongruous adaptations and are used by Zhukovski as mere evocative names ("Rino, the highland chief," and "Malvina," daughter of Ullin) in his rather comical version of Campbell's second-rate ballad, *Lord Ullin's Daughter*.

In Ruslan and Lyudmila, "a tale of times of old" and "of deeds of old" (Ossianic phrases), Ossian's father Fingal (or the Irish Finn mac Cumhail) becomes Fin the Hermit (a Finn), and Moina (the daughter of Reuthamir and mother of Carthon) becomes the maiden sorceress Naina, while Reuthamir becomes Ratmir, a young Hazaran (Persian-speaking Mongol from Afghanistan).

xvia

Cahier 2369, f. 29^v, contains the following interesting draft, which ties up nicely with Eight : xxxv : 7-14:

Proceeding from important matters,
the conversation often would
touch also, now and then, on Russian poets.
Vladimir, with a sigh and downcast gaze,
listened to Eugene
$[who] \dots \langle of our crowned works \rangle$
<pre></pre>
(mercilessly) denounced.

Apparently this was to be followed by some lines (found, in the same cahier, eleven pages further) in which Zhukovski, with the epithets "holy" and "Parnassian wonder-worker," is dismissed by Onegin as having become merely a "courtier," whereas Krïlov is said to be "stricken with paralysis."* Pushkin wisely refrained from letting Onegin make these sarcastic remarks which, moreover, had already become petulant platitudes in literary circles.

See also One : XLVIa in my nn.

XVII

- 1 / passions / strasti: Les passions. Byron played constantly on these strident strings. Violent, conflicting, highwrought emotions, with a singular knack of becoming abstract from sheer emphasis, like a shrill sound vibrating itself into silence. The two young men are imagined discussing such burning themes as love, jealousy, fate, gambling, rebelling. The dangerous passions listed by Weiss (above, n. to XVI) are: laziness in boyhood, sexual love and vanity in adolescence, ambition and vengefulness at the adult stage, avarice and self-indulgence in old age.
- 14 / deuce: Any two-spot card; the humble slave of luck, which, however, may turn traitor; here used synecdochically for any banking game such as faro or stuss.

These seventeen stanzas were finished by Nov. 3, 1823, in Odessa.

^{*}See T. Zenger, "Novïe tekstï Pushkina," in *Pushkin, rodonachal'nik novoy russkoy literaturi*, a collection edited by D. Blagoy and V. Kirpotin (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941), pp. 44-45.

xv11a, b, c, d

After XVI we have a batch of extremely interesting stanzas in the fair copy. The established XVII branches off, after 4, into a description of moods that (in conjunction with the beautiful and mysterious two stanzas, Eight : XXXVI-XXXVII—where imagination holds a faro bank) give an additional dimension to the otherwise rather flat character of Onegin; and this description, in its turn (following as it were the cue of XVII : 14), slips into an admirable digression on gaming.

The first fair copy contains the following canceled continuation:

XVIIa

- 4. Onegin spoke of them as of acquaintances who had betrayed, had long been sleeping the grave's sleep, and now had left no trace;
- 8 but from his lips, at times, there would burst forth such sounds, such a deep wondrous moan, that it would seem to Lenski
- 12 to be the mark of pangs unstilled, and truly: there were passions here, to hide them was a task of no avail.

xv11b

What feelings had not seethed in his tormented breast? How long ago, for how long, had they been subdued?

- 4. They will wake up—just wait. Happy who knew their agitation, surgings, sweetness, intoxication and finally detached himself from them;
- 8 happier he who did not know them; who cooled love with separation, enmity with obloquy; who sometimes with friends and wife yawned, undisturbed

12 by jealous torment; as for myself, unto my lot there fell a flaming passion

XVIIC

—passion for banking games! neither the gifts of liberty, nor Phoebus, nor fame, nor feasts could have lured me,

- 4 in years agone, away from cards.
 Pensive, all night till daybreak,
 I used to be prepared in former years to question fate's disposal:
- 8 would the jack come up on the left? Liturgic chimes would sound already; among torn decks the weary dealer would be nodding;
- 12 whereas with furrowed brow, peppy and pale, and full of hope, closing my eyes, upon the third ace I would set.

xvIId

And I, a modest hermit, now with no faith in the covetous dream, no longer bet on a dark card,

- 4 having remarked a dread *ruté*. I now have left the chalk in peace, the fateful word *atánde* does not come to my tongue.
- 8 I'm also disaccustomed of the rhyme.
 What will you? Between you and me, of all this I am weary.
 One of these days, I'll try, friends, to take up
 12 blank verse
 - although "quinze-et-le-va" still has great claims on me.

To understand stanzas XVIIc and d, as well as other passages in Pushkin (see especially his great story "The Queen of Spades," of which translators, including the usually careful Bernard Guerney, have made such a mess), it is necessary for the reader to have a clear concept of the banking game. In Pushkin's day, the fashionable banking game (*bank*) was a German variation of pharo, called *Stoss* (Russ. *shtos*) or stuss, the latest mutation in a specific group of games whose evolution since the seventeenth century followed the sequence: lansquenet, bassette (basset, barbacole, or hoca), pharo (pharaon, faro). We are not concerned here with variational distinctions, and what follows is a general description of the *bank* of Pushkin's time.

The player or "punter" chose a card from his pack, put it down on the green or blue cloth of the card table, and set his stake, generally in coin or paper money, upon it. The dealer or "banker" ("he that holds the bank"), also called "tailleur" ("talliere" or "tallier" in basset), unsealed a fresh pack and proceeded to turn the cards up from its top, one by one, the first card on his right hand, the second on his left, and so on, alternately, until the whole pack was dealt out. The process was termed in English "to tally," and in Russian metat', a verb connotatively evoking a rapid sustained flicker, although, actually-and especially if the punters were several-the dealer might have to stop drawing cards fairly oftenfor instance, when anybody said *atande* (Fr. *attendez*), asking for the opportunity to make or reconsider a bet. The banker won when a card equal in points to that on which the stake had been set came up on his right hand, but lost when it was dealt to the left. This left-hand card, the card for the punter, was called *carte anglaise*, and if it won for him at the first deal, it was said to win "sonica" (or "simply," "at once"); this happened twice (in "The Queen of Spades") when Herman punted, or, in other words, he twice guessed the second card from the top of the dealer's deck, and this would have happened a third time had he not produced, by a sinister blunder, the wrong card (he "mispulled," or "misdrew," obdyornulsya)—a queen instead of the ace he thought he had taken from his deck.

A "dark" card was the Russian term for a card that the punter chose from his deck and did not show the dealer until its equivalent turned up in the latter's deck.

When a doublet occurred-two cards of the same denomination turning up in the same coup (i.e., within one turn)-the punter lost half his stake at faro, the whole of it in stuss. If, having won the event, a punter chose to venture his stake and gains, he let his money lie and cocked (or "crooked") his card at one corner, and this was called a "parolet" or "paroli." If he wished to venture his gains only, he made a bridge (or a bend, un pli) of his card, and this was called a "pay" or "paix" (or "parolet-paix," if he had just gained a parolet). A "sept-et-le-va," or, in Russian, setel'va (or, as Pope spelled it, "septleva"-in his charming eclogue The Basset-table, 1751), succeeded the gaining of a parolet, by which the punter, being entitled to thrice his stake, risked the whole again and, cocking his card a second time, tried to win sevenfold; if he was fortunate, he could bend a third corner, venturing for fifteen times his stake, and this fateful attempt was called "guinze-etle-va" (transliterated into Russian as kenzel'va). (The next pleasant possibility for the punter would be "trenteet-le-va," which in Susanna Centlivre's dull comedy The Basset-Table [London, 1706] appears as "Trante et leva," and is rendered *trantel'va* in Russian.)

In the concluding couplet of xvIId-

although ''quinze-et-le-va'' still has great claims on me

—the last line, *Bol'shie na menyá pravá*, is a Gallicism: *a de grands droits* (see, for example, Voltaire's *La Pucelle*, VIII, l. zo, and his note, of 1782, to X: ''l'épopée a de grands droits'').

In the description of a faro game in ch. XXII of *Candide* the lady of the house, sitting next to the dealer, watches

sharply "tous les parolis, tous les sept-et-le-va de campagne [i.e., improper augmentation of stakes with no winnings to back them], dont chaque joueur cornait ses cartes" (cocked his cards); "elle les faisait décorner avec une attention sévère, mais polie . . ." Pushkin, in the opening scene of his novella *The Shot* (*Vïstrel*, written in the autumn of 1830), has Silvio, the banker at a faro table, observe in a somewhat similar way that the punters do not, by mistake, cock a card when they are not entitled to do so.

Editors invariably print the terminal of l. 13 as quinze elle va (see Works 1936, p. 431; Tomashevski, Acad 1937, p. 282; Works 1949, p. 519), instead of quinze et le va; possibly this is Pushkin's mistake, but it should be checked by those who have access to the MS. According to Tomashevski, the draft $(2369, f. 31^r)$ gives the variant reading sept il va, which again is an error for sept et le va.

If the basic stake ("what goes") is, say, one dollar, then:

first win: 1 + 1 = 2 (un et le va) second win: 2 + 2 = 4 (trois et le va) third win: 4 + 4 = 8 (sept et le va) fourth win: 8 + 8 = 16 (quinze et le va) and so on.

The cancellation of these magnificent stanzas is of psychological interest. At one time Pushkin hesitated whether to make himself or Onegin the pale and energetic gambler depicted here. (We know that Onegin did play; see One : LIV and Eight : XXXVII.) This very chapter, in which he describes himself as a humble hermit no longer addicted to the gaming table, was actually lost by him at cards, despite his quibbling assertion (see below) to the contrary. Early in 1828, he published, in Bul-

*

garin's review *The Northern Bee*, a little poem in iambic tetrameter, *Epistle to V*. (Ivan Velikopolski, 1797–1868, author of *To Erastus, A Satire on Gamesters*), in which, after praising V. for his sound morals and the good advice he gave, Pushkin had the following sarcastic conclusion (I give it in prose):

A neighbor of mine, having in the throes of a noble thirst, swilled down a bumper of Castilian water, wrote—as you did—a wicked satire on gamesters and with much animation recited it to his friend. The latter, in reply, took a deck of cards, silently shuffled it, gave it him to cut, and the moralistic author punted, alas, all night. Are you acquainted with that gay dog? A session with him I would deem most festive. With him I am ready not to sleep all night and until the blaze of noon read his moral epistle and write down his losings.

Velikopolski, a kindly fellow who later helped Gogol financially, mildly retaliated by composing at once, in the same meter, a little poem in which he said that the moralist in question remembered very well his sessions with Pushkin when "Onegin, Chapter Two, humbly slid down [= was lost] on an ace." (Incidentally, it is quite clear that Velikopolski had read the stanzas on the passion for play that Pushkin omitted when publishing Chapter Two separately in 1826.) From Petersburg, in April, 1828, Pushkin wrote to Velikopolski in Moscow:

Bulgarin has shown me the very amiable stanzas you address to me in answer to my pleasantry. He told me that the censor refused to pass them (as a "personality") without my consent. Sorry—but I cannot give it. . . . Do you want to quarrel with me in earnest and make me, your peace-loving friend, include some inimical stanzas in Chapter Eight of *Onegin? Nota bene*: I did not lose Chapter Two to you; what I did was to pay you my debt with its published copies, exactly as you paid me your debts with parental diamonds and the thirty-five volumes of the *Encyclopédie.* What if I publish this well-meaning objection? All this does not make very pretty reading.

Pushkin preferred keeping bank to punting and went on gaming very deep till the end of his life.

In A Portion of the Journal kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., From 1831 to 1847: "comprising reminiscences of social and political life in London and Paris during that period" (4 vols., London, 1856–57, with a misleading preface), there is the following entry (III, 129), under Tuesday, Feb. 28, N.S., 1837, on which date the news of Pushkin's duel (Feb. 8, N.S.) and death (Feb. 10, N.S.) reached Paris, where Raikes was then living:

I find the following note in page 141 of my journal when in Russia [winter, 1829-30]: "I met last night [Dec. 23, 1829, N.S.; thus Dec. 11, O.S.] at Baron Rehausen's the Byron of Russia; his name is Pouschkin, the celebrated and almost the only poet in Russia.... In his person and manners I could observe nothing remarkable except a want of attention to cleanliness, which is sometimes the failing of men of genius, and an undisguised propensity to gambling; indeed the only notable expression which dropped from him during the evening was this, 'J'aimerois mieux mourir que ne pas jouer.'"

(I am indebted to Miss Filippa Rolf, of Lund, Sweden, for kindly identifying for me Raikes' host as Baron Johan Gotthard von Rehausen, 1802–54, secretary of the Swedish legation in St. Petersburg.)

The passage is somewhat differently worded by Raikes in *A Visit to St. Petersburg* (see n. to One : LII : 7).* This work is in the form of letters (to "My dear ——"); and Letter IX, dated Petersburg, Dec. 24, 1829, N.S., starts:

I met last night at Baron Rehausen's the Byron of Russia; his name is Pouschkin, the celebrated, and, at the same time, the *only* poet in this country.... I could observe nothing remarkable in his person or manners; he was slovenly in his appearance, which is sometimes the failing

^{*}First mentioned in connection with Pushkin by S. Glinka, in *P. i ego sovr.*, VIII, 31-32 (1927), 109-10.

of men of talent, and avowed openly his predilection for gambling; the only notable expression—[etc.]

In connection with our poet's appearance, which Raikes, a professed dandy, was not alone in criticizing, there is a coincidental note by Pushkin himself referring to more or less the same period. It is an autobiographical fragment (starting with: "My fate is settled, I am going to marry . . .") written apparently about May 13, 1830, a week after he had been accepted by Natalia Goncharov, and contains the following observation: "I dress negligently, when visiting people, but with all possible care when dining in a restaurant where I read either a new novel or a magazine" (Acad 1936, V, 358).

Pushkin started to compose Chapter Eight Dec. 24, 1829, O.S., and it is tempting to see Raikes (whom our poet met again at a rout on Feb. 16, 1830) in the "farflung traveler, a brilliant London jackanapes" of Eight : XXIIIb : 9-10, and in the "far-flung traveler, an overstarched jackanapes" of Eight : XXVI : 9-10 (although, as I point out in my nn. to these verses, we also discern therein other, earlier, impressions going back to Odessa, 1823-24). The epithet "overstarched" refers, I suppose, to an Englishman's stiffly starched neck-cloth. The frontispiece of Raikes' *Journal* shows him from top hat to elegant toe in peripatetic profile—a rather corpulent gentleman with strangely thin legs, in a shortish frock coat and tight checked trousers.

Tom Raikes (1777–1848) was, of course, an expert in gaming-table matters:

Upon one occasion [1814, in a London club], Jack Bouverie, brother of Lady Heytesbury, was losing large sums [at macao], and became very irritable: Raikes, with bad taste, laughed at Bouverie, and attempted to amuse us with some of his stale jokes; upon which, Bouverie threw his play-bowl, with the few counters it contained, at Raikes's head; unfortunately it struck him, and made the City dandy angry, but no serious results followed this open insult.

—Captain (Rees Howell) Gronow, a stale joker in his own right, in *Reminiscences* (London, 1862), p. 80

c Before striking out this stanza, Pushkin started to change the first person to "Onegin" and "he." In l. 2, "Phoebus" was deleted, and in l. 3 "ladies" was substituted for "feasts." In the draft (2369, f. 30"), "the gifts of liberty" (ll. 1-2) was "the love for liberty" and "fame" (l. 3) was replaced by "friendship." In l. 1 "passion for banking games!" was changed to "O cards!" and then to the synecdochical "O deuce!" Another curious variant (ll. 1-4) was communicated by Sobolevski to Bartenev and to Longinov, who published it in Sovremennik, VII (July, 1856). It was composed, with the rest of the stanzas on gaming, at Odessa in the winter of 1823; but Pushkin liked to repeat aloud in later years, at cards, on walks, any resonant line that he had composed at one time or another; Sobolevski could not have heard these verses before 1826, which is the year he and Pushkin struck up a warm friendship in Moscow:

> O deuce! Neither the gifts of liberty, nor Phoebus, nor Olga, nor feasts could have lured Onegin, in years agone, away from cards.

"Olga" is of course not the fictional Olga Larin, who appears for the first time only in XXI (2369, f. 34^r) and apparently had not yet been devised, but most probably the notorious Petersburg courtesan, Olenka Masson (b. 1796), daughter of a Swiss historian and a Russian noblewoman. Our poet met Mlle Masson in 1816 and saw her again in 1826, judging by dates in the draft of a madrigal beginning "Olga, though godchild of Cypris."

d: 3-4 / [I] no longer bet on a dark card, having remarked

a dread *ruté* [a hostile run] / *Uzhé ne stávlyu kártï* tyómnoy, | Zamétya gróznoe ruté: This is a good example of Pushkin's poetical syntax. He does not mean to say, "Now that luck is against me, I do not bet any more on a dark card, I do not gamble"; what he means is, "I do not gamble any more, I do not bet on a dark [undisclosed] card as I used to when luck was against me" (cf. the beginning of the Prefatory Piece).

The word Pushkin has here is *ruté*, which I have rendered as "run" in the draft (see below). I have seen it written *routé* (*jouer le routé*). It seems to be connected with the English "rut" taken in the sense of "sustained course." Russian gamesters used it to denote a run, a run of luck, a great run, a ride, a trend, a streak, a series, when the same card wins several times running. *Igrat*' *na rute* meant to keep staking on the same lucky card. In this stanza the great run is in the dealer's favor (hence "hostile," *gróznoe*), and by a blind or random selection of his card, or by not showing it till it had won or lost, the punter sought to interrupt such an adverse sequence. In a first draft, Pushkin had *táynoe*, "secret," instead of "hostile." (See below.)

The term also occurs (ll. 192-97) in an excellent poem by Krilov (229 freely rhymed tetrameters) addressed *To Luck* (first published in the *St. Petersburg Mercury*, 1793, pt. IV, pp. 96-108):

> And through thy furtherance, in town Jack Sixpip with a little knowledge of the light art of faro dealing, for every ruble herds in flocks of them; there is before him a *ruté*; wealth's mother is hardly cocked before she fades.

VARIANTS

d: 1 Canceled draft (2369, f. 31^r):

1 I've changed now, and at pharo . . .

d: 1-4 Draft (ibid.):

Now I'm no more the brazen gamester: I do not trust the $\langle giddy \rangle$ dream, nor grimly bet on a dark card, having remarked a secret run [*ruté*].

In canceled drafts of l. 3, the card is termed "stupid" and "grim" instead of "dark." "Brazen," *neskrómnïy*, rhymes with *tyómnoy*, "dark," as does "modest," *skrómnïy*, in XVIId : 1.

XVIII

- 4-5 The established reading is "their waywardness or surgings" (*Ih svoevól'stvo, il' portvi*), but I feel sure that the *il* is a misprint for a second *ih*: "their waywardness, their surgings."
- 11 / disabled soldier / invalid: A military invalid.
- 11-14 The MS of a forty-four-line tetrametric poem Pushkin addressed in September, 1821, to "[Nikolay] Alekseev," a good friend of Pushkin's in Kishinev, dealing with the same theme as does Two : XVIII, contains among other discarded lines the following:

Far from the bayonet and drum exactly thus an old disabled soldier [*invalid*] meets youthful uhlans and speaks to them of battles.

Pushkin's (discarded) note to this stanza (in the draft of notes for the 1833 edition, PD 172):

> Et je ressemble au vieux guerrier Qui rencontre ses frères d'armes Et leur parle encore du métier.

Pushkin does not mention the author of these lines, and either he or his transcribers (I have not seen the autograph) err in writing "encore," which does not

scan. I have traced the quotation to the beginning of Parny's *Coup d'oeil sur Cythère* (1787; entitled in the edition of 1802 *Radotage à mes amis*):

> Salut, ò mes jeunes amis! Je bénis l'heureuse journée Et la rencontre fortunée Qui chez moi vous ont réunis. De vos amours quelles nouvelles? Car je m'intéresse aux amours. Avez-vous trouvé des cruelles? Vénus vous rit-elle toujours? J'ai pris congé de tous ses charmes, Et je ressemble au vieux guerrier, Qui rencontre ses frères d'armes, Et leur parle encor du métier.

The idea is not new. Cf. Ronsard's Sonnet XL, from *Pour Hélène* [de Surgères], 1578 (Ronsard, Œuvres complètes, ed. Gustave Cohen [2 vols., Paris, 1950], I, 258), ll. 1–5:

Comme un vieil combatant . . .

Regarde en s'esbatant l'Olympique jeunesse Pleine d'un sang boüillant aux joustes escrimer, Ainsi je regardois [les champions] du jeune Dieu d'aimer . . .

and a sonnet from his *Œuvres*, 1560, dedicated to Prince Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine (ed. Cohen, II, 885), l. 9:

Maintenant je ressemble au vieil cheval guerrier ...

13 / mustached braves / *usachéy*: Usachi, "mustaches," a Gallicism.

13-14 | Rasskázam yúnih usachéy, | Zabítiy v hízhine svoéy: The masculine singular ending of zabítiy, "forgotten," attaches it easily to l. 11; not so in English, where clarity demanded a bracketed interpolation, which I preferred to a reshuffling of lines.

XIX

5 | V lyubví schitáyas' invalidom: Spalding paraphrases:

Deeming himself a veteran scarred In love's campaigns . . .

14 / to us: To Pushkin, Onegin, and the novel's third protagonist, the Reader, all three, men of the world.

XX

- 2, 9 / our years / náshi léta; / long years / dólgie letá: The shift in accent (analogous to gódi, godá, also meaning years) is curious. I do not know whether in the earlier line Pushkin meant "in our age" or "at our age."
- 12 / studies / naúki: A more general term than "sciences" since it includes all varieties of knowledge. See also introductory n. to XVI.
- 14 / virgin fire: This and the other epithets characterizing Lenski were current ones. See, for example, the description of Allan Clare in Charles Lamb's *Rosamund Gray* (1798), ch. 4: "... at the sight of Rosamund Gray his first fire was kindled" and "his temper had a sweet and noble frankness in it, which bespake him yet a virgin from the world."

VARIANT

6–14 Draft (2369, f. 33^v):

one object, one desire, one woe, one love,

8 torrents of tears, and tears again. Neither long years of separation, nor foreign beauties, nor hours given to the Muses,

12 nor distance, nor cold studies, in the world's hubbub or in stillness, had changed his soul.

A canceled draft (ibid.) reads (l. 10):

nor the glances of foreign maids . . .

XXI

- z / tender / umilyónnäy: The French attendri, "entendered," "intenerated," "in a melting mood," "softeyed," "moved."
- 3-4 | On b^tl svidétel' umilyónniy | Eyő mladéncheskih zabáv: The phrase is blatantly Gallic: "Il fut le témoin attendri de ses ébats enfantins." The curious accord of zabáv (frolics, amusements, games) and Fr. ébats is rather pleasing and on a par with the nadménnih (haughty) and Fr. inhumaines of One : xxxIV : 9.
- 7-8 My translation is awkward but accurate.
- 9-14 Cf. Parny, Poésies érotiques, bk. IV, Elegy IX:

Belle de ta seule candeur, Tu semblois une fleur nouvelle Qui, loin du Zéphyr corrupteur, Sous l'ombrage qui la recèle, S'épanouit avec lenteur.

- 11 / under the eyes / V glazáh: A Gallicism (aux yeux) that has thrived. See, half a century later, Tolstoy's Anna Karenin, pt. I, ch. 6: v glazah rodnih ("in the eyes of [her] kinfolk").
- 12-14 Butterflies as a rule do not care for the sweet-smelling white bells of the conval lily, *Convallaria majalis* L., the *landish* of the Russians, the *muguet* of the French, the "mugget" of old rural England, the "Lily of the Vale"

of Thomson (*Spring*, l. $_{447}$) and the "valley-lilly" of Keats (*Endymion*, bk. 1, l. $_{157}$), a beautiful but poisonous plant, that, although used by poets to adorn pastoral landscapes, is, in fact, lethal to lambs.

In another, canceled, metaphor related to the same maiden (in xxia), Pushkin no doubt has in mind the same flower when hinting it may perish under the scythe (his initial plan being, perhaps, to have Olga more thoroughly courted by Onegin than she is in the final text).

In a marginal note left by our poet in his copy of Batyushkov's *Essays in Verse and Prose* (pt. II, p. 33, *Convalescence*, 1808), Pushkin correctly criticizes his predecessor for having used in connection with the death of a lily of the valley the harvester's sickle instead of the mower's scythe (for this note see *Works* 1949, VII, 573; date unknown, probably 1825–30).

It will be noted that in Six : XVII : 9–10, the lily of the valley becomes a conventional lily upon which a generalized but entomologically not impossible caterpillar feeds.

VARIANTS

Three variants of XXI are canceled in the first fair copy.

XXIA

Who, then, was she whose eyes he, without art, attracted, to whom did he devote his days and nights,

- 4 and meditations of the heart? The younger daughter of poor neighbors. Far from the harmful pastimes of the capital, full of innocent charm,
- 8 she under the eyes of her parents bloomed like a hidden lily of the valley which is unknown in the dense grass to butterflies or to the bee---
- 12 a blossom that perhaps is doomed

to the sweep of the fatal scythe, without yet having felt the dew.

(This I translate from Works 1949, V, 519.)

- a: 2 / Who, then, was she / Kto zh tá bïlá: At the top of the margin of this stanza (2369, f. 34^{v}), written in November or early December, 1823, in Odessa, Pushkin made an ink sketch (above other faces) of the profile (dark glasses, high coat collar) of Griboedov, the playwright, author of *Woe from Wit* (Gore ot uma), which was circulated in MS 1823–25, staged in 1831, and published in 1833, the same year as the first complete edition of EO. Pushkin had seen Griboedov some four years before. At the bottom of the margin, Pushkin drew his own likeness in the guise of a turbaned and plumed Negro courier of sorts.
- a: 2 / without art / *bez iskússtva*: A Gallicism, *sans art*. Cf. Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin (1596–1676), *Promenades de Richelieu*:

Je ne vois qu'à regret ces couleurs différentes Dont l'Automne sans art peint les feuilles mourantes.

- a: 2-4 / art... heart: One of those very rare cases when the jinni of a literal translation presents one with a set of ready rhymes. A little judicious touching up may even produce the right meter: "Who, then, was she, the girl whose gaze | he charmed without a trace of art, | to whom he gave his nights and days, | the meditations of his heart?" The incorruptible translator should resist such temptations.
- a: 12 / doomed to... the fatal scythe: One wonders if Olga's destiny as we know it was quite clearly seen by Pushkin at this point. (See n. to XXI : 12–14.) I suggest that at this point Olga was a combination of Olga and

Tatiana, an only daughter whom (in automatic literary result) the villain, Onegin, was to seduce. We witness in this set of variants a process of biological differentiation. In my n. to XXID : 13-14, I explain our poet's attempt to replace "Olga" in that stanza by "Tatiana." That in his mind's eye Tatiana had dark hair is suggested by his also substituting in XXID the word "silk" for "gold" (l. 11).

xxıb

Neither a stupid woman of English breed nor a wayward mam'selle by fashion's statutes hitherto

- 4 in Russia indispensable came to impair dear Olga. Fadeevna with debile hand had rocked her cradle,
- 8 she it was who made her bed, she it was who looked after her, "Bová" to her narrated, combed the silk of her curls,
- 12 taught her to say the prayer "Have mercy upon me," at morn poured out the tea, and spoiled her on occasion.
- b The rather unexpected attack on the learning of Western languages (which even the most foolish and flighty governess might help a provincial Russian girl to master) was wisely abandoned by Pushkin. In the final text, the Larin girls read and write French with considerably more ease than Russian, a fact that implies the recent presence of a French governess in the family.

The three different patronymics that at various stages of his draft Pushkin applies to the nurse (the patronymic instead of the Christian name is used in the case of faithful household plebeians whose age entitles them to respect) all begin with an F: Fadeevna, Filipievna, Filatievna (daughter of Faddey, Thaddeus; of Filip,

Philip; of Filat, Philetus; see Pushkin's n. 13 to XXIV : 2).

The story-telling old nurse is of course an ancient thematic device. In Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui* (1809), she is Irish and her tales are of the Irish Black Beard and the ghost of King O'Donoghue.

b: 1–2 Canceled draft (2369, f. 34^v):

Neither a Mistress of the English breed nor a wayward Madame . . .

Thus, according to Tomashevski (Acad 1937), p. 287n. I am sure, however, without seeing this autograph, that Pushkin wrote "Mistriss," à la française, a corrupt form of "Mistress," met with in England in the seventeenth century and retained in France well into the nineteenth century.

- b: 10 / Bová: Anglice, Bevis. In Russian fairy tales Prince Bevis (Bova Korolevich) is the son of Gvidon and grandson of Saltan. His prototype is Buovo (or Bueve), d'Antona of fourteenth-century Italian romance (I Reali di Francia).
- b: 13–14 First fair copy:

and in the evening would undress her and her elder sister.

Subsequently, after settling in his draft of Two : XXIV (see my n. to it) the name of Olga's sister, Pushkin returned to the fair copy of XXIb and in the same fair copy started to substitute "Tatiana" for "Olga" but did not go beyond l. 5, and struck out the whole stanza.

XXIC

(From 1-8 as in the established text.)

Thus a sweet friend in Olga Vladimir grew to see; was dull without her at an early age; 12 and often on the matted mead

without dear Olga, 'mong the blooms sought nothing but her traces.

XXII

- 4. / his pipe's / Egó tsevnitsi: Poets begin with this Arcadian instrument, graduate to the lyre or lute, and end by relying on the free reeds of their own vocal cords—which closes the circle with a Hegelian clasp.
- 5 / golden games: Childhood being the golden age of life, the frolics of infants are golden, too.

All this does not mean much in the text; nor is it meant to mean much—or to mean whatever it would mean in a modern account of childhood. We are deep in Lenski's Gallic (rather than Germanic) word-world of *flamme*, volupté, rêve, ombrage, jeux, and so forth.

- 5–8 It would be a mistake to regard Lenski, the lyrical lover, as "a typical product of his time" (as if time can exist apart from its "products"). Let us recall the sweets of "lovely melancholy": "Fountain heads, and pathless Groves, | Places which pale passion loves: | Moon-light walks... | A mid-night Bell, a parting groan" (Fletcher, *The Nice Valour*, act III, sc. 1), and suchlike seventeenthcentury *fadaises* going back to the nauseating "studentshepherds" of early Italian and Spanish bucolic fiction.
- 6 / groves: Pushkin economically gave Lenski, XXI and XXII, lines he had himself attempted to use in his youth.Cf. the rough draft of a short poem thought to have been composed in 1819:

In the shade of enthralling woods I'd been the soft-eyed witness I generally try to render *dubráva* by "park" (which it certainly is in several instances throughout *EO*), but sometimes the "park" insensibly shades into "wood" (*les*) or "grove" (*roshcha*). Here, moreover, the plural form in the elegy of 1819 gives a definite clue to the meaning of the singular in the stanza of 1823.

XXIII

1-2 Pushkin did not know, and probably had not even heard of, Andrew Marvell (1621-78), who in many ways has such affinities with him. Cf. Marvell's An Epitaph upon — (pub. 1681), l. 17: "Modest as morn; as Mid-day bright . . ." and My Peggy Is a Young Thing (The Gentle Shepherd, 1725) of Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), l. 4: "Fair as the day, and always gay."

The intonation in Pushkin's first line is the same as in *Le Sermon inutile* of Ponce Denis (Ecouchard) Lebrun (1729–1807), *Œuvres* (Paris, 1811), bk. II, Ode VII:

Toujours prude, toujours boudeuse . . .

3 / naïve / prostodúshna: Cf. X: 3. Pushkin uses this term prostodushniy, -naya, -no (which means, grammatically, "simple-souled" in the sense of "simplehearted") more than once to translate the French naïf, naïve, naïvement. The phrase "naïve as a poet's life" is not particularly good in English, but "openhearted," or "guileless," or "candid" would have been less accurate. Though Lenski's naïveté persists to the end of his life (and even well into the realm of posthumous metaphor and Arcadian sepulchers), that of Olga turns out to be not unmixed with a kind of coyish and hard guile.

Speaking of poets, Chateaubriand says through René

(ed. Armand Weil [Paris, 1935], p. 28): "Leur vie est à la fois naïve et sublime . . . ils ont des idées merveilleuses de la mort." The comparison of the "naïve" life of a poet with Olga's nature has its counterpart in the comparison of Lenski's poetry to the "naïve maid's thoughts" of x: z, which is preceded in vII : 14 by a faint echo of "idées merveilleuses."

5-6 The prototype of both Pushkin's Olga and Baratïnski's Eda is the Arcadian maid, e.g., in Batyushkov's My Guardian Spirit (1815):

5-8 / her eyes . . . smile . . . waist—everything in Olga . . .: This listing-and-summing-up device is a parody not only of matter but of manner. Pushkin interrupts himself as if almost carried away by Lenski's style and by the flow of the sentence, which deliberately mimics the conventional rhetorical figures of similar descriptions in the European novel of his day, with its patter of clauses ending in the enthusiastic gasp of "everything . . ."

Cf. "Sa taille...ses regards...tout exprime en elle..." (description of Delphine d'Albémar in Mme de Staël's insipid novel of that name [1802], pt. I, Letter XXI, from Léonce de Mondoville to his bosom friend Barton, literary nephew of Lord Bomston [in *Julie*]; see also n. to Three : x : 3); Nodier's "Sa taille ... sa tête... ses cheveux... son teint... son regard ... tout en elle donnait l'idée ..." (description of Antonia de Monlyon in Nodier's lurid but not quite negligible novel, *Jean Sbogar* [1818], ch. 1; see also n. to Three : XII : 11); and finally Balzac's "Le laisser-aller de son corps...l'abandon de ses jambes, l'insouciance de sa

pose, ses mouvements pleins de lassitude, tout révélait une femme . . .'' (description of the Marquise d'Aiglemont in the much overrated vulgar novelette, *La Femme de trente ans*, ch. 2; *Scènes de la vie privée*, 1821–24).

- 6 / locks / lókoni: I fear I have taken the line of least resistance in translating lókoni as "locks" and kúdri as "curls" (see VI : 14). Actually, it might be demonstrated that the notion of a maiden's "curls" is closer to lókoni, whereas "locks" connotes kúdri, especially when speaking of men.
- 7 | waist | stan: Fr. taille, which comprises waist and torso.
- 8 / but take any novel: Cf. Piron, Rosine:

Ne détaillons pas davantage Un portrait qui court les romans.

That a prose translation is not always closer than a metrical version with rhymes tagged on is nicely exemplified by a sequence of hilarious blunders in the English "translation" of some fragments of *EO* supplied by an anonymous writer (William Richard Morfill, author of several worthless works on Russia) in an article on Pushkin (*The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*, CXIX [1883], 420–51). This is how he understood the allusion to "any novel," *lyuboy roman* (confusing *lyuboy*, "any," with *lyubovniy*, "amorous," and *roman*, "novel," with *roman*, "love affair") in XXIII : 8:

... Eyes blue as heaven, A smile, flaxen hair, Harmony of motion and voice and figure,
8 All these are in Olga. She was A living love-story. There you will find the portrait of the sweet girl. Well, I was some time in love with her myself,

12 But it ended in nothing.

Despite his not knowing the simplest Russian terms and constructions, this critic has the temerity to dismiss Spalding's version of EO(1881) with a few contemptuous words (pp. 443-44). I was led to this article by a footnote in an essay by M. Alekseev, "I. S. Turgenev propagandist russkoy literaturi na zapade,"* in which, however, there are two mistakes: the date of the Spalding version is not "1888," and Morfill did not give "a detailed analysis" of it, but limited himself to six examples of awkward English.

14 / take up / Zanyát'sya: One of those simple terms which are the despair of a translator. Zanyát'sya here is really the French m'occuper de, but to render this by "occupy myself" or "get busy on" would not be exact. I have wavered between "turn to" and "take up."

VARIANT

13-14 First fair copy:

And I take a new pencil her sister to depict.

Between the draft of these lines and the beginning of XXIV ("Her sister was called $\langle Natasha \rangle$ Tatiana"), Cahier 2369, f. 35^r, there is a large drawing of Eliza Vorontsov in bonnet and shawl.

XXIV

1-2 / Her sister was called Tatiana / Eyó sestrá zvalás' Tat'yána: Trisyllabic, with a moist medial t, and the accented a sounded as "ah." In Pushkin's day the name was considered lowly (prostonarodnoe).

The Russian forms of the Greek names mentioned in

^{*}In Trudi otdela novoy russkoy literaturi, I (Akademiya nauk SSSR, Institut Literaturi; Moscow and Leningrad, 1948), 53.

Pushkin's n. 13 are Agafon, Filat, Fedora, and Fyokla.

In his draft of notes for the 1833 edition (PD 172), Pushkin has, moreover, the names Agofokleya and Fevroniya (Russianized to Havron'ya).

In his draft of this stanza (2369, f. 35^r) Pushkin toyed with the name Natasha (the diminutive of Natalia), instead of Tatiana, for his heroine. This was five years before he first met his future wife, Natalia Goncharov. Natasha (as also Parasha, Masha, etc.) has considerably fewer rhyming possibilities (násha, "our"; vásha, "your"; kásha, "porridge"; chásha, "cup," and a few more) than Tatiana. The name had been tried before in fiction (Karamzin's Natalia, boyarskaya doch', "the boyar's daughter," for instance). Pushkin used Natasha in his The Bridegroom, a Folk Tale (Zhenih, prostonarodnaya skazka) in 1825 (see Five: Tatiana's dream), and at the end of the same year in Count Nulin, for its charming heroine, a Russian Lucrece, who boxes the ears of a transient Tarquin (while quietly cuckolding her husband, a landed gentleman, with his twentythree-year-old neighbor).

Tatiana, as a "type" (that pet of Russian critics), is the mother and grandmother of a number of female characters in the works of numerous Russian writers, from Turgenev to Chehov. Literary evolution transformed the Russian Héloïse—Pushkin's combination of Tatiana Larin and Princess N.—into the "national type" of Russian woman, ardent and pure, dreamy and straightforward, a stanch companion, a heroic wife and, in historical reality, this image became associated with revolutionary aspirations that produced during the subsequent years at least two generations of nobleborn, delicate-looking, highly intellectual, but incredibly hardy young Russian women who were ready to give their lives to save the people from the oppression of the state. In actual contact with peasants and workers, many disappointments came the way of these pure Tatianalike souls: they were neither understood nor trusted by the common people they tried to teach and enlighten. Tatiana faded out of Russian literature, and Russian life, just before the revolution of November, 1917, the leadership of which was taken over by matter-of-fact, heavily booted men. In Soviet literature, the image of Tatiana has been superseded by that of her sister Olga, now grown buxom, ruddy-cheeked, noisily cheerful. Olga is the good girl of Soviet fiction; she is the one who straightens things out at the factory, discovers sabotage, makes speeches, and radiates perfect health.

This business of "types" may be quite entertaining if approached in the right spirit.

- 9-10 / we have very little taste even in our names / vkúsa ochen' málo | U nás i v náshih imenáh: Since i can be either "even" or "and," this can be understood also as: "there is very little taste in us and in our names." But the first reading is better.
- 14 / affectation: "I do not like," Pushkin wrote to Vyazemski (end of November, 1823), "to see in our primevally wild language any traces of European affectation and French refinement. Coarseness and simplicity suit it better."

In EO, however, Pushkin did not retain the "Biblical outspokenness" that he preached.

VARIANTS

10 Second fair copy:

in our attires and in our names . . .

13–14 The draft (2369, f. 35^r) reads:

I might have proved it instantly, but not with this concerned are we.

XXV

2 After this negative introduction Pushkin does not, as the intonation would lead one to expect, use a subordinate clause beginning with "but" to accumulate compensative items (stylistically, these come only in Eight : XIV and XV). Cf. the anon. *The Modern Wife* (London, 1769), I, 219-20 (Capt. Westbury to Sir Harry):

She [Juliet, youngest daughter of Lady Betty Percy] was not handsome, but possessed in a high degree that *je ne sais quoi* which is even more captivating than a too regular beauty.... I was charmed ... with her good sense, her unaffected manner, so free from levity, coquetry, or airs.

8 / a strangeling / dévochkoy chuzhóy [instr. after "seemed"]: A strange lassie, a little waif, a little foundling girl.

The theme of unsocial children of either sex was a commonplace of Romanticism. Thus, Charles Lamb's Rosamund Gray: "From a child she was remarkably shy and thoughtful..." (*Rosamund Gray*, ch. 1).

14 / she sat in silence by the window; Three : v : 3-4 / silent . . . sat down by the window; Three : xxxvII : 9 / Tatiana stood before the window; Five : I : 6 / Tatiana from the window saw; Seven : xLIII : 10 / Tanya sits down beside the window; Eight : xxxvII : 13-14 / and by the window sits *she*: Her selenotropic soul is constantly turned toward a romantic remoteness; the window becomes an emblem of yearning and solitude. Onegin's last evocation of Tatiana (Eight : xxxvII : 13-14) is very elegantly connected with his first vision of her (Three : v : 3-4).

VARIANTS

4-6 A canceled draft (2369, f. 35^v) presupposes another beginning:

You can, my friends, imagine her [....] but only with black eyes ...

The words Pushkin left out are almost certainly *i sámi*, "also yourselves," rhyming with *glazámi*, "eyes" (instr.).

14 Draft (ibid.) reads "with a book," instead of "in silence."

XXVI

14-XXVII: 1 This is another rare instance of one stanza flowing into another.

XXVII

- 2 The idiom is v rúki ne bralá, "in hands did not take."
- 6 / grisly / stráshnie: The 1837 edn. has stránnie, "strange," which makes little sense and is presumably a misprint. Earlier editions give strashnie.
- 7 Depending on rhythm and rhyme, Pushkin uses temnota (as here), t'ma, or potyomki for "darkness." Other substitutes are sumrak, mrak, and mgla. The last, in its exact sense, is murkier and foggier than the not unfrequently pleasurable and poetical glooms conveyed by the nouns sumrak and mrak. The adjectives tyomniy ("dark"), sumrachniy ("somber"), and mrachniy ("gloomy") are frequent throughout Pushkin's works. By some Russians sumrak is felt to be lighter than mrak, perhaps being influenced by sumerki, "twilight."
- 12 / gorélki: The Scottish and English barla-breikis (barleybracks, barlibrakes, barleybreaks, with "barley" meaning a cry of truce) does not differ essentially from the Russian gorelki, both being country games of tig, tag,

or tick. Gorelki is of pagan origin, and in Pushkin's time was still associated among peasant folk with Maying. The word itself comes from goret', "to burn," taken in the special sense of being "it" in the game. A curious difference between barleybreaks and gorelki is that in the former the tigger, or tagger, is stationed "in hell," where he "burns" as a sinner, whereas in the latter he "burns" with vernal desires and amorous fire under the glossy birches on the burnished knoll. (It is interesting to note that in a canceled draft, 2369, f. 36^r, l. 12 reads: "in spring played not at barleybreaks.")

In certain old rustic variants of gorelki the "burning one" represents a burning stump, goryashchiy pen' (a stump being in Russian a symbol of "oneness" "matelessness" a lone unit, a materialized "I"). The derivation of pen' is obscure, but I suspect it should be sought among the ancestry of pin, pinnacle, pen (a pointed hill), and peg. Vladimir Dahl's Dictionary (Tolkoviy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo yazika, 3rd edn., 1903) gives the following dialogue between the "it" and the paired players, chanted before the "break" begins:

"I, the stump, am burning, burning."—"Wherefore burning?"—"I want a girl."—"What girl?"—"A young one."—"And do you love her?"—"I do."—"Will you buy her a pair of fancy shoes [cherevichki]?"—"I will."

In gorelki as played by little Olga and her little girl friends whom the nurse brings together on the lilacbordered oblong lawn, a much tamer version is in use. After the paired players have queued behind a single one, the latter chants:

> Burn, burn bright, Let me keep alight, Look at the sky, Up there birds fly, Little bells jingle . . . Here they go!

At this point the hindermost pair of players separates, each running forward on either side of the "burning" one, away from him (or her), whereupon he sets out in pursuit. Eventually, with his tagged captive, he takes his stand in the queue, while the uncaught player becomes "it."

I find this ancient game alluded to by Thomas Dekker in *The Honest Whore* (1604) pt. I, act v, sc. 2: "We'll run at barley-break first, and you shall be in hell" (meaning "you shall be the tagger"); and by Allan Ramsay in *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, in the song entitled *The Invitation* (1750 edn., p. 407), st. 2, which starts:

> See where the nymph, with all her train, Comes skipping through the park amain, And in this grove she means to stay, At barley-breaks to sport and play . . .

Elton assembles "in the big meadow . . . romping girls and boys," Spalding calls it "a gay rout" of "young people," Miss Radin explains Tatiana's not joining in the game because "it seemed so boisterous yet so tame," and Miss Deutsch has the little girls not only tag each other but "roam the woods" while "Tatyana stayed at home, | By solitude nowise dejected." And all this is supposed to be *Eugene Onegin*.

XXVIII

2 / to prevene / Preduprezhdát': I chose to use this obsolete verb in order to stress the fact that the Russian word (a translation of the French *prévenir* or *devancer*) is obsolete, too.

This stanza is a particularly delightful one, a melody and a miniature, in Pushkin's happiest vein of stylization. Without transcending the classical limits of eight-

eenth-century achromatic detail, he still manages to give depth and air to the picture.

To forestall the dawn as Tatiana did was a romantic act. See, for instance, in Pierre Lebrun's *La Promenade matinale aux bois de Ville-d'Avray* (1814), the verse:

J'éprouve de la joie à devancer l'aurore . . .

6-8 There is a lovely alliteration on v and t in l. 6:

I véstnik útra, véter véet . . .

In the next line I have put up with an indifferent inversion to render the expressive delaying note based on the scudding of the second foot:

I vskhódit postepénno den'.

And, of course, I have felt bound to imitate the wonderful way 1. 8 leaves the octave to join the sextet.

Whatever accuracy I have achieved in this stanza, I owe to the ruthless and triumphant elimination of rhyme. Its conservation was one of the things that led a predecessor of mine (Miss Deutsch, 1936) to string the following versicles supposedly representing the passage given above (XXVIII: 1-8):

Tatyana might be found romancing Upon her balcony alone Just as the stars had left off dancing, When dawn's first ray had barely shown; When the cool messenger of morning, The wind, would enter, gently warning That day would soon be on the march, And wake the birds in beech and larch.

The sins of omission are too simple to be noted; but there is one sin of commission that is typical of this particular version of EO, in which all kinds of images and details are bountifully added to Pushkin. What, for instance, are those birds and trees doing here: "And wake the birds in beech and larch"? Why this and not, for instance: "And take in words to bleach and starch" or any other kind of nonsense? The charming point is that beeches and larches, not being endemic in west central Russia, are the very last trees that Pushkin would imagine growing in the Larins' park.

XXIX

1-4 / novels . . . of Richardson and of Rousseau; 5-12 / Her father . . . : See my nn. to the more detailed description, in Three : IX-X, of the "secret" library Tatiana enjoys-reading these books in the original French or in French "translations"—in the years 1819-20, just after a French governess (who had certainly been living in the Larin household, despite XXIb) had left and not long before Dmitri Larin died. These are "sentimental" novels by Rousseau, Mme Cottin, Mme Krüdener, Goethe, Richardson, and Mme de Staël; and in Three : XII (see nn.) Pushkin cites in contrast to them a list of more "romantic" works (into which, from a modern point of view, the first list insensibly grades) by Byron, Maturin, and their French follower, Nodier, works that nowadays, ninche (i.e., in 1824, the time of Pushkin's writing Three), trouble the sleep of a teenage girl (otrokovitsi). This second, fashionable, reading list is essentially Onegin's in 1819–20, as implied retrospectively by allusions in Seven : XXII, at which point (summer, 1821, in the chronology of the novel) Tatiana catches up with him in her reading.

The literary evolution is from Lord Bomston to Lord Byron.

3 / Ond vlyublyalasya v obmani: This might be rendered also: "she fell in love with the deceptions," but I am certain that "fictions" or "illusions" comes closer to

Pushkin's meaning. Cf. Gilbert's satire against Voltaire, Le Dix-huitième Siècle (1775):

Sous le voile enchanteur d'aimables fictions . . .

And I notice that Aleksey Vulf, in his famous journal (Nov. 1, 1828),* uses *obman* to render the French *illusion*.

8-9 / On, ne chitáya nikogdá, | Ih pochitál: This punnish alliteration, once you have noticed it, spoils both lines for you.

VARIANT

1-4 A first draft (2369, f. 36^v) reads, in conjunction with the last lines of XXVII (XXVIII was composed after the chapter was finished):

> She'd rather read. From doing so by none was she prevented, and the longer the novel dragged the more it pleased her.

XXX

 3 / Grandison: Prof. Chizhevski (Čiževsky) of Harvard, in his commentary to *Evgenij Onegin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), makes the following incredible statement (p. 230):

Grandison, the hero of *Clarissa Harlowe* [wrong novel] is familiar to the mother only as the nickname of a Moscow sergeant [mistranslation]!... The development of old Larina from a sensitive girl into a strict mistress [ambiguous] was a familiar experience for both men [very ambiguous] and women in Russia.

3-4 / Grandisóna . . . Lovlásu: The noblehearted Sir Charles Grandison and the scoundrel and gentleman, Lovelace

^{*}In P. i ego sovr., VI, 21–22 (1915), 23.

(Lovlas rhymes in Russian with Foblås, Fr. Faublas), are, as Pushkin's n. 14 says, "the heroes of two famous novels." These are, of course, the epistolary novels (1753-54 and 1747-48, respectively) by Samuel Richardson (1689-1761): The History of Sir Charles Grandison, in 7 vols.; and Clarissa; or, The History of a Young Lady, "Comprehending the Most Important Concerns of Private Life, and Particularly Shewing, the Distresses that May Attend the Misconduct Both of Parents and Children, in Relation to Marriage," in 8 vols.

I have consulted an 1810 edn. of these two works. In his preface to *Grandison*, Richardson thus defines Clarissa, the heroine of his earlier "collection":

A young lady . . . is seen involved in such variety of deep distresses, as lead her to an untimely death; affording a warning to parents against forcing the inclination of their children in the most important article of their lives. . . . The heroine, however, as a truly *Christian heroine*, proves superior to her trials; and her heart, always excellent, refined and exalted by every one of them, rejoices in the approach of a happy eternity.

And Grandison:

... Grandison, the example of a man acting uniformly well through a variety of trying scenes, because all his actions are regulated by one steady principle: a man of religion and virtue; of liveliness and spirit; accomplished and agreeable; happy in himself, and a blessing to others.

7 / would often talk / Tverdila chásto: It is not possible to find an exact and constant equivalent. Tverdit' means "to dwell upon," "to iterate," "to repeat over and over again," but "often iterated to her [things] about them" will not do. The verb was widely used in verse as a mere disyllable variant of govorit', "to talk," with only a very slight stress on reiteration. "To harangue," "to harp," "to declaim," and so on, would be much too strong in the context.

- 8-9 | V to vrémya bĺl eshchyó zheníh | Eyó suprúg; no po nevóle: This is very awkwardly and incorrectly expressed in Russian; an elegant paraphrasian, pruning his author, would render it: "To Larin in those days already | she was engaged, but by compulsion."
- 12-14 / that Grandison was ... an Ensign in the Guards: Gvárdii serzhánt (abolished in 1798) corresponded to the rank of sublieutenant in the Army, as distinguished from the Guards, which possessed special privileges in relation to officers' advancement; according to Tsar Peter's regulation of 1722 (tabel' o rangah), a rank in the Guard was two rungs higher than the homonymous one in the Army. Another point worth making is that the officer's rank of gvardii serzhant had more glamour to it than practical signification and, being a sort of abstract steppingstone for subsequent rapid advancement, did not imply immediate service when a youth was entered therein. It will be also recalled that Pyotr Grinyov, the "first person" of Pushkin's charming short novel The Captain's Daughter (1836), at his birth, in 1757, was registered by his father (through the kindness of a titled kinsman) as gvardii serzhant (in the Semyonovskiy regiment), and was formally "considered on leave until [he] had completed [his] education," i.e., the casual schooling he received at home under the direction of a crapulous French tutor. The boy was sixteen when his father decided he should start to serve-in the Army ("to become a warrior") and not in the Guard ("to become a rake"), as had been planned originally.

At society balls, the dashing gvardii serzhant of Catherine's reign (1762-96) was replaced in Alexander's times (1801-25) by the somewhat languid elegance of the *arhivniy yunosha* (applied to young men in the fashionable Moscow Archives of the Foreign Department; see n. to Seven : XLIX : 1), who, in his turn, gave way in the thirties, under Nicholas I, to the *kamer-yunker* (junior gentleman of the chamber), as F. Vigel notes (c. 1830) in his nasty but clever memoirs (*Zapiski*).

Tatiana—Praskovia Larin's elder daughter—was born in 1803. When the dashing young gamester courted Pachette, the latter could hardly have been more than sixteen or eighteen. All things considered, I think she must have been born about 1780 and thus, though termed a "nice old lady" by her maker (Three : IV : 12), was in her early forties in 1820. She and her maiden cousin, Princess Alina (pronounced Aleena, Russian form of the French Aline, which was used as a fashionable diminutive of Aleksandra), will be reunited in Seven.

Some analogy may be found in English life of the time. Thus, Captain Gronow, in his crude and clumsy memoirs, *Reminiscences* (p. 1): "After leaving Eton, I received [in 1812] an Ensign's commission in the First Guards . . . [and] joined in . . . 1813."

*

At this point Turgenev-Viardot, in their French version of EO (1863), have the following muddled footnote: "Comme il n'y avait alors qu'un seul colonel dans la garde, qui était l'empereur [or the empress], et que les simples soldats étaient gentilhommes, le grade de sergent équivalait à celui de colonel [à celui de lieutenant?]."

VARIANTS

9–10 Canceled draft (2269, f. 26^v):

. . . she shone among the beauties of those times . . .

13–14 Draft (ibid.):

her Lovelace was a mighty dandy, an Ensign of Catherine's reign.

XXX-XXXI

In the margins of the draft $(2369, f. 37^{r})$, written not earlier than the end of November and not later than Dec. 8, 1823, in Odessa, Pushkin made two interesting drawings in ink (see Efros, *Risunki poeta*, p. 185).

Right-hand margin, alongside xxx : 11-12 and xxxi : 1-6, Countess Elizaveta Vorontsov, dorsal view: simple elegant low-necked dress; string of diamonds visible across the nape.

Left-hand margin, alongside XXXI : 11–14, Pushkin's stylized profile: no sideburns; hair curly.

In his remarkable drawings of people, Pushkin would find a key trait, a graphic constant, and repeat it throughout several likenesses of a given person. Thus the clue to his own profile is the sharp curve of the nostril (so that the outline of the pointed nose looks like a rapid cursive h or an upside-down 7 in script) above a long, simian upperlip, and the clue to the profile of Ekaterina Ushakov (1809-72; Pushkin's intermittent Moscow lovespring, 1827; spring, 1829-who married, c. 1840, a Dmitri Naumov) is a special downward dash, the cirrus of a smile, added at the wick to the pretty contour of her lips. Elizaveta Vorontsov is characterized by her shapely neck, sometimes with a dotted-line necklace around it. Her shoulders and neck appear also, with no head or body, in Cahier 2369, f. 42^r, right-hand margin, beneath a draft of the poem beginning "The stirless sentinel drowsed . . . " (see n. to Ten : I : 1) and above the line "perhaps-flattering hope!" of Two:xL:5 (reproduced by Efros, p. 189).

XXXI

- 4 Lexically: "the maiden they vehiculated to the wedding crown."
- 8-9 / Rvalás' i plákala snachála: The verb rvať sya (which

comes from *rvat*', "to tear") is saturated with far more expressive force than any one English verb can convey. It is not just "to fling oneself about," but implies the violent agitation of a person who is restrained by others while indulging in a passion of grief, seeking an issue in desperate writhings and other wild motions. When Maria Kochubey's mother, in Pushkin's marvelous narrative poem *Poltava*, tells her daughter to do her utmost in order to have Mazepa spare Kochubey, she says: *Rvis'*, *trebuy*... The second imperative means "demand," while *rvis*' connotes all the body expressions of grieving and raving, including wringing one's hands, tearing one's hair, and so forth.

14 The passage quoted in Pushkin's n. 15 is from *René*, a little beyond one third of the story (ed. Weil, p. 41):

Est-ce ma faute, si je trouve partout les bornes, si ce qui est fini n'a pour moi aucune valeur? Cependant je sens que j'aime la monotonie des sentimens de la vie, et si j'avois encore la folie de croire au bonheur, je le chercherois dans l'habitude.

See also Voltaire, *Le Fanatisme*, *ou Mahomet le prophète*, act IV, sc. 1: "La nature à mes yeux n'est rien que l'habitude."

xxxIa, xxxIb

After XXXI Pushkin began a stanza (XXXIa) thus (draft, 2369, f. 37^{r}):

They were accustomed to have meals together, to call together on their neighbors, attend (on feast days Mass),

4. snore all night long and in the daytime yawn;
in a barouche to tour the farming,
<... in the bathhouse on Saturdays>,
pickle mushrooms and watermelons.

a: 5 I have translated linéyka "barouche," since one of the

meanings conforms to the notion of a comfortable, lowslung, old-fashioned vehicle of that kind, well cushioned and snugly hooded, a bedroom on wheels at its luxurious best. However, the same word *lineyka* was employed in the Russian 1820's to designate a carriage that, curiously enough, was closely allied to the Irish jaunting car —namely, to the outside-car variety of that species, with passengers seated back to back on its lateral seats, which held at least three on each side.

Robert Lyall, *Travels in Russia*, the Krimea, the Caucasus, and Georgia (London, 1825), I, 22, describes the *lineyka* as "a kind of long half-open double-seated carriage, in which a dozen or more persons can sit."

a: 7 Another cancellation of l. 7 reads:

pickle white mushrooms . . .

What Russians call "white mushrooms," *belie gribi*, are boletes belonging to the species *Boletus edulis*, a succulent toadstool with a thick white stem and a tawny cap, which, fried or pickled, are much prized by European gourmets. For a more detailed account of the Russians' love and understanding of mushrooms, see pp. 22–24 of my *Conclusive Evidence* (New York, 1951).

In the drafts of XXXIa and XXXIb (2369, f. 37^r and 38^v), Larin was unsympathetically portrayed.

a: 13-14 The draft (f. 37^{r}) has:

. . . rather stingy, <exceeding> kind and very stupid. See also below, b: 2.

b: 1-3 The draft (f. 38^{v}) has:

Her spouse—his name was Dmitri Larin a gin distiller and a genial host [*I vinokúr i hlebosól*], well, in a word, a truly Russian *bárin*.

- b: 2 The canceled draft (f. 38^v) reads: a dunce, a fat and genial host . . .
- b: 3 The word barin comes from boyarin (boyar; Webster's New International Dictionary has a pithy note on the subject). In a superior-versus-inferior context it means "master"; but otherwise, as here, it has the connotations of "squire," "gentleman," and—to squeeze out the last associative drop—"easygoing, genuine, oldfashioned nobleman."

Incidentally, Pyotr Gannibal, our poet's granduncle and country neighbor, was, like the MS Larin, a passionate distiller of gin, *vodka*.

XXXII

- 5 / mezh délom i dosúgom: An idiomatic expression, which I have closely mimicked.
- 7 The 1826 edn. gives "like Mrs. Prostakov," and this was changed to *edinovlástno*, "monocratically," in the errata appended to the 1828 edn. of Six and in the text of the 1833 and 1837 editions. Modern editors substitute *samoderzhavno*, "autocratically," assuming that this imperial epithet was canceled in MS because of censorship considerations.
- 11 / "shaved foreheads" / brila lbi: Among her serfs she chose recruits for the army: those deemed fit for military service had their front hair snipped for easy recognition.

XXXIII

2 / albums: "Album...le livre dans lequel, selon les bienveillans usages de l'Allemagne, chacun se fait donner une marque de souvenir par ses amis." Definition

given by Mme de Staël, in *De l'Allemagne*, pt. II, ch. 23 (*Œuvres*, vol. X, 1820). See also Four : XXVII–XXXI.

- 3 / would call Praskóvia "Polína": Praskovia or Paraskovia, a common Russian feminine name with diminutives Parasha and Pasha. In her Frenchified youth Mme Larin (whose name, incidentally, was Praskovia) would address Praskovia (or Paraskovia) not as Pasha, but as Polina (pron. Poleena; cf. "Alina," xxx: 5 and n. to xxx: 13-14), from the French Pauline. Even Russian diminutives were Frenchified, and Pasha Larin is called Pachette by her fashionable Moscow cousin (see Seven : xLI: 1).
- 4. The Moscow way, especially on the part of women, of intoning syllables in speech so as to produce a kind of musical drawl is again referred to in Seven : XLVI : 13.
- 6-7 She nasalized the Russian *n*, in, say, *solntse*, "sun," as if it were a French *n* in, say, *son* (*son-tse*).

Lerner (Zven'ya, no. 5 [1935], p. 65) notes that, in reading the line I Rússkiy N kak N Frantsúzskiy, a good reader of Pushkin's day would read the first N as Nåsh, which was the old name for that letter in the Russian alphabet. The second N is, of course, pronounced "én" (as in "ken").

14 / quilted chamber robe...mobcap / Na váte shláfor ...chepéts: Shlafor comes from the German Schlafrock, Fr. robe de chambre, "dressing gown"; na vate means lined with cotton wool (Fr. ouatée). Chepets is a frilled or goffered cap worn by matrons. At its ornamental best, it merges with the English concept of "bonnet" (cf. Three : XXVIII : 4).

VARIANT

In the first fair copy, this stanza is absent from the main

text of the chapter and is added at the end in the following charming form:

> In albums she would write in blood, after the mode of Ryazan maidens, call Paraskóvia "Polína"

- 4 and speak in singsong tones; very tight stays she wore, and knew how to pronounce a Russian n as if it were a French one, through the nose
- 8 (among the fashionables this was done); before a ball she liked to learn a complicated *pas*, her father she would call *papá* [Fr.],
- 12 knew how to snap her fan, and above all she loved her Grandison.
- L. 11 at first read:

her father she would call mon cher papa . . .

The allusion in l. 2 is to the province of Ryazan, south of Moscow, between Moscow and Tambov.

XXXIV

- 2 / schemes / zatéi: Zateya is a favorite word with Pushkin. It has many shades of meaning: "project," "device," "enterprise," "whim," "fancy," "trick," and so forth.
- 7 / kindly group / dóbraya sem'yá: These goodmen will have undergone a strange transformation for the worse by the time our poet reaches Chapter Five. He never quite made up his mind whether to satirize or praise (grotesque or fundamentally sound?) old-fashioned provincialism and (vacuous or broad-minded?) St. Petersburg society (which at one point—namely, in Eight : XXIIIa, b—he attempted to reconcile, as he did Slavisms and Gallicisms in his style).

14 / off / so dvorá: This idiomatic term means "off the premises," "from the place," "leaving the grounds."

VARIANTS

7-8 The draft (2369, f. 38^v) reads:

an amiable group of neighbors, the pope, the pope's wife, and the police captain.

"Pope," pop, familiar name for a Russian priest; "police captain," *ispravnik*, head of the district police.

This is a good couplet, and artistically much better than the lame final text; but no doubt Pushkin felt that he was going too far in playing down the social status of Tatiana's parents, who after all belonged to the nobility and would not limit their acquaintance to rural priests and policemen. Old Larin had a high rank in the Army and was a gentleman, and, if we judge by the title of her unmarried Moscow cousin, his wife, Pauline Larin, may have been—for all we know—née Princess Shcherbatski, paternal grandaunt of Tolstoy's Dolly Oblonski. Soviet commentators miss these fine points.

XXXV

3 / during fat Butterweek / na máslyanitse zhírnoy: The epithet corresponds to that of Mardi Gras (Shrove Tuesday, last day of carnival, or Shrovetide, but second day of Lent in Russia). The Russian maslyanitsa lasts from Monday to Quinquagesima Sunday (Shrove Sunday), and next day (Shrove Monday) the Russian Velikiy Post (Great Fast) begins. Germans living in Russia used to translate the term maslyanitsa as die Butterwoche (maslo means "butter"), while Russians jocosely called Shrove Monday and Shrove Tuesday (the first days of Great Lent) nemetskaya (German) maslyanitsa.

It was formerly the custom in England for the people to confess their sins to the priest on Shrove Tuesday and afterward to eat pancakes and make merry. The Russian festive food, *blini* (pl. of *blin*), are light, fluffy, raised pancakes of yeasted dough, very thin and delicate in comparison with our American variety. Having folded the tawny, brown-speckled *blin* and speared it with his fork, a Russian eater would dip it in melted butter and consume it with pressed (black) or fresh (gray) caviar and a dab of sour cream, repeating this performance as many as forty times at a sitting. The *blin* is related to the flawn, French *flan*, and to the Jewish-American blintz.

5-11 In the fair copy this passage (omitted in the lifetime editions) reads:

They fasted twice a year; they loved round swings, dish-divination songs, the choral dance.

- 8 on Trinity Day, when the people, yawning, attended the thanksgiving service, upon a bunch of giltcups they shed feelingly two or three tearlets . . .
- 6 / round swings / kruglie kacheli: In A Thousand Souls (Tisyacha dush, 1858), by the minor novelist Aleksey Pisemski (1820-81), one of these "round" (kruglie or krugovie) swings is mentioned (in the description of the front yard of a landowner, a Prince Ivan Ramenski) as carrying the steward of the manor and the two daughters of a priest while being revolved by a neatherd, his chest pressed against the shaft.
- 7 / dish-divination songs: See n. to Five : VIII : 5-8. The choral dance, *horovód*, is a simple, garlandlike walkdance, performed here by the serf girls.
- 8 / den' tróitsin: This is the Sunday next after Whitsunday, and the eighth Sunday after Easter.

10 / upon a bunch of giltcups / puchók zarí: There are several plants to which the name zarya or zorya is applied in Russia. Dahl's Dictionary lists six. Among these, the least likely is lovage of the carrot family; however, all translators automatically hit upon it, without bothering to find out if this southern European apiaceous herb (Levisticum officinale) occurs endemically in northwestern Russia (where the Larins lived); it does not; and none of the other plants that are, or have been, designated as "lovage" in England coincides with any zarya in Russia. Among the other flowers that go under the latter name, sneezewort and wild angelica have some claims to be used in the Whitsuntide ritual; and there is a Conioselinum (hemlock parsley) species whose very obscurity appeals to the pedant; but the most obvious zarya with definite connotations of spring is of course Ranunculus acris, the meadow buttercup, also called crazy, craisey, giltcup, goldcup, and kingcup. (In western Europe the flower connected with Whitsuntide used to be the clove pink, *Dianthus caryophyllus*.)

Two customs have become hopelessly entangled in the dutiful commentaries mechanically accumulated by Pushkinists in regard to the hapless *puchok zari*.

On Trinity Day rural churches in Russia are decorated with birch-tree branches, and in some districts the tradition is that a person must shed as many tears for his sins as there are dewdrops on the branch he carries, if he has no flowers. The well-to-do classes, and indeed many poor people, bring, however, a bouquet of flowers with them to church. * In the province of Pskov, those bunches of flowers were used subsequently—in prolongation of the pagan part of the rite—to brush lightly (*obmetat*') the grave of one's parents, in order to clear (*prochishchat*') their eyes. This is mentioned by Ivan

^{*}The reader may find additional particulars in William Walsh's *Curiosities of Popular Customs* (London, 1898), p. 1002.

Snegiryov—without the faintest allusion to his source in his Russian Popular Festivities and Superstitious Rites.* Only the first custom—the "dews of sins" (of which the Larins had only three little ones or so)—is alluded to in EO. The second custom was mentioned by Pushkin in conversation with Snegiryov.

Lerner⁺ quotes an entry under Sept. 18, 1826, in the diary kept during 1825–27 by this Professor Snegiryov, ethnographer, censor, and fogy:

Went to see A. Pushkin, who had brought [i.e., from Mihaylovskoe to Moscow] his piece *Onegin*, Chapter Two, to show it to me in my capacity of censor. He agreed with my remarks and deleted or altered several verses.[‡] He told me that in certain localities there is the custom of brushing the coffins of one's parents with Whitsuntide flowers.

A similar detail is mentioned by Pavel Melnikov (pseud. Andrey Pecherski) in his ethnographical novel In the Woods (V lesah, 1868–75), pt. III, ch. 1, wherein he describes some curious blends of pagan tradition and Christian ritual existing among Russian peasants in the woodlands of the Kostroma and Nizhni-Novgorod provinces.

11 / feelingly / umil'no: I think Pushkin used this adverb here in the sense of umilyonno, "tenderheartedly," "in a melting mood"; it generally means "sweetly" or "touchingly" (i.e., touching the observer).

^{*}Russkie prostonarodnie prazdniki i severnie obryadi, I (Moscow, 1837), 185.

^{+&}quot;Zametka o Pushkine," in P. i ego sovr., IV, 16 (1913), 47.

The deletions were VIII: 10-14, requested because these lines might be misapplied to the Decembrists, and xxxv: 5-11, deleted because such homely and perhaps "satirical" descriptions of churchgoing were taboo; among the alterations were II: 7, IV: 8, VI: 9, and, possibly, the "O Rus" "of the motto, which, however, was re-established in the list of errata appended to the 1828 edn. of Six and in the text of the 1830 reprint of Two.

- 11 / two or three tearlets / slyózki trí: In Russian the position of three (tri) after the tearlets (slyozki) gives the sense of "two or three." The odd number ("some three little tears") causes the image to limp a little. One recalls Keats writing to his brother and sister-in-law, Apr. 21, 1819, in reference to the "kisses four" in La Belle Dame Sans Merci, which he was sending them: "I was obliged to choose an even number that both eyes might have fair play."
- 12 | Im kvás kak vózduh bíl potrében: Cf. Tredyakovski, Strophes in Praise of Country Life (see my n. to One : LVI : 2), ll. 87–88:

Vsyó zh v domú, v chyom vsyá egó potréba, V prázdnik pívo p'yót, a kvás vsegdá.

all that's requisite to him is homemade; beer he drinks on holidays, kvas always.

Kvas is the national soft drink (sometimes mildly fermented), usually made of leavened rye dough or rye bread with malt. There are other varieties in which honey or fruit is used.

The stanza was written, in the draft, after XLI (and after the first fair copy had been completed), on f. 43^{r} of Cahier 2369. In this draft the "round swings" (l. 6) are "country swings."

XXXVI

1 / And thus they both grew old / I ták oni staréli óba: The logical intonation here is of the same long-drawn, dreamy kind as in a series culminating in Oná egó ne podïmáet (Eight: XLII: 1), discussed further (this wonderful stanza XXXVI inaugurates the series with a tuningkey note, repeated three times within the stanza—ll. 1, 5, and 9: I ták oní staréli óba; On úmer v chás pered obédom; On bíl prostóy i dóbriy bárin).

There is a protracted, imperfective sense to the Russian *staret*', "to be growing old," "to be getting along in years," that is impossible to convey quite exactly in English. The perfective aspect would be *postaret*', "to become old." The obvious translation of XXXVI : 1, "And thus both aged," lacks somehow the emotional tone of "growing old," *staret*'.

- 4. / new crown: This is the second crown—the aura of a good man's death; the first is the wedding crown held over a bridegroom's head by his *shafer* (best man).
- 12 / Dmitri Lárin [rhyming with "áre in"]: In the first fair copy, Pushkin tried and rejected several other Christian names, "Antoniy," "Sergiy," and, possibly, "Sava" (Acad 1937 has this with a question mark).

The name Larin exists. Sometime in the 1840's, in Moscow, the writer Aleksandr Veltman (Weldmann; 1800-60) ran into an old acquaintance of his, Ilya Larin. He was "a character," a crackpot and a bum who had roamed all over Russia and, a quarter of a century before, in Kishinev, had amused Pushkin with his antics and drinking parties—incidentally presenting the poet with a name for his squire (perhaps a subliminal link may be distinguished here connecting Larin, Pushkin's court fool, and the Yorick of the next lines). In the course of the conversation, Larin asked Veltman, "Do you remember Pushkin? He was a good soul. Where is he, do you know?" "Long dead," answered Veltman. "Really? Poor fellow. And what about Vladimir Petrovich" (whoever that was), "what is *he* doing?"*

I suggest that, apart from all this, Pushkin's choice

^{*}Quoted by Lerner, Zven'ya, no. 5 (1935), p. 70.

of the name Larin for his static squire may have been prompted by its resemblance to *lares*, thus evoking an atmosphere of somnolent old-world existence under the protection of quiet household gods.

13 / Brigadier: A military rank of the fifth class, according to the official tabulation (*tabel' o rangah*). It was established by Peter I and abolished by Paul I, thus leaving a blank in the scale. A brigadier commanded a brigade of two or three regiments. Standing midway between "colonel" (rank 6) and "major general" (rank 4), this rank corresponded to "captain-commodore" in the Navy, and to "state councilor" in the civil service. It seems to have been a shade less important than the rank of brigadier general in the U. S. Army.

XXXVII

- 1 / Svoim penátam vozvrashchyónnöy: The same locution makes up l. 181 of Baratïnski's narrative poem of 1510 iambic tetrameters, *The Concubine (Nalozhnitsa)*, completed by the fall of 1830 and published in 1831. (The title of its final text, 1835, is *The Gypsy Girl, Tsïganka*.)
- 6 / Poor Yorick: Brodski (1950), referring to Pushkin's n. 16, glosses: "By referring to Sterne . . . Pushkin subtly discloses his ironic attitude to Lenski's applying the name of an English fool to Brigadier Larin."

Alas, poor Brodski! Pushkin's note comes straight from F. Guizot's and Amédée Pichot's revised edition of Letourneur's translation of *Hamlet*, in Pushkin's possession (*Œuvres complètes de Shakespeare*, vol. I, Paris, 1821), in which a note, pp. 386–87, reads: "Alas, poor Yorick! Tout le monde se souvient et du chapitre de Sterne, où il cite ce passage d'Hamlet, et comment dans le Voyage Sentimental [translated by J. P. Frénais, 1769], il s'est, à ce propos, donné à lui-même le nom d'Yorick."

The title of Pierre Prime Félicien Letourneur's initial version is *Hamlet*, *Prince de Dannemarck* "par Shakespeare, traduit de l'anglois, par M. Le Tourneur, dédié au Roi." Paris, 1779.

The actual passage in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (vol. I, end of ch. 12) reads:

He [Parson Yorick] lies buried in the corner of his church-yard...under a plain marble slab, which his friend Eugenius, by leave of his executors, laid upon his grave, with no more than these three words of inscription serving both for his epitaph and elegy: "Alas, poor Yorick!"

Ten times a day has Yorick's ghost the consolation to hear his monumental inscription . . . not a passenger goes by without stopping to cast a look upon it—and sighing as he walks on, "Alas, poor Yorick!"

Pushkin's knowledge of Sterne was based on French versions such as La Vie et les opinions de Tristram Shandy, in 4 vols., the first two by Frénais, 1776, and the rest mainly by de Bonnay, 1785. More than a year before beginning EO, in a letter of Jan. 2, 1822, from Kishinev to Moscow, he criticizes as trashy orientalizations Moore's Lalla Rookh (in Pichot's prose), saying that the entire thing "is not worth ten lines of Tristram Shandy."

9 / Ochákov: At the time, and later, the name of this fortified Moldavian town, and Russian port, some forty miles west of Odessa, was spelled "Oczakow" in the British press. The fortress was stormed by Suvorov's troops in 1788, during the Turkish campaign, and became Russian by the treaty of 1792. Larin must have married at thirty-five, say, in 1797, and died between 1817 and 1820.

14 / nadgróbniy madrigál: This epitaphic or monumental or funerary madrigaletto dashed off by Lenski has puzzled some commentators. Actually, the noun is employed here not in the modern sense of "compliment" (as it is in Five : XLIV : 7 and Eight : XXXV : 12), but in an older one going back to the French sixteenth century: poets of Ronsard's time used "madrigal" as a technical term for a hybrid form of poem, often elegiac in gist, that had a sonnetlike sequence of rhymes but more than fourteen lines.

XXXVIII

4–14. In a sermon "Sur la mort," preached at the Louvre on Wednesday, Mar. 22, 1662, Bossuet says:

Cette recrue continuelle du genre humain, je veux dire les enfants qui naissent, à mesure qu'ils croissent et qu'ils avancent, semblent nous pousser de l'épaule, et nous dire: Retirez-vous, c'est maintenant notre tour. Ainsi comme nous en voyons passer d'autres devant nous, d'autres nous verront passer, qui doivent à leurs successeurs le même spectacle. O Dieu! encore une fois, qu'est-ce que nous?

I have been led to this source by a vague reference in Lozinski's edition of EO(1937). I note that the last sentence of the passage quoted is paraphrased by Pushkin in Two : XIVa : 14 (*Chto zh mt takóe*!...bózhe móy.... "so what are we? O Lord....").

5 / harvest / zhátvoy [instr.]: A venerable French cliché. The metaphors "la mort fait sa moisson," "le temps moissonne les humains," "sa vie a été moissonnée," and so on, occur in thousands of combinations in French classical literature and vulgar journalism. It is therefore very funny to see Russian commentators (e.g., Chizhevski) solemnly go for their glosses to Slavic antiquities or pseudoantiquities.

10 / stirs / volnúetsya: Fr. s'agite, heaves, pulses, and sways,

like a billowy sea or grainfield; is in a state of excitement or anxiety. The verb occurs commonly in Russian and is always a little difficult to translate.

- 11 / crowds / tesnit: A misprint in the 1826 edn. alters this to the meaningless "hastes," speshit. (The two words look very similar in Pushkin's hand.)
- 13 / one fine day / v dóbriy chás: "At the good hour," an idiomatic term, midway between un beau jour and "in due time." With an exclamation mark it means "good luck!"

VARIANT

1-2 Draft (2369, f. 39^r):

Another object $\langle of dire heartache \rangle$ $\langle was, too, his father's recent grave \rangle \dots$

Pushkin wisely left the date and circumstances of the death of Lenski's parents to the reader's imagination. It might have been a little complicated to explain who exactly (an uncle? a guardian?) had sent fourteen-year-old Vladimir from Krasnogorie to Göttingen, or, if his father was still alive in 1817, had or had not Vladimir been summoned back *in consequence* of the old man's death? I am also not sure if a youth of seventeen could be in those days a full-fledged, independent squire, as he seems to be when introduced (see Two : VI, etc.). Perhaps his Göttingen diploma granted him a kind of majority. His age is 'not quite eighteen'' in May, 1820, and ''eighteen'' in January, 1821 (see Two : x : 14 and Six : x : 8).

XXXIX

1-4 The quatrain goes in Russian:

Pokámesť upiváytes' éyu, Sey lyógkoy zhízniyu, druz'yá!

Eyő nichtózhnosť razuméyu, I málo k ney privyázan yá . . .

This bears a striking resemblance to the intonations of Derzhavin's ode *Invitation to Dinner* (*Priglashenie k obedu*, 1795), strophe IV, ll. 1-4:

Druz'yám moím ya posvyashcháyu, Druz'yám i krasoté sey dén'; Dostóinstvam ya tsénu znáyu, I znáyu tó, chto vék nash tén' . . .

To friends of mine I dedicate to friends and to the fair—this day; of merits I well know the value and know that our life is a shadow . . .

8 | Bez neprimétnogo sledá: I am sorry for my unwarranted enjambment. There would have been none had I said what Pushkin *wanted* to say (but did not):

Without a trace, however slight . . .

As usual, I prefer to be loyal to my author's mistake.

11 / my sad lot: This personal complaint, voiced in exile and outdated by October, 1826, when he was pardoned and the canto was published, was the reason Pushkin deemed it wise to date in print the separate edition of Two (p. 5): "Pisano v 1823 godu." Under the draft of this stanza (2369, f. 41^v) Pushkin had written the date: "8 Dekabrya 1823 nuit" (Russ. and Fr.).

5 / flattering hope / léstnaya nadézhda: A Gallicism: espérance flatteuse.

The suppositions (XL and XL : var. 5–8) referring to the destiny of his work are similar in tone to those Pushkin makes in regard to Lenski after his death in Six—a

 $[\]mathbf{XL}$

similarity in keeping with the fateful note running through Two, the canto dedicated to the doomed poet.

9 / my thanks / moi blagodarén'ya: Thus in MS and in the Northern Flowers for 1826, but elsewhere misprinted moyo blagodaren'e (sing.), which does not rhyme properly.

VARIANTS

5-8 A draft (2369, f. 42^r) reads:

and this young, careless verse shall outlive my tempestuous life. May I exclaim, O friends, I, too, have reared a monument?

Tomashevski (Acad 1937, facing p. 300) publishes an enlarged reproduction of this. The corrected draft is at the top of the page. Beneath it, a fragment (possibly continuing this stanza, ll. 9-10, despite the final dash under l. 8) reads:

I recognize these tokens [priméti], these presages of love . . .

That the "tokens" are related to the "monument," and that the "love" is the reader's veneration for an author, seem to be borne out by the canceled draft:

> I recognize its [ego] tokens, the tokens true of love . . .

Under this, to the bottom of the page along the left margin of the drafts (XL : 5-8 and XLI : 9-14), there are several ink sketches of male and female profiles, while the right-hand margin (above XL : 5) is graced with a man's ear and a female necklaced neck. This neck with its string of diamonds belongs to Countess Eliza Vorontsov.

In its canceled form, l. 8 of the draft of var. 5–8 (ibid.) reads:

exegi monumentum ya . . .

Derzhavin, imitating Horace, produced in 1796 the following piece in iambic hexameters alternately rhymed (abab):

I've set up to myself a monument, wondrous, eternal. Stronger 'tis than metals, higher than pyramids. Neither fleet thunder, nor whirlwinds, nor the flight of time can break it.

So! I'll not wholly die; a large part of me, fleeing decay, will after death exist; my fame will grow, nor will it fade as long as Slavs are by the universe respected.

Tidings of me will go from White to Black Sea, where flow Neva, Don, Volga, where Ural from Riphaeus flows. Tribes countless will remember how I, unknown, became renowned, because

I was the first in the light Russian style to dare proclaim the virtues of Felitsa, with simpleheartedness converse of God, and with a smile to monarchs speak the truth.

O Muse, be justly proud of your achievement and if by some you're scorned, scorn them yourself, and with a hand unforced, unhurried, crown your brow with dawning immortality.

In 1836, in one of the most subtle compositions in Russian literary history, Pushkin parodied Derzhavin stanza by stanza in exactly the same verse form. The first four have an ironic intonation, but under the mask of high mummery Pushkin smuggles in his private truth. They should be in quotation marks, as Burtsev pointed out some thirty years ago in a paper I no longer can trace. The last quatrain is the artist's own grave voice repudiating the mimicked boast. His last line, although ostensibly referring to reviewers, slyly implies that only fools proclaim their immortality.

Exegi monumentum

- "I've set up to myself a monument not wrought by hands. The public path to it will not grow weedy. Its unyielding head soars higher than the Alexandrine Column.
- "No, I'll not wholly die. My soul in the fond lyre is to survive my dust and flee decay; and I'll be famed while there remains alive in the sublunar world at least one poet.
- "Tidings of me will cross the whole great Rus, and name me will each tribe existing there: proud scion of Slavs, and Finn, and the now savage Tungus, and—friend of steppes—the Kalmuck.
- "And to the nation long shall I be dear for having with my lyre evoked kind feelings, exalted freedom in my cruel age and called for mercy toward the downfallen."

To God's command, O Muse, obedient be, offense not dreading, and no wreath demanding; accept indifferently praise and slander, and do not contradict a fool.

The Alexandrine Column is not the Pharos of Alexandria (the great lighthouse of white marble, reputed to be four hundred feet high, that stood on the eastern point of the Pharos Island, North Africa), as a naïve reader might think; nor is it the ninety-eight-foot-high Pompey's Pillar on the highest point of Alexandria (although its beautiful polished-granite shaft does bear some resemblance to Tsar Alexander's Column). This "Alexandrine Column," now called Alexandrovski Column, erected by Nicholas I (1829-34) in the Palace Square in St. Petersburg to commemorate Alexander I's victory over Napoleon, is a single shaft of dark-red granite eighty-four feet high, exclusive of pedestal and capital.

On the summit stands an angel holding a cross in his left hand and pointing to heaven with his right. Russian sources give the height of the whole thing, with the angel, as about 125 feet. It was, when built, the tallest column in the world, exceeding Napoleon's Colonne Vendôme (1810) in Paris by more than four feet.

Pushkin had in his library a Polish poem, with its French translation: Ode sur la colonne colossale élevée à Alexandre I à Saint-Pétersbourg le 30 Août 1834. Pushkin's MS bears the date Aug. 21, 1836, Kamenniy Ostrov (Stone Island, north bank of Neva, St. Petersburg).

"Alexandrine" pertains here to Alexander, as it does in the word Alexandrine (twelve-syllable verse), derived from medieval French poems about Alexander the Great, king of Macedon in the fourth century before our era. The critic Pogodin, in his diary (entry of Oct. 16, 1822), noted that, according to Aleksandr Raevski, Pushkin used to call Alexandrines *imperatorskie*, "imperial" lines, in punning allusion to Tsar Alexander I.

Zhukovski, in his posthumous edition of Pushkin's poems (vol. IX, 1841), substituted "Napoleon's Column" for "Alexander's Column," and amended st. IV in such a manner as to exclude the reference to the "cruel age" and to the "downfallen" Decembrists.

Some Soviet editions replace, in l. 15, the words *v móy zhestókiy vék* ("in my cruel age" or "times") by an earlier MS variant: *vsléd Radishchevu* ("in the wake of Radishchev"), an allusion to Aleksandr Radishchev's ode, *Liberty (Vol'nost*; written c. 1783), and to Pushkin's own ode, *Vol'nost* (written 1817). See comm. to fragments of Ten, vol. 3, pp. 336–45.

L. 20 ("and do not contradict a fool"): cf. in comm. to Seven, following vars. to XXI–XXII, "Onegin's Album": III: 4:

and don't argue with a fool . . .

6 Canceled draft (2369, f. 41^v):

a dunce will point out ex cathedra . . .

XLI

Pushkin started to copy out the following stanza (in PB) from his draft (2369, ff. 41^{v} and 42^{r}), but did not go beyond l. 8 and struck out what he had written. The lines given here in pointed brackets represent the canceled first fair copy, and ll. 9-14 are from the draft:

(But possibly, and this is even more verisimilar a hundred [times], all torn, covered with dust and soot,

- 4 my story not read to the end, banned by the housemaid from the dressing room, will finish in the servants' hall its shameful life, like last year's calendar
- 8 or a dilapidated primer.> Well, what? In drawing room or servants' hall readers are equally <plebeian [chernt]>; over a book their rights are equal;
- 12 not I the first, not I the last shall hear their judgment over me, captious, stern, and obtuse.

This beautiful stanza (canceled by the poet for unknown reasons) affords an admirable example of Pushkin's genius for extracting meaningful and noble music out of the most trivial words; in fact, it is exactly the contrast between their humdrum, subservient nature and the sonorities they develop within the acoustical paradise of Pushkin's tetrameter that produces the impression of noble sense. In the first line, No mozhet büt' i eto dazhe, the insignificant words mozhet büt' ("possibly" or "perhaps," which Pushkin uses with a similar intonation in Six : XXIX : 1) and dazhe ("even") practically make up the line; the magic of their position in it, the zh alliteration, the fullness and weightiness of the

sounds, raise the triviality of "perhaps" and "even" to the booming echoes of fate and metaphysical disaster. The reverberation unfolds in full in the fast-flowing *pravdopodóbnee* ("more verisimilar") and in the next highly scudded lines.

This is exactly opposite to the technique that Gogol employed when introducing dummy words, adverbal weeds, and prepositional debris into the stumbling patter of his automatons and larval homunculi, as, for instance, in his *The Carrick* (or *Greatcoat*).

I have discussed this device in my *Nikolai Gogol* (New Directions, 1944), a rather frivolous little book with a nightmare index (for which I am not responsible) and an unscholarly, though well-meant, hodgepodge of transliteration systems (for which I am). I take this opportunity to point out that the anecdote at the bottom of p. 8 concerns Delvig and that the aphorism at the top of p. 27 belongs to him too (and not to Pushkin, who only reports both anecdote and remark).

1-2 / But possibly, and this is even more verisimilar a hundred [times] / No mózhet bíť, i éto dázhe | Pravdopodóbnee [v] sto ráz: The sto raz ("a hundred times") is incorrectly replaced by stokrát ("a hundredfold") in some editions (following a slip on Pushkin's part in the canceled fair copy of the first eight lines); and this has misled Chizhevski (p. 233) into supposing the stanza to be incomplete.

The draft (2369, f. 41^v) reads sto raz.

6 There are numerous allusions throughout the French seventeenth century to a poet's works being used as wrapping paper, etc. Cf. Scarron, *Roman comique* (1651-57), pt. I, ch. 8: "... un poète, ou plutôt un auteur, car toutes les boutiques d'épiciers du royaume étoient pleines de ses œuvres, tant en vers qu'en prose"; and

Father (Jean-Antoine) du Cerceau (c. 1670–1730), *Epître à Monsieur Etienne, Libraire:*

> Mais s'il avient, comme tout se peut faire, Que mes écrits, par un triste destin, Triste pour sûr, mais assez ordinaire, De la boutique aillent au magasin, Et que de-là, moisis dans la poussière Ils soient enfin livrés à la beurrière...

All this stems, I believe, from Horace, *Epistles*, I, xx, to his book, "... then when you begin to grow dirty, soiled by the hands of the crowd, you will... in quiet repose feed the illiterate worms," and from the end of II, I, where a book is compared to the "useless papers in which aromatic seasonings and pepper are wrapped up."

VARIANTS

7 Corrected draft:

like Invalid or Kalendar' ...

The first means *The Disabled Soldier* and is the title of a periodical of the time.

A clue to the second is provided by the canceled reading: Bryusov Kalendar'. Bruce's Calendar, a kind of Farmer's Almanack (cf. the calendar, which is probably the Court Calendar, in III: 12), was the delight of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was attributed to Count Yakov Bryus (James Bruce, 1670– 1735), one of Peter I's generals, who was reputed to be an alchemist. Actually, he was an excellent astronomer and mathematician. The real author of the calendar was the librarian Vasiliy Kipriyanov, an obscure scholar of lowly birth, who in 1709 (May 2) published in Moscow the first issue—mainly devoted to astronomy—of the Calendar, under the auspices (pod nazreniem) of Lieutenant-General Yakov Vilimovich [Williamovich] Bryus. A second part came out six months later, packed

with ecclesiastic information, and this was followed in (June?) 1710 by a third, oracular, part ("Prognostication of seasons for every year by the planets," etc.), which made Kipriyanov's fortune. Numerous reissues and imitations followed, and parts of it were integrated in the Martin Zadeck dream book, of which further (n. to Five : XXII : 12).

Chapter Three

MOTTO

This is a line from *Narcisse*, ou l'île de Vénus (pub. 1768), can. II, a third-rate poem in four long cantos, by Jacques Charles Louis Clinchamp de Malfilâtre (1733–67): "Elle [the nymph Echo] était fille [and thus, inquisitive as they all are]; elle était [moreover] amoureuse $| \ldots$ Je lui pardonne [as my Tatiana should be pardoned]; Amour la fit coupable [cf. EO, Three : xxIV]. | Puisse le sort lui pardonner aussi!"

In Greek mythology, Echo, who pined away for love of Narcissus, who in turn pined away for love of his own reflection, is reduced to a mere woodland voice, much as Tatiana is in Seven : XXVIII, while Onegin's image ripples in the margins of the books he has read (Seven : XXII– XXIV).

In Pushkin's schoolbook, Lycée, ou Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne (which was also the manual of Lamartine, whose unfortunate goût it formed, and of Stendhal, who in an 1804 entry of his Journal mentions his wish to délaharpiser his style, which he, a descendant of Voltaire and Laclos, never succeeded in doing), La Harpe (VIII, 252) quotes two quite innocent passages from *Narcisse*, the first of which starts with the line Pushkin may have later recalled from that very page.

Although, generally speaking, Pushkin can always be relied upon for improper innuendoes, I am not certain he was aware in this case that Malfilâtre's nymph was eavesdropping—behind La Harpe's back—on a definitely salacious conversation between Venus and old Tiresias, whom Juno had afflicted with nervous impotence for slaying two dragons *in copula*.

On the title page of the fair copy of Three (PB 10) Pushkin preceded the established motto with three lines from Dante (*Inferno*, can. v):

> Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri, A che e come concedette amore, Che conoscete i dubbiosi desiri?

But tell me: in the time of dulcet sighs by what, and in what manner, did love grant that you should know your indistinct desires?

I–II

Chapter Three opens with a dialogue—pure dialogue, i.e., without any inserted "he said," "he replied," and so forth. It occupies the first two stanzas and the first foot and a half of the third one (*Poédem*, "Let's go"). At the time (1824), this device (introductory dialogue) was relatively new in the European novel.

Having a "realistic" conversation conform—while retaining its natural flow—to a rigid poetical structure with an intricate rhyme pattern, and thus gain in vivid comedy by contrast, was, on the other hand, no novelty in Pushkin's time. Among numerous examples, a most charming sonnet of this kind is one by Bernard de La Monnoye (1641-1728), *Dialogue de deux Compères à la Messe*, imitating an Italian sonnet by Matteo Franco (1447-94): "Voulez-vous qu'au sortir nous déjeunions en ville?" "Tope." "Nous en mettrons Sire Ambroise et Rolait." "D'accord"...

"A propos, on m'a dit que le voisin Lucas

Épouse votre . . ." "Point. J'ai découvert ses dettes" . . .

We find everything in this opening of Three—the colloquial intonation, the cutting of a line into two or three *répliques*, the question-and-answer shuttle, the fitting of a brief *réplique* into the first foot of a line, interruption of speech, and even one enjambment. It is also in the manner of some of La Fontaine's and Krïlov's fables.

Sts. I and II of Chapter Three are logically fused in one piece, and their twenty-eight lines are broken into sixteen (7+9) répliques, with Onegin being for the nonce three times more talkative than Lenski: Onegin utters in all a hundred Russian words to Lenski's thirty-five. The fond enthusiast is at first *sur ses gardes*; for sarcastic Onegin is here certainly not the same lenient listener who, in Two: XV, endeavored to restrain the chilling word. Onegin taunts him here into an outburst (II : 3-5); but then puzzles and pleases Lenski with an amiable suggestion (reverting as it were to the tolerant mood of Two: XV: 13-14).

This is the first time in *EO* that we actually hear an exchange of words between Onegin and Lenski, who have been *described* as conversing as early as Two : xv. It would seem, incidentally, that Two : xIX should have long satisfied the curiosity Onegin voices in Three : I-II; actually, it appears that Onegin hears the name of Larin for the first time only now.

1, 3 The rich rhyme here depends on the splitting of one of the components: *poéti* ("poets"), *gdé ti* ("where do

you''), comparable to "poet"-"know it" or "prodige"-"dis-je."

1-7 Tomashevski publishes* one corner of a page "From Pushkin's cahier (1824)," with a nightcapped head of Voltaire sketched by our poet in the right-hand margin. It did not occur to the editors to identify the MS. The tails of seven terminal words, however, can be made out in its reproduction. It is the beginning of Chapter Three.

The whereabouts of the cahier (now in the Pushkinskiy Dom) are given as Vsesoyuznaya Biblioteka imeni Lenina (the All-Union Library "of the name" of Lenin) in Moscow. This library is also referred to as Leninskaya Biblioteka and Publichnaya Biblioteka.

To judge by Tomashevski's description of Pushkin's drafts in Acad 1937, this autograph is in Cahier 2369, f. 39^v, and is dated "8 févr. la nuit 1824."

In the margin of the draft there is a jotting referring to Countess Elizaveta Vorontsov (or, as she wrote her name, Elise Woronzoff): "soupé chez C.E.W." ("supped at C.E.W.'s").

5 / Now, that's a fine thing / Vot éto chúdno: A Gallicism (voilà une belle merveille), which finds a kind of excuse in such Russian expressions of surprise as chudnoe delo ("wonderful matter"), meaning "now, that's odd."

7 / thus / Tak: Other editors have Tam, "there."

VARIANTS

13–14. In the draft (2369, f. 48^v) Tomashevski reads (l. 13): in the reception room a tallow candle

and (ll. 13–14):

jams, tallow candle, the mention of Sava Ilyich [Pomín pro Sávu Il'ichá].

*Lit nasl., nos. 31–32 (1937), p. 29.

A strange figure, this Sava (or Savva; Sabas, a Serbian patron saint), son of Ilya. I should have to examine Cahier 2369 myself in order to come to some conclusion that would satisfy me; I have only material where such drafts of l. 14 as "and the jokes" and "the stories" are seen to be altered to "the mention" (see above). Pomin may be understood in the sense of commemorational chitchat, and I would suggest that, perhaps, what Eugene apprehended with disgust was Dame Larin's recalling for his benefit the bons mots and other characteristics of his uncle Sava. Eugene would not have known, or been able to use with such familiarity, the names of other landowners in the neighborhood, and he certainly is not supposed to bear in mind that his creator toyed at the time (see n. to Two : XXXVI : 12) with the idea of giving the name of Sava to the late father of Lenski's sweetheart.

The lone candle conjured up by Onegin in his disgusted visualization of a parsimonious parlor may be contrasted with the multiple blaze in Senancour's *Oberman*, Letter LXV, where a pleasing light is thrown on household practices of the time: "... j'aime à être assis sur un meuble élégant à vingt pieds de distance d'un feu de salon, à la lumière de quarante bougies."

A dazzling phrase!

п

- 5 / Again an eclogue / Opyát' eklóga: A Gallicism. "Eclogue" is to be understood here not as a literary form (pastoral poem, one of Virgil's bucolics, dialogue between shepherds, idyl, familiar ode, or just "short poem" in the Roman sense), but in the general—French—sense of agréments de la vie champêtre; pastoral patter.
- 9 / Phyllis: *Fillida*; Eng. Phyllida or Phillida (e.g., in Izaak Walton, c. 1640) and Phillis; Fr. Philis, Phylis,

Filis, and Fillis (see, for example, the various editions, 1609, 1627, etc., of the *Stances* by Jean de Lingendes: "D'où vient que sans effort," etc.).

This is not the lovelorn Phyllis, princess of Thrace, who upon hanging herself was changed into a pinkflowering almond tree, but a generalized figure, the beloved maiden of "Arcadian" poetry, pastorals and the like, presupposing a bucolic space time within which refined shepherds and shepherdesses tend immaculate flocks amid indestructible meadow flowers and make sterile love in shady bosquets near murmuring rills. That sheep look like toads and can devastate a continent did not concern poets. The overrated Virgil was a popular exponent of the theme on the burnished threshold of an ormolu era: in his ten eclogues, which are stale imitations of the idyls of Theocritus, this or that shepherd, when not burning for some younger assistant shepherd, courts an occasional shepherdess, and one of these girls is called Phyllis. Nothing, incidentally, is more depressing than the arbitrary symbols that English commentators read into these pieces.

Subsequently the bucolic theme flourished in perfumed and beribboned forms throughout Renaissance Europe until the beginning of the last century, without anywhere producing great masterpieces, although there are echoes of it in the works of a number of great poets such as Shakespeare and La Fontaine.

 10–11 | Predmét i mísley, i perá, | I slyóz, i rífm et ceterá?: To the ear of a Frenchman of 1820, Onegin's badinage would sound distinctly dated:

Antoine Bertin, *A une femme que je ne nommerai* point, 1785:

Beauté, talens, esprit, jeunesse, Taille, et minois d'une déesse, Jambe élégante, *et cætera*. Piron, Rosine (Œuvres complettes, 1776):

Le sort bientôt se déclara: Le lot fut pour un Insulaire . . . Beau, bien fait, jeune, et cætera.

Gabriel Charles de Lattaignant (1697–1779; a poetaster, except for a striking piece, *Réflexions sérieuses*), *Couplets pour être mis à la suite d'une comédie intitulée les Héritiers*:

> J'appris dès mon bas âge Le chant, la danse *et cœtera* . . .

La Harpe, L'Ombre de Duclos, 1773:

Couplets badins, et tristes facéties, Contes rimés, lyriques inepties; Flore, Zéphyr, et jargon d'opéra, Roses, baisers, boudoirs, et cætera...

Pushkin himself had used the formula as early as 1816 in some tetrametric lines to his uncle, the poet Vasiliy Pushkin, wishing him and everybody a good Easter (ll. 14-15):

... and lots of silver [serebrá] and gold [zólota] et ceterá.

- 12 / No / Nétu: Onegin uses an old-fashioned and dialect form of the denial *net*, something between "no" and "not at all."
- 13 / Now, if you like / Hot' seychds: Yet another thorn in the translator's flesh. The hot' connotes both "even now" and "why not now?" A correct paraphrase would be "Any time" or "Right now, for instance."

ш

1 / Let's go / *Poédem*: I understand this as Onegin's final *réplique*. There is a kind of interstrophic enjambment

here, though not as strong as in Three : XXXVIII-XXXIX and Eight : XXXIX-XL.

- 6 / jams: Homemade preserves—cherry, raspberry, strawberry, gooseberry, red and black currant (a canceled draft has "honey jam"), to mention only the commonest sorts—would be presented to guests in small glass dishes on a tray ("with but one spoon for all"—var. 1. 7); the guests would transfer their helpings (by means of that spoon) onto their respective saucers and then would eat the jam with their teaspoons or mix it with their tea.
- 7 / oilcloth'd small table / stólik . . . voshchanóy: Not "waxed," as a grammatical translation demands, but "covered with a toile cirée."

In a poem to his schoolmate Ivan Pushchin, May 4, 1815, Pushkin had already mentioned a *stolik voshchanoy*—and had suggested setting a mug of beer upon it.

Dmitriev, in his satirical fantasy *Prichudnitsa* (Fr. *La Capricieuse* or *L'Extravagante*; 1798), has a doctor write out his order at the patient's bedside on a table covered with a *voshchanka*, "oilcloth" (see also n. to Five : xVIII : 12).

Pisemski, in his novel *A Thousand Souls*, pt. III, ch. 1, describes a one-ruble, fourth-floor, small hotel room "with an oilcloth'd"—*voshchyonnïy* (sic)—"table and similar sofa."

The Slovar' yazïka Pushkina (vol. I, Moscow, 1956) understands voshchanoy as navoshchyonnïy, "waxed."

8 / lingonberry: Brusnika is Vaccinium vitis-idaea Linn., the red bilberry—the "red whorts" of northern England, the lingon of Sweden, the Preisselbeere of Germany, and the airelle ponctuée of French botanists which grows in northern pine forests and in the mountains. It is also called "cowberry" and "windberry," but so are some of its congeners. In Scotland it goes under the names of "common cranberry" and "lingberry," both of which are misleading since it has nothing to do either with the true cranberry, Oxycoccus oxycoccus or palustris (the Russian klyukva), or with the capsules of "ling," heather, Calluna. In America it is termed "mountain cranberry" (e.g., by Thoreau in The Maine Woods, 1864) and "lowbush cranberry" (by Canadian fishermen), which leads to hopeless confusion with American forms of true cranberry, Oxycoccus. Dictionaries, and the harmful drudges who use them to translate Russian authors, confuse the lingonberry with its blue-fruit ally, Vaccinium myrtillus Linn. (bilberry proper, whortleberry, the "hurts" or "roundels azure" of heraldry; Russ. chernika); and I notice that Turgeney lets Viardot get away with the ridiculous "cassis," black currant!

The combination brusnichnaya vodá (or voditsa), eau d'airelle rouge, might perhaps be translated simply "redberry water" (cf. Swift's "citron water," Journal of a Modern Lady, 1729), had not there existed other red berries. Onegin, as will be seen further (IV: 13-14), is distrustful of Mme Larin's lingonade, fearing the action of a country brew on a city stomach. Lingonberry was extensively used in rural communities, as both berry extracts and herb decoctions, for internal ills such as kidney trouble and gastric disorders. As early as the sixteenth century the Domostroy, a MS set of household injunctions, lists vodï brusnichnïe among the contents of a goodman's cellar.

The lingonberry is as popular in Russia as are the bilberry, the cranberry, the raspberry (malina), the wild and cultivated strawberry (zemlyanika), and the wild and cultivated hautbois or green strawberry (klubnika often confused by provincial Russians with the ordinary garden strawberry, sadovaya zemlyanika, viktoriya, etc.). Students of Russian literature will recall the beautiful new tail coat "of a lingonberry red, sparked" that Chichikov sports in Gogol's *Dead Souls*, pt. II (c. 1845).

I expect some acknowledgment for all this information from future translators of Russian classics.

Miss Deutsch serves "huckleberry syrup," and Miss Radin "A jug of huckleberry juice." Spalding skips the stanza but in the next refers to "that bilberry wine"; and Elton upsets Onegin's stomach with "bilberrydecoctions...in a jar" and "that liquor from bilberries."

VARIANTS

6-14 The rest of the stanza reads in the fair copy (PB 10):

in little dishes jams are brought with but one spoon for all.

- 8 Other employments and diversions are lacking in the country after dinner. With snugly folded arms, at doors, the serf girls speedily have gathered
- 12 to have a look at the new neighbor; and in the court a crowd of menials criticized their steeds.

I am pretty sure Pushkin canceled the end of the stanza because of two flaws he could not correct without rewriting it: the "all" in 1. 7 may refer either to the jams or to the people partaking of them. The other error is "their steeds." This should have been "Onegin's steeds," for it is clear from the context (see the master speaking to his coachman, in IV : 9) that Onegin's, not Lenski's, carriage was used for the visit; but even if it can be imagined that *Poskakáli drúgi* ("off the two friends drove"—III : 1) refers to "galloping off on horseback" (and not to "driving off"), the phrase "their steeds" would still be wrong, since, surely, one of the two mounts was a sufficiently familiar sight at the Larins' not to be gaped at by critical domestics!

The cancellation provides a structural pause.

8-9 The draft reads (2369, f. 49^r):

a big carafe [butïl'] of lingonade, a watermelon, golden peaches

with canceled "homegrown watermelon" and "a platter of golden peaches."

Recalling probably that the Larins were supposed to be comparatively "poor," Pushkin canceled the Southern fruit that wealthy Northern squires cultivated in hothouses. By 1820 ingenious horticulturists were replacing with metal pipes and hot steam the old-fashioned flues of forcing houses, and already the mandarin orange was being ripened in Edinburgh, St. Petersburg, and Riga. Peaches were found to be much hardier than it had been thought; and pineapples were amazed at what they were made to do.

IV

- 2 Pushkin's n. 17 refers to the misprint Zimóy ("in winter") for Domóy ("homeward").
- 5-6 / Onegin . . . Lenski: In Pushkin's (and Tolstoy's) day, among people of gentle birth, whether military men or literary ones, it was quite customary for friends *qui se tutoyaient* to call each other by their surnames or titles (cf. my nn. to Eight : XVII-XVIII). They would address acquaintances or old people by first name and patronymic, reserving first names for very close relatives and childhood friends.

The Nu chto zh ("Well now") with which Lenski begins the conversation is the French *eh bien*.

5-14. In the second dialogue that occupies IV: 5-14 and V: 1-12, there are eight speeches, and again Onegin,

with seventy-five words to his credit, is three times more loquacious than Lenski. It will be noted that in comparison to the introductory dialogue (I-III: 1), the order of emotional sequence is reversed: it starts here with Onegin chatting in a languid but fairly amiable mood and ends in cold sarcasm. Onegin lulls Lenski into a sense of false security by good-naturedly praising Dame Larin; his casual question "which was Tatiana?" is merely meant to bring on what follows: Lenski naïvely explains what Onegin surely must have learned in the course of the visit-and then the epigrammatic storm breaks. Actually, Onegin is less witty than rude, and it is a wonder hot-tempered Lenski did not challenge him to a duel there and then. This Three : v upset me so much when I first read EO as a boy of nine or ten that I mentally had Onegin next morning ride over to Lenski's to apologize -with the suave frankness that made the proud man's charm-for venting his spleen on the lover's lady and the poet's moon.

"Dame Larin... a very nice old lady," une petite vieille très aimable. At least "forty winters had besieged her brow," to paraphrase Shakespeare's Sonnet II. (See n. to Two: XXX: 12-14.)

8 / field / póle: Fr. la campagne.

10 / What silly country / Kakie glúpie mestá: This line is curiously echoed by l. 6 (Kakie grústnie mestá) of Tyutchev's famous little poem Pesók sipúchiy po koléni (in iambic tetrameter, rhymed ababecec; written in 1830, published in 1837 in Pushkin's literary review The Contemporary, Sovremennik):

> The crumbly sand is knee-high. We're driving late. The day is darkening, and on the road the shadows of the pines into one shadow have already fused.

Blacker and denser is the deep pine wood. What melancholy country! Grim night like a hundred-eyed beast looks out of every bush.

As has been pointed out by Russian critics, the image in 11. 7–8 is an improvement upon a metaphor in Goethe's *Willkommen und Abschied*: "Wo Finsternis aus dem Gesträuche mit hundert schwarzen Augen sah."

- 11 / Ah, apropos: The "silly country" suggests to Onegin its "silly people"—simple Madam Larin; hence the "apropos."
- 11–14 Bodenstedt's unbelievable German "translation" of *EO* has at this point:

"Lensky! Die Larina ist schlicht, Aber recht hübsch für ihre Jahre; Doch ihr Likör, wie schlechter Rum, Steigt mir zu Kopfe, macht mich dumm."

A rare instance of a liqueur not only being imagined by the translator but affecting him in the same way as it does the imagined speaker.

VARIANTS

6–8 Draft (2369, f. 49^r):

. . .—tí skucháesh'— Vsegdá i vsyúdu; právda —no Segódnya ból'she —nét, ravnó.

... "You are bored?" "True, everywhere and always." "But tonight more?" "No, the same."

9 Onegin's coachman is "Ilyushka" in the fair copy of this verse. Pushkin's coachman at Mihaylovskoe was named Pyotr. 1 / "Tell me, which was Tatiana?": Tatiana henceforth will be present throughout Chapter Three save for two digressions wherein Pushkin intrudes—to promise a later novel in prose (XI-XIV); and to discourse: on coquettes as compared to Tatiana (XXIV, XXV), on letter writing, and on feminine grammar (XXII-XXII, XXVII-XXX); there are, moreover, a fruit-picking song (in trochaic trimeter with long terminals) and a closing digression (XLI: 9-14).

1-12 See n. to IV : 5-14.

2-4. The reference is to Zhukovski's masterpiece, Svetlana (1812), sts. II, ll. 3-4 ("silent is and sad dear Svetlana"), and XVII, ll. 1-2 ("sat down . . . by the window"). This is a ballad (*ballada*) consisting of twenty stanzas of fourteen lines each, with a sonnetlike rhyme sequence (babaceceddiffi) in two trochaic measures, tetrameter (the eight lines with masculine rhymes b, c, d, f) and trimeter (the six lines with feminine rhymes a, e, i). I have often wondered if Zhukovski's adoption of this fancy sonnet form for his stanza in Svetlana had not influenced Pushkin's choice of the EO stanza, although, of course, owing to the trochaic skip-skip and to the intrusion of the feminine-ending trimeter into the masculine tetrameter, the effect is quite unlike the EO melody.

This ballad starts with girls divining (as they do in EO, Five : VIII) by means of wax (Svetlana, I, 8), "golden rings, emerald eardrops" (I, 10–II, 14; see my n. to Five : VIII), and a "mirror with candle" (IV–VI). Thanks to these conjurations, her lover appears—and the next nine stanzas parody the equestrian and funereal theme of Bürger's *Lenore*. The vision proves to be a harmless dream, and the ballad ends in delightful diurnal bathos: the light of blissful reality dispels the chaotic nightmare as Svetlana's lover returns to her, safe and sound after a year's absence.

There are other echoes of *Svetlana* in *EO*. Thus, the last sextet of Zhukovski's ballad foretells, as it were, with its "pleasant rill's gleam on the bosom of a meadow" the Lenskian landscape (Seven : VI, especially), while various details are curiously echoed in Tatiana's dream (Five).

This was not the first time Pushkin referred to Zhukovski's maiden. In 1814, our poet had addressed an epistle of 121 lines in iambic tetrameter to his sister, Olga Pushkin, in which he wondered if she was peering into the dark distance "like a pensive Svetlana" (ll. 45-46). See also my nn. to the motto of Five; to Five : x : 6; and to Eight : IV : 7-8.

9 / Toch'-v-tóch' v Vandikovoy Madóne: The first edition of the canto gives kak u (Fr. comme chez) for toch'-vtoch' ("just"), which necessitates the genitive (madóni), killing the rhyme.

According to Gofman (1923), Pushkin toyed not only with *Rafaélevoy* but also with *Perudzhinovoy* (Perugino's) before hitting on *Vandikovoy*. Of Vandyke's (Sir Anthony van Dyck or Vandyke, 1599–1641) religious pictures (such as the *Virgin with the Rosary* in the Oratorio del Santissimo Rosario, Palermo, or the *Virgin and Child* in the Louvre, or the *Holy Family with the Partridges* in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg), none is very interesting.

Pushkin was fond of the word "madonna." Bartenev, in a notebook, * says that Pushkin, in a (lost) letter to Elizaveta Hitrovo (1783-1839), informs her, in 1830,

^{*}The jottings of which are published by Tsyavlovski in *Pushkin* (Letopisi gosudarstvennogo literaturnogo muzeya), pt. I (Moscow, 1936), pp. 491–558.

that he is about to marry "a madonna with a squint and red hair" ("j'épouse une madonne louche et rousse"). Pushkin's term of contradistinctive endearment for his wife, "strabismic madonna" (Russ. *kosaya madonna*), is also mentioned by other memoirists (Princess Vera Vyazemski, according to Bartenev's notes).

10-11 | Kruglá, krasná litsóm oná | Kak éta glúpaya luná: The old meaning of krasniy is "beautiful," and I understand ona krasna litsom as "she is fair of face," and not as "she has a red face," which would have been *u neyo* krasnoe litso. A krasnoe litso is a florid face connoting the coarse flush of intemperance, high blood pressure, anger, shame, and so on, and would be totally unsuited to describe the rosy Pamela, or the rosy madonna, whom Onegin has in mind. His rudeness is bad enough, without it. The term Pushkin employs for denoting Olga's pretty carnation is the noun rumy anets and the adjective rumyanaya: in fact, in a canceled draft (above a sketched profile of Count Vorontsov, whose epaulet hobnobs with a draft of l. 13) we can decipher the words rumyána i belá, "rosy and fair-skinned." Krasnaya devitsa means "beautiful girl," and several generations of foreign correspondents would be surprised to learn that Krasnaya Ploshchad', the famous ancient square in Moscow, means a "beautiful, festive place," and not "Red Square."

My choice of meaning is supported by the simile of the moon, which is here the beautiful sphere ("round and fair") sung by poets and, indeed, is the same bright moon with which Lenski is elegiacally enamored in Two: XXII: 8-12. No moon appears in any of the drafts, nor is it to be found in the fair copy; but that a variant of the moon lines existed is suggested by a curious passage in a letter (published in *Arhiv brat'ev Turgenevih*) from Vyazemski to Aleksandr Turgenev and Zhukovski, of Jan. 6, 1827 (nine months before the canto was published), in which he quotes Three : v : 11-12, thus:

Kak vásha glúpaya luná Na váshem glúpom nebosklóne

as is your stupid moon up in your stupid sky

—the "your" being obviously used in the plural sense (i.e., "the moon you poets sing"). This lyrical generalized moon is, of course, not tinged with any color; and, anyway, the equation of a red face and a red moon would make one see the face as being of the hue of a tomato, not of a rose. I am quite aware that in a poem of 1819 (*Rusalka*, seven tetrametric octets in the iambic measure, about a mermaid and a monk) Pushkin, in describing a summer evening with a mist on the lake, speaks in l. 14 of what seems to be a definitely ruddy moon, or half-moon, in the clouds (*I krásniy mésyats v oblakáh*), but that is an Ossianic landscape (as, for example, in *Sul-malla of Lumon*), not the Arcadian one of *EO*, Three.

The general notion, which not only translators but good innocent Russians (including the compilers of *Slovar' yazika Pushkina*, vol. II, Moscow, 1957) share, that *krasna litsom* is "red-faced," culminates, as it were, in a version that for sheer imbecility can hardly be matched.

In a "correct" English translation (published in New York for the Metropolitan Opera House, c. 1920) of the incredible Italian libretto of Chaykovski's silly opera *Eugene Onegin (Evgeniy Onegin*, "liricheskie stsenï v z-h deystviyah, tekst po Pushkinu," Moscow, 1878, libretto by the composer and by Konstantin Shilovski [a poetaster]; first performed by the students of the Imperial College of Music in Moscow, 1879), when in

Act I "Signora Larína" is seated under a tree, "making candy" (with Olga in a tree and Tatiana in a swoon), the following lunatic scene takes place:

Oneghin (to Lenski): "Now, tell me, which is Tatiana? | . . . Her being doth not possess the lukewarmness | Of the classical Madonna. | Deep purple, by my soul, | Shining like the stupid moon." (. . . [he] rudely stares at Tatiana).

- 12 / sky / nebosklón: The noun nebosklon ("sky-slope," arch of the sky) had long ago lost its metaphoric character and become a mere synonym of "sky" (nebo), to which a Russian poet would frequently prefer it because of its better rhyming facilities.
- 13 / curtly / súho: A Gallicism, sèchement, d'un ton sec. The English "dryly" (which is the grammatical counterpart of suho) suggests "dry wit," etc., which, of course, has nothing to do with this.

VARIANTS

8-14. Tomashevski (Acad 1937, p. 575n.) gives two faircopy variants, starting (ll. 8-9):

There is no thought in Olga's features as there is none in Raphael's Madonna

thence branching and continuing (initial stage of fair copy; ll. 10–14):

Rosiness and a sinless gaze have bored me a long time." "Each worships his own icon," Vladimir answered curtly, and our Onegin became silent

and (corrected fair copy, ll. 10-14):

Believe me, innocence is nonsense; what's more, Pamela's sickly-sweet gaze even in Richardson has bored me." Vladimir answered curtly and thenceforth the whole way was silent.

The Pamela of l. 11 is the heroine of Richardson's *Pamela*; or, *Virtue Rewarded*, in A. F. Prévost's French version (1741-42). (See n. to Three : IX : 10.)

va, vb, vc

The beginning of a conventional plot is represented by the following drafts in Cahier 2369, ff. 50^{r} and 51^{v} :

Va

Lying in bed, our Eugene was reading Byron with a skimming eye, but mentally devoted to Tatiana

- the tribute of his evening meditations.
 (He) woke before daybreak,
 and still about Tatiana was his thought.

 "That's something new," he brooded; "can it be
- 8 that I'm in love with her? Upon my soul, that would be famous! What a conferment <upon me indeed>! We'll see.'' And he at once decided
- 12 assiduously to visit the fair neighbors as oft as he was able—every day: (for) they have time and we're not slack.

vb

〈Decided〉—and soon Eugene was like Lenski . . .

vc

Has verily Onegin 〈fallen in love〉...

a: 1-3, 7-9 When in *Graf Nulin* (composed Dec. 13-14, 1825; published Dec. 22, 1827, in *Northern Flowers* for 1828) the count goes to bed—in the house of the lady

who gives him shelter when his traveling carriage breaks—and is brought by his French valet a decanter, a silver glass, a cigar, a bronze candlestick, a snuffer, an alarm clock (replaced by a chamber pot in the draft), and an uncut novel,

216	Lying in bed, Count Nulin
	scans Walter Scott,
	but inwardly he is diverted
220	he wonders:
	Can I have really fallen in love?
	What if one could? How entertaining!
	My word, that would be famous.

In the draft of l. 221—"God damn! Have I fallen in love?"—the first two words are in English. This expletive crops up in French fiction and fugitive poetry of the eighteenth century, as "Goddam" or "Goddem," when Englishmen are portrayed. The "Walter Scott" in l. 217 is a French version of one of the Waverley novels.

VI

VARIANT

13-14 The draft (2369, f. 51^v) gives:

Of like opinion were the pope and his sexton himself, Antrop.

*

After Three : VI, having filled up the black ledger known as Cahier 2369, begun (with One) in May, 1823, Pushkin turned to the similar 2370, which starts with Three : XXIX (May 22, 1824, Odessa), a number of preceding leaves having been apparently destroyed. According to Tomashevski (Acad 1937, p. 309), the drafts of twentytwo stanzas of Three (VII–XXVIII) are lost, except for the quatrain of IX, already jotted down in 2369, f. 50^r (which contains the false start, va), and the whole of XXV (the Parny imitation), written in 2370, f. 12^r, after the next batch, comprising Tatiana's Letter, from XXIX to XXXV had been composed. The period of time involved in the gap (May, 1824) was marked by Pushkin's quarrel with the governor general, and it may be assumed that our poet destroyed the drafts of letters or other material written among the VII-XXVIII stanzas, the drafts of which consequently perished, too.

VII

10 / Sgaráya négoy i toskóy: Both nouns belong to the vaguely evocative type of romantic locution so frequent in EO and so difficult to render by exact English words. Nega ranges from "mollitude" (Fr. mollesse), i.e., soft luxuriousness, "dulcitude," through various shades of amorous pensiveness, douce paresse, and sensual tenderness to outright voluptuousness (Fr. volupté). The translator has to be careful here not to overdo in English what Pushkin is on the point of overdoing in Russian when he makes his maiden burn with all the French languors of flesh and fancy.

Toska is the generic term for a feeling of physical or metaphysical dissatisfaction, a sense of longing, a dull anguish, a preying misery, a gnawing mental ache. (See also n. to Three : XIV : 9-10.)

- 10, 12 / mollitude ... anguish ... languishment: Pushkin's three favorite words, nega, toska, and tomlen'e, are all collected here in one bunch.
- 14 / Dushá zhdalá... kogó-nibúd': This is not a particularly good line, and its would-be cynical flippancy sounds flat and conventional.

My literal translation hardly scans, a recurrent and completely unimportant feature of a work whose only

purpose is textual fidelity with just as much music as might not interfere with accuracy of sense.

VIII

7 / speaks / Tverdít: See n. to Two : xxx : 7.

IX

- 3-4 and x : 5 Cf. Mary Hays, *Memoirs of Emma Courtney* (1796), vol. I, ch. 7: "... the Héloise of Rousseau fell into my hands.—Ah! with what transport... did I peruse this dangerous, enchanting work!"
- 4 / illusion / obmán: Delusion, fiction, and, through consonance, the mist (*tuman*) of mystification, all these connotations are contained in Pushkin's philologism, obman. See Two: xxIX: 3.
- 7 / the lover of Julie Wolmar: Inexact; she was Julie d'Etange, not Wolmar, when she became the mistress of "Saint-Preux" (as her girl friend, Claire d'Orbe, nicknames the author's anonymous representative). The novel is *Julie*, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse, "lettres de deux amants, habitants d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes, recueillies et publiées par J. J. Rousseau" (Amsterdam, 1761, 6 vols.).

Julie is a *blonde cendrée* (a shade much in vogue with later conventional heroines, such as, for example, Clélia Conti in Stendhal's *La Chartreuse de Parme*, 1839), with gentle azure-blue eyes, auburn eyebrows, beautiful arms, and a dazzling complexion, the daughter of Baron d'Etange, who used to thrash her (pt. I, Letter LXIII). Saint-Preux is a private tutor, "un petit bourgeois sans fortune." Of his appearance we do not know much except that he is nearsighted ("la vue trop courte pour le service," pt. I, Letter XXXIV; a device much used by later authors). His pupil deliberately gives herself to him for one night. She falls ill (smallpox). He leaves Europe and spends three or four years in a completely abstract South America. His return, Julie's married life and her death take care of the last part of the novel.

Julie marries M. de Wolmar (derived fancifully from "Waldemar"), also called Volmar in some editions, a Polish nobleman of fifty winters brought up, by inadvertence or prudence on his maker's part, "dans le culte grecque," and not a Roman Catholic as most Poles; a sometime exile in Siberia; later a freethinker. One wonders what Tatiana Larin made of Rousseau's (admirable) footnotes on religious persecution and his epithets "culte ridicule" and "joug imbécile" applied to the Greek-Catholic religion to which Tatiana belonged. (There was an expurgated and mangled Russian "translation" brought out in the 1760's, but, as most commentators do not seem to realize, Tatiana read the book in French.)

Smallpox, which later was to afflict for purpose of plot or emotional interest so many handsome characters (who can forget the eye that Mme de Merteuil lost in *Les Liaisons dangereuses* of Choderlos de Laclos or the awful difficulties Dickens got into toward the end of *Bleak House* after having all but wrecked Esther Summerson's looks!), is caught by Saint-Preux from sick Julie, whose hand he kisses before starting on his *voyage autour du monde*; he comes back from it badly pockmarked, *crottu* (pt. IV, Letter VIII), but her face is spared except for some fugitive *rougeur*; he wonders if they will recognize each other; they do; and presently Saint-Preux is gorging himself on curds and whey at Julie de Wolmar's house, in a Rousseauesque world of eggs, *laitages*, vegetables, trout, and generously watered wine.

Artistically, as fiction, the novel is total trash, but it contains digressions of some historical interest, and the

glimpses it affords of its author's morbid, intricate, and at the same time rather naïve mind are far from negligible.

There is a remarkable storm on Lake Geneva (pt. IV, Letter XVII), which occurs during a "promenade sur l'eau" in a rowboat, a frail bark, "un frêle bateau," manned by five oarsmen (Saint-Preux, a footman, and three local professionals), with Julie very seasick and very helpful: she "animoit [notre courage] par ses caresses compatissantes... nous essuyoit indistinctement à tous le visage, et mélant dans un vase [!] du vin avec de l'eau de peur d'ivresse [!], elle en offroit alternativement aux plus épuisés" (all of which implies a good deal of movement and stumbling over oars in the "frêle bateau").

The preoccupation with tipsiness is very curious throughout the novel: after Saint-Preux gets badly drunk one day and uses abominable language in her presence (pt. I, Letter LII), she enforces upon him "dans ses repas l'usage sobre du vin tempéré par le cristal des fontaines" (water). Saint-Preux, however, succumbs again in Paris, where, not realizing that his companions have led him to a brothel (as he writes Julie in detail), he mistakes white wine for water and when he regains his senses is amazed to find himself "dans un cabinet reculé, entre les bras d'une de ces créatures'' (pt. 11, Letter XXVI). After saving her little boy Marcellin from falling into the dangerous lake on another occasion, Julie dies very gently of shock in one of the least credible scenes of the novel. Her death is very Socratic, with long speeches, assembled guests, and a good deal of drinking-indeed, she all but gets intoxicated during those last hours.

The epistolary form of novels, so dear to the eighteenth century, seems to have been prompted by the singular notion that (as the poet Colardeau maintains in *Lettre amoureuse d'Héloïse à Abailard*, c. 1760) "L'art d'écrire ... fut sans doute inventé | Par l'amante captive et l'amant agité," or, as Pope puts this in his Eloisa to Abelard (1717), ll. 51-52, "Heav'n first taught letters for some wretch's aid, | Some banish'd lover, or some captive maid." It necessitates the author's providing his main characters with confidants (Laclos and Goethe ignored the letters of these stooges, it is true). Saint-Preux's bosom friend is a certain Lord Edward Bomston (who has passions of his own in Italy). In Letter III of pt. II, he offers Julie and her lover "un lieu fait pour servir d'asile à l'amour et l'innocence" in his countryseat "dans le duché d'York," where (strangely enough) "l'habitant paisible . . . conserve encore les mœurs simples . . . le bonheur des âmes pures." One wonders what Lord Bomston's tenants would have thought of all this.

It was not this nonsense that made the novel's fortune, but its romantic strain, the dramatic expletives ("Barbare!" "Fille insensée!" "Homme sauvage!"), addressed either to oneself or to one's correspondent, the fare-thee-wells, the famous first kiss in the bosquet.... Histories of literature have greatly exaggerated Rousseau's sens de la nature; he still saw les champs through a moral lace curtain.

Voltaire was very hard on his chief competitor: in *Epître* XCIV to the Duchesse de Choiseul (1769), he has:

[Jean-Jacques]... aboie à nos beautés [our fair ladies]. Il leur a préféré l'innocente faiblesse, Les faciles appas de sa grosse suissesse, Qui contre son amant ayant peu combattu Se défait d'un faux germe, et garde sa vertu. ... gardez-vous bien de lire De se grave insensé l'insipide délire.

(Cf. EO, One : XXIV : 12.)

La Harpe himself, author of Pushkin's school manual, though criticizing the plot and the characters, praised Rousseau's novel for its passion and eloquence, and for his giving human weaknesses the language of honesty and virtue.

It should be noted, in relation to this and the other novels Tatiana read, that their heroines—Julie (despite her premarital *fausse-couche*), Valérie, and Lotte (despite the forced kiss)—remained as faithful to their respective husbands as Princess N. (born Tatiana Larin) will be to hers, and that Clarissa refused to marry her seducer. Mark, too, the almost pathological respect and a kind of exalted filial love that the young heroes of these books have for the mature and morose spouses of the young heroines.

- 7-11 / Julie Wolmar, Malek-Adhel...de Linar...Werther ... Grandison: The alliterative magic that our poet distills from these names of popular characters—or better, say, from the contrapuntal sequence of selected names is an admirable example of an artist's finding a poetic pattern in pedestrian chaos. Tuning-forked by a lisping and languorous play on l (Lyubóvnik Yúlii Volmár, Malék-Adél i de Linár), the melody passes on to the moody m's of múchenik myatézhniy; and a comic apotheosis of brassy o's (I bespodóbniy Grandisón, | Kotóriy nám navódit són) rounds up the instrumentation of this marvelous stanza.
- 8 / Malek-Adhel: The hero of *Mathilde* (1805), a completely dead novel by the sensitive but talentless Sophie Cottin, née Marie Ristaud (1773–1807), widow of a Parisian banker who, "touched by her gentleness," had married her when she was "a pensive child of seventeen." Malek-Adhel is a Moslem general in the days of the Third Crusade (twelfth century), a dashing and

dazzling warrior, who in the midst of sandstorms falls in love with an English tourist, the virtuous Princess Mathilde, sister of King Richard Cœur de Lion. I skipped dozens of pages, I confess. But this is nothing compared to the boredom induced by Mme de Staël's *Delphine* (to be noticed presently) or, for that matter, to that of the luscious "historical" novels distributed among housewives by the American book clubs of today.

8 / de Linar: This is the young man in Valérie, ou Lettres de Gustave de Linar à Ernest de G. (London, 1803; Paris, 1804; I have consulted an 1837 edn.), by Mme de Krüdener (Barbara Juliana, Baroness von Krüdener, née von Vietinghoff), a German lady writing in French, one of the most romanesque women of her time, novelist and influential religious mystic, born in Riga, 1764, died at Karasu-bazar, Crimea, 1824. Her first lover, about 1785, was a Russian gentleman (Aleksandr Staheev, I think) in Venice, the secretary of Baron von Krüdener, a Russian diplomat whom she had married at seventeen and to whom the lover wrote a letter of confession before his death: he shot himself, after she had been unfaithful to him-and to the baron-with another man in Copenhagen. Her novel, which she wrote in Italy and Switzerland, is to a certain extent autobiographical. She boosted it by asking at milliners for hats à la Valérie. Her exaltation completely overwhelmed Alexander I-whom she dubbed the Angel of the Lord-when they met in Heilbronn in 1815.

Young Valérie, Countess de M., presumably from Livonia, who married M. at fourteen, and met Linar at sixteen, has inherited her admirable sad old husband and her ash-blond hair from *Julie*; but, contrary to the buxom *suissesse*, Valérie is delicate, pale, fragile, and svelte, with eyes that are of a darker blue than Julie's; now excessively gay, now listless.

Gustave de Linar, her admirer whom she does not love, a dark-haired violent young Swede, is related metaphysically to Axel Fersen, the heroic, bizarre, and melancholy lover of Queen Marie Antoinette. The emblems of Linar's nature and moods are: solitude, mountains, storms, the "marchant-à-grands-pas" style of locomotion (which will have its last famous exponent in Konstantin Lyovin, of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenin*), the pressing-ofburning-brow-to-windowpane procedure (which Bazarov, of Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, will yet use), ennui, languor, moon, and pneumonia.

There are some pretty passages in the book-the fragrance of oranges and strong tea around Valérie, a dramatic little shawl dance, Italian nightingales, the rose in her hair, "mon âme défaillante de volupté"-and suddenly a noticed detail: "des vers luisants sur les haies de buis," or that sphinx (hawk moth) dislodged from the trunk of a cypress in an old cemetery full of plum trees in bloom. It should be marked that not only the new richness of a hazy and mellow landscape, but also the basic moods of languor, passion, and consumption are closer to Chateaubriand than to Rousseau. And those box hedges harboring lampyrid beetles are trimmed by the same gardener who clipped the "myrtle hedges . . . bower of fireflies" that edged the Leghorn lanes where, according to his widow, Shelley one summer evening heard the skylark and saw the "glow-worm golden in a dell of dew" mentioned in his famous ode.

A copy of *Valérie* (1804) preserved among Pushkin's books is said to bear several jottings (in whose hand?) on the half-title pages (such as "Hélas, un moment . . . ," "Dieu tout puissant . . . ce ravissant éclair de vie," etc.) and the name "Mlle Olga Alekseev."

9 / Werther: The hero of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (Leipzig, 1774), a sentimental romance by Goethe. It

was read in French by Pushkin and Russian damsels. Several versions existed at the time: Les Passions du jeune Werther, by C. Aubry (Count F. W. C. von Schmettau) (Paris, 1777); Les Souffrances du jeune Werther, by Baron S. von Seckendorf (Erlangen, 1776); Werther, "traduit de l'allemand sur une nouvelle édition augmentée par l'auteur [i.e., Goethe] de douze lettres et d'une partie historique entièrement neuve," by Charles Louis Sevelinges (Paris, 1804).

A faded charm still clings about this novel, which artistically is greatly inferior to Chateaubriand's *René* and even to Constant's *Adolphe*. Werther, a young painter of sorts, retires to a secluded little burg, with grottoes, and lindens, and gurgling springs, and discovers in its vicinity Wahlheim, the perfect village. He meets Charlotte S., Lotte, "Mamsell Lottchen" (as he delightfully addresses her in the original, using a German bourgeois intonation peculiar to the period). She marries the good, stolid, honest Albert. The novel is mostly in epistolary form, consisting of letters—really monologues—addressed by Werther to a certain Wilhelm, who mercifully remains mute and invisible.

Werther weeps on every occasion, likes to romp with small children, and is passionately in love with Charlotte. They read Ossian together in a storm of tears. He is a prototype of Byron's heroes: "Je souffre beaucoup, car j'ai perdu ce qui faisait l'unique charme de ma vie; cet enthousiasme vivifiant et sacré qui créait des mondes autour de moi, il est éteint" (tr. Sevelinges, p. 190). "... Quelquefois je me dis... Jamais mortel ne fut tourmenté comme toi!" (ibid., p. 198).

His last days are described by "L'Editeur," i.e., Goethe. Tortured by a tragic love, haunted by melancholy, disgusted with life, Werther pistols himself. In an age that saw in novels the case history of its "sickness," Mme de Staël could say of *Werther* that it depicts "pas

seulement les souffrances de l'amour, mais les maladies de l'imagination dans notre siècle" (*De l'Allemagne*, pt. II, ch. 28).

10 / and the inimitable Grandison / Ibespodóbnäy Grandisón; x : 3 / Clarissa / Klarisoy (instr.): Tatiana reads Richardson (see n. to Two : xxix : 1-4) in the French version, due to the pen of the monstrously prolific Abbé Antoine François Prévost. His translations of Clarissa Harlowe and Sir Charles Grandison came out in 1751 and 1755 respectively and went through several printings; presumably Tatiana had them in the same 1777 edition that Pushkin plodded through in November, 1824, at Mihaylovskoe, whence he wrote to his brother: "Am reading Clarissa; cannot endure her—such a tedious goose."

I have compared the English and the French texts, using Prévost's 1784 editions (Amsterdam and Paris), vols. XIX-XXIV and XXV-XXVIII of his Œuvres choisies (mark choisies!). These sets are respectively: Lettres angloises, ou Histoire de Miss Clarisse Harlove (sic) (London, 1751), 6 vols.; and Nouvelles Lettres angloises, ou Histoire du chevalier Grandisson (sic), "par l'auteur de Pamela et de Clarisse" (Amsterdam, 1755), 4 vols.

Letourneur's version is: *Clarisse Harlowe*, "revue par Richardson" (Geneva, 1785–86).

In France, Richardson's novels in Prévost's version had already been criticized in the eighteenth century. The songmaker Charles Collé (1709–83) wrote, about 1753, an ironic ballad, *Clarisse*, in which one of the quatrains goes:

> Ce ne sera point par lettres Que j'écrirai ma chanson; Deux bonnes sur cent de piètres Se trouvent dans Richardson.

Chateaubriand, by far the greatest French writer of his age, very admirably said in 1822: "Si Richardson n'a pas de style (ce dont nous ne sommes pas juges, nous autres étrangers), il ne vivra pas, parce que l'on ne vit que par le style'' (*Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, ed. Levaillant, pt. I, bk. XII, ch. 2).

Richardson had no style; but here and there some picturesque passages are not wholly negligible. Unfortunately, Prévost's method was to abridge and purify. Thus, in *Grandisson*, he carefully deleted such things as the excellent Hogarthian description of "vile, vile" Sir Hargrave's accomplice (in the attempted abduction of hysterical Harriet), a tall, big-boned, splay-footed, shabby-gowned, huge-faced, red-pimpled clergyman. And, of course, cliché-governed mistranslations (the French *bon goût* of the time) abound (such as: "une multitude de fous qui me prodiguaient leur admiration" for the pleasant liquidity of "the shoals of fools who swam after me").

VARIANT

1-5 A draft (2369, f. 50^r; see also n. following Three : VI : var. 13-14):

With what attention now she <reads> in bed a novel; <in dreams, with what> enchantment appears to her Malek-Adhel! Her father . . .

The mention of her late father seems to lead us back to the theme of Two : xxix : 5-12 (draft in 2369, f. 36°).

х

1, 3 / heroine ... Delphine / geroinoy (instr.)... Delfinoy (instr.): To make the instrumental case (necessary after "Imagining herself") of geroinya rhyme with that of Delfina, our poet changed the correct ending -ney to the nonexisting -noy.

- 3 / Clarissa: See n. to Three : IX : 10.
- 3 / Delphine: If the moribund Werther and Julie are still readable today—in a detached mood of study, at least— Mme de Staël is not endurable under any circumstances —and I am not sure Pushkin would have inflicted her epistolary novel Delphine (1802), a thing of 250,000 gray words, upon his Tatiana, had he remembered that it did not even possess the pseudo-exotic book-of-themonth glamour of Cottin's preposterous Mathilde, let alone the emotional drive of Goethe's and Rousseau's novels.

Delphine d'Albémar is a widow of twenty-one, working her way through a love affair in 1790–92. Her admirer is a married man, Léonce de Mondoville, whom eventually she gives up because of moral obligations to his wife. When Delphine is ill, he stands "attaché aux colonnes de son lit, dans un état de contraction qui [est] plus effrayant encore que celui de son amie" (pt. IV, Letter IV). There are some robust romps in pt. IV, Letter XIX (Delphine to Mme de Lebensei): "... je me jetai aux genoux de Léonce ... il ... me replaça sur le canapé, et se prosternant à mes pieds," etc. As an artist, Staël is totally blind: "Matilde, lui dis-je en serrant ses deux mains qu'elle élevoit vers le ciel" (pt. IV, Letter XXXIV).

14 / Grandison: At this point Chizhevski, in his commentary to EO (p. 237), is again moved to misinform the reader (see n. to Two: xxx: 3): "Grandison—the hero of Richardson's Clarissa Harlowe." He is also under the impression that Pushkin read these novels in Russian.

xa

There is an additional stanza in the fair copy:

⁵ See n. to IX : 3–4.

Alas, friends! The years flicker by, and with them one after another flicker the fickle fashions

- 4 in variegated sequence. All things in nature change: patches and panniers were in fashion; the court fop and the usurer
- 8 wore powdered wigs; there was a time when tender poets in hope of glory and of praise would point a subtle madrigal
- 12 or witty couplets; there was a time when a brave general would serve, and be illiterate.
- 5 / All things in nature change / Vsyo izmenyáetsya v priróde: Had I not been wary of too modern a ring, I would have done this into: "Nature is in constant flux."
- 6 / patches and panniers were in fashion / Lamúsh i fízhmű bíli v móde: Tomashevski (Works 1957, p. 625) explains lamush as "a card game that went out of fashion in the beginning of the nineteenth century." I find that this game, called in France la mouche or pamphile (pam, i.e., the jack of clubs), is the English lu or loo (from the older "lanterloo," Fr. lanturelu, a refrain). I think, but have no means of ascertaining, that the five-card variety of loo was called in Russia, in the eighteenth century, kvintich. It is curious to note that loo, which Pushkin seems to consider an eighteenth-century relic in 1823, again became fashionable some four years later, judging by a police report of March, 1827, on Pushkin's cardplaying. If this meaning of lamush is the correct one, then l. 6 should read:

loo and hoop dresses were in fashion . . .

However, I am not at all sure that a card game is what Pushkin has in mind here. In so far as he is concerned with attires here, *la mouche* may well mean the little

patch of black taffeta, Russ. *mushka*, that, beginning with the fifties of the seventeenth century, French and English ladies stuck on chin and cheek to bring out the whiteness of the complexion.

The word *fizhmi*, which I have rendered as "panniers" or "hoop dresses," comes from Ger. *Fischbein* and denotes the type of skirt that eighteenth-century ladies wore over hoops of whalebone. The vogue of hooped petticoats started in the second half of the seventeenth century. They are allied to the earlier farthingale and to the later crinoline.

10 / in hope of glory and of praise / V nadézhde slávi i pohvál: The lame tautology is accentuated by a contrastive recollection in the reader's mind of the line V nadézhde slávi i dobrá (of good) opening a later short poem by Pushkin (Stansi, 1826; in praise of Nicholas I).

хı

- 2 / fervid / plámenniy: "Flaming," "ardent"—a definite philologism with Pushkin and his school. The accented first syllable of this trisyllabic word easily—perhaps too easily—coincides with the second stress of the iambic tetrameter so that the ultima slips into the banal modulation in Russian verse, the third-foot scud of a threeword line (as here). Similar metrical elements are rádostniy ("glad"), trépetniy ("tremulous"), dévstvenniy ("chaste"), and so on, as well as the singular plural (and various case and gender forms) of disyllabic adjectives; for example, Three : XVI : 12: Napévi zvúchnie zavódit, lit. "chants sonorous intones." Plamenniy is close to pilkiy ("fiery," "impetuous"), another favorite of Pushkin and his school.
- 5 / object / predmét: Presumably the author's loved object --his hero.

- 9 / nursing the ardor / Pitáya zhár: A common Gallicism. See, for instance, in Racine's dramatic eclogue ("tragédie") Phèdre (1677), III, i: "Vous nourrissez un feu . . ."; and there are countless other examples.
- 10 / Vsegdá vostórzhennöy geróy: The first two words make up the same epithet as that applied in Two: VI: 13 to Lenski's way of talking, Vsegdá vostórzhennuyu réch'; and with that verse still singing in his mind the reader automatically lines up vsegda and vostorzhennöy. Actually, in this stanza the logic of its didactic phrasing suggests that "always" refers to the next line ("was always ready"), in conformance with the next "always," which refers to vice being punished and virtue being rewarded. Incidentally, in those last two lines 13-14, the two different shades of bil are very nicely rendered by "got."

XII

- 5 / fables / *nebülitsü*: "Unrealities," "figments," "neverhaps," "phantasmata."
- 6 / disturb the young girl's sleep / Trevózhat són otrokovítsä: A commonplace of the time; cf. Charles Sedley, The Faro Table; or, The Gambling Mothers, "a fashionable fable by the author of The Barouche Driver and His Wife" (London, 1808): "Motto":

Romantic authors have essayed to make novel reading useful to the rising generation: Nonsense!—Would you set your house on fire, merely, to play off the engines?— The moral, of such books, instead, of being directed towards its proper object, is always addressed to the girl as if girls had any share in the evil complained of!

It is strange that even the careful and learned Lerner (Zven'ya, V [1935], 71-73) makes the mistake of equating the *otrokovitsa* of XII with Tatiana and of assigning to Tatiana the library of XII (on top of the eighteenth-

century novels listed in X), when actually the list in XII refers to a young girl of Pushkin's "present day," in 1824, as well as to Onegin's favorite authors in 1820. Otherwise Seven : XXII–XXIV, wherein Tatiana discovers Byron (and, through Byron, glimpses Onegin's mind), would be meaningless since she would have long known those phantasmata of the British Muse. It is true, however, that Tatiana's impressions of Onegin's demon eyes in Seven : XLI and Five : XVII–XX are decidedly more in line with Maturin than with Jean Jacques; but then Pushkin had been reading Maturin, too.

The five novels of Mrs. Radcliffe in Ballantyne's Novelist's Library (vol. X, 1824), including *A Sicilian Romance* and *The Mysteries of Udolfo*, were in Pushkin's library, but neither he, nor the *otrokovitsa*, nor Onegin, read them in English.

8 / the pensive Vampyre: The vampire superstition is mentioned in Byron's poem The Giaour (1813), and there is, of course, The Vampyre, a Tale, first published in the New Monthly Magazine, April, 1819, the work of Dr. John William Polidori (Byron's physician, with whom he left England forever April 25, 1816), and in July, 1819, as a novel The Vampyre, a Tale, "by Lord Byron. To which is added an Account of his Residence in the Island of Mitylene."

Critics were hard on the poor thing: The British Review (XVIII, 1819) referred to it as "a tale of disgusting horror" for which "the name of that nobleman [Lord Byron]" had "been borrowed"; and The London Magazine (II, 1820) called it a "miserable imposition." It was, however, translated several times into French, the first time as Le Vampire, "nouvelle traduite de l'anglais de Lord Byron" (Paris, 1819), by H. Faber.

9 / Melmoth, gloomy vagabond: Melmoth, ou l'Homme

errant, "par Mathurin [sic], traduit librement de l'anglais" by Jean Cohen (Paris, 1821; 6 vols.). The original, little known in Russia, was *Melmoth the Wanderer* (Edinburgh, 1820; 4 vols.), by Charles Robert Maturin (an Irish clergyman), who used to compose with a wafer pasted on his forehead, which was the signal that if any of his family entered they must not speak to him. The book, although superior to Lewis and Mrs. Radcliffe, is essentially second-rate, and Pushkin's high esteem for it (in the French version) is the echo of a French fashion.

I have already mentioned, in a note to One : II : 1, young John Melmoth's arrival at his uncle's house. He and his uncle are descendants of the diabolical Melmoth the Traveler ("Where he treads, the earth is parched! Where he breathes, the air is fire! Where he feeds, the food is poison! Where he turns his glance, is lightning. ... His presence converts bread and wine into matter as viperous as the suicide foam of the dying Judas ..."). John discovers a moldering manuscript. What follows is a long tale full of tales within tales—shipwrecks, madhouses, Spanish cloisters—and here I began to nod.

The name of the author of *Melmoth the Wanderer* is constantly misspelled "Mathurin" (a common French name) by French writers of the time, who followed Cohen's lead.

Melmoth's nature is marked by pride, intellectual glorying, "a boundless aspiration after forbidden knowledge," and a sarcastic levity that make of him "a Harlequin of the infernal regions." Maturin used up all the platitudes of Satanism, while remaining on the side of the conventional angels. His hero enters into an agreement with a Certain Person who grants him power over time, space, and matter (that Lesser Trinity) under the condition that he tempt wretches in their hour of extremity with deliverance if they exchange situations with

him. Baudelaire said of Melmoth "quoi de plus grand ... relativement à la pauvre humanité que ce pâle et ennuyé Melmoth"; but, then, Baudelaire also admired Balzac, Sainte-Beuve, and other popular but essentially mediocre writers.

In Pushkin's n. 19 *Melmoth* is called a "work of genius." The "genius" is especially odd in view of the fact that Pushkin knew only Cohen's "free" version in French.

10 / the Wandering Jew: Fr. le Juif errant, Russ. vechniy zhid (from the German der ewige Jude; otherwise the use of *zhid* is obsolete, or vulgar). This might be taken for a reference to Ahasuerus, the Wanderer, "a dramatic legend," in six parts (London, 1823), published anonymously by Captain Thomas Medwin (1788-1869) of the 24th Light Dragoons, who, in the following year, became famous as the note-taking author of the controversial Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron, Noted during a Residence with His Lordship at Pisa, in the Years 1821 and 1822 (London, 1824). Pushkin and his literary friends read-with great delectationits French version by the indefatigable Pichot, Les Conversations de Lord Byron, recueillies par M. Medwin, ou Mémorial d'un séjour à Pise auprès de lord Byron contenant des anecdotes curieuses sur le noble lord ... (Paris, 1824). I cannot discover, however, whether the note-taker's poem had appeared in a French version; if not, it could not have been known to Pushkin and his readers.

There is no reason to drag in here, as compilers of commentaries do, "an epic fragment" (1774) by Goethe (which is in a totally different vein from that implied by the stanza), or the Rev. George Croly's Salathiel: A Story of the Past, the Present, and the Future (the title of which Spalding, p. 264, misquotes, without knowing,

moreover, that its three volumes appeared only in 1828, too late by four years for our purpose). Equally irrelevant here would have been references to Schubart's "lyric rhapsody" Der ewige Jude (1783), to the Sicilian's tale in Schiller's Der Geisterseher (1789), to Wordsworth's Song for the Wandering Jew (1800), and to The Wandering Jew, by the Rev. T. Clark (1819)-and more could be listed—since the young Franco-Russian reader could hardly have known anything about them in 1824. We are also haunted by such bibliographic spooks as the references to nonexistent authors and works in Chizhevski's notes to EO: there is no such person as his "Rocca de Corneliano, French poet," author of a (nonexistent) novel, Eternal Jew (1820), nor is there any playwright named "L. Ch. Chaignet" (Chizhevski, pp. 230, 316). There is, however, a completely insignificant work, Histoire du Juif-errant écrite par lui-même, published anonymously in Paris, 1820, by the writer on political, historical, and religious matters, Count Carlo Pasero de Corneliano: and there is a miserable melodrama in three acts by Louis Charles Caigniez, also spelled Caignez (1762-1842), in which the Wanderer appears as Iglouf (from *ich lauf*), first presented, without any success, on Jan. 7, 1812, at the Théâtre de la Gaîté, Paris. This Caigniez, incidentally, was also "coauthor" (with Théodore Baudouin, alias d'Aubigny, its true author) of the very successful play La Pie voleuse, ou la Servante de Palaiseau (Paris, April 29, 1815), on which the libretto (by D. G. Gherardini) of Rossini's opera La Gazza ladra (1817), a great favorite with Pushkin in his Odessa period, is founded.

The legend of Ahasverus, alias Joannes Buttadeus, who refused to help Jesus Christ on his way to Calvary and was doomed to roam forever, which Charles Schoebel (1877) connects with the legends of Cain and of Wotan, seems to have appeared first as a German popular pam-

phlet (*Ahasverus*, *Erzählung von einem Juden*, etc., Leiden, 1602) and then in a French ballad form, as a small book of sixteen pages printed in Bordeaux, 1609, "jouxte la coppie imprimée en Allemagne," with the title *Discours véritable d'un Juif errant, lequel maintient avec parolles probables avoir esté present à voir crucifier Jesus-Christ.* And there exists an English ballad, *The Wandering Jew*, published by Pepys in his collection (1700). Historically, the survival of an obscure apocryphon is mainly owing to its having been frequently used as a mysterious and fatalistic excuse by dominant sects for the persecution of an older but less fortunate one.

The Wanderer is said to have appeared for the first time in Hamburg, in the winter of 1542, where he was seen by a Wittenberg student, Paulus von Eitzen (later archbishop); his next appearances were in Vienna, 1599, Lübeck, 1601, Moscow, 1613, and so forth.*

In the romantic era the legend lost its flavor of Christian propaganda and became a more generalized symbol connoting the peregrinations and despair of the Byronic hero at odds with heaven and hell, with the gods and mankind.

Pushkin's vechniy zhid is a reference to the legend as frequently alluded to in the poetry and fiction of his time. The "fabled Hebrew Wanderer" appears in the inset tetrametrics of Byron's *Childe Harold*, can. I, after LXXXIV (see my n. to EO, One : XXXVIII : 9). And another wanderer is mentioned in *Melmoth* (see n. to XII : 9, above). In Lewis' *The Monk*, an inept concoction anonymously published in 1796, there is among the incidental characters a mysterious stranger who hides under a band

^{*}I have consulted for the notes given above: Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale; Michaud's Biographie universelle; Charles Schoebel, La Légende du Juiferrant (Paris, 1877); Champfleury (Jules Fleury), L'Imagerie populaire (Paris, 1886); Paul Ginisty, Le Mélodrame (Paris, c. 1910), and various encyclopedias.

of velvet the burning cross upon his forehead, and he is none other than the Wandering Jew. In its Russian adaptation, this novel was attributed (as noted by Lerner, Zven'ya, no. 5 [1935], p. 72) to that popular lady, slavnaya gospozha Radklif, Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823), whose Gothic megrims, in various translations, so influenced Dostoevski—and through him the lady's ghost still troubles the sleep of English, American, and Australian adolescents.

The theme of the Wandering Jew was used by Pushkin himself, in a fragment of twenty-eight iambic tetrameters, composed probably in 1826, beginning "A lampad in a Jewish hut is palely burning in one corner," which was to be the beginning of a Juif errant poem (according to an entry of Feb. 19, 1827, in the diary of Franciszek Malewski, published in Lit. nasl., LVIII [1952], 266); by Zhukovski, in Stranstvuyushchiy zhid (an initial fragment in 1831 and a tedious poem in 1851-52); and by Küchelbecker, in his remarkable Agasver, planned as an epic in 1832 (introduction composed Apr. 6, 1832, Sveaborg Fortress, Helsinki), then as a dramaticheskaya misteriya, mid-May, 1834, still in the Sveaborg Fortress, written in its final form in 1840-42, at Aksha, Siberia; and published (incomplete text) posthumously in 1878 by Russkaya starina, XXI, 404-62.

10 / the Corsair: The Corsair, a poem written in the heroic measure, which consists of three cantos, and was composed by Byron in the latter part of December, 1813 (published February, 1814). "Lone, wild, and strange" Conrad of "the lofty port, the distant mien" ("solitaire, farouche et bizarre" in Pichot's version, 1822), saves from the flames Gulnare, the harem queen (see my n. to Four : xxxvII : 9).

In the draft of a critique (1827), taking to task a certain V. Olin for his poem *Korser* (Russian transcription

of the French corsaire; the accepted word is korsar), an imitation of *The Corsair*, Pushkin observes that English critics of Byron's poem saw in its hero not so much the character of its author as that of Napoleon. He had it from Pichot: "On a prétendu que lord Byron avait voulu dessiner dans son corsaire quelques traits de Napoléon" (Chastopalli's note in *Œuvres complètes de Lord Byron*, I [1820], 81).

My translation of XII : 10 does not scan iambically, but this does not matter.

11 / mysterious Sbogar: Here a short French novel of a Chateaubyronic genre is smuggled in by Pushkin among the fancies of the British Muse. This is Jean Sbogar, by Charles Nodier, 1818 (edition consulted: Paris, 1879). The girl is Antonia de Montlyon, born in Bretagne, now aged seventeen (see also my n. to Two: xxIII: 5-8), a pretty and sickly creature who walks "appuvée sur sa sœur": the physical disintegration of buxom Julie, through languorous and hysterical Valérie, is nearly complete in Antonia. The mysterious Jean Sbogar, a young Dalmatian with blond hair, is the chieftain of a band of brigands-"Frères du bien commun," amateur communists of sorts-who infest the wild neighborhood of Trieste, in Istria, on the Adriatic, not far from the gondoliers still singing Tasso. He is a shadowy demon of a man; we meet him, light-footed, singing and flitting from rock to rock, then "poussant un cri sauvage, douloureux, plaintif, semblable à celui d'une hyène qui a perdu ses petits," which does not happen every day. He wears an elegant hat with a white plume, and a short cloak; his face is gentle, and his hands are delicate and white. At one time he thinks nothing of disguising himself as an Armenian monk. Later he appears under the name of Lothario, not a rare name, at a reception in Venice: his emerald earrings blaze, his gaze is a torrent of celestial light, there is on his brow "un pli bizarre et tortueux." He is interested in the redistribution of riches. But I am not an *otrokovitsa*, and at this point Sbogar ceased to disturb my sleep.

Nodier's novel was reviewed, two years after publication (on the occasion of the appearance of a miserable English version, under the title *Giovanni Sbogarro*), in *The London Magazine*, II (1820), 262–68:

A basking, panting, overpowering, yet ardent pulsation seems to beat through it. A hectical warmth, a nervous sensibility, the longings of faintness, the paroxisms of sickly imaginations.... It is distinguished by a soft eolian melody of which we know no other example in the French language. Mr. Nodier's is precisely what we understand by a modern romantic style: harmonious, heightened, ambitious and successful.... [Sbogar] is as full of sensibility as a German ballad, and talks very much in the manner of Mme de Staël. He appears and disappears, in the Magic-lanthorn style of Lord Byron's entrances and exits, and excepting that he is inclined to be chaste, might be taken for a twin-brother to the Corsair.

14 / hopeless egotism / *beznadézhnïy egoizm*: I was sorely tempted to use here the very close but not literal "gloomy vanity" that Byron himself mentions in his dedicatory letter to Moore prefixed to *The Corsair*.

XIII

- 11 / shall detail / pereskazhú: The same verb is repeated in the first line of the next stanza and grades there into its other sense, "shall retell."
- 14 / ancientry: The recurrence of stariná is very striking.

XIV

2, 9 / speeches . . . accents / réchi . . . réchi: There is a

slight shade of difference between these two *rechi*, one didactic and the other lyrical.

9-10 / languish...aching / négi...toskúyushchey [gen.]: These formulas have been mentioned in connection with Tatiana's emotions in Three : VII : 10. It is curious to note that XIV : 9, "of impassioned languish," négi strástnoy, reverses strásti nézhnoy, "of tender passion" or "soft passion," the art of which Onegin masters in One : VIII : 9. Nega is repeated in XV : 8, where it is tinged with connotations of sweetness, dulcitude, tendresse.

VARIANT

12 A fair copy doubtfully reads "of fair Amalia" instead of "of a fair mistress."

XV

- 2 Pushkin's sympathy for his heroine is reflected further on in XXXI: 1-2, and in Four: XXIV: 13-14.
- 8 / dulcitude / *négu*: The meaning of *nega* extends from "sweet languish" (which is *sladkoe tomlen'e*) to the dangerous euphoria implied here. (See also nn. to VII: 10 and XIV: 9-10.)
- 13 / everywhere, everywhere: The formula vezdé, vezdé, fitting two iambic feet in Russian, makes two unwieldy dactyls in English. The long tilt does its best to iambize the opening foot. My war with "everywhere" is a long one.

XVI

5 / Pripodnyalásya grúd': "Risen somewhat has [her] bosom." I am not sure that the paraphrase "her bosom heaves" would not have been enough. 8-9 / Iv slúhe shúm, i blésk v ocháh: Constructionally: "and in the hearing [there is] noise, and flashing [there is] in the eyes."

"Flashing" is a well-known photomatic phenomenon, typical of the slight insanity of adolescence.

9-10 Cf. Marvell, Upon Appleton House (pub. 1681), st. XL:

But when the vigilant patrol Of stars walk round about the pole . . .

- 11 / nightingale: The popular European songbird, any species of the old-world genus *Luscinia*. The sweet, rich, bubbling, and whistling song of the male is often heard in the breeding season, mainly at night, and, among birds, has been to countless poets what the rose is among flowers.
- 14 / nurse: This literary character, which Pushkin was pleased to think portrayed his—or, more exactly, his sister's—old nurse, has already been mentioned in Two : XXID: 6-14 (see n.) and XXVII: 9. A vibrant passage in Three : XVIII redeems her somewhat from the role of comic confidant in which technically she is cast. The person whom Pushkin called "his old nurse" in real life appears quite separately from gray Filatievna (Three : XXXIII: 6) as a character in her own stylistic right, in Four : XXXV : 3-4, where she is termed "companion of my youth."

Russian commentators are too much intoxicated with the notion of a "simple Russian woman of the people" telling old tales (alas, stemming from Italian chapbooks) to "our national poet" (as if a true poet could be "national"!) to concentrate on certain amusing points in connection with Tatiana's old nurse.

In a letter of c. Dec. 9, 1824, from Mihaylovskoe to

Dmitri Shvarts, a functionary in Odessa (*chinovnik osobih porucheniy* on Vorontsov's staff), Pushkin writes:

The storm seems to have abated; I dare peep out of my nest and make my voice heard to you [podat' golos], dear Dmitri Maksimovich. For four months now I have been in a remote hole up in the country: boring, but nothing to be done; there is here no sea, no meridional sky, no Italian opera. But, in compensation, neither are there any locusts, or any milords Worontsovs. * My seclusion is perfect, my idleness is solemn. † Neighbors in my vicinity are few, I am acquainted with only one family,‡ and even them I see rather seldom; I spend the whole day riding; in the evening, listen to the fairy tales of my nurse, the original of Tatiana's nurse; you saw her once, I think; \$ she is my only companion, and with her alone I am not dull.

This proves decisively that Pushkin, in Odessa, before the end of July, 1824, read Chapter Three, at least as far as xx, to Shvarts. The curious part is that when composing those stanzas he had not seen his sister's old nurse since his last visit to Mihaylovskoe in the summer of 1819 (*if* she was there at the time) and was unaware in the summer of 1824 that in a month or so he was going to meet her again in the role of housekeeper (and *his* nurse).

See also my nn. to Four : xxxv : 3.

^{*}Pushkin, by means of an initial U, stresses the English W sound in his Russian transliteration of the more or less established German transliteration "Woronzoff" of "Vorontsov," so as to express his contempt for the governor general's Anglomania.

⁺*Prazdnost' torzhestvenna*: no doubt some kind of imitative gibberish, a foreigner's mistake retained as a private joke between Pushkin and his correspondent; garbled *prazdnestvo torzhestvennoe*, a solemn public ceremony.

[‡]The Osipovs, whose countryseat Trigorsk, or Trigorskoe, is sung in the last stanzas of *Onegin's Journey*.

^{\$}Where? When? In Moscow c. 1810, where little Shvarts may have danced at *fêtes d'enfants* with little Olga Pushkin?

XVII

- 3 / The diminutive appears here for the first time in the novel, after eleven "Tatiana"s. The nurse breaks the ice, addressing the girl as "Tanya" three times in XVII, once in XVIII, and once in XXXV. Henceforth, Pushkin will call her "Tanya" thirty-three times, thus thirty-eight times in all, which is about one-third of the "Tatiana" frequency rate (see Index).
- 3 / I am dull / *Mne skúchno* [*skúshno*]: "I am ennuied," as an English miss of the time would have said. Tatiana's provincial pronunciation of *ch* as *sh* (a maternal Moscovism, no doubt) allows Pushkin to rhyme *skuchno* with the *dúshno* ("stuffy") of l. 1.
- 4 / about old days / o stariné: The "ancientry" I have tried to use consistently does not ring true here.
- 5 / Well, what about them / O chyóm zhe?: The sense idiomatically compressed here is "Exactly about what [do you want to talk]?"
- 7 | Starinnih biley, nebilits: Another rendering: "of ancient facts and fables."
- 12 / Zashiblo: "[Age] has stunned me," or "I'm blundered"
 —to use a provincial transitive. Cf. otshiblo pamyat',
 "my memory is knocked off."
- 13 / your / váshi: This is the plural, implying "the past years of yourself and your likes."

xviii

1 / Oh, come, come / I, pólno: An idiomatic double expletive, consisting of (1) a sharp vowel expressing reproachful astonishment or doubt and (2) an adverb meaning "that will do," "come to your senses"; the grammatical meaning of polno is "[it] is full."

5-6 Elton has:

"But then thy marriage, nurse, how came it?" "Why, God's plain will it was to frame it."

The cheville is especially comic to an American's ear.

12–13 / they unbraided my tress: "La tresse de cheveux que portent les jeunes filles est cachée au mariage et ne se montre plus désormais," says Turgenev. "In order to retress it in two braids when the maiden becomes a married woman," says Spalding. Both are right.

A well-known song in trochaic trimeter, with the vulgar tilting of $moy \dot{u}$, typical for these literary imitations of folk songs, contains the same idea:

> Ráno moyu kósïn'ku V léntï ubirát'— Ráno moyu rúsuyu Ná dve raspletát' . . .

Too soon my plait with ribbons to deck too soon my auburn plait to divide in two . . .

The draft of notes for the 1833 edn. reads (PD 172):

Somebody asked an old [serf] woman: "Was it passion that brought you to the altar, Granny?" "Sure, my dear, passion," she answered. "The steward and the village bailiff were in such a passion they almost beat me to death" [when forcing her to marry the serf of their choice]. In former days weddings, as also the courts, were not often dispassionate [adds Pushkin, contributing his own pun].

XIX

 I vót vvelí v sem'yú chuzhúyu: The narrational, longdrawn, and plaintive intonation here is not unlike that of I ták oni staréli óba (Two: xxxvi: 1). It is one of the leitmotives of the novel.

Vveli: idiom, "they led me into."

5-7 / the moon shone and with dark light irradiated the pale charms of Tatiana / lund siyála | I tyómnïm svétom ozaryála | Tatyánï blédnïe krasť: The epithet tyomnïm (instr.), "dark," is in all three editions (canto edition of 1827 and complete editions of 1833 and 1837). Modern editions consider this to be a misprint for tomnim, "languorous" (one of the stock epithets for moon), or else restore the pólnim, "full," of the fair copies (the complete autograph in PB and the autograph of XVIIxx : 1-12 in PD). The draft is lost (see n. following var. to VI). The epithet tomnim appears in the page proofs of the Little Star (Zvyozdochka) for 1826 (a collection, al'manah, which Bestuzhev and Rileev were prevented from bringing out by their arrest in December, 1825)* and in Delvig's Northern Flowers for 1827, which appeared about Mar. 25, 1827; but it is quite possible that this was a misprint or somebody's well-meaning correction. The rococo conceit of the moon's light being darker than Tatiana's pale beauty is far from being inconsistent with the pastichelike strain running through the chapter.

On the other hand, the epithet tomniy as applied to the moon has its counterpart in such English verses as Thomson's l. 1038 of Spring, "Beneath the trembling languish of her beam," and Keats' l. 127 of The Eve of St. Agnes (1820), "Feebly she laugheth in the languid moon."

21 | v dlinnoy telogréyke: Spalding has a note (p. 265) saying that this garment is called in French chaufferette de l'âme; the latter is a literal equivalent of the Russian dushegreyka, "soul warmer," which is synonymous with telogreyka, "body warmer."

^{*}This was to continue, in a smaller form, their annual magazine the *Polar Star* (1823–25).

American and western European readers are apt to imagine a housewife's quilted jacket in a painting of the Dutch school rather than the ample warm smock or coat peculiar to certain districts of Russia.

The variety that Pushkin has here in view is presumably the well-padded cloth *shushun* (see my nn. to Four : xxxv : 3-4).

13-14 / and in the stillness everything dozed by the inspirative moon: I cannot help seeing a very subtle imitation in these lines:

> I vsyó dremálo v tishiné Pri vdohnovíteľ noy luné.

In the last line, the adjective "inspirative," although not exactly new, sounds curiously artificial. I suggest that Pushkin remembered a compliment paid by a critic he admired to a versificator he did not, and reproduced in Russian a French epithet reputed "daring" by the standards of the Age of Taste and Reason. In one of Mme de Staël's works (*De la Littérature considerée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* [3rd edn., 1818], vol. II, pt. II, ch. 7, p. 246n), so influential then, so stale now, she remarks: "*Delille, dans son poëme de l'Homme des Champs, s'est servi d'un mot nouveau, inspiratrice.*" She has in mind a passage in can. I of the four cantos that make up Delille's uncommonly dreary *L'Homme des champs* (1800):

Que dis-je? autour de lui tandis que tout sommeille, La lampe inspiratrice éclaire encor sa veille.

The PB fair copy has the canceled variant:

and all was silent; by the moon only a cat mewed on the window [sill]

In the *Little Star* proof and in the separate edition of Three (c. Oct. 10, 1827) these lines read:

and in the stillness everything breathed by the inspirative moon.

In a letter of Apr. 25, 1825, our poet writes to his brother from Mihaylovskoe to St. Petersburg: "You, my dear fellow, do not find any sense [tolku] in my moon well, nothing to be done, just have it printed as is." The injunction evidently refers to the transmission of XVII– XX to Bestuzhev and Rileev, who paid five rubles per line for this "Night Conversation of Tatiana with Her Nurse."

XXI

- 1-2 / I sérdtsem dalekó nosílas' | Taťyána, smótrya na lunú: "And with [her] heart far ranged Tatiana, looking at the moon." The participle smótrya (instead of smotryá) is accented on the first syllable, a jarring provincialism by 1820.
- 3-8 I paraphrase to render the rhythm:

A sudden thought occurs to Tanya: "I want to be alone. Please, go. Oh, give me, nurse, a pen and paper, Approach that desk; remove that taper; Good night." And now she is alone. All's still. Their light the moonbeams loan.

This is the longest run of consecutive scudless lines in EO, if we discount a similar row of six strung together to render Lenski's feeble elegy in Six : xxI : 4-9. Tatiana's flat little speech, with its deliberate concealment of emotion, follows immediately upon a radiant sequence of eighteen spankingly scudded lines.

9-14. The nice point here is that Eugene's image, with which Tatiana is obsessed, does not quite coincide with the real Eugene. She sees herself as a romantic heroine writing to the fictional hero who has Eugene's face; but

as she goes on with her reckless epistle, the two images, fiction and reality, fuse. The letter is finished; it has been written automatically, in a trance, and now as reality asserts itself again she becomes aware that it is addressed by the real Tatiana to the real Eugene.

xxia

The following stanza is canceled in the fair copy:

I ought to take time out to exculpate now my Tatiana. A captious critic in a modish circle

4 will, I foresee it, argue thus: "Could one not have instilled beforehand into pensive Tatiana the statute of radical decencies?

- 8 Moreover, in another matter the poet errs. Could she have fallen in love at her first meeting with Onegin? And what had fascinated her? What was there
- 12 about his mind, about his words, that managed in a trice to captivate her?" Wait, let me disagree, my friend.

XXII

10 Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, III, 9: "Abandon hope forever, ye who enter here!"

In Pushkin's ambiguous n. 20, the *double entente* of "modest" has escaped the notice of scholars, thus sharing the fate of the naval obscenity that Jane Austen, not understanding its full implications, allows Miss Crawford to repeat (presumably, after Charles Austen) in *Mansfield Park*, vol. I, ch. 6; and of the disgusting sustained pun running through a whole line in the last stanza of the much less innocent Lord Byron's *Beppo*.

I find in Chamfort's *Maximes et pensées* (in his *Œuvres* collected by his friends [Paris, 1796], IV, 43)

the following: "Je mettrais volontiers sur la porte du Paradis le vers que le Dante a mis sur celle de l'Enfer."

XXIII

A footnote in the fair copy reads:

E 'l viso di pietosi color farsi, Non so se vero o falso, mi parea. Petr[arca]

This is the beginning of the second quatrain of Sonnet LXIX in *Rime di Francesco Petrarca in vita di Laura*. The Henry G. Bohn edition (London, 1859) gives three "translations," which prove that Petrarch did not fare any better than Pushkin. I transcribe:

And true or false, meseem'd some signs she show'd As o'er her cheek soft pity's hue was thrown. —Anon., 1795 Ah! then it seem'd her face wore pity's hue, Yet haply fancy my fond sense betray'd. —Nott And—was it fancy?—o'er that dear face gleaming

Methought I saw Compassion's tint divine. —Wrottesley

- | Sredi poklónnikov poslúshnih: A very poor line. The poet saw the eccentric belles of the next line surrounded by dutiful adulation. The word pohval (gen. pl.) that closes
 4—and recurs so frequently in EO (being easy to rhyme on)—is the éloges of the French; which, judging by its use as a fashionable cliché by English letter writers of the time, has no absolutely accurate counterpart in English.
- 10 / sound of spoken words / zvúk rechéy: Rechi is "accents" as well as the plural of rech', "speech." (See also n. to XIV : 2.)

11 / more tender / nezhnéy: Thus in previous editions. The vazhnéy ("more important") of 1837 is a misprint.

XXIIIa

The following stanza is canceled in the fair copy:

But you, avowed coquettes, I love you—though 'tis wrong. Smiles and caresses made to order

- 4 to everybody you dispense, on everybody fix a pleasant gaze. He to whom words are not convincing will be converted by a kiss;
- 8 whoever wants—is free to triumph. Time was, the mere gaze of your eyes would satisfy me. Now I only respect you. But, afflicted
- 12 by chill experience, I'm prepared even myself to help you—yet I eat for two and sleep all night.

Despite the pretty French turn of ll. 6–7, the stanza is but a patter of platitudes, and Pushkin was right in canceling it. Much later, when working on Seven, he seems to have planned to transfer this stanza to "Onegin's Album" (see comm. to Seven, following vars. to XXI–XXII, "Onegin's Album": x), but then expunged the Album, too.

XXV

According to Tomashevski (Acad 1937, p. 310), the draft of this stanza (2370, f. 12^r) is written in the same ink as the *Conversation of Bookseller with Poet*, the draft of which is near it, written Sept. 26, 1824, to which date Tomashevski also assigns this stanza, which thus was written about three months after the batches I-XXIV and XXVI-XXIX had been completed.

Apart from a possible wish to bring "tender Tatiana"

and "tender Parny" into close contact so as to prop stylistically the otherwise somewhat irrelevant XXIX : 13-14, Pushkin, I suggest, may have been perversely prompted to do his impish imitation by his coming across a piece by Bulgarin, "Literary Ghosts," in the review *Literary Leaflets* (*Literaturnie listki*), * 1824 (not before Aug. 27), pt. III, no. XVI, where the phrase occurs (spoken by one Talantin, in whom one easily recognizes Bulgarin's friend, Griboedov): "The imitation [on the part of Russian poets] of Parny and Lamartine is a diploma of bad taste."

1-6 Evariste Parny ("tender Parny," as Pushkin calls him in Three : XXIX : 13), in the second piece (*La Main*) of his *Tableaux*, has the following (ll. 5-12):

> On ne dit point: "La résistance Enflamme et fixe les désirs; Reculons l'instant des plaisirs Que suit trop souvent l'inconstance." Ainsi parle un amour trompeur Et la coquette ainsi raisonne. La tendre amante s'abandonne A l'objet qui toucha son cœur.

One does not say: "Resistance inflames and fixes the desires; let us defer the moment of delights which by inconstancy too oft is followed." Thus speaks false love and the coquette thus reasons. The tender mistress yields to the object that has touched her heart.

In speaking of his forthright and tender Tatiana Larin, Pushkin imitates Parny very closely (Three : XXV : 1-6):

^{*}A supplement (1823–24) to his Northern Archives (Severniy arhiv), 1822–28 (merged in 1829 with The Son of the Fatherland, Sin otechestva).

Kokétka súdit hladnokróvno, Tatyána lyúbit ne shutyá I predayótsya bezuslóvno Lyubví, kak míloe dityá. Ne govorít oná: Otlózhim— Lyubví mï tsénu tém umnózhim...

We are completely entitled to reflect the imitation, and synchronize the two sets of terms, those of Parny and those of Pushkin, by choosing for our translation of Pushkin's lines such words among the English equivalents of *koketka sudit, predayotsya*, and *otlozhim* as suit best both Parny and Pushkin:

> The coquette reasons coolly; Tatiana in dead earnest loves and unconditionally yields to love like a sweet child. She does not say: Let us defer; thereby we shall augment love's value . . .

xxva, xxvb

St. XXV is not represented in the fair copy (no doubt made before September, 1824), where we find canceled two other stanzas connected by means of an eloquent enjambment:

xxva

And you who loved without your kin's permission and kept a tender heart

- 4 for young impressions, heartache, hopes, and sweet mollitude, perhaps ⟨if⟩ you had the occasion of breaking stealthily the secret seal
- 8 of a love letter, or of timidly giving away, into bold hands, a precious lock of hair, or even of silently permitting at the bitter

12 minute of separation a trembling kiss of love, in tears, with tumult in your blood—

xxvb

condemn not unconditionally my volatile Tatiana, repeat not coolly

- 4 the verdict of prim judges. And you, O "Maids without Reproach," whom even vice's shadow frightens today as if it were a snake,
- 8 I give the same advice to you. Who knows? With flaming heartache you too, perchance, may be consumed, and Rumor's flippant tribunal tomorrow
- 12 will to some hero à la mode ascribe the triumph of another conquest: the god of love doth seek us out.

Mark the same rhyme on the same words (bezuslóvno, hladnokróvno) in b: 1 and 3 and in XXV: 3 and 1. Pushkin did well to expunge XXVa and b and replace both stanzas by his charming paraphrase from Parny (added at Mihaylovskoe, probably on Sept. 26, 1824). I am not sure I am not overdoing accuracy by translating porók always as "vice," in distinction from greh, "sin." Porok is an easy word to rhyme on, and seems to be here (b: 6), and elsewhere, hardly more than a synonym of "sin." To judge by the recensions, the Dévi bez upryóka phrase (b: 5), "virgins [or maidens] without reproach," is italicized by Pushkin. It is a commonplace Gallicism, vierge sans reproche—on the lines of chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.

XXVI

5 | Oná po-Rússki plóho znála: There is no enjambment

from the quatrain to the first couplet in the text; nor is there one from l. 8 to l. 9.

? / expressed herself / virazhálasya; 12 / expressed itself
/ iz'yasnyálasya: Russian has two words for the verb
"to express." One can be paraphrased "to put one's thoughts into words"; the other, "to make oneself clear." Cf. Fr. s'exprimer and s'expliquer.

xxvia, xxvib

The following two stanzas were canceled in the fair copy, and the octets of both were used later, with only minor changes (XXVIb: 1 and 3), for a sixteen-line entry in "Onegin's Album" (st. VII; see nn. to Chapter Seven, following vars. to XXI-XXII), which eventually was also canceled.

XXVIa

The treasures of our native letters (sedate minds may remark) for foreign lisping

- 4. we in our folly have neglected. We love the toys of foreign Muses, rattles of foreign idioms, and read not our own books.
- 8 But where are they? Let's have 'em. Of course, boreal sounds caress my wonted ear; my Slavic spirit loves them; with their music
- 12 the torments of the heart are lulled to sleep. . . . But only sounds are cherished by a bard.

xxvıb

But where, then, did we our first knowledge and first ideas find? Where do we put to use our trials?

4. Where do we learn earth's fate? Not in barbarous translations, not in belated works, wherein the Russian mind and Russian spirit

- 8 rehash old stuff and lie for two. Our poets make translations, but there's no prose. One magazine is filled with cloying eulogies,
- 12 another with banal abuse. They all cause, if not sleep, then boredom's yawn. Fine thing—the Russian Helicon!

The rather meaningless primenyáem ("put to use" or "apply"), in b : 2, is altered to poveryaem (which may be understood as "verify") in the "Album." By a strange trick of literality, the phrase Gde primenyáem ispütán'ya, if taken uncritically, turns into "Where do we apply tests"; but I can see no sense whatever in that phrase here. If poveryaem in the "Album" is taken to mean "we verify" instead of "we confide," it would seem that *ispütan'ya* should be taken not in the sense of "tests" but in that of "trials," implying our trials, nos épreuves, the ordeals of our history as seen through the prism of foreign histories or of works of foreign historians. (See also my n. to Three : XXIX : 6, on Gallicisms.)

XXVII

4 | The Well-Meaner in their hands | S Blagonamérennim v rukáh: The Blagonamerenniy was a monthly, then a weekly, magazine (1818-27), edited by Aleksandr Izmaylov (1799-1831), author of Fables (1826), who, on the occasion of a delay in publication during Butterweek, 1820, explained in verse that he:

. . . caroused on holidays as Russian people do, forgetting wife and child—not only the review.

Pushkin's 1. 4 was given an obscene twist (*blagona-merenniy v smisle falla*) by its author and his friends in their private correspondence. (The joke was started by

Vyazemski in a letter to Pushkin of July 26, 1828.) It should also be marked that in 1822 the *Blagonamerenniy* (no. 38), in a short poem called *The Union of Poets*, had attacked Pushkin's friends Baratïnski and Delvig.

Cf. Baratïnski, To Gnedich, Who Advised the Author to Write Satires, in 150 Alexandrines (1823), ll. 115–16:

> The reader of [Izmaylov's] sheets is warned by their good editor that he likes to carouse.

- 5 / to you / na vas: There is an obvious misprint in the 1837 edn.: na nas, "to us."
- 6, 12 Our poet uses the epithet *miliy* ("amiable," "sweet," "dear," "winsome," "winning," "charming," "cute") and its adverbal form, *milo*, much too often. It is the French *gentil, gentiment*.

XXVIII

3 / seminarian in a yellow shawl / seminaristom [instr.] v zhyóltoy shále: This is a wrong locative ending. It should be sháli, unless Pushkin derived it from shalya instead of shal'. The word (a borrowing from the Persian) came from Germany via France, where in the beginning of the nineteenth century it was spelled schall.

One wonders if Pushkin committed this solecism deliberately in order to illustrate 1. 6.

Shåle rhymes with na båle (l. 1), an archaic locative. (Today, "at a ball" would be na balu.)

A seminarist is a young theologue, a student of the seminariya (ecclesiastical school).

VARIANTS

2 Canceled fair copy:

or at Shishkov's upon the porch . . .

For Shishkov, see my n. to Eight : XIV : 13.

3 The shawl is "red" in the fair copy.

XXIX

This stanza was written May 22, 1824, in Odessa. It is here that Cahier 2370 starts (see n. following var. to VI), with, on f. 1^r, the draft of a letter to Kaznacheev, director of Vorontsov's chancellery (see n. to One : LIX : 6-8).

2 / delivery of words / vigovor rechéy [gen. pl.]: The way of pronouncing words rather than pronunciation (proiznoshenie) itself, and utterance rather than accent—although both Russian terms (vigovor and proiznoshenie) commonly merge. The translator's task is not made any lighter by the fact that the word rechi (nom. pl.) does not mean "speeches," "discourses," "conversations" here (as it does, for example, in Three : XIV : 2), but has the Gallic tinge of "accents," "spoken words." The verb proizvodit', "produce" (l. 4), is likewise a Gallicism, produire.

In "My Remarks on the Russian Theater," Pushkin, in speaking of the young Russian actress Kolosova, lists her various assets—beautiful eyes, beautiful teeth, and *nezhnïy nedostatok v vïgovore* ("a soft flaw of enunciation"). And further he suggests she ought to do something about her Parisian burr (Fr. *grasseyement*), "very pleasing indoors but incongruous in a tragedy on the stage."

6 / Gallicisms: In December, 1823, Bestuzhev (in his and Rïleev's review, *Polar Star*, 1824, pp. 1-14) argued that the complete "inanition of Russian literature" in 1823 was owing to the "latent passion for Gallicisms" that had burst forth and afflicted everybody since the end of the war (1812-14). Tsyavlovski (Acad 1936, V, 630) com-

pares with EO, Three : XXVIa (and Seven : "Album" : VII; see comm. to Seven, following vars. to XXI-XXII), a fragment (1825) in which Pushkin expresses his reaction to Bestuzhev's attack on the French influence and queries:

Where are our Addisons, La Harpes, Schlegels? What have we analyzed critically [*razobrali*]? Whose literary opinions have become national [*narodnïmi*, meaning "have been accepted as original and typical of Russian culture"]? Whose [Russian] critical works can we use for reference and support?...

And in a letter to Vyazemski (July 13, 1825) Pushkin writes:

You did well to come out in defense of Gallicisms. Someday we really must say aloud that metaphysical Russian is with us still in a barbarian state. God grant it may acquire form someday similarly to the French language, to that limpid, precise language of prose, i.e., to the language of thought.

Alongside this line and the next two Pushkin made a drawing, which I have described in my n. to One : LIX : 6–8.

- 8 / Bogdanóvich's verse: Ippolit Bogdanovich, minor poet, author of *Dushen'ka* (see my n. to One : XXXIII : 3-4) and of translations from Voltaire and other French writers of his time. Some influence of his is distinguishable in Pushkin's *Ruslan and Lyudmila* (1820).
- 11 / Yea, yea / ey-éy: Bases on Matt. 5 : 37. The Russian formula is a euphemism for ey Bogu, "I swear by God." It should be noted, however, that in Russian the terms "By God!" "My God!" "God!" etc., being influenced in polite literature by the French mon Dieu, etc., do not have the profane force of their English exact equiva-

lents. Thus *Dieu!* or *Bozhe!* is not "God!" but "Good God!" "Goodness!" "Good gracious!" and so on.

13 / tender Parny: Evariste Désiré Desforges, Chevalier de Parny (1753-1814). The words *tendre* and *tendresse* occur more often in Parny's elegies and idyls than they do in the poems of any other French poet of the time. See, for instance, *Les Serments* (*Poésies érotiques*, bk. III, 1778), ll. 16-20:

> Viens donc, ô ma belle maîtresse, Perdre tes soupçons dans mes bras; Viens t'assurer de ma tendresse, Et du pouvoir de tes appas. Aimons, ma chère Eléonore . . .

The frankly iambic modulations of ll. 18–20 should please a Russian or an English ear.

14. In the last lines of *Réponse à un jeune poête*, first published in 1809 (*Mercure*, vol. XXXVI), Parny mentions the passing of his fame:

> Pour cette France repétrie L'élégance est afféterie, La délicatesse est fadeur, Et mes vers une rêverie Sans espérance et sans lecteur.

VARIANT

9–13 Draft (2370, f. 2^r):

Enough, however. Though I'm free to recollect this thing or that in my condition of enchantment, the letter $\langle of youthful Tatiana \rangle$ awaits translation . . .

After the draft of this stanza comes One : XXXIII.

XXX

1 / Bard of The Feasts / Pevéts Piróv: If in the taxonomy of talent there exists a cline between minor and major poetry, Evgeniy Baratïnski (1800-44) presents such an intermediate unit of classification. His elegies are keyed to the precise point where the languor of the heart and the pang of thought meet in a would-be burst of music; but a remote door seems to shut quietly, the poem ceases to vibrate (although its words may still linger) at the very instant that we are about to surrender to it. He had deep and difficult things to say, but never quite said them. He was regarded by Pushkin with a tender and grave respect: its tonality is unique in the annals of the greater poet's literary sympathies.

Early in 1816, Baratïnski was expelled from the Corpsdes-Pages (a military school for young noblemen): with a schoolmate (Hanikov) he had stolen a valuable snuffbox and five hundred rubles in bank notes from the bureau of Hanikov's uncle. After spending three years in the country, Baratïnski returned to St. Petersburg in 1819 (where he became acquainted with Pushkin) and then served in Finland, starting as a private, 1820–24. Attempts on the part of Soviet commentators to compare his fate with that of Pushkin in terms of political martyrdom are grotesque.

Baratinski's The Feasts (Piri; composed 1820) is an indifferent elegy, greatly influenced by the French poetry of the elegant and banal eighteenth century. In its first edition (1821), it consists of 268 iambic tetrameters freely rhymed. In gaunt Finland, where his regiment was stationed, Baratinski nostalgically evoked friendly feasts with fellow poets in the gay Petersburg of 1819. Pushkin imitated ll. 252-53 of The Feasts in his Prefatory Piece (first published as a dedication of Four and Five to Pletnyov in February, 1828) and had at one time considered promoting these two lines to a motto for either One or Four—a promotion that would have turned the imitation into a complimentary allusion. He used another line (52) of *The Feasts* for his motto to the Moscow canto (Seven, 1827-28, pub. 1830) and subtly referred to ll. 129–39 in his Four : XLV (see n. to Four : XLV : 1, 7).

Pushkin—the Pushkin of 1819—is described in Baratïnski's piece (ll. 210–13) as:

> ... the enchanting minstrel of love, and liberty, and pleasure young P., volatile and wise, a confidant of fun and fame ...

In the revised edition of *The Feasts* (1826), when it came out together with Baratinski's narrative poem Eda, the allusion to Pushkin goes:

Our P....n, you to whom 'tis given to sing heroes and wine, wild passions and an escapade, who with a prankish mind can blend a wondrous knowledge of the heart, and who can be (not a small thing, meseems!) most amiable at table.

In the final text of 1835 "wondrous" is altered to "true," and the next two lines are condensed into one:

and over wine is the best guest.

Baratinski disliked EO and in a letter of 1832 described it as a brilliant but juvenile imitation of Byron.

*

When forwarding, on Feb. 20, 1826, from Mihaylovskoe, a copy of Baratïnski's *The Feasts* and *Eda* (pub. Feb. 1, 1826) to Praskovia Osipov, then in the province of Tver, Pushkin loyally described this *Eda: a Finnish Tale* as a "chef-d'œuvre de grâce, d'élégance et de senti-

ment." This singularly uncouth and banal poem, consisting of 683 iambic tetrameters freely rhymed, was begun in 1824, published in 1826, and revised in 1835. The Finnish maid Eda, who is seduced by the Russian hussar Vladimir, is (in ll. 63–69), by an unhappy coincidence, not unlike Vladimir Lenski's Olga in appearance (EO, Two : XXIII : 5–8):

> A tender color in her cheeks, an airy figure, golden hair in careless ringlets o'er her shoulders, and pale-blue eyes akin to Finnish skies, in a pure heart the readiness to feel there's Eda for you!

(In the final text of 1835, this last little cry is canceled.) Eda's and Vladimir's kiss is described as a *vlazhnïy plamen*', "humid flame" (l. 159), borrowed, I notice, from Charles Millevoye's *Le Déjeuner*:

> Un long baiser, le baiser du départ Vient m'embraser de son humide flamme.

1 / languorous / tómnoy: This characteristic favorite of Pushkin's and his school—tomnaya glava, "her languished head"; tomnïe glaza, "languishing eyes"; tomnïy vzor, "a dying eye"—is basically equivalent to all the varieties of "languish" typical of the French and English sentimental writers; but because of its resemblance to tyomnïy, "dark," and owing to its Italianate fullness of sound, the Russian epithet surpasses in somber sonority its English counterpart and lacks the slight ridicule attached to the latter. It will be noted that the state and sensation of nega, "sensual languor," is close to the more superficial and, as a rule, less pleasurable condition defined as tomnost'. That this feeling, though often saturated with lyrical sentiment, is intrinsically not a pleasant one is confirmed by another philologism, tomlenie, the antiquated English noun, "languish"—a painful void, an irksome satiety (Three : VII : 12). The verb is tomit', "to irk," "to oppress," "to weigh upon" (which brings the intransitive tomit'sya into the toskovat', "to pine," series). The adjective tomnëy, "languid," shades off into the vyalëy series—"listless," "limp."

12–13 It was in Finland that Baratinski wrote the first poem that revealed his talent to discriminating readers. This is *Finlyandiya*, first published, 1820, in the magazine *The Champion of Enlightenment and Benefaction (Sorevnovatel' prosveshcheniya i blagotvoreniya)*. This Ossianic elegy, consisting of seventy-two free iambics, begins:

Great everlasting rocks, deserts of granite, you gave the wanderer refuge and shelter

and closes:

O golden phantoms, golden visions, ardent desires, come flying in a crowd! Let my deluded soul drink avidly the magic of error from the cup of youth! What matter past or future races? I strum my dull strings not for them. Though heeded not, I am in full rewarded for sounds by sounds, for dreams by dreams.

14 / worry / górya: The reference is not to the grief of separation but to the grievous predicament in which Pushkin places Pushkin in this matter of having to put into Russian verse an imaginary French epistle.

XXXI

 1 / Tatiana's letter is before me: Its presence in the hands of Pushkin, considered as a character in the novel, may be explained, for instance, by Onegin's transcribing it

for him in Odessa, in the course of their resuming, in 1823–24, the evocation of past loves that used to grace their rambles on the Neva quay in 1820 (see *Onegin's Journey*, comm. to Eight, MS st. xxx).

In the course of the novel Pushkin quotes the writings of all three main characters: Tatiana's letter, Lenski's last elegy, and Onegin's letter.

- 2 | Egó ya svyáto beregú: The French formula "je la conserve religieusement" has helped me to render this in English.
- 5-6 | Kto eý vnushál i étu nézhnosť, | I slóv lyubéznuyu nebrézhnosť?: The answer is: Parny. See, for example, his idiom in Le Lendemain (Poésies érotiques, bk. I):

Et ton âme plus attendrie S'abandonne nonchalamment Au délicieux sentiment D'une douce mélancolie

which falls automatically into romanticist Russian: i umilyónnaya dushá predayótsya nebrézhno sládostnomu chúvstvu grústi nézhnoy.

6 | lyubéznuyu nebrézhnost': A Gallicism: aimable abandon.

7 | tosh | vzdor: Misprinted vzor, "gaze," in the 1837 edn.

12 | Freischütz | Freyshits: The reference is to the overture of Der Freischütz (Le Franc Archer, The Seventh Bullet, Volshebniy strelok), a romantic opera by Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), first produced in Berlin June 18, 1821, and first performed in Paris Dec. 7, 1824 (as Robin des Bois).

A wood demon furnishes a marksman with magical bullets. The villain of the play, Kaspar, has sold himself

to this demon, both being in love with Agatha, the daughter of the head ranger to the Duke of Bohemia, etc. In act II, Agatha in melancholy mood opens her window and lets the moonlight flood the room. The incantational music in the Wolf's Glen is said by George P. Upton and Felix Borowski, in their *Opera Guide* (New York, 1928), to have never been surpassed in weirdness, mystery, etc. Specters, skeletons, and grotesque animals terrify Max, Agatha's betrothed, who has gone to that glen, persuaded by Kaspar to meet the demon there, etc.

Vyazemski (Mar. 24, 1824) wrote from Moscow to A. Turgenev in St. Petersburg: "Send my wife everything there is for the piano from the opera *Der Freischütz*: waltzes, marches, overture, and so forth." On Apr. 4 Turgenev replied that he would try to get the music. On Apr. 10, Vyazemski wrote that the thing could be obtained in Moscow.

Votaries of biographical romances should imagine Princess Vyazemski and Countess Vorontsov, about June 10, 1824, in Odessa, learning to play this overture in the presence of Pushkin, who developed an *amitié amoureuse* for the former and was passionately in love with the latter. About the same time, all three defied the turbulent succession of waves on the Odessa shore, a little event that may have led our poet to recombine the *Tavrida* theme (see nn. to One : XXXIII).

VARIANT

13 The draft (2370, f. 4^v) has "Mozart and Dietz" instead of *Freyshits*.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91), Austrian composer, and Ferdinand Dietz (1742–98), Tsar Alexander's violin teacher and author of the music to Dmitriev's *Moans the Gray-blue Little Dove (Stonet siziy golubochek*), one of the most popular songs of the time.

TATIANA'S LETTER TO ONEGIN

Seventy-nine lines in iambic tetrameter, with a free pattern of rhymes: ababacceffeggihhijojo; babaaceec; ababececiddifoofogoog; aabeebiicoco; babaceeciddi; baba. (The spacing is perfunctory; the identity of letters in these six parts does not imply a similarity of rhymes; in Russian editions the piece is usually spaced after ll. 21, 30, and 75.)

Tatiana is supposed to have written her letter in French; and it is indeed much easier to turn it into conventional French prose than into English iambics. The four French prose versions I have consulted are:

In the Eugène Onéguine of H. Dupont, Œuvres choisies de A. S. Pouchkine, vol. I (St. Petersburg and Paris, 1847).

In the *Onéguine* published by Ivan Turgenev and Louis Viardot in the Parisian *Revue nationale*, XII and XIII, 48–51 (1863); Tatiana's letter is in XIII, 49 (May 10, 1863).

The "Lettre de Tatiana à Oniéguine" in fragments of *Eugène Oniéguine* in *Œuvres choisies*, translated by André Lirondelle (Paris, 1926).

The similarly entitled piece in Jacques David's *Anthologie de la poésie russe* (Paris, 1946).

Of these four translations the best is Lirondelle's, with the heavier Turgenev-Viardot running a close second. Both are exact. Dupont's version nicely reflects here and there the French idiom of Pushkin's time, but contains a number of gross blunders (such as l. 16, "penser à un homme unique" for *dúmat' ob odnóm*, which in the original of course means "to think of one thing" and not "of one person") and besides is rather vulgar. Much vulgarer, however, is David's version, which flaunts such cheap inexactitudes as l. 16, "de faire en un seul rêve tous les rêves"; l. 34, "et le ciel m'a faite pour toi"; and ll. 68–71, "considère . . . que me taire c'est mourir."

In the literal French translation of Tatiana's letter given below, which, I repeat, slips beautifully into flat French, I have initialed the borrowed lines: Dupont [Du], Turgenev-Viardot [TV], Lirondelle [L], and David [Da]. The uninitialed lines are my contribution.

	Je vous écris—en faut-il plus?	$\mathbf{\tilde{[L]}}$
		a+Du]
	Maintenant, je le sais, il est en votre pouvoir	[TV]
4	de me punir par le mépris.	[L]
	Mais si vous gardez	[Da]
	une goutte de pitié pour mon malheureux sor	t [TV]
	vous ne m'abandonnerez pas.	[Du]
8	Je voulais d'abord me taire.	[Du]
	Croyez-moi: jamais vous n'auriez	[Du]
	connu ma honte	[Du]
	si j'avais eu l'espoir	[L]
12	—ne fut-ce que rarement, ne fut-ce qu'une	L J
	fois par semaine—	[TV]
	de vous voir dans notre campagne,	[Du]
	rien que pour entendre vos propos,	[—]
	vous dire un mot et puis	[L]
16	penser, penser à une seule chose	[_]
	jour et nuit, jusqu'au revoir.	[L]
	Mais, dit-on, vous fuyez le monde	[Du]
	dans ce coin perdu de la campagne tout	[]
		a+Du]
20	et nous ne brillons par rien	[TV]
	bien que nous soyons naïvement heureux de	[]
	vous voir.	[TV]
		L · J
	Pourquoi être venu chez nous?	[L]
	Au fond d'une campagne ignorée,	[]
2.1	je ne vous aurais jamais connu,	[TV]
- 7	je n'aurais pas connu ces amers tourments.	TV
	Ayant avec le temps—qui sait—calmé	[L]
		L+Du
28	,	u + Da
20	et j'aurais été fidèle épouse	
	ainsi que mère vertueuse.	
	amor que mere vertueuse.	լոյ

-	Un autre! Non, à nul autre au monde je n'aurais donné mon cœur! C'est ainsi qu'en a décidé le conseil d'en-h c'est la volonté du ciel: je suis à toi. Ma vie entière fut le gage de notre rencontre certaine; Dieu t'envoie à moi, je le sais; tu seras mon gardien jusqu'à la tombe Tu m'apparaissais dans mes songes	$egin{bmatrix} [{ extsf{TV}}]\\ { extsf{aut,} & [L]}\\ [{ extsf{Du,}} & { extsf{TV}}]\\ [L]\\ [L]\\ [L] \end{pmatrix}$
40	ton regard merveilleux me troublait; ta voix résonnait dans mon âme depuis longtemps Non, ce n'était pas	
44	rêve; à peine tu étais entré, aussitôt je te reconr je me pâmais, je brûlais,	[Du] 1118, [L]
48	et je me dis: C'est lui! N'est-ce pas, je t'avais déjà entendu:	[Du+L] [TV] TV, L, Da]
40	lorsque je secourais les pauvres ou que j'adoucissais par la prière l'angoisse de mon âme agitée?	[Du, L] [L+TV] [Du+L]
52	Et même à ce moment-ci n'est-ce pas toi, chère vision, qui vient de passer dans l'ombre transpare	[TV]
56	avec joie et amour des mots d'espoir?	[TV] [L] [TV, L, Da]
60	ou un perfide tentateur? Résous mes doutes. Peut-être que tout cela est vide de sens et n'est que l'égarement d'une âme novic et tout autre chose m'attend	[TV, L] [TV]
64	Mais s'en est fait. Dès à présent je te confie mon sort.	[TV] $[Du]$
68	je verse mes larmes devant toi, j'implore ta défense. Imagine-toi: je suis seule ici; personne ne me comprend, [ma raison succombe,	[Du] [Du+TV] Du, TV, L] [TV]

	et je dois périr en silence.	[Du]
7^2	Je t'attends: d'un seul regard	
	viens ranimer les espérances de mon cœur	[Du+TV]
	ou bien interromps le songe pesant	
	d'un reproche, hélas, mérité.	[L, Da]
7^{6}	Je finis. Je n'ose relire.	[L+TV]
	Je me meurs de honte et d'effroi.	[TV]
	Mais votre honneur me sert de garantie-	[Du]
	je m'y confie hardiment.	[TV]

1 /Ya k vám pishú—chegó zhe bóle?: Among the clumsy pieces in Russian syllabic verse that patch up the love scenes in an anonymous novella of the early eighteenth century that Gukovski reprints in his anthology (Moscow, 1938; see n. to One : XLVIII : 12), The History of Aleksandr, Russian Nobleman (hideously adapted from a mawkish German romance), there occur the following lines in the love plaint of the heroine (p. 19):

Predáy níne smérti, ne tomí menyá bóle, Ti mya múchish, v tvoéy ést' vóle.

Put me now to death, let me languish no more, you are tormenting me, 'tis in your power.

5-7 / But you, preserving . . . one drop of pity, you'll not abandon me: Cf. Mme de Krüdener, *Valérie*: "Vous ne me refuserez pas votre pitié; vous me lirez sans colère" (Linar to Valérie, Letter XLV).

See also in Julie's first long letter to Saint-Preux: "... si quelque étincelle de vertu brilla dans ton âme..." (Rousseau, *Julie*, pt. 1, Letter IV).

The separate edition of the chapter gives the following variant of l. 7:

I ne ostávite meny á. indeed will not abandon me.

- 13, 19, 23 / at our country place . . . in backwoods, in the country . . . In the backwoods of a forgotten village |V|derévne náshey ... v glushí, v derévne ... V glushí zabitogo selén'ya: In England, Tatiana Larin would have been named Rosamund Gray (see under that title Charles Lamb's unconscious parody of a sentimental novelette, with a rake, and a rape, and rural roses) and would have lived in a cottage; but the Larins live in a country house of at least twenty rooms, with extensive grounds, a park, flower and vegetable gardens, stables, cattle sheds, grainfields, and so forth. I would reckon the amount of their land at some 350 desvatins (1000 acres) or more, which is a small estate for that region, and the number of their serfs at two hundred souls, not counting women and infants. A number of these were household slaves, while the rest lived in the log cabins that constituted a village (or several small hamlets). The name of the village, or of the nearest of the hamlets, would be that of the whole estate with its fields and forest. The Larins' neighbors, Onegin and Lenski, were considerably wealthier and might each have had more than two thousand souls.
- 18 / No govoryát, vï nelyudím: With an inner note concisely echoing a passage in Constant's Adolphe (ch. 3):
 ... ce caractère qu'on dit bizarre et sauvage, ce cœur
 ... solitaire au milieu des hommes'' (cf. Pichot's Le Corsaire, quoted in my n. to Three : XII : 10).

In a letter to Vyazemski from Mihaylovskoe, Nov. 29, 1824, Pushkin writes:

How came you to have Tanya's letter? N.B. explain this to me [it had been circulated no doubt by Lev Pushkin]. In answer to your criticism: a *nelyudim* is not a misanthrope, i.e., not a hater of people, but one who avoids people. Onegin is a *nelyudim* [an unsociable person] in the opinion of neighboring country squires; Tanya thinks

Three: TATIANA'S LETTER TO ONEGIN

the reason for this [for his being unsociable] is that in the backwoods, in the country, all bores him, and that brilliancy alone might attract him. If, however, the sense is not quite precise, the more truth there is in the letter the letter of a woman—and, on top of that, a seventeenyear-old one—and, on top of *that*, a woman in love.

A famous line in *Childe Harold* (III, LXIX, 1) goes: To fly from, need not be to hate, mankind.

- 22 | Why did you visit us? | Zachém vi posetili nás?: In laying this pathetic emphasis on why, I may have been influenced by a wonderful record (played for me one day in Talcottville by Edmund Wilson) of Tarasova's recitation of Tatiana's letter.
- 26, 62 / The turmoil of an inexperienced soul . . . an inexperienced soul's delusion / Dushi neópítnoy volnén'ya . . . Obmán neópítnoy dushi [gen.]: Neopïtnaya dusha (nom.) is a Gallicism, une âme novice, so often met with in the literature of the day. Thus the beginning of the quatrain serving as master motto for Werther in Sevelinges' French (1804) reads:

Ainsi dans les transports d'une première ardeur Aime et veut être aimée une âme encore novice.

The good reader will also note that "Ainsi dans les transports d'une première ardeur" bears a certain resemblance to a line from Vyazemski (*First Snow*, l. 75), which Pushkin at one time planned to borrow for the motto to One:

Po zhízni ták skoľ zít gory áchnosť molodáya... O'er life thus glides young ardency...

31 / Another!: A common rhetorical formula of European romances. Cf. Chénier, *Les Amours*, no. IX (in *Œuvres*, ed. Walter), an elegy beginning "Reste, reste avec nous . . ." (l. 75): "Un autre! Ah! je ne puis . . ."; or

Byron, *The Bride of Abydos* (1813), I, VII, 197–98: "To bid thee with another dwell: Another! . . ."

34 Cf. Rousseau's Julie (Saint-Preux to Julie, pt. I, Letter XXVI): "Non . . . un éternel arrêt du ciel nous destina l'un pour l'autre . . ."

It is at this point that Tatiana switches from the formal second person plural to the passionate second person singular, a device well known in French epistolary novels of the time. Thus in her third short note to Saint-Preux Julie starts to *tutoyer* him, mingling the *tu* with *vous*. In Tatiana's letter the initial *vous* comes back only at the very end (l. 78, *vásha chést*', "your sense of honor").

A misprint in the 1837 edn. turns the word to ("that") into the absurd no ("but").

35-46 / my entire life . . . It is he: Tatiana may have seen (among the contributions to her sister's album, perhaps) an elegy of 1819 by Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (1786-1859), a kind of female Musset minus the color and the wit:

> J'étais à toi peut-être avant de t'avoir vu. Ma vie, en se formant, fut promise à la tienne;

. . . j'avais dit: Le voilà!

45 Tatiana has read the *Phèdre* (1677), I, iii, of Racine (who had read Virgil):

Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue; Un trouble s'éleva dans mon âme éperdue; Mes yeux ne voyoient plus, je ne pouvois parler; Je sentis tout mon corps et transir et brûler...

I have translated *obomléla* by "felt all faint," but the latter lacks the melting and tremulous quality of the Russian term, which is somewhat better, but far from perfectly, rendered by the French se pâmer or défaillir.

- 49 A sentimental fashion of the times. One thinks of such French prints as *La bonne Châtelaine*: young lady from castle—small basket of provisions on arm—bottle of wine sticking out—doorway of hovel—rag-bedded old villager inside vigorously raising eyes and arms to heaven—wife clasping her hands piously—child receiving a doll.
- 53-55 Cf. Vincent Campenon, in *Almanach des Muses* (1805):

Loin de lui, seule avec moi-même, Je crois et l'entendre et le voir; La nuit, son fantôme que j'aime Près de ma couche vient s'asseoir.

Here parallel passages might be multiplied.

- 55 / bed head / *izgolóv'yu* (dat.): Fr. *chevet*. A very Gallic situation—this bedside phantasm, this praying girl, this angel-demon hybrid. There is but one step here from the sentimental vision to the Gothic succubus—both of them insipid products of the Age of Reason.
- 56 / with delight / s otrádoy: A treacherous misprint in the 1837 edn. turns this into s otrávoy ("with poison").
- 61 / 'tis nonsense all / *éto vsyó pustóe*: Cf. " 'So very fond of me!' 'tis nonsense all'' (Fanny's rill of consciousness running over Miss Crawford's letter in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, vol. III, ch. 13).

It is curious that Jane Austen was not popular in Tatiana's Russia, although as early as 1815 *Raison et sensibilité*, *ou les Deux Manières d'aimer*, "traduit librement" by Isabelle de Montolieu (Elisabeth Jeanne

Pauline Polier de Bottens), had been published in Paris, followed next year by Henri Villemain's *Le Parc de Mansfield, ou les Trois Cousines* (actually, two sisters and their cousin Fanny).

78 / No mné porúkoy vásha chést': This is difficult to render exactly. "But your honor is my security," "Your sense of honor is my guarantee." In Three : xxxIV : 5, the nurse uses the same expression, substituting "God" for "honor," and in Four : XIV : 5, Onegin says that "conscience" is his poruka.

Cf. Rousseau, Julie (Julie's first long letter to Saint-Preux, pt. I, Letter IV): "Toutefois . . . s'il y reste [in her correspondent's soul] encore quelque trace des sentiments d'honneur . . ." and ". . . mon honneur s'ose confier au tien . . ."

VARIANTS

The draft is in Cahier 2370, beginning after the draft of XXXI, f. 4^{v} , going on to both sides of f. 5 and then to ff. 6^{r} and 7^{r} .

P. Annenkov, A. S. Pushkin. Materiali dlya ego biografii i otsenki proizvedeniy (2nd edn., St. Petersburg, 1873), pp. 132–33, was the first to observe that our poet had started by jotting down Tatiana's letter in Russian prose. "... Upon which," says Annenkov, "Pushkin transposed this meager program into wondrous verse." (A similar program was made later for Onegin's sermon in Chapter Four.)

On f. 5^r , there is the draft of a prose paragraph, which is reproduced photographically in Acad 1937, facing p. 314:

I know that you despise [the end of the sentence is illegible]. For a long time I wished to be silent—I thought I would see you. I do not want anything, I want to see you —I have nobody to . . . Come. You must be . . . this and that. If not, God has deceived me . . . but upon rereading my letter, I do not have the strength to sign it. Guess . . .

Under this, on the same folio, the draft of the letter, with innumerable but insignificant corrections, continues in verse till l. 21, after which there is a line in prose: "Why did I ever see you—but now it is too late." F. 5^v begins with l. 26.

Draft (l. 4a):

My end not distant I foresee . . .

Canceled readings (ll. 1, 4a, 7):

I love you—what then would one more? My shame inevitable I foresee . . . I love you so, I am so wretched.

In the vicinity of l. 3, there is a canceled line in prose: "My shame, my guilt are now known to you."

There exist the following variants to the passage 24-30:

Final draft (2370, f. 5^v):

My humble folks, secluded strolls, and books—true friends— 'tis all I would have loved.

Canceled in draft (ibid.):

Unto a country husband [derevénskomu suprúgu] perhaps I would have given my hand . . .

51 After l. 51, additional lines (a, b, c, d) read in the fair copy:

'Twas you inspired my prayers, and the graced ardency of Faith, and sadness, and the tears of tenderness [attendrissement] —was it not all your secret gift?

79 After this last line of her letter, there are in the draft $(2370, f. 7^{v})$ two unstanzaed lines, which could only be ll. 5-6 of a succeeding stanza, since it is a feminine-rhymed couplet:

Podúmala chto skázhut lyúdi? I podpisála T. L. she wondered what people would say, and signed T. L.

In Russian this produces an identical rhyme because of the use of special mnemonic names for letters in the old Russian alphabet: the word for L is *Lyudi*. The reader should imagine that in the English alphabet the letter T were labeled, say, "Tough," and the letter L, "Little."

> And after pondering a little she wrote her signature: Tough, Little.

Podúmala chto skázhut lyúdi? I podpisála Tvérdo, Lyúdi.

XXXII

In the left-hand margin of the draft (2370, f. 7^{v} ; reproduced by Efros, p. 203), alongside ll. 5–7, Pushkin drew his concept of Tatiana. It is a charming melancholy figure, the face inclined upon the hand, the dark hair falling upon the naked shoulder, the parting of the breasts delicately marked in the opening of the flimsy shift. (See also n. to One : XLVIII : 2.) Below, there is a profile recognizable as that of Pushkin's father, whom he saw, or was to see, at Mihaylovskoe after a separation of more than four years.

I think that Pushkin may have reached this stanza in June, 1824, a month and a half before leaving Odessa for Mihaylovskoe; but it is also clear that he resumed work on the same stanza Three : XXXII only about Sept. 5, 1824, at Mihaylovskoe.

The autographs should be studied.

- 1 / sighs and ohs / to vzdohnyót, to óhnet: The untranslatable Russian exclamation oh of weariness and distress is akin to the Irish "och," but is more a groan than a moan, and ends in a very rough aspirate.
- 3 / the rosy wafer / Oblátka rózovaya: This was before the invention of envelopes; the folded letter was sealed by means of an adhesive disk of dried paste, colored pink in the present case. To this a personal seal might be added by letting a drop of gaudy wax fall upon the paper and impressing one's monogram upon it (see XXXIII : 3-4).
- 5 / golóvushkoy: "Her gentle head," "her heavy head"; a kind of compassionate diminutive (from golova), often used in plaintive folk songs. The usual diminutive is the nastily coy golovka. (See n. to Four : XVII : 8.)
- 6 A young lady in the 1820's would wear her day shift, a flimsy, very low-necked affair, to bed, putting a nightdress or a special jacket, or both, over it. For evening ablutions, an Anglicized belle might have a tin bathtub in her dressing room, filled with hot water (brought up in jugs or pails)—and under the circumstances, I suppose, a change of linen would also occur. A Russian provincial miss, however, would probably rely for her weekly bath on the bagnio (*banya*), bathhouse, which every squire had on his grounds. That particular night Tatiana did not go to bed at all—and apparently slipped her dress on just before the nurse entered.
- 14. Under the last line of the corrected draft of the established text in Cahier 2370, f. 11^v, Pushkin made the following note: "5 sentyabrya 1824 u.l.d. E.W."

This is deciphered as "5 September 1824 eu lettre de Elise Worontzow." Pushkin linked the two initials monogrammatically as they are in known signatures of

Countess Elizaveta Vorontsov. He had not seen her since the end of July. (She returned to Odessa from the Crimea on July 25.) Countess Vorontsov's profile is sketched by him on f. 9^{v} of the same cahier. The drafts of XXXII begin on f. 7^{v} .

It would seem that between June 13, 1824, and Sept. 5 Pushkin had not worked at his novel. He left Odessa on July 31, traveled post along a police-prescribed route via Nikolaev, Elizavetgrad, Kremenchug, Chernigov, Mogilev, and Vitebsk, and arrived in Opochka Aug. 9, having covered 1075 miles in ten days. On Oct. 4, the Pskov provincial governor, B. Aderkas, reported to the Baltic governor general, F. Pauluchi (Paulucci), that the "state councilor" Sergey Pushkin had agreed to act for the government and keep his son under close observation at Mihaylovskoe, their estate near Opochka. In the course of October this led to a family row, and about Nov. 17 his parents left Mihaylovskoe.

VARIANT

The following variant, with many deletions, can be made out in 2370, f. 7^{v} :

 \langle In agitation sitting \rangle on the bed Tatiana scarce could breathe, not daring verily the letter

- 4 (either read o'er or sign).
 'Tis late, the moon loses its luster and quiet morning shines into her window through the linden's branches,
- 8 but to our maid 'tis all the same.
 She, turned to stone, leans on one elbow....
 The bed (....) is hot.
 Down from her (charming) shoulder

XXXIII

- 1 / Oná zarí ne zamecháet: The reader of the Russian text should mark very carefully the long-drawn intonation of this line, so simple in literal sense, so evocative in melody. This same plaintive and languorous leitmotiv will vibrate again in Five : XXII : 1 and in the last chapter, Eight : XXX : 1 and XLII : 1, each time opening the stanza.
- 3-4 Cf. Byron, Don Juan, I, CXCVII, Julia's letter:

I have no more to say, but linger still,

And dare not set my seal upon this sheet . . .

Pichot (1823): "Je n'ai plus rien à dire, et je ne puis quitter la plume; je n'ose poser mon cachet sur ce papier."

- 6 / gray Filatievna / Filát'evna sedáya: Daughter of Filat: an elderly and respectable person of the lower class was often referred to by his or her patronymic only. We never learn the old nurse's given name or surname. For some reason, Pushkin had trouble in deciding what to call her, and all three patronymics he used for her begin with F. She is "Fadeevna" (daughter of Thaddeus) in the draft and fair copy, and "Filipievna" (daughter of Philip) in the 1827 and 1833 edns., before becoming "Filatievna" (daughter of Philetus) in 1837.
- 13 / No trace at all of the night's fret / Toski nochnóy i slédu nét: Still closer in sound would be: "Of night's annoy no trace is left."

VARIANT

4 A canceled draft (2370, f. 11^v) has "carnelian seal."

XXXIV

2, 5, 11 / darling . . . My dear . . . my precious / rodnáya

... Moy drúg ... mílaya moyá: The pet names (nine in all) used by the old nurse are XVIII : 7, "my sweet" (moy svét; literally, "my light"); XIX : 6, 12 and XXXIII : 8, "my child" (dityá moyó); XX : 3 and XXXV : 2, "sweetheart" (Serdéchnäy drúg; literally, "heart friend"); XXXIII : 9, "pretty one" (krasávitsa); XXXIII : 10, "my early birdie" (ptáshka ránnyaya moyá); XXXIV : 2, "darling" (rodnáya, "own one," "kindred one"); XXXIV : 5, "My dear" (Moy drúg, "my friend"); XXXIV : 11, "my precious" (mílaya moyá, "my dear one"); and XXXV : 10, "my soul" (dushá moyá).

- 6 / [the nurse's] grandson: For all we know, this may be the pedee (his name was Trishka, from Trifon, in the first draft) who serves the cream in Three : xxxvII : 8, or the even smaller lad with the hand sled in Five : II : 9⁻¹⁴.
- 7-8 / k Ó... k tomú... | K sosédu: Tatiana starts to pronounce Onegin's name but does not go further than the little gasp of the O, then attempts to define him (that man, that person), and finally finds the saving formula, "to the neighbor" (that neighbor for her, but one of the many local squires for the nurse).

It is very curious that Tatiana, even if she wanted to go on with the name, could not have done so since the initial O as part of the name precedes an accented syllable and *Onéginu* does not fit in that compartment of the line. Had she named him, the verse would not scan: *s zapiskoy étoy k Onéginu*. The fact that the O falls on an ictus suggests that Tatiana uses it as a cipher (cf. the monogram in XXXVII : 14).

Tatiana's confusion and broken breathing is beautifully rendered in l. 8:

K sosédu . . . da velét' emű

by means of the scud on the second foot $(du \ da)$, after which she rapidly continues:

Chtob ón ne govoril ni slóva, Chtob ón ne nazïvál menyá

where an exceptionally rare sequence of stresses (semiscud, scud, accent, accent) occurs twice in a row:

> ∪∸∪_∪∠∪∠∪ ∪∸∪_∪∠∪∠∪∠

The separate edition of the chapter drops the third k in 1.8, which does not impair the dative.

8 / him / emú: The grandson, of course.

XXXV

The first draft (in pencil) is on f. 12^r of Cahier 2370, under stanza XXV (the Parny paraphrase), which is not in the fair copy and is thought to have been composed in the last week of September, 1824 (after the stanzas leading to Tatiana's letter, the letter itself, and XXXII– XXXIV were ready).

- 6 / Ah, nyánya, nyánya! do togó li?: "Is it [the time, the mood] for that?"
- 8 / it is about a letter / délo o pis'mé: "Il s'agit d'une lettre." Tatiana's Gallicism in this conversation is very piquant, since it is followed immediately by the nanny's very Russian délo, délo (l. 9), "Now you're talking," "This makes sense."
- 12 / pale again: Psychologically sound: the plunge has been taken, the letter has left Tatiana's hands.

xxxva

The following stanza, replacing XXXVI, is canceled in the fair copy:

At present how her heart begins to throb, to ache as if before calamity. How can it be? What happened to me?

- 4 Why did I write, good God! She at her mother dares not glance, now she all glows, now she all pales, all day with downcast gaze is mute,
- 8 and nearly cries, and trembles.
 The nurse's grandson came back late.
 He'd seen the neighbor: had to him in person handed the letter. And the neighbor—
- 12 what did he do? Was getting on his horse and put the letter in his pocket. Ah, what will be the end of the romance?

The device of reported speech, so characteristic of European eighteenth-century writing, comes here in three varieties: (1) Tatiana's inner monologue, (2) her dialogue with the little messenger or the nurse, and (z) the author's (or reader's!) anxious query.

In the same fair copy the first five lines in a variant reading stand thus:

Scarce had the nurse withdrawn when as before calamity the poor girl's heart began to throb; she cried out: Good God, what's the matter with me! She rises. At her mother dares not glance . . .

XXXVI

2 / nothing yet / vsyo nét, kak nét: "Still none as none can be": a denial of the particular (vsyo net, "still no [letter]") in terms of the general (kak net, "as if no [letter existed]").

- 3 / since morning dressed: Dressed for visitors, waiting for Onegin.
- 8 The tone of this remark vaguely implies more than one previous visit on Onegin's part. We know, however, that there had been only one. There will be only two more—before Chapter Eight.

The spacing of Onegin's three visits to the Larins' is as follows: first visit, end of June, 1820 (the reader should remember that Old Style is used everywhere in my notes, unless otherwise specified); second visit—end of July; third visit—Jan. 12 of the next year. Pushkin's chronology is not very "realistic" here.

12 Meaning that Onegin's correspondence has held him up. Tatiana understands it—for one dreadful instant—as meaning that Onegin is still in the act of studying her letter and writing a lengthy answer to it.

Of course, reticent Onegin had not told frank Lenski about Tatiana's letter, and so Lenski's reference to the mail was quite innocent.

XXXVII

- 11 / the dear soul / moyá dushá: Literally, "my soul." Pushkin uses the nurse's vocabulary (see xxxv : 10).
- 14 | Zavétnïy vénzel' Ó da É: "The secret, sacred monogram, an O [linked] with an E."

A very curious case of affinity is the earlier appearance of this cherished monogram—namely in Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809), pt. I, ch. 9, where a drinking glass is described, on which one could see "die Buchstaben E und O in sehr zierlicher Verschlingung eingeschnitten: es war eins der Gläser, die für Eduarden in seiner Jugend verfertigt worden." The earliest French

translation seems to have been the anonymous Les Affinités électives (Paris, 1810), actually translated by Raymond, A. Serieys, Godailh, J. L. Manget, and G. B. Depping.

VARIANT

8 This pedee is called "Trishka" in the draft $(2370, f. 17^{v})$ and in the fair copy.

XXXVIII

2 It is extremely doubtful that a gaze, *vzor*, can be "full of tears," *pólon slyóz*.

The obsessive recurrence of terms pertaining to sight is characteristic of Russian literature. Russ. *vzori*, *ochi*, glaza = Fr. regards, prunelles, yeux. (See also n. to Eight: xv: 4.)

- 3-4 Elton: "...a sudden pawing, | A tramp outside, a trot!..."
- 4 / Coming fast / skåchut: Here skachut does not necessarily mean "they [horsemen] are galloping." It merely means, I think, that Eugene is briskly driving up to the house in his coachman-conducted carriage, drawn by (presumably) three horses. Illustrators seem to have assumed, however, that he arrived on horseback.
- 4, 7 / in the yard ... outdoors / na dvór ... na dvór: This curious word dvor is a welcome cheville for the versificator but a bugbear for the translator. The word reflects a conflict between different relations to an enclosure. It may mean "the outside" in such formulas as holodno na dvore, "it is cold outdoors" (or "out there," "abroad," "in the open," etc.), or it may mean "the inside" in such

formulas as *ehat*' so *dvora*, "to drive off the premises" (as in Six : XXIV : 14), in which *dvor* is either, generically, "habitation," "homestead," any group of buildings relating to one household, or, specifically, a courtyard; since a yard is not within the house, we have at this point a kind of link between the outside idea and the inside. *Dvor* may also mean the imperial court, as in Eight : XLIV : 10. (See also nn. to One : IV : 4; Two : XXXIV : 14; and Five : I : 2.)

5 / "*Ah*": The *h* is rough, as in *oh*; see n. to XXXII : 1. The verb is left out in the Russian locution. Pushkin had already used (1813) this formula in *The Monk*, can. III, a long poem written when he was fourteen ("Pankrátiy: '*Ah*!'—and sudden he awoke").

This form should be compared to those discussed in the next note.

- 6 / Tatiana skips / Tat'yána príg: From prignut', "to jump." Prig is the so-called "interjectional" verb (the indeclinable prig instead of the third-person past-perfective feminine prignula), which coincides grammatically with the "verbal interjection" (i.e., an interjection used as an interjectional verb—cf. Five : XII : 8: Tat'yána "ah!"—since ah can also be regarded as the interjectional abbreviation of the verb ahnut'), and is close to another very Russian form, the "conjugate infinitive," e.g., ibid.: on revét', "he [starts] to roar." There is yet a third form in this series: when the action is so instantaneous that the verb is not even represented (e.g., Six : XIX : 14: *i na kril'tsó*, "and out onto the porch").
- 14-XXXIX: 1 / on a bench she drops: A rare case of one stanza overflowing into another. The device admirably renders Tatiana's excitement. This will be echoed by

the similar rhythm of Onegin's belated rush in Chapter Eight (XXXIX: 14-XL: 1).

What struck Tatiana was not the fact of Onegin's having come (she had been expecting him in XXXVI, and Lenski had just said he would come), but the fact of his not having answered her letter before coming. In the epistolary novels that had educated her sentiments, the answer came by letter, not by word of mouth. Casual reality impinges here upon ordered romance.

Pushkin's description of Tatiana's dash from dining room to park bench gives the reader an idea of the grounds. Leaving the house from a side porch, she flitted out of doors $(na \ dv \circ r)$ and made for the garden (sad). She then negotiated (obezhála) the disks, lunes, and rectangles of its beds (kurtíni), the small bridges (móstiki) laid across its ditches, and a lawn (luzhók; a kóshenïy luzhók, "mown lawn," is canceled in the fair copy). She entered the park by the avenue $(all e \gamma a)$ leading through a bosquet (*lesók*) to the lake ($\delta zero$); but before reaching the latter she turned off the path, to break through one of those Russian floreta (tsvetniki) that were so prominent in Russian country places, bushes of lilacs (kusti sireni, or, as Pushkin has it, kusti siren', which is an unusual construction, nom. sing. of "lilac," Syringa vulgaris L., first imported from Asia, via Turkey and Austria, in the sixteenth century, an emancipated relative of the utilitarian olive).

Tatiana reaches a bench (skam'ya) on a path skirting a brook (and leading back to the avenue in Three : XLI). Beyond the brook there is the vegetable garden, or the orchard, where slave girls are gathering berries. It is along this kitchen garden that she and Onegin will return to the house in Four : XVII (after meeting in the linden avenue to which she walks back in Three : XLI and which she will recall in Seven : LIII : 13-14 and Eight : XLII : 11).

XXXIX

8, 12 / berries . . . berry / yágodï [acc. pl.] . . . yágodï [gen. sing.]: These are identified as "gooseberries" in an incomplete draft (2370, f. 19^r) and as "raspberries" and "scarlet barberries" in canceled readings. They are the revived ingredients of the preserves in Three : III, and thus link the end of the chapter to its beginning. In XXXIX : 12, the singular (yagoda) is used collectively (cf. "fruit").

THE SONG OF THE GIRLS

In devushka as used in the title, *Pésnya dévushka*, "The Song of the Girls," there is the implication of "serf girl," "servant girl" (cf. "maid"); otherwise it means "adolescent girl" or "unmarried woman." The word *dévitsa*, used in the song itself, means "girl" in a general sense, with a folksy accent on the first syllable (the similarly spelled, but differently accented, *devitsa* is a synonym of *devushka*, in the sense of unmarried person of the female sex, thus used, for instance, in Seven : XXIII : 3).

"The Song of the Girls" is the only noniambic set of verses in *EO*. It consists of eighteen lines, each a trochaic trimeter with a long terminal. Its ultima may be so accented in actual song as to mimic the ictus of a fourth scudded foot. (At this point the reader should consult App. II, "Notes on Prosody: 3. The Scud.")

Seventeen lines of the song scud either on the first foot (ll. 3-5, 7-12, 15, 17) or on the second (1-2, 6, 13-14, 16), and the last is scudless (18: *İgrï ndshi dévich'i*, - - - - - - - - -). The slight difference of accentuation between a trisyllable making the long terminal (ictusdepression-depression) of the trochaic line and a trisyllable beginning a trochaic line (scudded on II) is exceptionally nicely expressed when the terminal word of a line is repeated at the beginning of the next verse:

Zatyaníte pésenku, Pésenku zavétnuyu - 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 - 0 1 0 0

Although the themes and formulas of this song existed endemically in the Russian counterpart of the

> Little Arcady between Servants' hall and village green

the berries have been artificially colored and flavored, and Pushkin's elegant little product only summarizes eighteenth-century stylizations of folklore stuff couched in neat trochees. This "Song of the Girls" was reprinted in *The Northern Chanter*, "a collection of the newest and most excellent *romances* [Fr., romantic ballads] and songs dedicated to ladies and gentlemen cultivating the arts," pt. I, 1830, and in the *Songbook for a Lady's Reticule and Dressing Table*, 1832, both published by the Lazarev brothers, in Moscow, and instrumental in propagating, for the benefit of solemn ethnographers, several "folk songs" (such as *Devushki krasotochki*, c. 1850) strummed by lackeys and artisans. Thus transits a poet's glory.

The song is a charming pastiche. I find it printed everywhere in one block of lines; but the changing tone, and especially the envoylike ending, surely warrant the breaking up I have suggested.

In order to render exactly the rhythm of the thing, I have devised the following onomatopoeic imitation, the sense of which has, of course, nothing to do with the two lines (3-4) it parrots:

You're the brightest, Davison, You're the lightest, Milligan.

(Razïgráytes', dévitsï, Razgulyáytes', mílïe!) 3-4 The verbs razigrat'sya and razgulyat'sya used here come from igrat', "to play," and gulyat', "to have a good time." The prefix raz connotes a spreading of action, its freedom and thoroughness.

VARIANT

In Cahier 2370, f. 19^v, above the established version of the song, there is the draft of a first version consisting of four quatrains, in alternate trochaic tetrameter and trimeter, with paired feminine rhymes:

> Dunya came out on the road, having said her prayers. Dunya weeps and wails 4 as she sees her lover off.

He is gone to a strange land, a remote countree . . . Oh, that strange land is for me grievous micerul

8 grievous misery!

In that land there are young women, there are maidens fair; I remain, the young one, a grief stricten widow.

12 a grief-stricken widow.

Oh, remember me, young me, or else I'll be jealous; oh, remember me when out of sight, even though not on purpose.

In ll. 13–16:

Vspomyaní menyá mladúyu, Ál' ya prirevnúyu; Vspomyaní menyá zaóchno, Hot' i ne naróchno

an approximate echo of rhyme and rhythm would be:

You don't need my heart, or do you? Formerly I knew you; You don't need my heart, but watch it Even while you notch it.

/ They sing ... / Oni poyút ... : A similar classical intonation occurs elsewhere in Pushkin, namely after the Tatar song of the Khan's wives in The Fountain of Bahchisaray.

Pushkin, while anxious to quote the berry-picking song he had composed, was not quite certain whether to have Tatiana listen to it (which under the circumstances she could hardly have been expected to do) or to ignore it (in which case the reader should be hardly expected to be concerned with it either). The draft of the stanza has the song "reverberating in the fields" and Tatiana "harkening to it involuntarily."

5-6 | Chtobi proshló lanít pilán'e. | No v pérsyah tó zhe trepetán'e: Mark the alliterations: lo-la-la for the cheeks and per-to-tre-pe-ta for the breasts. The melody condones a poetical platitude, which is so meaningless, for instance, in Thomson's unmusical Spring, ll. 968-69:

> ... her wishing bosom heaves With palpitations wild ...

VARIANT

9-11 In the canceled fair copy the butterfly is slightly different:

A prankster thus, upon a rose will capture by its feet $[l \acute{a} p ki]$ a charming butterfly.

I like the *lápki*.

\mathbf{XLI}

5–6 It will be noted that on this summer day of 1820 Tatiana sees Onegin as a demonic character in a Gothic novel or Byronic romance—that is, in terms of Three : XII, which lists Onegin's reading in 1820 (and that of young girls in 1824, at the time of Pushkin's composing the stanza), rather than in terms of Three : IX, wherein Tatiana's own favorites are listed prior to the spring of 1821, when, in Onegin's study, she will read Maturin and Byron for the first time (Chapter Seven).

8 / she stopped / Ostanovilasya oná: This will be repeated in her dream (Five : XI : 14). Incidentally, it is curious to mark here one of the cases when in EO a Russian line of eight syllables dwindles to the minimum of two in its English exact translation. Another such case is the Blagoslovénnie krayá, "Blest climes" (or "Blest parts") of Onegin's Journey, XXIII : 14.

On the other hand, there are a few cases in EO when the eight-syllable line of the Russian text finds its most accurate English equivalent in a hexameter.

12-14 In Tressan's version of Ariosto's *Roland furieux* (to use the language in which it was familiar to Pushkin) can. III concludes with this device: "Vous en apprendrez le sujet [of a sudden outcry in an inn]; mais ce ne sera que dans le chant suivant, car il est temps que ma voix se repose."

The poem speaks at one point of certain "poissons souvent troublés dans leurs amours secrets" (can. VII), which have always puzzled me. And in can. x (there are forty-six of them in all) Angélique is prostrated on some sand "toute nue . . . sans un seul voile qui put couvrir les lys et les roses vermeilles placés à propos," Gallic emblemata, which the reader will find also in the very first metrical poems in Russian (Trediakovski, Lomonosov), as well as in a passage from Vyazemski's *First Snow* recalled by Pushkin in connection with Five : III (see my n. to Five : III : 6), where however they refer to the facial garden:

Fresher the roses of your red cheeks blush, and fresher on your brow the lily whitens.

Cf. Thomas Campion, Fourth Book of Airs, VII:

There is a garden in her face, Where roses and white lilies grow . . .

*

Pushkin dated the finished chapter with the month in Russian (not French as before): "2 okt. 1825."

Chapter Four

MOTTO

La morale est dans la nature des choses: *Necker*: "La morale doit être placée au-dessus du calcul. La morale est la nature des choses dans l'ordre intellectuel; et comme, dans l'ordre physique, le calcul part de la nature des choses, et ne peut y apporter aucun changement, il doit, dans l'ordre intellectuel, partir de la même donnée, c'est-à-dire, de la morale" (Mme de Staël, *De la Littérature*, pt. II, ch. 6; 1818 edn., vol. II, p. 226).

"Vous avez trop d'esprit, disoit un jour M. Necker à Mirabeau, pour ne pas reconnoître tôt ou tard que la morale est dans la nature des choses" (Mme de Staël, *Considérations sur les principaux événemens de la Révolution française* (1818), pt. II, ch. 20; Œuvres, XII, 404).

Pushkin completed Chapter Four on Jan. 3, 1826, a few days after he had learned of the Decembrist rising; and in this light it is curious to note that the passage from which the quotation is taken is immediately preceded by the following: "J'ai eu entre les mains une lettre de Mirabeau, écrite pour être montrée au roi; il y offroit tous les moyens pour rendre à la France une monarchie forte et digne, mais limitée ... Je ne voudrois pas avoir travaillé [said Mirabeau] seulement à une

vaste destruction." Some forty words further comes the Necker quotation.

VARIANT

There are two epigraphs heading Chapter Four in the fair copy (PB 14):

```
[Ma dimmi:] al tempo de' dolci sospiri
A che e come concedette amore
Che conosceste i dubbiosi desiri?
Dante inf[erno] Cant[o] v [ll. 118–20]
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and

Collection of the flaming marks of the rich life of youthful years. Ba[ratïnski]

The first is also written on the title page of the fair copy of Three (see n. to its motto). The second motto is also on the cover of the first fair copy of One (Odessa, 1823; see n. to its mottoes): it comes from Baratïnski's *Feasts* (ll. 252-53) and is paraphrased in the last lines (15-17) of the Prefatory Piece (1827 edn.), which appeared as a dedication to Pletnyov in the separate edition of Four and Five (1828).

I-VI

The first six stanzas were omitted (wisely) by Pushkin in the complete editions. By 1833 he had been married to Natalia Goncharov as long as Prince N., in 1824, had been married to Tatiana Larin: about two years. The first four stanzas, under the heading "Women: a Fragment from *Eugene Onegin*," appeared in the *Moscow Herald* (*Moskovskiy vestnik*), pt. 5, no. 20 (1827), 365– 67; the fair copy is in MB 3515. Sts. V and VI are represented by drafts in Cahier 2370, ff. 31^r, 32^v, and 41^v. Here are these six rejected stanzas: In the beginning of my life ruled me the charming, sly, weak sex; I then would set myself for law

- 4 nought but its arbitrary will. My soul had just begun to kindle, and to my heart woman appeared as some pure deity.
- 8 My feelings and my mind possessing, she with perfection shone. In front of her I melted in the stillness: her love seemed unattainable
- 12 rapture to me. To live, to die at the dear feet nought else could I desire.

II

Or suddenly I would detest her, and quiver, and shed tears, with anguish and with terror see in her

- 4 the product of malicious secret forces; her penetrating gaze, smile, voice, discourses all in her was envenomed,
- 8 infused with wicked treachery, all in her thirsted for my tears and moans, and fed upon my blood...Or suddenly I saw in her the marble
- 12 before Pygmalion's prayer, still cold and mute, but presently hot and alive.

5-7 There is a curious echo here of the intonation discussed in my note to Olga's portrait (Two : XXIII : 5-8).

III

In the words of a vatic poet I also am allowed to say: "Thamyra, Daphne, and Lileta

4 I've long forgotten like a dream." But there was one among their throng . . . By one I was enraptured long but was I loved, and loved by whom,

- 8 and where, and did it last?...Why should you know? 'Tis not the matter! What was is past, is twaddle; the matter is that ever since
- 12 the heart in me became already cold, it closed for love, and all within it is empty and dark.

A facsimile of the draft $(2370, f. 41^r)$ is published by Tomashevski, "Pushkin i frantsuzskaya literatura," *Lit. nasl.*, nos. 31-32 (1937), p. 23. In the right margin, alongside ll. 9-14, Pushkin drew a nightcapped profile of Voltaire, and there is a Mirabeau, and another Voltaire, capless, lower down on the same page.

3 / Temíra, Dáfna i Liléta: From a then MS ode, written
 c. 1815, by Delvig, To Fani, published (by Gofman) in
 1922:

Thamyra, Daphne, and Lileta I've long forgotten like a dream, and for a poet's recollection only a happy line preserves them.

"Thémire" and "Daphné" are frequently mentioned by French Arcadians (Gresset, Houdar de la Motte, etc.). "Lileta," or "Lila," was Batyushkov's favorite shepherdess.

IV

I have discovered that ladies themselves, betraying their soul's secret, cannot stop marveling at us

- 4 when in all fairness they appraise themselves. Our wayward transports appear to them very amusing; and really, on our part,
- 8 we're inexcusably absurd.

Having enthralled ourselves imprudently, their love we, in reward, expect, in folly call for love, 12 as if 'twere possible

from butterflies and lilies to demand deep sentiments and passions.

VARIANT

The following variant to IV is drafted in 2370, f. 34^r:

Of course, the solemn Fashionable, the systematical Faublas, professed attendant of the fair,

4 is funny, though right, in tormenting you. But pitiful is he who without art, the soul's exalted sentiments, with faith in the enchanting dream,

- 8 to a fair lady immolates, and having spent himself imprudently expects but love as his reward, in folly calls for love,
- 12 as if 'twere possible from butterflies and lilies to demand deep sentiments and passions.
- 2 / Faublas: See n. to One : XII : 9-10.

Works 1949, p. 529, adds an incomplete variant said to follow var. IV in the draft:

Happy who shares his pleasure, clever who was alone to feel, who the self-loving master was

4 of an involuntary inclination, who would accept without infatuation and leave without regret, when winged love ⟨....⟩ abandoning himself again.

Tomashevski (Acad 1937, p. 338) also refers to a draft of IV in MS. 22/3366 ("Sobolevski coll."), with the (author's?) note: "Avant les voyages" (i.e., to precede *Onegin's Journey*).

v

Shall I confess to you? Pleasure alone I at the time possessed; blindness was dear to me,

- 4 I afterward regretted it.
 But in regard to the alluring riddle my secret torment did not last . . .
 <. . themselves did help me greatly>
- 8 by whispering to me the *word*; (for a long time) known to the world of fashion, and it had even ceased to seem funny to anyone.
- 12 Thus (having solved that riddle) I said: So this is all, my friends? How slow-witted I am!
- 8 / the word / slóvo: A Gallicism, le mot de l'énigme. One wonders what was its simple solution. Perhaps: "le fruit de l'amour mondain n'est autre chose que la jouissance..." (Pierre de Bourdeilles, Seigneur de Brantôme, *Recueil des dames*, pt. II, *Les Dames galantes*, Discours II).

See also Seven : xxv : 2.

VI

The restless worries of the passions have gone, will not return again! The dormancy of a numb soul

- 4 by love no longer can be shaken. Of vice the empty beauty glistens and pleases only for a term. 'Tis time the misdeeds of young days
- 8 were by my life effaced! Rumor, in play, has blackened my opening years. Slander lent it a hand
- 12 and but made friendship laugh; but happily the verdict of blind rumor may sometimes be reversed!

12 / Lovlásov obvetshála sláva: A French form derived from the name of Richardson's villain in Clarissa Harlowe: un lovelace (ove as ov in "Soviet"; ace as in "Laplace").

VIII

- 1, 9 / Who does not find it tedious . . . Who will not grow weary / Komú ne skúchno . . . Kogó ne utomyát: These rhetorical pronouns become practically interjections in Russian, and perhaps the phrases should be simply rendered by "How tedious one finds" and "How weary one becomes."
- 7-8 One wonders if the terminal of the first of these two lines:

Kotórïh né bïlo i nét U dévochki v trinádtsať lét!

was not influenced subliminally by the *-nette* in L'Heure du berger, an eclogue by Parny (in Poésies érotiques, bk. I):

> —J'ai quatorze ans, Répond Nicette; Suis trop jeunette Pour les amants.

> > IX

This stanza in the draft $(2370, f. 29^{v})$ was initially in the first person and may have been intended as part of Onegin's speech.

 1 / Exactly thus my Eugene thought / Tak tochno dúmal moy Evgéniy: We are about to go back to Eugene's youth in Petersburg; and there is a pleasing parallel between the intonation of this line and that of One:

II : 1, "Thus a young scapegrace thought," *Tak dúmal molodóy povésa*.

The whole instrumentation of the quatrain is magnificent. See next note.

- 2-4 | On v pérvoy yúnosti svoéy | Bil zhértvoy búrnih zabluzhdéniy | I neobúzdannih strastéy: Mark the internal assonance pérvoy-zhértvoy; and the alliterative bubbling over (slightly reminiscent of the surf in One : XXXIII) of the b, bu, blu, bu series in ll. 3-4, ending in a spacious flow.
- 8, 9 / irked / tomim: The use of tomim makes very vague sense here. Was he oppressed by longings or did he grow sick of them? Did success wear him out or produce ennui? Should one translate "discouraged"? The epithet "slowly," *médlenno*, does not help much.
- 10 / hearkening / Vnimáya: Vnimáť, "to hearken," in the strict sense implies more attention on the hearer's part than does "to listen" (slushať). Vnimať, like "hearken," is usually, though not always, employed with the dative. Pushkin's choice between vnimať and slushať and their derivatives is governed solely by the requirements of scansion; vnimať fits into the even-odd sections of the iambic tetrameter and rhymes with thousands of other infinitives. Slushať (employed only with the accusative, as vnimať is sometimes—e.g., One : XIX : 2) goes into the odd-even sections and has only two or three usable rhymes. It will be marked that auditory-sense terms are more frequently met with in Russian than in English but less so than visual-sense ones.

VARIANT

What is now st. IX began initially (Cahier 2370, f. 29^{v}) with the quatrain:

I am the victim of long errors and of the riot of hot passions, and of a thirst for violent impressions, and of my stormy youth.

Whatever our poet's plan was—to continue his personal confession or to have Onegin make his to Tatiana this he dropped, and IX was revamped into an authorial transition.

х

2 / dangled / volochilsya: This verb, volochit'sya (which also has a noun form, volokitstvo, "philandering," and volokita, masc., "philanderer"), has a slightly different shade of sense from the more or less equivalent English formulas "to dangle after petticoats," "to dally with," "to court a woman," and so forth. It has in Russian more of a "dragging-oneself" sense than of a "suspendingoneself" sense, and in fact comes from vlachit', volochit', "to drag along the ground" (so that volokita, fem., means "procrastination"). Pushkin uses volochit'sya in two other passages of EO: Six : XLIII : 8 and Eight : III : 12. Cf. Fr. se traîner: se mouvoir à genoux, se prosterner aux pieds d'une femme.

XI

- 2 / profoundly touched / zhívo trónut: A Gallicism, vivement touché, "intensely moved."
- 4 / a swarm of thoughts / dúmï róem: "Thoughts [meditations, musings] in a swarm."
- 7 In its usual sense the noun son means "sleep" or "dream"; in the latter case it is synonymous with snovidenie, "vision in sleep." In poetry, however, it is constantly used as a mere substitute for mechta, "daydream," "fancy." Son rhymes well in the nominative singular, still better in all plural cases (snï, snov, etc.), and in the genitive

singular (*sna*) joins the great and powerful clan of rhymes in *-na*.

XII

- 1 / For a few seconds / Minútī dvé: "About two minutes,"
 "For a couple of minutes," "For a minute or two"; but this is false literality. I do not think we can imagine the two facing each other in perfect silence for more than fifteen seconds.
- 13 / Hear my confession / Primite ispoved' moyú: Baratïnski has the same line (873) in his narrative poem The Concubine (Nalozhnitsa). See n. to Two : XXXVII : 1.

XIV

- 5 / sóvest' v tóm porúkoy: See my n. to Three : Tatiana's Letter : 78 (after nn. to xxxI).
- 9-14 Cf. Senancour, Oberman, Letter XLV: "... c'est une misère à laquelle on ne peut espérer de terme, de ne pouvoir que plaindre celle...qui n'oppose à notre indignation que des larmes pieuses...."

XVI

- 7 / for dreams . . . light dreams / *Mechtámi lyógkie mecht*í: Logically, if not grammatically, the epithet refers to both.
- 10-11 / There is a very evocative rhyme, with a kind of didactic pause, at the suspension of l. 11: suzhdenó ("destined") and nó ("but").

VARIANTS

XII–XVI

Onegin's little sermon had been jotted down at first in the same manner as Pushkin's initial notes for Tatiana's letter. (It seems rather clear to me that Pushkin at one time planned to have Onegin answer Tatiana by letter.) The draft of these prose lines $(2370, f. 71^{\circ})$ reads:

Had I been thinking of marriage, had a peaceful family life attracted my fancy, then I would have elected you and none other . . . I would have found in you [cf. XIII] . . . but I am not made for bliss [cf. XIV] . . . unworthy . . . How could I join my destiny to yours [cf. xv] . . . You elected me. Probably I am your first *passion* [crush], but are you certain that . . . Allow me to give you advice [cf. xvI].

Other fragments, of incomplete stanzas pertaining to Onegin's monologue, are found in Cahier 2370, f. 41^r:

A (l. 1)

I have revealed myself frankly to you . . .

в (ll. 1-5)

No, I am no voluptuous fiend: ashamed I would be to deceive the trust of a fine soul

.

No, you are worthy to be loved . . .

c (ll. 1-7)

Not all, of course. Without a doubt

It's possible to find exceptions and you of this present a live example but as a rule—I swear to you women themselves know not why they . . .

D (ll. 6–10)

Lured by your beauty, imagination, intellect

like a voluptuous fiend seeking a minute of delectation anywhere . . .

XVII

2 This is ludicrously paraphrased by Miss Deutsch thus:

And blinded by the tears that glistened Unheeded in her great dark eyes.

6 / as it is said: "mechanically" / Kak govoritsya, mashinál'no: This was a modish Gallicism, machinalement, which the French Academy had admitted in 1740. It had not been quite assimilated in Russian. Vyazemski, May (or Apr.) 30, 1820, in a letter to Pushkin, writes it mahinal'no (Fr. machine being translated as mahina; now only jocular), and so writes Pushkin in the draft of XVII: 6 (2370, f. 51°).

In Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), vol. III, ch. 1, Elizabeth Bennet (when Darcy suddenly appears while she is seeing his seat Pemberley and learning many good things about him through "the praise of an intelligent servant," Mrs. Reynolds, his housekeeper) answers her aunt "mechanically" (the same Gallicism).

- 8 / little head: The word used here is *golóvka* instead of the *golóvushka* of Three : xxxII : 5 (to which see n.).
- 9 The 1837 edn. misprints poshlá ("she went") for the correct poshlí ("they went").

xviia

In a moment of irritation with his neighbors, Pushkin made a false start. The following stanza is drafted in Cahier 2370, f. 51^v:

But you, province of Pskov, hothouse of my young days, what can be more unbearable,

4. forsaken country, than your misses?

They do not have—I shall observe in passing either the subtle courtesy of rank or the <frivolity> of charming trulls.

- 8 Esteeming as I do the Russian spirit, I would forgive their tattle, uppishness, the wit of family jokes, sometimes uncleanliness of teeth,
- 12 (indecency and) affectation but how can one forgive their (modish) raves and clumsy etiquette?
- 1 No ti—gubérniya Pskovskáya: It is important to note that the canceled text of XVIIa: 1 reads: "But there is the province of Pskov," No ést' gubérniya Pskovskáya, which indicates that this was not the province where the Larins lived.
- 11 / Poróyu zúb: Some editions read Poróki zúb, "defects of teeth." A canceled draft of 11 has: "Uncleanliness of teeth and linen." The whole thing makes rather painful reading, especially if we think of the ("toutes mauvaises") Osipov girls.

XVIII

- 4-7 There are echoes of this passage in Eight : IX. In both cases the purpose is purely structural. Here it is a matter of thematic transition. A digression follows (XVIII : 12-14 to XXII: from "friends" through "kinsfolk" and "tender beauties" to one's "own self").
- 13 / Ah me, those friends / Uzh éti mné druz'yá: The intonation is less hearty here than in the opening line of Three: I: 1, where the same exclamatory formula is used (... Uzh éti mné poétï!). The repetition of druz'yá enhances the troubled, head-shaking note in the present passage.

XIX

- 1-2 Cf. the intonation in Byron's Don Juan, XIV, VII, 2 (see also n. to EO, Four : xx : 1): "... nothing; a mere speculation" (Pichot, 1824: "... Rien...c'est une simple méditation").
- 4–6 | Chto nét prezrénnoy klevetí, Na cherdaké vralyóm rozhdyónnoy I svétskoy chérn'yu obodryónnoy . . .

The upper floor of house No. 12 in the Srednyaya Pod'yacheskaya Street, St. Petersburg, where the playwright and theatrical director Prince Shahovskoy (see n. to One : XVIII : 4-10) regularly gave gay-dog parties with the co-operation of dancing girls, was dubbed "The Garret'' (cherdak), and since it was there that a certain rumor insulting to Pushkin's honor was circulated in the spring of 1820, commentators see more than a coincidence in the use of the word "garret" in this tremendous stanza, with its fierce growl of alliterative r's and its prophetic strain. (Ivan Turgenev says in a footnote to Viardot's French translation that Pushkin seems here "prédire les causes de sa mort.") However, it is also true (1) that the "babbler," vral', spawned the calumny not in the "garret," but imparted it to the "garret's" patrons from Moscow, and (2) that a "garret," Fr. grenier, is a lieu commun in its association with gossip.

A vral' (which, for want of a more comprehensive term, I have translated "babbler") is a trivial liar, a leasing-monger, a twaddle, a fribbling rogue, un drôle qui divague, a boastful driveler, an irresponsible fool who invents or spreads false information. The verb vrat', in the parlance of the time, meant not only "to fib" (as it does today), but to babble and boast, to talk nonsense, to spout braggadocian rot. Griboedov's Repetilov and Gogol's Nozdryov and Hlestakov are famous vrali. In the next line, obodryonniy is a Gallicism, encouragé. It should be noted that in the draft $(2370, f. 72^{v})$ l. 5 has no garret or babbler and is a stronger lunge in the direction of the calumniator our poet had in mind:

> Kartyózhnoy svóloch'yu rozhdyónnoy ... spawned by the gaming scum...

(Svoloch' = Fr. canaille, "riffraff," "pack of scoundrels.")

Pushkin had been brought to Shahovskoy's *cherdak* for the first time in early December, 1818. In a letter to Katenin (whom he had not seen since 1820), written in early September, 1825, Pushkin recalls, in connection with fragments of Katenin's tragedy *Andromache* (*Andromaha*), which had recently appeared in Bulgarin's *Russian Thalia*, "one of the best evenings in my life; remember? in the *cherdak* of Prince Shahovskoy." And in the same letter our poet informs his correspondent that "four cantos of *Onegin* are now ready, and many bits besides; but I have no time for them just now [being busy with *Boris Godunov*]."

About Apr. 15, 1820, the military governor of St. Petersburg, Count Mihail Miloradovich (1771-1825), a gallant soldier, bon vivant, and a somewhat bizarre administrator, invited Pushkin to come and talk things over in connection with the MS circulation of antidespotic verses attributed to Pushkin. The interview was a gentlemanly one. In the governor's presence Pushkin wrote down his great ode Liberty, his rather silly Noël ("Hurray, posthaste to Russia the royal despot hies"), and possibly other short pieces that have not reached us. Had not Miloradovich conducted the whole affair so amiably, it is doubtful that Alexander I could have been persuaded by Pushkin's influential friends (Karamzin, Zhukovski, Aleksandr Turgenev, Chaadaev) to have Pushkin attached to the chancellery of fatherly General Ivan Inzov, Chief Trustee of the Interests of Foreign Colonists in the Southern Territory of Russia, and permitted to spend

the summer in the Caucasus and the Crimea for recuperation—instead of being banished in chains to some arctic wilderness.

In the meantime a rumor had reached Moscow, and ricocheted back to St. Petersburg, to the effect that, acting upon the orders of the tsar, Count Miloradovich had had Pushkin flogged in the secret chancellery of the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg. Pushkin became aware of this rumor in the last days of April, could not locate its source, and fought a duel (which remained unknown to the government) with a person who had repeated it in St. Petersburg.

On May 4, Count Karl Robert Nesselrode (1780– 1862), Minister of Foreign Affairs, ordered a thousand rubles for traveling expenses to be given to the "collegiate secretary" Pushkin and to have him dispatched as courier to Ekaterinoslav, where Inzov's headquarters were. Pushkin left Petersburg in the course of the next few days, and only from a letter received later (possibly in the Caucasus) learned that the famous rake Count Fyodor Tolstoy (1782–1846; his first cousin, Nikolay, was Leo Tolstoy's father), from Moscow, was regaling his Petersburg friends with lurid accounts of the "flogging." (Internal evidence leads me to assume that Shahovskoy and Katenin energetically refuted the rumor.)

Fyodor Tolstoy's nickname, "the American," is a good sample of Russian humor: in 1803, while taking part in the first lap of Admiral Krusenstern's famous voyage around the world, Tolstoy was dumped for insubordination on Rat Island, in the Aleutians, and had to wander back via Siberia, which took him a couple of years. He was a hero of two wars, the Russo-Swedish (1808–09) and the Russo-French (1812). He had killed eleven gentlemen in duels. He was known to cheat at cards. Pushkin during his six years of exile kept looking forward to meeting Tolstoy in single combat and immediately challenged him upon arrival in Moscow in September, 1826. Pushkin's friends managed to bring about a complete reconciliation between them; and, oddly enough, Tolstoy became Pushkin's spokesman in the days of Pushkin's courtship of Natalia Goncharov.

In the Epilogue (composed in July, 1820, at Pyatigorsk) of *Ruslan and Lyudmila* and in the Dedication (addressed in 1821 to Nikolay Raevski) of *The Caucasian Captive*, our poet mentions "the noisy gossiping of fools" (Epilogue, 1. 8) and his being "victim of slander and revengeful fools" (Dedication, 1. 39). In retaliation to the slander, he alluded twice, in short poems (1820, 1821), to Tolstoy's low morals.* On Apr. 23, 1825, our poet wrote from Mihaylovskoe to his brother in Petersburg thus: "I shall have Tolstoy appear in all his beauty in Canto Four of *Onegin*, if his scurrilous epigram is worth it." The reference is to a rather neat, albeit virulent, set of MS Alexandrines that at the end of 1821 Tolstoy had written in reply to Pushkin's diatribes. Pushkin heard *about* it in 1822.

In this epigram consisting of six Alexandrines Tolstoy reminds "Chushkin" (from *chush*', "rubbish," and *chushka*, "piggy") that "he has cheeks." How Pushkin, vindictive Pushkin, with his acute sense of honor and *amour-propre*, could ever forgive this piece of rudeness is incomprehensible. Tolstoy must have made some really extraordinary amends in September, 1826.

I suggest that, when planning his Chapter Four, Pushkin prepared the following two incomplete stanzas (which Kaverin transcribed in Kaluga on Aug. 1, 1825,

^{*}In the eighty-four Alexandrines addressed to Chaadaev in 1821 the allusion is in lines 55-58:

[&]quot;Or that philosopher who in past days Amazed four continents with his lewd ways, But, growing civilized, effaced his shame, Abandoned wine, and a cardsharp became."

Sobolevski wrote down from memory for Longinov about 1855, and Annenkov published as an epigram in 1857), with a view to developing the "despicable slander" theme, and, possibly, depicting Tolstoy in stanzas devoted to Moscow, whither the Larins were to travel in this canto (see XXIVa):

AA

O Muse of the flaming satire! Come to my summoning call! I do not need the plangent lyre,

- 4 hand me the scourge of Juvenal! Not for cold imitators, not for hungry translators, not for defenseless rhymesters,
- 8 do I prepare the sting of epigram! Peace unto you, poor poets, peace, humble fools; but as for you, mean villains...

BB

Approach, you pack of scoundrels! I'll rack all with the punishment of shame; but if I happen to omit a person,

- 4. please do remind me, gentlemen! How many faces pale and brazen, how many foreheads broad and dense, are ready to receive from me
- 8 the brand indelible! . . .

Between the beginning of July and September, 1825, Pushkin, in Mihaylovskoe, drafted a letter to the tsar (never sent) in which the following lines occur:

Des propos inconsidérés, des vers satiriques me firent remarquer dans le public, le bruit se répandit que j'avais été traduit et fou[etté] à la Ch[ancellerie] sec[rète].

Je fus le dernier à apprendre ce bruit qui était devenu général, je me vis flétri dans l'opinion, je fus découragé je me battais. J'avais 20 ans en 1820—je délibérais si je ne ferais pas bien de me suicider ou d'assassin[er]— The wiggle that follows is read as a V, but it is neither the initial of a word nor its last letter, judging by the dash before and the wavy line after it. I have little doubt that it stands for "Miloradovich," with the v hypertrophied.

It is incomprehensible how commentators could have imagined that the V stands for "Votre Majesté" (especially in view of the succeeding context, wherein Pushkin defines his potential victim as "un homme auquel tenait tout"—which, if applied to the tsar, would have been an impossible understatement—and of whose "talent" he had been "l'admirateur involontaire"). It is also incomprehensible how and why the words "fus découragé" could have been read as "suis découragé" by D. Blagoy, the editor of Acad 1937, XIII, 227, in which edition a facsimile of the MS shows quite clearly the similarity between this "fus" and the "fus" at the beginning of the paragraph.

Who was the person with whom Pushkin fought a pistol duel in the spring of 1820?

In a diary kept by a young officer, Fyodor Luginin, during his stay in Kishinev (May 15–June 19, 1822),* he notes, in an entry of June 15, that Pushkin, with whom he had struck up a brief friendship, had had a duel in St. Petersburg in connection with the spreading of the rumors about his having been whipped in the secret chancellery.

In a letter of Mar. 24, 1825, from Mihaylovskoe, to Aleksandr Bestuzhev (pseud. Marlinski), in St. Petersburg, Pushkin, after good-naturedly asserting that he esteems Rïleev's poetry so highly as actually to see a rival in him, adds: "I regret very much that I did not shoot him dead [*zastrelil*] when I had the occasion to do so, but how the devil could I have known?"

^{*}Pub. by Oksman, in Lit. nasl., nos. 16-18 (1934), pp. 666-78.

This is not only an allusion to a duel but also to an affair of which Bestuzhev evidently knew so well that it was not necessary to explain anything.

Pushkin's acquaintance with Rileev (1795-1826) could have taken place only in the spring of 1820, when Rileev lived in Petersburg and on his nearby estate Batovo (belonging to his mother, Anastasia, daughter of Matvey Essen; it had been bought in 1805; situated a couple of miles W of Rozhestveno, a village in the Tsarskoe Selo district, forty-five miles S of St. Petersburg, on the highway to Luga). Pushkin memorized Rileev's face so vividly that more than five years after seeing him he drew his profile with the ledged nose, the protruding underlip, and the lank hair. I also note that Pushkin mentions Batovo in his correspondence as a place familiar to him: on June 29, 1825, in Mihaylovskoe, he forwards two letters to Praskovia Osipov, who was in Riga, one from his mother, "the other from Batovo." We know that early in 1820 Rileev had sent or taken his pregnant wife to her family's seat in the province of Voronezh and that a daughter was born on May 23. His own movements between the end of 1810 and the end of 1820 seem to be very little known (see Oksman's notes to his edition of Rileev's works, Moscow, 1956).

When did Pushkin actually leave St. Petersburg?

According to V. Gaevski, Delvig's biographer, who had it from Mihail Yakovlev (see Sovremennik, September, 1854), Pushkin left the city on May 6. According to Aleksandr Turgenev (in a letter of May 6 to his brother Sergey), our poet was to leave next day, May 7. He set out on either of these two days with his valet, Nikita Kozlov; two friends "accompanied him as far as Tsarskoe" (14½ miles from Petersburg in the direction of Luga). These two friends were Delvig and Pavel Yakovlev (1796–1835; Pushkin's coworker at the Foreign Office and brother of Pushkin's classmate, Mihail Yakovlev). In his Kishinev diary, in the May 9, 1821, entry, Pushkin notes that exactly a year has passed since his leaving St. Petersburg. He may have actually left town on May 6, 1820. But if he had spent the next days, till the ninth, in its direct vicinity, he was justified in saying he left Petersburg on the ninth. Pushkin was very particular about his fatidic dates.

My hypothesis thus is that about May 1, 1820, Rileev, in his antigovernmental fervor, repeated the rumor as a fact (e.g., "The government is now flogging our best poets!"), and that Pushkin challenged him to a duel; that Pushkin's seconds were Delvig and Pavel Yakovlev; and that the duel was fought between May 6 and May 9 in the vicinity of St. Petersburg, possibly at Rileev's maternal countryseat, Batovo. After this Pushkin immediately left for the south, via Luga, Velikie Luki, Vitebsk, Mogilev, etc., arriving in Ekaterinoslav on May 20 or 21.

The estate of Batovo later belonged to my grandparents, Dmitri Nikolaevich Nabokov, Minister of Justice under Alexander II, and Maria Ferdinandovna, née Baroness von Korff. A beautiful forest road led to it from my parents' estate, Vira, which was separated by the curving river Oredezh both from Batovo (a mile W of Vira) and, immediately east, from my uncle Rukavishnikov's countryseat, Rozhestveno (which had been the residence of Aleksey, son of Peter the Great, in the second decade of the eighteenth century, and was inherited by me, at my uncle Vasiliy's death, in 1916). Visits to Batovo by calash, charabanc, or automobile were regular features of every summer from as far as I can summon myself out of those tremulous green depths, say 1902, to the revolution of 1917, when, of course, all private lands were nationalized by the Soviets. I remember the mock duels I fought with a cousin in the grande allée of Batovo (a splendid avenue of huge lindens and birches ending in a transverse line of poplars), where, according to a

vague family tradition, Rïleev had had a real duel. I also remember a certain trail through the woods beyond Batovo, a long, "grown-up" ramble to be looked forward to, which had been known to two or three generations of governess-bred little Nabokovs as Le Chemin du Pendu: it had been, a hundred years before, the favorite walk of Rïleev, *le Pendu*, the Hanged One. I am aware that an article on Batovo (V. Nechaev, "Usad'ba Rïleeva") appeared, or was to appear, c. 1950, in the Soviet publication Zven'ya, no. 7, but that issue, to the best of my knowledge, never reached America, though no. 8 did.

XX

- 1 Cf. Byron, Don Juan, XIV, VII, 2: "Gent. reader . . ."
- 12–13 Votaries of the biographic approach will see here a recollection of Countess Vorontsov's suddenly skimming away with her husband in mid-June, 1824, from Odessa to the Crimea.
- 14 / long life / dólgi dní: The idiom is "lang dags"—to transpose into another Northern tongue.

XXI

5-8 The eloquent accumulation of possibilities in this uncommonly poor stanza is introduced by the peg-up device of beginning every phrase with a "but":

> No doubt, so. But the whirl of fashion but nature's waywardness but the stream of the *monde*'s opinion while the sweet sex is light as fluff.

XXII

9-10 | Prizráka súetnïy iskáteľ, | Trudóv naprásno ne gubyá: The construction in the text is: A futile seeker of a phantom, efforts in vain not wasting . . .

11 / love your own self . . .: Another weak and trite stanza. Cf. Heine—*Die Heimkehr* (1823–24), no. LXIV, ll. 9, 11– 12—who expresses it much better:

Braver Mann! . . .

XXIII

- 9-11 Again a listing, reminiscent of Two : XXII : 5-8, with "smile," *Ulibka*, falling into place.
- 13–14 Under the corrected draft of this stanza (2370, f. 52), Pushkin, with his usual superstitious attitude to dates, wrote:

1 Genv. 1825 31 dek. 1824

The symbols of "storm," "day," etc., were frequently used by him in regard to his own fate, both in verse and in prose. And it should be remembered that Tatiana is a cousin of his Muse (see Eight : v : 11-14). Indeed, one critic has seen the end of the novel as an allegory of Pushkin's losing his Muse not to Prince N. but to General Benckendorff of the tinkling spurs (see n. to Eight : XLVIII : 5)!

XXIV

2 / is wasting / gásnet: A Gallicism, se consume.

11 / my dears / *milie moi*: Our poet is addressing his friends and his readers.

14 / my dear Tatiana: Her maker will now ignore her (except for an allusion to her coming name day, in Four: xLIX) for twenty-eight stanzas—i.e., until Five: IV (where the divination-dream-name-day theme begins, to end in Six: III). In terms of fictional time, this means that Tatiana goes on wilting and sinking for at least six months—a protracted agony, checked by her visit to Onegin's abandoned castle in Seven, after which we leave for Moscow.

VARIANTS

Pushkin drafted several versions of stanza XXIV.

xxıva

There is a canceled draft in Cahier 2370, f. 52*:

Relations shake their heads, neighbors whisper among themselves: time, time she married!

- 8 Her mother thinks so too; she quietly seeks the advice of friends. The friends' advice is that in winter the entire family take off for Moscow;
- 12 perchance, in high life's throng a suitor for Tatiana may be found, sweeter, or luckier, than others.

xxivb

Another draft (2370, f. 53^{v}), continuing the Moscow idea, reads:

Much did the old dame like that commonsensible advice; for Moscow she decided (to set out)
4. as soon as there (would be) the winter surface. The sky already breathed of autumn, The sun already shone more seldom . . .

The stanza continues as in XL : 7-14.

b: 6 A variant reads:

 \langle the rainbow \rangle already shone more seldom . . .

Pushkin, at this point, wondered what to do further with his novel, which, after the first explosion of plot, was about to peter out. Creative intuition suggested that he postpone the journey to Moscow indicated here. Tatiana will be taken there only in Chapter Seven. Of the grands mouvements of the first six chapters—Tatiana's falling in love with Onegin, and the nightmarish name day with its tragic consequences—the second is to be started at the end of Four.

XXIVC

A draft in 2370, f. 53^r, reads:

'Twas not the first time that one nominated suitors for my Tatiana, all tended to congratulate beforehand the Levin family

4 the Larin family.

She had been sought, but until now she had refused every proposal.

- 8 Her good old mother took some pride in this. Her neighbors <listed everyone> and on their fingers <even> counted them, got to Onegin,
- 12
 then zestfully discussed him>
 —and prophesied already a divorce
 ...
 (not later than> next year.

xxıvd

Another draft (ibid.) reads (ll. 1-3):

But $\langle \text{soon} \rangle$ the tattle $\langle \text{stopped} \rangle$; the suitor did not think to make an offer; and Tanya . . .

d: 2 A canceled draft (ibid.) reads:

Onegin did not come again . . .

XXIVe

Another draft (2370, f. 53^v) reads:

When spring begins to waft our way and all at once the sky is animated, I with a hasty hand like to remove

- 4 the second window frame. 'Tis with a kind of melancholy rapture that I imbibe the breath of <vivid> freshness; but with us
- 8 spring is not gladsome; she is rich in mud and not in flowers. In vain one's avid glance calls forth the ravishing embroidery (of meadows);
- 12 the songster does not whistle o'er the waters, violets are absent, and instead of roses there's trampled horse dung in the fields.

(I take the last three lines from the recension in Works 1949, p. 532, and Works 1957, p. 534.)

- e: 3-4 / to remove the second window frame / Dvoynóe vistavit' oknó: Russian houses had, and possibly still have, large casement windows with two sturdy frames, one of which is removed in spring. A snug padding of cotton wool, a few inches thick, between the frames, insulation along the hinges, inner shutters of whitewashed wood, thick lateral curtains, and flouncy blinds kept out the cold. Our "storm windows" are dollhouse fixtures in comparison to those defenses.
- e: 12 / the songster: "Songstress" or "chauntress" would be more traditional in English verse in regard to the nightingale that is meant here, which is masculine $(solové\gamma)$ in Russian. A canceled draft (2370, f. 53^v) pleas-

ingly has the "bulbul," a Persian species, of which Pushkin knew from the jejune and frigid French adaptations and imitations of Oriental tales that were so popular in the eighteenth century.

e: 13-14 / instead of roses . . . dung / *vmésto róz . . . navóz*: Note the "realistic" rhyme here, in contrast to the conventional *róz-moróz* of XXIVf : 5-6 (see also n. to Four : XLII : 1-3).

xxivf

There is another draft in 2370, f. 54^r:

What is our Northern summer? A caricature of Southern winters. It flicks by and is gone, 'tis known,

- 4 though to admit it we don't wish. Not sough of groves, not shade, not roses, to us allotted are, but frosts, the blizzard, a sky-vault of lead,
- 8 a leafless silvery wood, bright-snowy wastes where the sledge runners whistle (amidst the coldly) clouded nights,
- 12 kibitkas, brave songs, double windows, the bagnio's steam, a dressing gown, a stove seat, and stove fumes.
- f: 5-6 Note the rhyme *rózi* ("roses"), *morózi* ("frosts"), of which Pushkin makes fun in the established text of Four : XLII : 1-3.

XXV

For some reason, the four English versions of this stanza are particularly abominable. Spalding has Lenski rove with Olga "Around the meadow and the grove" (l. 8) and "dally with a dishevelled tress" (l. 13); Elton has them

(ll. 7-8) "... to the gardens fare, | Clasp hands, and take the morning air" (evidently some Oriental ritual); Miss Deutsch sees them as "... sitting | In her room while the light is flitting" (ll. 5-6) or going out to "explore the garden's charm" (l. 8); and Miss Radin rewrites Pushkin thus (ll. 9-14):

And then what else? Perplexed and seized With shame and hopelessly ensnared, The most that he had ever dared (And that when Olga smiled and teased) Was just to smooth a loosened curl Or kiss the dress of his dear girl.

A pretty picture.

XXVI

13-14 I have seen somewhere—perhaps in the magazine The Graphic Survey (Zhivopisnoe obozrenie—c. 1899?) —a chess problem ("Lenski begins and is mated by Olga in one move") humorously based by its composer upon this irregular capture, the solution being: white's pawn takes white's rook.

Pushkin played an average game and would probably have been beaten by Leo Tolstoy. Incidentally, he had in his library the very charming book on chess, *Shahmatnaya igra* (1824), by Aleksandr Petrov, a celebrated master, with a dedication to Pushkin in the author's hand. He also possessed François André Danican Philidor's *Analyse du jeu des échecs* (1820).

VARIANTS

3–4. Pushkin does not seem to have been quite sure of his ground here in using Chateaubriand's great name.

The draft (2370, f. 58^r) reads (ll. 3-4):

wherein the modest author $\langle knows \rangle$ $\langle more \rangle$ about morals $\langle than Chateaubriand \rangle \dots$ with a canceled reading (l. 3):

wherein the modest German author

-a crack at August Lafontaine.

13-14 A canceled draft (ibid.) may be reconstructed, I think, as:

I péshkoy svoegó sloná Beryót v razséyan'i oná.

and with a pawn her bishop takes in abstraction she.

XXVII

- 1 / When he drives home, at home he also / Poédet li domóy; i dóma: The exact intonation is: "Does he drive home, at home he also . . ."
- 3 / volatile leaves / Letúchie listkí: Letuchiy is, grammatically, "flying," and listok, "small leaf," feuillet. A feuille volante in French is a loose page or a flyleaf; but letúchie listkí are not flyleaves. "Flying" turns into "fleeing," or "fugitive." A curious interrelation of terms.
- 5 / agrestic views / sel'ski vldï: The use of the archaic truncation of the adjective (sel'ski instead of sel'skie, three syllables) gives an effect of stylization attaining the maudlin subject itself.

VARIANT

5-6 Fair copy:

He draws in it a floweret, two hearts within a wreath, a brooklet . . .

This brooklet, these two hearts, and a harp (in draft),

combine with the gravestone of the final text to form the main Lenskian emblems.

XXIX

1-4 Cf. Swift, Verses Wrote in a Lady's Ivory Table-book (c. 1698):

> Here you may read (Dear Charming Saint) Beneath (A new Receit for Paint) Here in Beau-spelling (tru tel deth)...

and Prior, Cupid and Ganymede (c. 1690), ll. 19-20:

Two Table-Books in Shagreen Covers; Fill'd with good Verse from real Lovers . . .

- 5 / military / arméyskiy: Technically: "of the regular army," "of the line"; but here merely implying the swagger of garrison vulgarity.
- 5-6 Spalding has:

Some army poet therein may Have smuggled his flagitious lay

—which is much too sinister.

I notice that Miss Deutsch has simply omitted these lines, reducing the stanza to twelve lines.

6 / a roguish rhyme / *stishók zlodéyskiy*: Fr. "un petit vers scélérat," as Turgenev-Viardot correctly translate.

VARIANTS

- 2 There is a "little dog under a rose tree" half hidden in a canceled draft (2370, f. 74^r).
- 13 The separate edition of Four and Five gives vérno, "surely," for vázhno, "solemnly."

XXX

- 6 / Tolstoy's: The reference is to Count Fyodor Petrovich Tolstoy (1783-1873), a well-known artist (not to be confused with Count Fyodor Ivanovich Tolstoy, dubbed "the American"; see n. to Four : XIX : 5). In a letter to Lev Pushkin and Pletnyov, from Mihaylovskoe to St. Petersburg, May 15, 1825, when sending them the MS collection of his short poems for publication, Pushkin clamored (in vain) for them to be headed by a vignette ("Psyche, lost in thought, over a flower") and added: "What about having it done by Tolstoy's magic brush? 'No—too expensive, but how terrifically sweet'" (part of ll. 50-51 of Dmitriev's tale in free iambics, *The Fashionable Woman, Modnaya zhena*, published 1792 in the Moscow Journal).
- 10 / proffers / podayót: The separate edition of Four and Five gives podnesyót, "will present."

Walter Scott in his *Journal* (Nov. 20, 1825) terms a lady's album ''a most troublesome shape of mendicity.''

XXXI

Very pleasingly, in this part of the canto, where Pushkin discusses poem forms, he gives to the octave in the stanza that closes his topic the two rhymes of an Italian sonnet:

> Ne madrigálï Lénskiy píshet V al'bóme Ól'gi molodóy; Egó peró lyubóv'yu díshet, 4. Ne hládno bléshchet ostrotóy; Chto ni zamétit, ni uslíshit Ob Ól'ge, ón pro tó i píshet: I pólnï ístinï zhivóy

8 Tekút elégii rekóy. Tak tí, Yazíkov vdohnovénnïy, V porťvah sérdtsa svoegó,

Poyósh', Bog védaet, kogó, 12 I svód elégiy dragotsénniy Predstávit nékogda tebé Vsyu póvest' o tvoéy sud'bé.

The repetition of a rhyme word (*pishet*, "writes") would not be tolerated, of course, by a classical sonneteer.

An approach to the two-rhyme scheme is also found in Five : x, where, however, the consonance of the feminine rhymes -*áni* and -*áne* is technically inexact.

- 2 / of young Olga / Ól'gi molodóy: A Gallic formula, "de la jeune Olga." Cf. Seven : v : 11: Táni molodóy, "de la jeune Tanya."
- 9 / inspired Yazikov: The reference is to Nikolay Yazikov (1803-46), a minor poet, vastly overrated by Pushkin, whom he first saw in 1826, during a summer sojourn with Pushkin's country neighbors, the Osipovs. (Aleksey Vulf, Praskovia Osipov's son, was Yazikov's fellow student at Dorpat.) He is also mentioned at the end of Onegin's Journey (see nn. to ultimate st., 6-11).
- 11-12 / code of elegies / svód elégiy: Chénier, in a piece inscribed to Ponce Denis Ecouchard Lebrun (Epître, II, 3, ll. 16-17, in Œuvres, ed. Walter), speaks of "l'Elégie à la voix gémissante, | Au ris mêlé de pleurs..." Pushkin borrowed the metaphor of the "codex" from ll. 60-61 in the same piece:

Ainsi que mes écrits, enfants de ma jeunesse, Soient un code d'amour, de plaisir, de tendresse.

XXXII

1 / soft! / tishe !: English equivalents, such as "hark!" "list!" "whist!" "hush!" etc., are all related to hearing or silence. The Russian chu! connotes the idea of chuyat', "to sense," thus invoking all the faculties. *Tishe* is the comparative of *tiho*, "quiet."

1 / a critic stern: This krítik strógiy is Küchelbecker, who published (June 12, 1824) an essay voluminously entitled "On the Tendency of Our Poetry, Especially Lyrical, in the Last Decade" ("O napravlenii nashey poezii, osobenno liricheskoy, v poslednee desvatiletie," in Mnemosyne, pt. II [1824], pp. 20-44), in which he correctly criticized the Russian elegy for its colorless vagueness, anonymous retrospection, trite vocabulary, and so on, but quirkishly praised the (frequently bombastic and opportunist) Russian ode as the height of inspired lyricism. Pushkin, who composed the stanza in January, 1825, prepared about the same time, or had prepared already, a foreword (see above, "Dropped Introductions," pp. 10-11) for the separate edition of Chapter One (1825) wherein he refers to the same essay-which disturbed him because the vocabulary of his own elegies, despite their marvelous melodiousness, was well within the range of Küchelbecker's attack (in fact, Küchelbecker did say: "When one reads any elegy by Pushkin or Baratinski, everything is familiar . . . "). Moreover, Pushkin left a MS note (see Works 1949, VII, 40 and 663) in which he answers both the June essay and another by the same author, "Conversation with Mr. Bulgarin," in the October issue (Mnemosyne, pt. III, 1824), accuses Küchelbecker of confusing vostorg (the initial rapture of creative perception) with vdohnovenie (true inspiration, cool and continuous, "which is necessary in poetry as well as in geometry"), and wrongly maintains that an ode (Pindar, Derzhavin) excludes both planning and the "constant labor without which there is no real greatness."

Vilgelm Kyuhelbeker was of German descent: Wilhelm von Küchelbecker, according to the dedication

Goethe inscribed on a copy of *Werther* he gave him at Weimar, Nov. 22, 1820, N.S. He survived Pushkin almost by a decade (1797–1846). A curious archaic poet, an impotent playwright, one of Schiller's victims, a brave idealist, a heroic Decembrist, a pathetic figure, who after 1825 spent ten years of imprisonment in various fortresses and the rest of his days in Siberian exile. He was Pushkin's schoolmate; "les fameux écrivailleurs [those notorious scribblers], Pouschkine et Küchelbecker''—thus the Grand Duke Konstantin couples their names in a private letter to Fyodor Opochinin, Feb. 16, 1826, from Warsaw, asking about a Guriev, if he is their classmate.

Bartenev's note (1852) on a duel that Pushkin had with Küchelbecker in 1818* has no foundation in fact, although several anecdotes refer to it; at best it may have been a practical joke played on Küchelbecker by his cynical friends.

Only at the very end of a singularly sad and futile literary career, and in the twilight of his life, first jeered at by friend and foe alike, then forgotten by all; a sick, blind man, broken by years of exile, Küchelbecker produced a few admirable poems, one of which is a brilliant masterpiece, a production of first-rate genius—the twenty-line-long *Destiny of Russian Poets* (written in the province of Tobolsk, 1845). I quote its last lines:

> ... thrown into a black prison, killed by the frost of hopeless banishment;

> or sickness overcasts with night and gloom the eyes of the inspired, the seers! Or else the hand of some vile lady's man impels a bullet at their sacred brow;

^{*}Russkiy arhiv, 1910, teste Yuriy Tïnyanov, "Pushkin i Kyuhelbeker," Lit. nasl., nos. 16–18 (1934), pp. 321–78.

Or the deaf rabble rises in revolt and him the rabble will to pieces tear whose winged course, ablaze with thunderbolts, might drench in radiance the motherland.

The bullet killed Pushkin, the rabble murdered Griboedov.

A tragic entry in Küchelbecker's diary reads: "If a man were ever unhappy, it is I. Around me there is not one heart against which I might press myself" (Aksha, September, 1842).

Küchelbecker, in criticizing the elegy, listed examples of its vapid vocabulary: *mechta* ("reverie"), *prizrak* ("phantom"), *mnitsya* ("appears to the mind"), *chudit*'*sya* ("appears to the eye"), *kazhetsya* ("seems"), *budto bï* ("as if"), *kak bï* ("as though"), *nechto* ("a something"), *chto to* ("a something or other"):

When one reads any elegy by Zhukovski, Pushkin, or Baratinski, everything is familiar... The feeling of dejection engulfs all other feelings [this is the sentence Pushkin quotes in his foreword to One, 1825]... The images are everywhere the same: the moon, which is always "mournful and pale," rocks, groves, sunsets, the evening star, long shadows and apparitions, something or other invisible, something or other uncanny, banal allegories, pallid and tasteless personifications of *Trud* ["work"], *Nega* ["voluptuousness"], *Pokoy* ["peace"], *Vesel'e* ["gaiety"], *Pechal'* ["sadness"], of the poet's *Len'* ["indolence"] and of the reader's *Skuka* ["boredom"]; and especially *tuman* ["mist"], mists over water, mists over fir woods, mists over fields, mist in the writer's head....

The gist of all this, Küchelbecker had, I notice, borrowed from the second of two articles on Byron, signed "R" [by Etienne Becquet], in the *Journal des débats* (Paris, Apr. 23–24 and May 1, 1821): "Vous pouvez être sûr d'avance qu'il y a un *vague indéfinissable* dans leur figure, du vague dans leurs mouvements, du vague dans

leur conduite, parce qu'il y a beaucoup de vague dans la tête du poète."

Cf. the description of Lenski's elegies in Two : x.

- 6 The separate edition of Four and Five gives "or" for "and."
- 14 / Write odes / Pishite ódi: The first ode in Russian syllabic verse was the Ode on the Surrender of the Town of Gdansk (Danzig), by Vasiliy Trediakovski (1703–69), published as a separate pamphlet in 1734. It is a deliberate imitation of Boileau's Ode sur la prise de Namur (1693). Trediakovski also followed Boileau in distinguishing two main varieties of ode, the eulogistic and the tender, and in advocating a lyrical disorder in odes (krasniy besporyadok, "a beautiful disorder"). A heroic ode was the first form Russian metrical verse took, with Lomonosov's Ode on the Taking of Hotin (written 1739, published 1751), which is examined in App. II, "Notes on Prosody," where I discuss the inauguration of the iambic tetrameter in Russia through the adoption of German prosody and a French strophic form. This is the beautiful strophe de dix vers, in the syllabic equivalent of a tetrameter, invented by Ronsard (e.g., strophe I of an ode of fifty-six lines beginning "Comme un qui prend une coupe," composed in 1547, published at the beginning of bk. I of his Odes in 1550; bk. I, no. II, in Œuvres, ed. Cohen) and popularized by Malherbe. It consists of a quatrain à rimes croisées, abab, and of two tercets with rhymes eeciic (the order of feminine-masculine is sometimes reversed: babaccedde), and the number of syllables, not counting the feminine ultima, may be seven or eight. A good example (which, moreover, has a curious Oneginesque intonation-the inventorial strain) is Malherbe's Sur l'attentat commis en la personne de Henry le Grand, le 19 Décembre 1605, of which st. XVIII goes

(*La Poésie de M. de Malherbe*, ed. Jacques Lavaud, Paris, 1936–37):

Soit que l'ardeur de la priere Le tienne devant un autel, Soit que l'honneur à la barriere L'appelle à débattre un cartel; Soit que dans la chambre il médite, Soit qu'aux bois la chasse l'invite, Jamais ne t'escarte si loin, Qu'aux embusches qu'on luy peut tendre Tu ne soit prest à le deffendre, Sitost qu'il en aura besoin.

Both the French odic stanza and the EO stanza are related to the sonnet. It will be noted that the stanza of fourteen lines invented by Pushkin for EO is technically a French odic stanza from the waist up (the first seven lines being rhymed similarly in both). It may be said that the EO stanza is half ode and half sonnet. We might term it the mermaid stanza. Its tail part is rhymed ciddiff; the nether part of the odic stanza is iic.

The French odic stanza of ten lines (ababeeciic) if compared to a regular sonnet (ababababeeciic) will be seen to be an incomplete sonnet, i.e., a sonnet lacking the second quatrain.

Houdar de la Motte, in his chilly *Réflexions sur la* critique, pt. IV (Œuvres [1754], III, 256), curiously defines it as "un air, dont le quatrain est la première partie, et dont les deux tercets sont la reprise. . . ." It does not have any clear-cut counterpart in English. Prior (1695), in his parodies of Boileau's *Ode sur la prise de Namur*, shows as little comprehension of the mechanism of the *strophe de dix vers* as Boileau has of Pindar's technique; while Cowley (1656) substitutes for Pindar's extremely accurate odic form a mere nebula of gusty lyricism.

For Pushkin the idea of "ode" was associated with heroic pieces in the manner of Trediakovski and Lo-

monosov. He seems to dismiss the fact that the greatest Russian poems of the eighteenth century are Derzhavin's majestic odes to his queen and his God (and the greatest poem of the first two decades of the nineteenth century is Pushkin's own ode, Liberty). He was not an admirer of the French official odes, and he did not know the English ode of his time (the Collins to Keats strain), with its new romantic infusion of passionate poetry. It seems clear that when he says "ode," he is thinking of an agglomeration of bombastic, awkward rhetorical trends, and is polemically aware of the ponderous use made of the ode by Slavonizers (Archaists, Ancients). Küchelbecker was not alone in preferring the old Lomonosov-Derzhavin type of ode to the romantic elegy of his time. Shevïryov, a forerunner (in certain tricks of archaic demeanor and mythopoeic imagery) of Tyutchev (whose genius he lacked), had similar predilections. Classificators distinguish two main groups of poets: the Archaists (Derzhavin, Krïlov, Griboedov, Küchelbecker) and the Romanticists (Zhukovski, Pushkin, Baratïnski, Lermontov). In Tyutchev the two lines merged.

XXXIII

6 The reference here is to *Chuzhoy tolk*, 1795 (*chuzhoy*, "another's," "of others"; *tolk*, "view," "notion," "interpretation," "sense," "opinion," "attitude," "belief," "comments," "talk"), the title of a satire of 150 lines, in iambic hexameter couplets, by Ivan Dmitriev (1760– 1837). The title has also been understood to mean "a foreign doctrine," in reference to French pseudoclassi cism—although Dmitriev was the last person who should have deplored any French influence.

There are four characters involved in this muddled and heavy piece. An Old Gentleman, who complains to the author about Russian heroic odes and wonders why they are so bad; the Author himself (Pushkin's "satirist"), whom this talk about his fellow poets embarrasses; a Critic, who joins in the discussion and explains to the first gentleman why Russian odes are bad (lack of time, mercenary intentions); and an Odist (Pushkin's "shrewd lyrist," or "pompous lyrist" in a canceled draft), whose mechanical way of composing the Critic describes. The piece ends with the Critic saying in effect, "Break your lyre, you are no poet if in Catherine's glorious age you are incapable of singing that glory"; whereupon the Author turns to his comrades and suggests that they all compose a good long satire on the Critic who has commented so insultingly on them.

The Pushkin-Küchelbecker quarrel sounds rather tedious today. The matter is largely one of terminology, since specifically an "ode" may be as perfect as any other formal poem, depending on individual genius.

14 / make ... quarrel / ssórit': The Russian verb has no simple English equivalent. It means to "set [two persons] at variance," "to make [them] quarrel with each other." It is also employed in Six : VI : 13 (possórit').

The two ages that Pushkin did not wish to see at each other's throats are the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, or, more exactly, the era of Lomonosov and Derzhavin, which, expressed in terms of their creative years (1739-65 and 1776-1816) occupied more than half a century, and the 1800-25 period that had seen the rise of the romantic elegy (Zhukovski, Pushkin, and many others).

XXXIV-XXXV

In the drafts of these stanzas (Jan. 18, 1825; Cahier 2370, ff. 75^{v} and 76^{r}) are intercalated jottings referring to the prophetic dream of Grigoriy in pt. 1 of *Boris Godunov*,

the "romantic drama" Pushkin was composing at the time (December, 1824–Nov. 7, 1825).

XXXV

3 / nurse / nyáni: This is Arina daughter of Rodion: Arina (or Irina) Rodionovna (1758–1828), Pushkin's housekeeper in Mihaylovskoe, whither he removed, or rather was removed, from Odessa in 1824. She should not be confused either with the generalized nurse Pushkin gives the Larin girls (a confusion Pushkin deliberately promoted in a letter to Shvarts that I quote in a note to Three : XVI : 14) or with the nurse he had as a child.

Arina had been originally brought to Moscow from her native village of Kobrino (near Suida, province of St. Petersburg) to nurse our poet's sister Olga (1797-1868), his senior by two years. The estates Mihaylovskoe (province of Pskov) and Kobrino (or rather Runovo, as the estate itself was called) had been inherited in 1782 by Osip Gannibal from his father Abram (Pushkin's maternal great-grandfather); Kobrino was sold in 1800, but Arina was not. She is a tremendous favorite with demophile Pushkinists. The influence of her folk tales on Pushkin has been enthusiastically and ridiculously exaggerated. It is doubtful that Pushkin ever read EO to her, as some commentators and illustrators have believed. In the twenties she ruled the household with a firm hand, terrorized the servant maids, and was extremely fond of the bottle. Pushkin, who followed all the literary fashions of his time, romanticized her in his verse, although it is quite true that he was very fond of her and her tales. In my time all Russian children used to learn by heart the stanzas Winter Eve (written 1825, first published in the Northern Flowers for 1830), four octets in trochaic tetrameters, beginning "Storm with gloom the heavens covers." St. III begins:

Let us drink, kindly friend of my poor youth, drink from grief. Where is the mug? Gayer to the heart 'twill be. Sing a song to me . . .

Pushkin also dedicated to her the touching elegy (unfinished) written in 1826, twelve iambic tetrameters and half a verse, beginning:

> Companion of my austere days, my dear decrepit friend [golubka]* alone, deep in the pinewoods long, long you wait for me . . .

And he remembers her as sharing his years of exile in the country (1824–26) and telling him tales "that since childhood" he "knew by heart but never tired of hearing," in his poem *Mihaylovskoe Revisited* (as it might be entitled; see my n. to Two: I: 2), composed there in 1835.

Our poet's own nurse, his *mamushka*, in the years of his infancy was not Arina, but another woman, a widow named Uliana, of whom unfortunately very little is known. Her patronymic seems to have been Yakovlevna, daughter of Yakov, Jacob. She was born about 1765.

3-4 In a fragment entitled *The Dream* (Son), 220 freely rhymed pentameters, written by Pushkin in 1816, he says about Uliana (ll. 173-79, 183-86):

Ah, can I fail to speak about my mammy and the enchantment of mysterious nights, when, in a mobcap, in old-fashioned garments, she, having turned off specters with a prayer, would cross me with a most assiduous air and in a whisper would begin to tell me about dead men, about Bova's exploits

^{*}Golúbka dryáhlaya moyá; but to say "my decrepit doveling" was too much, even for a literalist.

Beneath the icon a plain earthenware night lampad dimly brought out her deep wrinkles, my great-grandmother's mob—a dear antique and that long mouth where two or three teeth knocked.

In an elegy of 1822 composed in Kishinev (beginning "The bosom friend of magic ancientry"—*Napérsnitsa* volshébnoy starint), consisting of twenty-six freely rhymed iambic pentameters, Pushkin describes the two masks under which the Muse attended him: an old nurse (ll. 5-12) and a young enchantress (ll. 18-26):

[To His Muse]

The bosom friend of magic ancientry, the friend of fantasies playful and sad! I knew you in my springtime's days,

- 4 in days of games and pristine dreams. I waited for you; in the vesper stillness you would appear as a merry old woman and by me you would sit, in a warm jacket [v shushune],
- 8 large spectacles, and with a friskful rattle. You, rocking the infantine cradle, with chantings captivated my young hearing and 'mongst the swaddling bands left a reed pipe

12 o'er which a spell yourself had cast.

This again is Uliana. It seems evident to me that only beginning with the close of 1824 in Mihaylovskoe does Pushkin start to identify in retrospect Arina (now his housekeeper, formerly his sister's nurse) with a kind of collective "my nurse." Let us, by all means, remember Arina, but let us not forget good Uliana.

8 / I choke him in a corner with a tragedy: The tragedy is *Boris Godunov*; see n. to XXXIV-XXXV.

Cf. the penultimate line (475) in Horace's Art of Poetry:

quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo . . .

"Whomever he can seize upon, he holds him and reads him to death" (or "kills him with reciting").

In the corrected draft, instead of "a tragedy" Pushkin had *poema*, "a long poem," and in the canceled draft, *kupletï* (Fr. *couplets*, a term he applied loosely to "strophes" or "stanzas"), thus a reference to *EO*.

9-14 As early as 1815, in a tetrametric poem To My Aristarch (his teacher of Latin at the Lyceum, N. Koshanski, 1785-1821), Pushkin had the wonderful lines:

> Whether I roam near stilly waters, or in a dense and darksome park, pensive I grow—throw up my arms and start to speak in rhyme.

XXXVI

Published only in the separate edition of Four and Five:

Afar my gaze yet seeks them; while the hunter who had been stealing through the wood damns poetry, and whistles,

- 4 releasing carefully the cock. Each has his sport, his pet preoccupation: one aims a gun at ducks;
- 8 one is entranced by rhymes, as I; one with a flapper slays impudent flies; one rules the multitude in thought; one will amuse himself with war;
- 12 one basks in melancholy feelings; one occupies himself with wine: and Good is mixed with Evil.

This is an exceptionally poor stanza. The opening quatrain is a jumble of broken images, among which we vaguely distinguish the following ideas: a poet scares ducks with his declamation; a hunter shoots them, pulling the trigger "carefully"; the duck hunter was stealing

through the wood but now curses the poet and whistles for his dog.

8-9 Instead of this insipid couplet, Pushkin, in order to eliminate the image of the flies (which Onegin's uncle had crushed with a dull thumb on the windowpane: see Two : III : 1-4), changed it by hand in the margin of his own copy of the separate edition of Four and Five (published Jan. 31-Feb. 2, 1828, and bound with One, Two, Three, and Six):

another with his epigrams, as I, shoots at the jacksnipe in reviews.*

It is here, in this bound collection of Chapters One through Six (MB 8318), that Pushkin also wrote in the one line of the Vyazemski motto (One), the "O Rus" epigraph (Two), and the word "witch" instead of "raven" (see n. to Five : xxiv : 7-8).

XXXVII

9 / Gulnare: Russ. Gyul'nára, from Fr. Gulnare. Edward William Lane, in a note to ch. 23 of his genteel version of *The Thousand and One Nights* (London, 1839–41), says (III, 305): "'Jullanár' (vulgarly pronounced 'Julnár') is from the Persian 'gulnár' and signifies 'pomegranate-flower.'" Dictionaries corroborate this.

In The Corsair, II, XII, Byron describes his heroine as:

That form, with eye so dark, and cheek so fair, And auburn waves of gemmed and braided hair.

In a letter to Anna Kern, Dec. 8, 1825, Pushkin writes: "Byron vient d'acquérir pour moi un nouveau charme ... c'est vous que je verrai dans Gulnare...."

^{*}G. Georgievski, "Avtografi A. S. Pushkina," Zapiski otdela rukopisey (describing certain autographs in the Lenin Library, Moscow), no. 1 (1938), publishes a facsimile of these two lines (p. 14).

10 / Hellespont: The strait between the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea; the Dardanelles.

Byron wrote to Henry Drury, May 3, 1810: "This morning I *swam* from *Sestos* to *Abydos*. The immediate distance is not above a mile but the current renders it hazardous.... [I made it] in an hour and ten minutes." See also the delightful end lines of *Don Juan*, II, cv:

[Juan] could, perhaps, have passed the Hellespont, As once (a feat on which ourselves we prided) Leander, Mr. Ekenhead, and I did.

Pushkin knew these lines from Pichot's version of 1820. Leander, a legendary Greek, swam the strait nightly from Abydos to Sestos and back in order to visit his lady, a priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos, on the Hellespont. He was finally drowned. Mr. Ekenhead was a British officer, Byron's fellow swimmer.

VARIANTS

13–14 The fair copy (PB 14) has the following two lines, canceled, with a careful note in the margin reading: "en blanc."

and dressed—only I doubt you ever wore such an attire:

XXXVIII

The two var. lines of XXXVII are followed by st. XXXVIII, likewise canceled. Pushkin started to give Onegin his own clothes but then thought better of it.

> he wore a Russian blouse, sashed with a silken kerchief; an open Tatar caftan,

- 4 and a hat with a roof, resembling a mobile house. This bizarre garb, "immoral and foolhardy," greatly distressed
- 8 Madame Durín, of Pskov,

and with her [squire] Mizinchikov. Eugene perhaps despised the comments or, what's more likely, did not know them,

- 12 but, anyway, his habits he did not alter for their sake; in consequence his fellow men could not endure him.
- 1 / he wore . . .: When rambling in the environs of his countryseat Mihaylovskoe, Pushkin dressed very fancifully, a self-assertive gesture, the last stronghold of personal freedom. The police and helpful neighbors saw through the disguise. A local tradesman by the name of Lapin wrote down in his diary (May 29, 1825),* in Svyatïe Gorï (Holy Hills):

And here I had the fortune of seeing Mr. Pushkin, who, in a manner of speaking, surprised me by the strangeness of his dress, to wit: he wore a big hat of straw, and a peasant shirt of red calico, with a sky-blue ribbon for sash. He carried an iron club. He wore his side whiskers very long; they looked more like a beard; and his fingernails were also very long: with them he kept shelling [sic] one orange after another and ate them with great appetite; I daresay he consumed half a dozen of them.

Pushkin carried an iron club to strengthen and steady his pistol hand in view of a duel he intended to have with Fyodor Tolstoy at the first opportunity (see n. to Four : XIX : 5). He had done so since a quarrel he had had with a Moldavian Feb. 4, 1822, in Kishinev, according to I. Liprandi (*Russkiy arhiv* [1866], p. 1424), who says the club weighed about eighteen pounds. Another source † gives eight pounds as the weight of the club he carried in Mihaylovskoe.

The journalist A. Izmaylov (see n. to Three : XXVII : 4) wrote to a friend, Sept. 11, 1825, from Petersburg, that

^{*}L. Sofiyski, Gorod Opochka (Pskov, 1912), p. 203.

⁺K. Timofeev, in Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya, 1859; quoted by V. Veresaev, Pushkin v zhizni (5th edn., Moscow and Leningrad, 1932), p. 185.

Pushkin had been at the Svyatïe Gorï Fair on May 29, 1825, surrounded by beggars and crushing oranges with both hands. He wore a red Russian blouse with a goldembroidered collar.

The "big hat of straw" was (according to Vulf's diary) a white hat of plaited pith, *kornevaya shlyapa*, from Odessa. It should not be confused with another headgear our poet wore, described below (see n. to var. 4).

- 3 / caftan / armyak: This variety of kaftan is a kind of smock frock in cut, made, typically, of camel's wool.
- 8 The qualification *pskovskaya*—Pskovan, or hailing from Pskov—as applied to this Madame Durin ("Dame Goose") does not necessarily mean that the locus of the novel coincides with Pushkin's country place in the Pskovan province. On the contrary, several scattered details suggest a place somewhat east of it; but it is also true that a kind of superposition of details occurs here and there throughout *EO*, with Pushkin's own impressions of rural life coloring the planned pattern of a generalized Russian *rus*.
- 9 / Mizínchikov: A comedy name, which, however, had its counterpart in the name of one of Pushkin's country neighbors, Palchikov, which comes from *pal'chik*, "fingerlet." Mizinchikov is derived from *mizinchik*, which is the diminutive of *mizinets*, the cuddy-finger (Yorkshire), the pinkie (Scotland), the curnie-wurnie, the minimus, the ear-finger, the auricular, Fr. *l'auriculaire*, so that the shocked gentleman here is "Mr. Earfingerlet."

VARIANTS

4 Draft (2370, f. 76^v):

a cap with a white peak . . .

Canceled draft:

a cap with a huge peak . . .

In a pencil sketch along the margin of sts. Five : III– IV, draft (2370, f. 80^r), reproduced by Efros, p. 215, Pushkin portrayed himself standing, with this cap on his head and a riding crop in his hand (*not* the celebrated iron club, as Efros conjectures).

XXXIX

1-4. One of the best examples that one can choose to illustrate some of the special difficulties that Pushkin's translators should be aware of is this quatrain of st. XXXIX, which describes Onegin's life in the summer of 1820 on his country estate:

> Progúlki, chtén'e, són glubókoy, Lesnáya tén', zhurchán'e strúy, Poróy belyánki chernoókoy Mladóy i svézhiy potselúy...

In the first line (which Turgenev-Viardot translated correctly as "La promenade, la lecture, un sommeil profond et salutaire"), progulki cannot be rendered by the obvious "walks," since the Russian term includes the additional idea of riding for exercise or pleasure. I did not care for "promenades" and settled for "rambles" because one can ramble about on horseback as well as on foot. The next word means "reading," and then comes a teaser: glubokoy son means not only "deep sleep" but also "sound sleep" (hence the double epithet in the French translation) and of course implies "sleep by night" (in fact, a cancellation in the draft reads: Progúlki, nóch'yu són glubókoy). One is tempted to use "slumber," which would nicely echo in another key the alliterations of the text (progulki-glubokoy, "ramblesslumber"), but of these elegancies the translator should

beware. The most direct rendering of the line seems to be:

Rambles, and reading, and sound sleep . . .

which is comparable to Pope's "Sound sleep by night; study and ease," in *Ode on Solitude* (1717), or Thomson's "Retirement, rural quiet, friendship, books," in *Spring*, l. 1162.

In the next line:

Lesnáya tén', zhurchán'e strúy ...

Lesnaya ten' is "the forest's shade," or, in better concord, "the sylvan shade"; and now comes another difficulty—the catch in *zhurchan'e struy*, which I finally rendered as "the purl of streams," is that *strui* (nom. pl.) has two meanings: its ordinary one is the old sense of the English "streams" designating not bodies of water but rather limbs of water, the shafts of a running river (e.g., Charles Cotton, *The Retirement*, 1. 48: "And Loire's pure streams . . ."; see also *The Oxford English Dictionary*), while the other meaning is an attempt on Pushkin's part to express the French ondes, "waters"; for it should be clear to Pushkin's translator that the line

the sylvan shade, the purl of streams

(or, as an old English rhymester might have put it, "the greenwood shade, the purling rillets") deliberately reflects an idyllic ideal dear to the Arcadian poets. The wood and the water, "les ruisseaux et les bois," can be found together in countless *éloges de la campagne* praising the "green retreats" that were theoretically favored by eighteenth-century French and English poets. Antoine Bertin's "Le silence des bois, le murmure de l'onde (*Les Amours*, bk. III: *Elégie* XXII) and Parny's "dans l'épaisseur du bois, | Au doux bruit des ruisseaux" (*Poésies érotiques*, bk. I: *Fragment d'Alcée*) are typical commonplaces of this kind.

With the assistance of these minor French poets, we have now translated the first two lines of the stanza. Its entire first quatrain runs:

> Rambles, and reading, and sound sleep, the sylvan shade, the purl of streams, sometimes a white-skinned, dark-eyed girl's young and fresh kiss...

In ll. 3–4:

Poróy belyánki chernoókoy Mladóy i svézhiy potselúy

the translator is confronted with the fact that Pushkin masks an autobiographical allusion under the disguise of a literal translation from André Chénier, whom, however, he does not mention in any appended note. I am very much against stressing the human-interest angle in the discussion of literary works; and such emphasis would be especially incongruous in the case of Pushkin's novel, in which a stylized, and thus fantastic, Pushkin is one of the main characters. However, there is little doubt that, by means of a device that in 1825 was unique, our poet camouflaged in the present stanza his own experience—namely, an affair he was having that summer at Mihaylovskoe, the maternal estate of the Pushkins in the province of Pskov, with a delicate-looking slave girl, Olga Kalashnikov (b. about 1805), daughter of Mihail Kalashnikov (1775-1858), steward of the estate at the time and later steward of Boldino, the paternal estate of the Pushkins in the province of Nizhni. In late April, 1826, Pushkin dispatched her, big with child, to Moscow, asking Vyazemski to send her on to Boldino after the birth of her child and to have the child eventually tucked away at one of Vyazemski's countryseats. It is not clear what arrangement was eventually made. The child, a boy, was born July 1, 1826, at Boldino, registered as the son of the peasant Yakov Ivanov, by profession a sexton (prichyotnik), and christened Pavel. We know nothing of his fate. His mother, after her arrival in Boldino, was married off (in 1831) to one Pavel Klyuchnikov, petty landowner and drunkard.

If we now turn to Chénier, we find, in a fragment dated 1789, *Elégies*, III (in *Œuvres*, ed. Walter), pub. by H. de Latouche, 1819 (ll. 5-8):

Il a, dans sa paisible et sainte solitude, Du loisir, du sommeil, et les bois, et l'étude, Le banquet des amis, et quelquefois, les soirs, Le baiser jeune et frais d'une blanche aux yeux noirs.

None of the translators of Pushkin-English, German, or French-have noticed what several Russian students of Pushkin discovered independently,* that the first two lines of our st. XXXIX are a paraphrase, and the next two a metaphrase, of Chénier's lines. Chénier's curious preoccupation (in this and other poems) with the whiteness of a woman's skin and Pushkin's vision of his own frail young mistress fuse to form a marvelous mask, the disguise of a personal emotion; for it will be noted that our author, who was generally rather careful about the identification of that type of source, nowhere reveals his direct borrowing here, as if by referring to the literary origin of these lines he might impinge on the mystery of his own romance. The curious part is that he actually had the opportunity to quote his source. The critic Mihail Dmitriev, adversely reviewing this canto in the Athenaeum (Ateney), pt. 1, no. 4 (1828), pp. 76-89, took our poet to task for his "obscure expressions." In the rough draft of Pushkin's answer to this review, he objects that "a young and fresh kiss" instead of "the kiss of young and fresh lips'' is a very simple metaphor; but he does not appeal to Chénier's authority, as he had here the occasion to do.

^{*}A discovery first published, I believe, by S. Savchenko: "Elegiya Lenskogo i frantsuzskaya elegiya," in *Pushkin v* mirovoy literature (Leningrad, 1926), p. 361–62n.

Chénier, in these lines and elsewhere (e.g., in his $Ep\hat{t}res$, II, 1, 1. 39 (ed. Walter), to Lebrun: "Les ruisseaux et les bois et Vénus et l'étude . . ."), is imitating Horace. See, for instance, Horace, *Satires*, II, VI, II. 60–62 (the beginning of which is used by Pushkin for the motto of EO, Two; see n.):

o rus, quando ego te aspiciam! quandoque licebit nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis, ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae!

English translators, who were completely unaware of all the implications and niceties I have discussed in connection with this stanza, have had a good deal of trouble with it. Spalding stresses the hygienic side of the event:

> The uncontaminated kiss Of a young dark-eyed country maid . . .

Miss Radin produces the dreadful:

A kiss at times from some fair maiden, Dark-eyed, with bright and youthful looks . . .

Miss Deutsch, apparently not realizing that Pushkin is alluding to Onegin's carnal relations with his serf girls, comes up with the incredibly coy:

> And, if a black-eyed girl permitted, Sometimes a kiss as fresh as she . . .

and Professor Elton, who in such cases can always be depended upon for triteness and awkwardness, reverses the act and peroxides the concubine:

[Onegin] At times, a fresh young kiss bestowing Upon some blond and dark-eyed maid . . .

Pushkin's l. z is, by the bye, an excellent illustration of what I mean by literalism, literality, literal interpretation. I take "literalism" to mean "absolute accuracy." If such accuracy sometimes results in the strange allegoric scene suggested by the phrase "the letter has killed the spirit," only one reason can be imagined: there must have been something wrong either with the original letter or with the original spirit, and this is not really a translator's concern. Pushkin has literally (i.e., with absolute accuracy) rendered Chénier's "une blanche" by *belyanka*, and the English translator should reincarnate here both Pushkin and Chénier. It would be false literalism to render *belyanka* ("une blanche") as "a white one"—or, still worse, "a white female"; and it would be ambiguous to say "fair-faced." The accurate meaning is "a white-skinned female," certainly "young," hence "a white-skinned girl," with dark eyes and, presumably, dark hair enhancing by contrast the luminous fairness of unpigmented skin.

Pushkin had already (January, 1820) accurately translated a line from Chénier. With this line he closed a poem of six Alexandrines, *To Dorida*:

I láskovih imyón mladéncheskaya nézhnost'. and of caressing names the childish tenderness.

Cf. Chénier, L'Art d'aimer, IV, 7, l. 5 (ed. Walter):

Et des mots caressants la mollesse enfantine . . .

In connection with this note, see Chénier, *Epîtres*, VII (*Epître sur ses ouvrages*, ed. Walter), ll. 97–102, 137–40:

Un juge sourcilleux, épiant mes ouvrages, Tout à coup à grands cris dénonce vingt passages Traduits de tel auteur qu'il nomme; et, les trouvant, Il s'admire et se plaît de se voir si savant. Que ne vient-il vers moi? je lui ferai connaître Mille de mes larcins qu'il ignore peut-être.

Le critique imprudent, qui se croit bien habile, Donnera sur ma joue un soufflet à Virgile. Et ceci (tu peux voir si j'observe ma loi), Montaigne, s'il t'en souvient, l'avait dit avant moi.

Chénier here refers to the following passage in Montaigne, *Essais* (1580): "Des Livres," bk. II, ch. 10 (spell-

ing conforming to Bordeaux MS as published by A. Armaingaud, Paris, 1927): "Je veus qu'ils donent une nasarde à Plutarq sur mon nez: et qu'ils s'eschaudent à injurier Seneque en moi."

12–14 The idea of a campestral cure after the dissipations of the city is, of course, a classical commonplace, done to death by the *petits poètes* of the eighteenth century. See, for example, Claude Joseph Dorat, *Le Pot-pourri*:

ХL

- 1-2 My translation does not scan iambically, but it was absolutely necessary to retain the order of the words to show the slight difference between this quatrain and XXIVf: 1-4.
- 6 / the sun / sólnïshko: "Small sol," "dear sol," "dear little sun," "good sun," "nice sunshine." There is no way to render in English the diminutive of *solntse*, "sun," with the same unobtrusiveness as in Russian.
- 11 / of clamorous / kriklivih: From krik, "cry," "scream." Curiously, there is no exact English rendering. It is the French criard, criarde. "Screamy" will not do.
- 14 / at the door / u dvorá: "By the stead," "near the premises," "at the gate." See n. to Five : 1 : 2.

XLI

1-4. The quatrain of the following stanza provides a fine example of perfect interconnection between theme and rhythm:

> Vstayót zaryá vo mglé holódnoy; Na nívah shúm rabót umólk; S svoéy volchíhoyu golódnoy Vihódit na dorógu vólk...

The first two "regular lines" display two statements —cold morning, silent countryside—made in a narrative tone. Then a "flowing line" introduces the ominous wolf motif; and a "slow line" puts on the dramatic brakes (*na dorogu*)—to have the he-wolf appear in sudden strong relief.

 7 / goes tearing uphill at top speed / Nesyótsya v góru vo ves' dúh: In the draft of his notes for the 1833 edn. (PD 172), Pushkin says:

Those who criticized the rhythm of this line were wrong:

0-0-000-

is one of the variations of the iambic tetrameter, which, anyway, is rather monotonous.

To this Pushkin adds another example (Three : v : 14: "and thenceforth the whole way was mute") of what he considered a plain pyrrhic based on the same words *vo ves*" (lit. "in all," which, however, cannot be rendered by the same English equivalent in both cases):

There are, of course, no true "pyrrhics" here. Bulgarin, who quoted this line in his critique of Three (*Northern Bee*, no. 124, 1827) as a mistake in versifica-

tion, wisely did not go into details; but Pushkin, in his defense of it, does not see the point of a possible objection.

The lines in question actually scan thus (Four : XLI : 7 and Three : v : 14):

The rhythm of vo ves' in both examples (contextually "at top" and "the whole") is not a "pyrrhic" ($\neg \neg$), but what I have termed in my discussion of prosody a "reverse tilt" ($- \Diamond$). The stress of the foot coincides with the unaccented vo ("at," "the"), forming a scud (-), i.e., an unaccented stress, instead of the regular, accented stress (\perp), as in the other feet of the lines under consideration; this is a usual variation; but what jars the ear is that the depression (unstressed part) of the foot coincides with ves' ("top," "whole"), a word that is definitely accented in the locution vo ves' ("at tóp," "the whóle"); this is what constitutes the "reverse tilt," and this is what is ill-sounding. For further details see App. II, "Notes on Prosody."

9, 11 The cattle mentioned here have been driven to Krasnogorie all the way from the calcareous plateau of the Vexin Normand, where Chaulieu, in *Les Louanges de la vie champêtre* (noticed elsewhere; see n. to One : LVI : 2), sang at the top of his clerical falsetto:

> Quel plaisir de voir les troupeaux, Quand le midi brûle l'herbette, Rangés autour de la houlette [sheephook], Chercher le frais sous ces ormeaux!

Why the sight of cows standing around a shepherd's crook should please anybody is a mystery solved only in terms of literary fashions or conventions.

12 / maiden / déva: In his n. 23, Pushkin is referring to a critique by Boris Fyodorov, who reviewed Chapters Four and Five in the first and only issue of the magazine The St. Petersburg Spectator (Sanktpeterburgskiy zritel'), 1828. Pushkin used the "noble," poetical term, deva, instead of devushka, devitsa, or devka; and in Five : XXVIII : 9, he used devchonki instead of devi or barishni ("young ladies").

In a MS note (*Works* 1949, VII, 176) Pushkin has more to say on the subject:

Mr. Fyodorov, in a magazine that he started to publish, examined rather benevolently Chapters Four and Five; he observed, however, that in the description of autumn several lines [only two, really: Four : XL : 5 and 6; there is another "already" in mid-line 14] begin with the particle uzh [a contraction of uzhe, "already," Fr. ja, deja], and such lines he therefore termed uzhi [a pun: uzh also means "natrix," the common European ringed snake, pl. uzhi]...

The recurrence of "already" in Russian narrative poetry is a distressing factor to the conscientious translator, who has to use a heavy trisyllable in order to render a more or less tautological monosyllable that his author inserted merely as a stopgap!

Commodious brevity and smoothness of sound allow Russians to use this little word both in speech and in writing much more frequently than its counterpart is used in English. Its soft sibilant is constantly heard ushering in a phrase; and to render it every time by "already" tends to make the translation resemble the comedy English of a Russian-born New Yorker. The word is much in evidence in *EO* and may be considered

something of a philologism. I have endeavored to keep it intact as "already" in passages where it is a stylistic accessory: Pushkin himself, in a canceled note, comments on its repetition in Four : XL. Here and there *uzhe* or *uzh* can be adequately rendered by "now"; and there are certain turns where it means "practically" or "yet." The word is sometimes used in verse as a mere filling and would be redundant in English. In a few cases I have therefore left it out. It is curious to note that owing to the origin of the English word, such a common Russian phrase as *on uzhe gotov* becomes the amusing and impossible "he is already ready."

12-14 I have not looked up French translations of Thomson's Seasons, but I suspect that some shadow of ll. 134-37 of that author's Winter (1726) was present in Pushkin's mind:

> Even, as the matron, at her nightly task, With pensive labour draws the flaxen thread, The wasted taper and the crackling flame Foretell the blast.

- 14 / splintlight / *luchinka*: Diminutive of *luchina*, a splinter of resinous wood used as a candle.
- 14-XLII: 1 / crackles ... crackle / Treshchit ... treshchát: This repetition is not very felicitous. The clean crack of frost (e.g., in a hyperborean forest, where low temperatures are known to have split great tree trunks and set the very ground a-twanging) is different from the snap and splutter of resinous matchwood used for lighting in a peasant's log cabin.

\mathbf{X} LII

1-3 / froze . . . rose: *Morózi*, "frosts," *rózi*, "roses," is a Russian example of what Pope calls (in his *Essay on*

Criticism, ll. 349-51) "sure returns of still-expected rhymes":

Where-e'er you find the cooling western breeze, In the next line, it whispers thro' the trees . . .

In a poem to Zhukovski written in 1821, Vyazemski, in discussing rhymes, uses the same device:

and right 'mid summer's heat, while searching meads for ''roses'' [rózi],
drive thither, by sheer force, from Ural Mountains, ''frosts'' [morózi]...

The rhyme (moroza-roza) occurs in our poet's own lines of 1827, the second quatrain of an eight-line madrigal beginning *Est' róza dívnaya*, addressed presumably to some Moscow belle:

> Paphos and Cytherea vainly are blasted by the breath of frost: among one-minute roses there glistens an unfading rose

and as a masculine rhyme $(mor \delta z - r \delta z)$ in some other tetrameters, written in the winter of 1828 (ll. 1–8 of a twelve-line fragment):

> How fast in open country runs, reshoed, my steed, how ringingly under his hoof the frozen ground resounds! Good for the Russian health is our strengthening frost: cheeks, brighter than spring roses, sparkle with cold and blood . . .

In his Pushkin, psihologiya tvorchestva (Paris, 1928), p. 208, Gofman notes that prior to the composing of Four : XLII (written, I think, in the first week of January, 1826) Pushkin had never used the rhyme *morozi–rozi*. See, however, XXIVf : 5–6.

7 | Mal'chishek rádostnäy naród: The epithet is clumsily

balanced on two semantic levels; Pushkin meant to say *vesyóliy naród* ("the merry troop"), but this would not have scanned. The use of *narod* (lit. "people," "nation," etc.) in this colloquial and mildly jocose sense should be compared by the curious to the neoclassical variations on a natural-philosophic theme in Thomson's *Seasons* (1726-46), "the feathery people," "the plumy nation," "the tuneful race," and "the weak tribes," all referring to birds.

- 8 The critic mentioned in Pushkin's n. 24 is Mihail Dmitriev, who reviewed Four and Five in the *Athenaeum* (*Ateney*), 1828.
- 9 "The same critic," says Pushkin in a MS note, "understands that the intention of the heavy goose is to use *red* [i.e., not black or any other color] feet for swimming, and correctly remarks that *red* feet will not help one swim very far."

The word lápki (sing. lapka) here is not meant as a diminutive (which, grammatically, it is), but as merely signifying the feet of a fowl. Actually, however, the full form of the word (sing. lapa, pl. lapi) would have been better Russian as applied to this particular animal in the live state (heavy as a goose may be, there is no contrast between his body and his large flat feet). The feet of unspecified birds, from wren to peacock, those of insects (in the perfect stage), and the paws of small or portable quadrupeds (e.g., lap dogs, rabbits, domestic cats) are properly called lapki. The paws of hounds, wolves, bears, and tigers, the feet of large waterfowl, ostriches, eagles, vultures, and the like, as well as the pawlike feet of tortoises and camels, are *lapi*. The feet of caterpillars and children, and the legs of chairs, are nozhki, which, grammatically, is the endearing diminutive of nogi (feet or legs).

13 / first snow: This is December, 1820, and constitutes the first of three descriptions in the novel of the coming of winter. The other two are in Five : I (which refers to the same winter, but is seen through Tatiana's eyes) and Seven : XXIX-XXX (November, 1821).

The allusions to winter in the editio optima are:

- One : XVI : powder of the frost besilvers his beaver collar (November or December, 1819)
 - XXII : fidgeting horses, freezing coachmen
 - XXVII : rainbow light on the snow
 - XXXII : small foot on iron of the grate
 - xxxv : morning snow singing underfoot
- Four : XL : a travesty of Southern winters
 - XLI : the friend of winter nights
 - XLII : frost, skating, first snow glitters (December, 1820)
 - XLIII : winter pastimes
 - XLIV : bath with ice
 - XLV-L : fireside supper (Jan. 5, 1821)
 - Five : I : snow comes for good (Jan. 2-3, 1821) (note the overlapping with Four)
 - II: the simple pleasures of the poor
 - III : Vyazemski and Baratïnski
 - IV : sunlit hoarfrost, pink evening snows
 - IX : clear night, frost, creaking snow
 - XI : winter scene in Tatiana's dream (Jan. 5, 1821)
 - XII : snowdrift and bear
 - XIII : snow-burdened pines
 - XIV : crumbly snow, crisp snow
 - xv: desolate snow
 - xx : frosty darkness
 - xxI : crimson ray on frosty pane
 - XXIV : "blizzard" in dream book
 - xxv : sleighfuls of guests (Jan. 12, 1821)

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Six : XXIV : surface snow flying in bright sun (Jan.
14, 1821)
Seven : XXIX : winter comes (November, 1821)
XXX : first snow on bathhouse roof
XXXV : traveling in winter
Eight : XXXIX : Onegin's hibernation (beginning of No-
vember, 1824, to the beginning of April,
1825) comes to an end
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This description of the coming of winter—XL: 5-14, XLI, and XLII: 2, 5-14—is well translated (with a few minor inexactitudes, which I have italicized) by Edmund Wilson, in his "In Honor of Pushkin," in *The Triple Thinkers*, rev. edn. (New York, 1948), pp. 34–35:

*

Already now the sky was breathing autumn, already the dear sun more seldom gleamed, shorter grew the day, the forest's secret shadow was stripped away with sighing sound, mist lay upon the fields, the caravan of *loud*tongued geese stretched toward the south: drew near the duller season; November stood already at the door.

Rises the dawn in cold murk; in the fields the sound of work is still; the wolf with his hungry mate comes out upon the road; *sniffing*, the road-horse snorts—and the traveler *who is wise* makes full speed up the hill; the herdsman now *at last* by morning light no longer drives his *cattle* from the byre; at mid-day to their huddle his horn no longer calls them; inside her hut, the *farm* girl, singing, spins, while—friend of winter nights—her little flare of kindling snaps *beside* her.

And now the *heavy* frosts are snapping and spread their silver through the fields . . . smoother than a *smart* parquet glistens the ice-bound stream. The merry *mob* of *little* boys with skates cut ringingly the ice; on *small* red feet the lumbering goose, *hoping* to float on the water's breast, steps carefully but slips and topples; gaily the first snow *flashes* and whirls about, falling in stars on the bank.

Four: XLIII

VARIANT

12–14 A canceled draft (2370, f. 77^r) reads much more pleasingly:

then slips and falls. The gay small rabbit comes out. The first snow in stars falls on the bank.

XLIII

1 / What can one do: Cf. Keats, Fancy (1820), ll. 15-18:

... What do then? Sit thee by the ingle, when The sear faggot blazes bright, Spirit of a winter's night...

See also the end of Four : XLI.

- 5–8 Pushkin closes a letter to Vyazemski (Jan. 28, 1825, from Trigorskoe, near Mihaylovskoe, to Moscow) with the words: "I am writing you from [the Osipovs], with one arm bruised—have fallen upon the ice not *from* my horse but *with* my horse, which makes a great difference to my equestrian vanity."
- 10 / Pradt: Dominique de Pradt (1759-1837), French political writer. His most obvious work in Onegin's library that winter would be L'Europe après le congrès d'Aixla-Chapelle, faisant suite au congrès de Vienne (Paris, 1819), where the following amusing passage occurs (pp. 36-42):

Les accroissemens de la population en Russie suivent les mêmes degrès qu'on les voit parcourir en Amérique. ...Il est calculé qu'en 1920 [la] population [des Etats-Unis] surpassera 100,000,000 h[abitans].... [Dans] cent ans la population de la Russie excédera cent millions

d'hommes.... Ajoutez que la Russie... est la seule puissance de l'Europe qui possède encore, dans une trèsgrande abondance, une des machines les plus essentielles de la guerre, un des principes vitaux de l'état militaire d'un pays, les chevaux ... [et] sous ce rapport, la Russie ressemble à... l'Amérique....

Pradt's main point was (p. 42): "Le congrès de Vienne, en sanctionnant l'occupation de la Pologne, a faussé la politique de l'Europe qui exigeait d'éloigner la Russie à tout prix."

10 / Walter Scott: For instance, *Ivanhoé*, ou le Retour du croisé, tr. Auguste Jean Baptiste Defauconpret (Paris, 1820).

VARIANT

1-4 The fair copy reads:

What can one do at such a time in the backwoods? Walk? But all places are as bare as the bald pate of Saturn or serfdom's destitution.

The draft (2370, f. 77^v) is marked "2 genv. 1826."

Brodski, of course, makes a lot of this allusion to rural conditions before Lenin and Stalin.

There is a wonderful alliterative play on g and l:

V glushí chto délať v éto vrémya? Gulyáť? No góli vsé mestá, Kak lísoe Satúrna témya Il' krepostnáya nishchetá.

Saturn is the ancient god of time or of seasons, and is usually represented as a gray-bearded old man with a bald pate and a scythe. He eats up his own children, "as revolutions eat up the liberties they engender" (as Vergniaud, the Girondist, said).

XLIV

1 / Childe Harold / Chil'd Garól'dom (instr.): Pushkin gave an English value to the Ch of the first word, but pronounced the vowel in the French manner, producing a vowel sound between "chilled" and "shield." He commenced the next word with the transliteration G, used for rendering the English and German h; he accented the word on a kind of open old (rhyming with "dolled"), à la française, and wound up with a Russian instrumental-case termination (om).

The rhyme itself is most striking. In order to stress still more sarcastically the triteness of the moroz \ddot{u} -roz \ddot{u} rhyme tossed into the reader's lap in XLII, Pushkin now shows what he can do: Só l'dom ("with ice") is accented upon the preposition, and this folksy intonation is in prodigious contrast to the cosmopolitan Garól'dom. The English reader is reminded that the rime richissime, even when consisting of two words as here, does not have in Russian the vulgar jocular tone of its English counterpart. A curious example is at hand.

In the jocular lines devoted to the siege of Izmail in can. VII of *Don Juan*, among bungled Russian names that had already been misspelled in their passage through German transliteration into French and English, names with ragged w's and shoddy *sch*'s still hanging about them or, on the contrary, losing their *h*'s in Frenchified forms, there is, in st. XVII, a "Mouskin Pouskin" (Musin-Pushkin) rhyming with "through skin" and "new skin." (The Counts Musin-Pushkin are distantly related to the plain Pushkins.)

According to E. H. Coleridge's footnote in his edition of *Don Juan*, this is a reference to Count Aleksey Ivanovich Musin-Pushkin (1744–1817), statesman and archeologist; there was another person of that name, who also died in 1817, and was also known to English memoirists, Count (1779) Aleksey Semyonovich Musin-Pushkin, ambassador of Catherine II in London and Stockholm.

The name seems to have sorely puzzled Englishmen: "The author of the pretended tour is a Russian prince, Mouska Pouska . . . [nobody] could possibly equal his misrepresentations about English society." Thus writes George Brummell to a lady, from Caen, on Jan. 1, 1836, a year before he began losing his mind (quoted in Jesse, *Brummell*, vol. II, ch. 22). The traveler Edward Daniel Clarke (1769–1822), who visited Russia in 1800, has, however, the name almost correctly transliterated in a footnote (*Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* [4th edn., London, 1817], II, 126): Alexis Mussin Pushkin.

In November, 1825, Pushkin, from Mihaylovskoe, writes Vyazemski, in Moscow, that he knows only the first five cantos of *Don Juan* (in Pichot's French prose). On July 21, 1825, he had reminded Anna Vulf, who had gone to Riga, where her cousin Anna Kern lived, to send him Pichot's prose version of the remaining cantos (this is the Paris edition of 1824), which Anna Kern had promised to obtain for him. He probably got it early in 1826. Pichot's version of the "new skin" passage goes :

... et Mouskin-Pouskin, tout aussi belliqueux que quiconque [a] fendu un homme en deux.... Ils se souciaient peu de Mahomet... à moins qu'ils n'eussent pensé à faire un tambour de leur peau.

In a critical MS note of 1827 (*Works* 1936, V, 23) Pushkin writes:

Byron used to say he would never undertake to describe a country he had not seen with his own eyes. Nevertheless, in *Don Juan* he describes Russia; in result, certain errors can be detected: a *kibitka* [is not] an uncomfortable carriage without springs [Byron confused it with *telega*]. And there are other, more important mistakes. . .

The reference is to Don Juan, IX, xxx: "A curséd sort

of carriage without springs," which Pushkin's source (Pichot, 1824) translates "maudite sorte de voiture non suspendue."

Russians on the whole had less trouble with Byron's and his characters' names than Byron had with Russian ones (he rhymed, for instance, "Souvaroff-lover of" and "Suwárrow-sorrow" instead of the correct "Suvórovmore of"). Byron's works, as I am not tired of repeating, came to most Russians in French versions. The French pronunciation of his name is "Birong," with the accent on the nasalized ultima; no Russian counterpart of this sound exists; there were some attempts in Russia to imitate the French form of the name by writing it "Birón" (rhyming with "here-on"). This, however, did not work, owing to confusing associations with the name of a famous favorite of Empress Anna (Bühren, Russianized as Biron). The correct pronunciation was hit upon with "Báyron," which renders perfectly the English vowel sound; but, concurrently, another linguistic school evolved the horrible "Béyron," which was persistently used by Katenin, Vyazemski, Rïleev, Yazïkov, and various writers of the Moscow-Germanophile group. This ey, pronounced somewhat like ey in "Bey" or ay in "bay," but with a longer, hollower, yellower sound to it, is a result of a Germanic, or rather Rigan, influence. Knowing, theoretically, that the English "by" is similar to the German bei, Baltic scholars pronounced "Byron" as if it were a German word (written, for instance, bei-ronn), but since the Baltic pronunciation of the German ei resembles the Russian $e\gamma$, Byron became Beyron. (See also n. to One : xxxvIII : o.)

13 / Na tróyke chálih loshadéy: Lenski arrives in a sleigh drawn by a troika, three horses abreast. A troyka (with the "of horses" omitted) is also used elliptically to mean a carriage-and-three. It almost rhymes with "toy car."

I see that one of the English translators, Spalding (1881), has Lenski take the reins as would an English nobleman driving his curricle or phaeton; but we are in provincial Russia, and there is a coachman between the nobleman and the three horses.

The meaning of *chaliy*, implying as it does a more or less even mixture of a pale brownish tint with a grayish one, varies slightly in different localities. I see it here as a rather light, delicate dunnish gray, but I may be influenced by riding-school memories of St. Petersburg. Turgenev-Viardot translate it "fleur-de-pêcher," which is a whitish ground mottled with reddish when pertaining to the coat of a horse; and Ivan Turgenev was an expert in the matter.

VARIANT

6 A canceled draft (2370, f. 77^v) has Onegin sharpen a cue, rub it with chalk . . .

XLV

1-7 / Veuve Cliquot ... Moët ... a simile [and see XLVI:
5, 6 / Ai]: Voltaire, Le Mondain, sees in the "écume pétillante" of Ay (or Aï) wine "l'image brillante" "de nos Français."

Byron, Don Juan, XV, LXV, 8, speaks of the foam of champagne "As white as Cleopatra's melted pearls."

Baratinski, in *The Feasts*, l. 139, finds in champagne "a simile of youthful life." (See below.)

The surname of Jean Remi Moët (1758-1841), founder of the famous champagne firm and genial *maire* of Epernay, rhymes in Russian with *poét*. The diaeresis over the *e* of Moët and over the *i* of Aï (pronounced "Ah-ee," with the accent on the *ee*) indicate in French the splitting of the diphthong into two syllables (naïf, Baïf) and should not be confused with the diacritical sign over i that, in my transliteration of Russian, has been arbitrarily chosen to render the transformation of i into its open-mouth variety, as in $t\ddot{i}$, Krïm, Yazikov, etc. (See "Method of Transliteration," vol. 1, pp. xix, xxi-xxii.)

The name of this glorious champagne comes from Aï or Ay, a town in the Marne Department, northern France, where the original vineyard was situated in the Marne watershed, near Epernay.

Pushkin's n. 25 is part of an epistle (trochaic tetrameter, thirty-six lines) addressed to his brother Lev. It starts: "Well, and what about the wine," and is a mere sketch written in early December, 1824.

It would seem at first blush that Pushkin had realized that his Four : XLV : 7 might sound like a mocking allusion to the line in *The Feasts* of Baratïnski, whose feelings he was always morbidly anxious to spare; and that, therefore, he tactfully and laconically quoted his own lame lines as a kind of prototype in retrospect to prove he never had Baratïnski in view.

But there might be another, subtler reason for his imitation and his note.

Here is the passage referring to champagne in Baratïnski's *Feasts* (1821 edn., ll. 129-39):

> Into plain cups the god of tippling luxuriously to sons of glee pours out his fondest drink, Ay: courage within it is concealed; its liquid, twinkling starrily, is full of a celestial soul. It sparkles free. Like a proud mind, it cannot bear captivity; it bursts its cork with sportive surf and merrily its foam doth spurt —a simile of youthful life . . .

In the edition of 1826, just after the Decembrist rising, the censor objected to this simile (ll. 135-36) involving freedom and pride: Kak górdïy úm, ne térpit pléna . . .

which was then altered (possibly by Delvig, as Gofman suggests in his 1915 edn. of Baratïnski's works) to:

It bubbles joyously.

Like a proud steed, it cannot bear captivity . . .

What horse could, man could not.

(In the final, 1835, edition, this became: "It glistens, bubbles like a daring mind," etc.)

In a letter to Baratïnski, his friend Delvig, who attended to the printing of *The Feasts* and *Eda* (published together), speaks of his fruitless attempts to have the censor pass the original lines: "Censorship," he writes, "has gone completely crazy after the *André Chénier* affair."

It is quite possible that Pushkin, who at the time was in correspondence with both Delvig and Baratïnski, commemorated his awareness of the ridiculous alteration demanded by the police, and affixed to his sly line, "a simile of this and that," an innocent-looking quotation that immediately recalled *The Feasts* to those who were in the know.

The André Chénier mentioned by Delvig is an elegy composed by Pushkin early in 1825, bemoaning Chénier's death under the knife of the guillotine in 1794, at the close of the era of popular tyranny. It consists of 185 free iambics, is inscribed to Nikolay Raevski, and was first published, with the deletion by the censor (Oct. 8, 1825) of some forty lines (21–64 and 150), in *Poems of Aleksandr Pushkin*, which came out Dec. 28, 1825, a fortnight after the Decembrist revolt. Malicious or naïve readers circulated MS copies of these lines (in which Chénier is made to invoke "sacred liberty" and the overthrow of kings) under the spurious title (given them by a certain Andrey Leopoldov, Moscow University student), *The Fourteenth of December*, in consequence of which the puzzled police pestered Pushkin and arrested the possessors of MS copies. The elegy, including the censored passage, has really nothing to do with Russian events, except by casual association: in the course of its attack on Robespierre's regime of Terror, it eulogizes (as *Vol'nost'* had done in 1817) Liberty based on Law.

2 Cf. Vyazemski, a tetrametric piece inscribed to the poet Davïdov (1815; ll. 49–52):

> ... the magic gift of blest Ay fizzes, with surging sparks and foam: thus fizzes life in youthful days ...

- 5 / Hippocrene: A fountain on Mount Helicon, in Bœotia, sacred to the Muses. It spurted from the spot struck by the hoof of Pegasus, a winged horse, emblem of poetic inspiration.
- 9 / last poor lepton: Tomashevski observes (in Works 1957, p. 597) that this is an ironic quotation from Zhukovski's epistle in 484 Alexandrines, To the Emperor Alexander (1814; ll. 442–43):

When even poverty under oblivion's roof its last poor lepton for your likeness gives . . .

XLVI

Both this and the previous stanza, XLV, are very poor, bubbling with imported platitudes.

3 / Bordeaux: Bordeaux's "sanguine frothy juice" is also John Gay's choice (*Wine*, 1708).

Ducis, in a verse A Mme Georgette W. C., praises Bordeaux in similar terms (ll. 2, 8):

5, 6 / Ay: See n. to XLV : 1-7.

11-14 A good example of the sobering and braking effect accomplished by a run of second-foot scudders after a burst of record modulations. The following paraphrase is meant only to render the rhythm:

> No matter at what time or place A comrade and a ready helper, In leisure, and in lonely rue: My gratitude, Bordeaux, to you!

XLVII

4–7 In a MS note (see *Works* 1949, VII, 171) Pushkin writes:

For a long time the reviewers left me in peace. This did them honor: I was far away, and in unfavorable circumstances. They became used to considering me still a very young man. The first inimical reviewals began to appear after the publication of EO, Four and Five [early in 1828]. A critique published in the *Athenaeum* [1828, signed "V.," written by Mihail Dmitriev] surprised me by its *bon ton*, its good style, and the oddity of its carpings. The most usual rhetorical figures and tropes puzzled the critic, such as "the glass fizzes" instead of "the wine fizzes in the glass" or "the grate exhales" instead of "the vapor issues from the grate."

- 9-13 The intonation of this parenthetical remark is very like the one about Rousseau in One : xxiv : 9-14.
- 12 / between wolf and dog / mezh vólka i sobáki: A familiar Gallicism, entre chien et loup, going back to the thirteenth century (entre chien et leu), meaning dusk—a time of day when it is already too dark for the shepherd to distinguish

his dog from a wolf. An evolutionist sense has also been read into the locution; namely, the reference to the blending of day with night in terms of an intermediary stage between two closely allied species of animals.

XLVIII

VARIANTS

10 The separate edition of Four and Five (1828) has the variant:

or else, mon cher, judge for yourself . . .

13–14 and XLIX: 1: A canceled draft (2370, f. 78^v) has "Saturday," as in the final fair copy, but the corrected draft (ibid.) reads:

> Da chtó?—kakóy zhe yá bolván— Chuť ne zabíl—v chetvérg ti zván—

But stay—what a blockhead I am almost forgot—you are invited Thursday—

This "Thursday" is retained in a variant of the fair copy, where the next stanza begins:

Tĩ zván v chetvérg na imenínĩ . . . You are invited Thursday to the name day . . .

However, in 1821, which is the only possible year here, Jan. 12 fell on a Wednesday, and it would have been quite easy for Pushkin to say *Chut' ne zabîl—tī v srédu zván* and *Tī v srédu zván na imenínī*. It fell on a Saturday in 1818 and in 1824, on a Monday in 1825, and on a Tuesday in 1826, the year this chapter was finished.

XLIX

Everybody forgets something here: Lenski forgets (but then unfortunately remembers) the invitation; Onegin

forgets the situation in which Tatiana is placed; and Pushkin forgets his calendar. Had not Lenski suddenly recalled what his guardian angel was trying to make him forget, there would have been no dance, no duel, and no death. Here begins, on Onegin's part, the series of careless, irresponsible acts that fatally lead to the disaster. It would seem that the small family party promised by Lenski in his naïve eagerness to have his friend come should have seemed even less acceptable to Onegin though for a different reason—than a big one. What can lead him to prefer the intimacy to the crowd? Cruel curiosity? Or has Tatiana been growing upon him since he last saw her more than five months earlier?

1-2 / Tatiana's name day is Saturday / Tat'yánï imenínï | V subbótu: Jan. 12, St. Tatiana of Rome, c. 230, martyr. Here and elsewhere I have reduced to "name day" the term used by the English of the time: "name's-day" or "his (her) fête."

VARIANTS

1 See XLVIII : var. 13–14.

13 A canceled draft (2370, f. 78^v) charmingly reads:

Nakinul sinyuyu shinél' threw on his blue carrick

and (presumably) drove off into the blizzard (myatél').

 \mathbf{L}

- 9 / enemies of Hymen / vragi Giména: A cacophonic clash of consonants (gi-gi) unlike anything else in EO. Or did Pushkin pronounce it "Hiména"?
- 12 / Lafontaine: Pushkin's n. 26, on this "author of numerous family novels" (*semeystvennih romanov*), refers

to August (also spelled Auguste) Heinrich Julius Lafontaine (1758–1831), German novelist. He was as mediocre as he was prolific, begetting more than 150 volumes, and was tremendously popular abroad in French translations. Pushkin may have had in mind specifically *Les Deux Amis (Die beiden Freunde)*, tr. Countess de Montholon (Paris, 1817, 3 vols.); or *Les Aveux au tombeau* (*Das Bekenntniss am Grabe*), tr. Elise Voïart (Paris, 1817, 4 vols.); or, still more likely, *La Famille de Halden* (*Die Familie von Halden*, 1789), tr. H. Villemain (Paris, 1803, 4 vols.), a copy of which (according to Modzalevski's laconic note in *P. i ego sovr.*, I, 1 [1903], p. 27) was in the library of Mme Osipov, Pushkin's neighbor, at Trigorskoe.

 \mathbf{LI}

Under this, in the draft (2370, f. 79^r): "6 genv" (Jan. 6, 1826).

Chapter Five

MOTTO

Two lines from the epilogue of Zhukovski's ballad *Svetlana* (1812), referred to in my nn. to Three : v : 2-4 and Five : x : 6.

The two conclusive stanzas of the ballad are addressed to Aleksandra Protasov (1797–1829), Zhukovski's godchild and niece (his sister's daughter). In 1814 she married the minor poet and critic, Aleksandr Voeykov (1778–1839), who treated her cruelly. She did know "these frightful dreams" and died young in Italy. Aleksandr Turgenev was in love with her; in a letter of Oct. 19, 1832, Zhukovski sent him an inscription in ecclesiastic Russian for her tomb in Livorno (*Arhiv* brat'ev Turgenevih, no. 6 [1921], p. 461). She was the sister of Maria Protasov (1793–1823)—the great love of Zhukovski's life—who in 1817 married the distinguished surgeon, Dr. Ivan Moyer (Johann Christian Moier, 1786–1858).

The fair copy of Five (PB 14) has a suggestion of two epigraphs: the first two words of the Petrarch lines that are used for Six—probably only a false start here; and *Svetlana*, st. II, II. 1-8, which contain a theme that leads us back to Three : V: Lusterlessly shines the moon in the darkness of the mist; silent is and sad dear Svetlana. Sweet companion, what ails you, no word uttering? Hearken to the roundelay, and take out your ring.

I

At the top of the draft $(2370, f. 79^{v})$ Pushkin wrote the date "4 *genv*." (Jan. 4, 1826).

2 / abroad / na dvoré; 7 / yard / dvor; 11 / outside / na dvoré: Dvor in l. 7 is a specific item (the yard) among other items (flower beds, etc.). Na dvoré in l. 11 may mean "in the yard" or (as it is more likely to be understood here) "outside," "out of doors." In l. 2 the na dvoré conveys a still vaguer, more general and abstract notion of something taking place at large, in the open. Indeed, the na dvore in this idiomatic phrase, osénnyaya pogóda ("fall weather") stoyála ("stood") . . . na dvoré ("on the premises," "on the scene"), means hardly more than the adverb would in the colloquial Americanism "the man stood around" or "it's raining out." In consequence, ll. 1-2:

> V tot gód osénnyaya pogóda Stoyála dólgo na dvoré

merely signify that this kind of weather (autumnal) continued, or endured, that year (1820) for a long time (till January, 1821), but since the act of enduring must take place somewhere, the Russian way is to round up the phrase with *na dvore*.

3, 10, 13 / winter: "Winter" (zimá, adj. zimniy) is repeated three times in this stanza.

It will be noted that in a preceding chapter (Four : XL) November rather incongruously closes summer, and this clashes with the definition of a Northern summer's brevity (Four : XL : z), since fall weather in the region where the Larins' countryseat was would have normally set in not later than the last days of August (Old Style, of course). Otherwise, the lateness of the seasons, both autumn and winter, in the year "1820" is not too clearly defined in Four, although actually Four : XL-L (from November to the beginning of January) cover the same time stretch as Five : I-II. Pushkin's "1820" differs from the historical 1820, which was marked in NW Russia by a very *early* snowfall (Sept. 28, in the St. Petersburg region, judging by a letter from Karamzin to Dmitriev).

- 5 All four English translators—Spalding, Deutsch, Elton, and Radin—make a mistake in the date, understanding *na trét'e* as "on the third"!
- 9 / patterns / uzóri: The reference is to frostwork.
- 12 / myágko: Fr. moelleusement, a blend of "yieldingly" and "thickly."
- 14 / Vsyo yárko, vsyó beló krugóm: Cf. Thomson, Winter (1730-38 edns.), ll. 232-34:

Sudden the fields Put on their winter-robe of purest white. 'Tis brightness all . . .

VARIANT

1–4 Canceled draft (2370, f. 79^v):

That year fall weather stayed a long time. The barometer froze up. Poor nature $\ldots \langle \text{the wind} \rangle \ldots$ "Wind," vetr, could be the only possible rhyme to barométr here. It had already been used by Zhukovski in a facetious poem of 1811 entitled A Whirlingly Curious Scene Between Mr. Leander, Pagliaccio, and the Dignified Herr Doktor (Kolovratno-Kur'oznaya stsena mezhdu gospodinom Leandrom, Pal'yasom i vazhnïm gospodinom doktorom).

II

This stanza often appears in Russian schoolbooks as a separate poem entitled *Winter*; and in 1899, a certain Plosaykevich made a "Child chorus for two voices" out of the stanza, of which he dubbed the octave "The Russian Winter" and the sextet "The Sportive Lad" (*Mal'chik-Zabavnik*).

1-4 Spalding (1881):

Winter! The peasant blithely goes To labour in his sledge forgot, His pony sniffing the fresh snows Just manages a feeble trot...

C. F. Coxwell, Russian Poems (London, 1929):

Winter... The Peasant shows his glee Sleighing along the frozen road; Whose faithful horse, since it has snowed, Maintains a trot but cautiously.

Deutsch (1936):

Here's winter! . . . The triumphant peasant Upon his sledge tries out the road; His mare scents snow upon the pleasant Keen air, and trots without a goad.

Elton (1937):

Winter! the peasant's heart now dances; Again he journeys in his sleigh.

The old mare sniffs the snow, advances With shambling trot, as best she may.

Radin (1937):

Winter! The peasant in its honor Marks out the roadway with his sleigh; His poor horse plowing through the furrows Goes jogging, stumbling, on its way.

The sledge forgot, the triumphant peasant showing his glee on the frozen road, the pleasant keen air, the incredible goad, the dancing heart of the peasant, the old mare, the honor of winter, the plowing through furrows, the poor stumbling horse—all this forms a mass of nonsense that of course has nothing in common with EO.

10 / "blackie" / zhúchka (italics in Russ. text): Any darkcoated little dog, and by extension any small "pooch."

VARIANTS

1 Canceled draft (2370, f. 70^r):

Winter! . . . Our muzhik not lamenting . . .

12–14 Draft (2370, f. 70°):

standing, the merry coachman drives, and the brave little bell under the new shaft-bow resounds.

III

- 3 / lowly nature: Here Brodski idiotically comments: "Lords and ladies were shocked by realistic descriptions of nature." Actually, of course, Pushkin has in mind the Frenchified common reader, whose genteel taste (*le bon goût*) might be shocked.
- 6 / another poet; 7-13 / first snow . . . : A MS note (PD 172), prepared for the 1833 edn., reads:

First Snow, by Vyazemski. A handsome outcomer [krasiviy vihodets], etc. The end [of the poem]. Barat[inski] in Finl[and].

The passage in Vyazemski's *First Snow* (1819; see my n. to One : motto) goes:

A handsome outcomer from mettled herds, rival in pace of the wing'd-footed doe, shall sweep us o'er the field, trampling the crumbly snow. And black and glistening are your sable furs, the tribute of Siberian forests . . .

Fresher the roses of your red cheeks blush, and fresher on your brow the lily whitens.

This is a good example of Vyazemski's florid and redundant style, full of definitions, and definitions of definitions. The poem ends (ll. 104-05):

O Winter's firstling, brilliant and morose, first snow, the virgin fabric of our fields.

Pushkin easily overtook and left behind both Vyazemski and Baratïnski (see next n.) in his short poems *Winter* (1829) and *Winter Morning* (1829), in which the colors are beautifully pure, with everything harmonious, concise, and colloquially fluent.

13–14 A reference to a fragment of Baratïnski's *Eda*, published in *Mnemosyne*, early 1825, and also in *The Polar Star* of the same year. The fragment differs slightly from the 1826 text (ll. 623–31):

The winter cold has shackled torrents, and o'er their precipices from granite mountains they, mountains of ice, already hang. From under snowdrifts the crags loom black. The snow in mounds [bugrami] lies on the centenary pines. Around, all is deserted. Noisily the winter blizzards have begun to wail.

Our poet apparently changed his mind and decided to compete with Baratïnski, after all—which was not too difficult. In Tatiana's dream, Pushkin unshackles those torrents (Five : XI) and improves those pines (Five : XIII). Baratïnski replaced the pines with a "hoary, undulating, sky-covering gloam" in the 1826 edn. of *Eda*.

IV

3 The Russian construction is "with its cold beauty."

6-7 | at late dawn, the radiance of the rosy snows | zaryóyu pózdnoy | Siyán'e rózovih snegóv: Cf. Thomas Moore, Loves of the Angels (1823), ll. 98-99, "First Angel's Story": "... snow | When rosy with a sunset glow."

"Mr. Moore's poetry," wrote *The Edinburgh Review* in February, 1823, "is the thornless rose—its touch is velvet, its hue vermilion....Lord Byron's is a prickly bramble, or sometimes a deadly Upas." (See n. to One : XXXIII : 3-4.)

In this image of rózovih snegóv our poet amalgamates the frosts and the roses (morozi–rozi) of the "expected rhyme" tossed into the reader's lap in Four : XLII.

14 / husbands: The accusative plural used here is muzh'yóv, a vulgarism more suitable to the speech of these servant maids than the regular muzhéy (which appears in the 1828 edn., and is later in the same year corrected to the established reading in the errata appended to Six). Note that the prediction came true: Olga married an uhlan, and Tatiana a distinguished general.

V

9–12 The same superstition was current in Wales, according to the following observation (R. P. Hampton Roberts, in *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., VII [Feb. 17, 1877], 136): When in Anglesey I used to be told that this act of pussy's [washing her face] presaged, not rain [as it is commonly held in England], but the advent of a visitor. If the face only was washed, the date of the visitor's call was not fixed; but if the paw went over the ear, he might be expected the same day.

9 / Zhemánniy kót: The 1828 edn. adds l' after zhemánniy, giving the sense of "did" or "if" or "whenever."

In the margin of the drafts (2370, ff. 80° and 81°) Pushkin, while working on sts. V–VI and IX–X, three weeks or so after the disastrous Decembrist rising in Petersburg (Dec. 14, 1825), sketched the profiles of several conspirators he personally knew. Among various Mirabeaulike and Voltairelike profiles, one can make out those of the Decembrists P. Pestel and Rileev, which shows tremendous power of visualization on Pushkin's part, since he had seen Pestel more than four years before (spring, 1821, Kishinev) and Rileev five and a half years before (spring, 1820, Petersburg). See vol. 3, p. 361 and n.

VI

2-7 "I have known the shooting of a Star spoil a Night's Rest.... There is nothing so inconsiderable that may not appear dreadful to an Imagination that is filled with Omens and Prognosticks" (Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 7, March 8, 1711, where he is very witty in regard to superstitious ladies).

Shooting stars have been portentous ever since the world was made.

VII

1 / Yet / Chto zh?: This interrogative formula means here "What would you think?" or "Strange to say."

11 / U grobovóy svoéy doskí: Idiom for "at the door of the grave."

VIII

- 2 / submerged wax / vósk potóplenniy: Pushkin's epithet seems to have been affected by rastopit', "to melt" (trans.); topit', meaning both "to drown" (trans.) and "to dissolve" (trans.). Instead of hot wax, tin (olovo) is sometimes melted down and placed in water, wherein it assumes prophetic shapes. A ritual book, the Potrebnik, of 1639, mentions sorcerers of both kinds: voskoley and olovoley, wax dissolvers and tin dissolvers (or "pourers" of these substances).
- 5-8 The Yuletide and Twelfth-night singing of dishdivination songs (*podblyudnie pesni*) opens with a carol beginning "Glory [*Sláva*] be to God in heaven, Glory!" Girls and women wishing to divine drop rings and other trinkets into a dish or bowl containing water. The dish (*blyudo*) is then covered with a cloth, and the carols commence. At the end of each song a trinket is drawn at random, and its owner deduces an omen from the nature of the song that has just been sung over her token.
- 7 / turned up / vinulos': The obvious translation, "was taken out," does not convey the element of chance and lot pertaining to the Russian verb as used here.
- 9 / the countrymen / *muzhichkl-to*: This diminutive and the folksy filler, *-to*, cannot be adequately rendered in English.
- 9-12 This is a well-known svyatochnöy song (the adjective comes from svyatki, the twelve days from the birth of Christ, Dec. 25, to Epiphany (Kreshchenie, Baptism of Christ), Jan. 6. The song goes:

In Our Saviour's parish, in Chigásï beyond the Yáuza, Glory! Rich peasants live; Glory! They dig up gold by the spadeful, Glory! Bright silver by the basketful, Glory!

Yauza River is a tributary of Moskva River east of the Kremlin. The brick church of Our Saviour was built in 1483. The usual portent of this song is death for elderly people.

14 / Kit / koshúrka: The carol goes:

Tomcat calls Kit: Glory! You come, my Kit, to sleep in the stove nook, Glory! I, Tomcat, have a flask of rye, Glory! A flask of rye and the end of a pie, Glory! And soft is the bed of Tomcat, Glory!

This "sweeter" song foretells marriage, as Pushkin remarks in his n. 29.

VARIANT

2 Canceled drafts (2370, f. 81^r) have vosk rastoplennöy, "melted wax," and vosk i olovo, "wax and tin."

IX

4 / in her low-cut frock / V otkritom plátitse: Spalding has "In a half-open dressing-gown"; Elton, "Bareheaded, in a kerchief"; Miss Deutsch, "careless of the cold"; only Miss Radin has it right.

6 / she trains a mirror on the moon; 13 / What is your name: These are well-known outdoor methods of divination. Not only this Frenchified bare-shouldered miss, but also a Russian peasant girl, booted and kerchiefed, would go out onto the rural crossroads and direct her looking glass at the moon, urging her destined husband to appear in it. The reader may recall the old English invocation:

> Moon, good moon, all hail to thee. I prithee, moon, reveal to me Who my husband must be.

Another old charm (not mentioned by Pushkin, but opening Zhukovski's *Svetlana*) consisted in throwing one's slipper over the gate onto the road. As it lay on the snow, it pointed in the direction one's husband's home would be.

The stanza ends with a ritual that one doubts shy Tatiana really performed: this was to go beyond the gate and challenge the first foot passenger.

13 / He looks: The verb "to look"—smotret', glyadet' (Six: XXIV: 13)—is used more often in Russian than in English. It is sometimes a mere syntactical pointer directing the attention of the reader to a coming action or event (as here) or sets a certain mood (of surprise or uncertainty): "The prince looks at Onegin" (Eight: XVII: 11). Also common is a perfective verb variant, vzglyanut', "to glance": "I shall glance at the house" (Seven: XVI: 3-4). But the most enervating phenomenon of this order is the Russian equivalents of the noun "look"—vzglyad (specifically "glance") and vzor (specifically "gaze"). They are easy to rhyme and, when bolstered by an epithet ("languorous," "sad," "glad," "gloomy"), become ready-made formulas conveying a state of mind through a person's facial expression.

14 / Agafón: Agafon, pronounced something like "Ah-gahfawn," comes as a grotesque shock. This Russian version of Agatho or Agathonicus (see Pushkin's n. 13 to Two : XXIV : 2, on euphonious Greek names) is elephantine and rustic to the Russian ear. Its counterpart may be found among the Biblical names in England. We should imagine an English young lady of 1820 slipping out of the manor gate to ask a passing laborer his name and discovering that her husband will be called not Allan but Noah.

VARIANT

14 In the draft of this stanza (2370, f. 81°, pencil; published by Efros in *Lit. nasl.*, nos. 16–18 [1934], between pp. 928 and 929), Pushkin crossed out *Agafón* and wrote above it *Haritón*—which, had he retained it in the final text, would have nicely prophesied the Hariton Lane in the Hariton (St. Chariton) Parish whither, a year later, Tatiana will be taken on a matrimonial quest.

A canceled draft has *Mirón*, and a variant in the fair copy reads *Paramón*.

х

- 1, 5, 8, 9, 14 / Tatiana: It will be marked that Tatiana's name is repeated as many as five times in the course of this catoptromantic stanza, and there are other repetitions in it. One wonders if this is not the echo of her incantations; and one recalls the repetition of words in the first stanza of this canto. Her mirror may be compared to Pushkin's "magic crystal" in Eight : L.
- 1-3 / nurse's... in the bathhouse / $nyáni \dots v$ báni: The ultima of the locative in l. 3 accommodates itself to the rhyme. The correct form is, of course, v bane (or, in the old orthography, used throughout the nineteenth century, v banye).

In Arabia the jinn's "chief abode is the bath" (Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* [London, 1885], p. 136).

We shall not divine with Tatiana in the Larins' bagnio. Instead, in Seven, we shall accompany her to an abandoned castle, where, enchanted in a fashionable cell, she will raise a daemon by studying magic signs in the margins of his books. *Her* books have bred, too. The mirror under her pillow, which had reflected the dancing moon, replaced *Werther*, which had been lying there, and that romance in its turn will be replaced by *Adolphe*.

6-8 Cf. other sympathetic phrases concerning Tatiana.

6 / Svetlana: Yet another allusion to Zhukovski's beautiful ballad, which our poet mentions in Three : v : 2-4 (see n.), and which provides Five with a motto. Svetlana engages in divination and conjuration before a candlelit mirror at a table laid for two. Bright-eyed and uncanny, her lover, after a year's absence, suddenly appears and, as in Bürger's *Lenore*, carries her off—to his own grave. The whole event, however, turns out to be a dream; and on the morrow, Svetlana's lover comes home safely, and they are married. The ballad ends with a twelve-line epilogue (or envoy—to use the term for a type of complimentary poem also termed "ballad"):

> Never know these frightful dreams, You, O my Svetlana!

and eight lines lower, to the end of the piece:

Let all your life be bright as on the bosom of a mead a brooklet's pleasant gleam!

A Lenskian landscape.

St. v of *Svetlana* is, not without a special reason, at the back of Pushkin's prismatic mind:

Here is the fair one alone; sits her at the mirror; with a secret dread regards herself in the mirror; 4 in the mirror it is dark. All around, dead silence; scarcely with a trembling fire, 8 candles pour their luster. Terror makes her bosom heave, to glance back she is afraid, fear her eyes is dimming . . . 12 With a crackling spurts the flame, plaintively the cricket cries, messenger of midnight.

In each of the twenty stanzas, the rhymes go: babacece-ddiffi.

L. 13 yielded the nickname by which Pushkin was known in 1817–18 at the goose-dinner club, Arzamas, where each convive was labeled by a title or term derived from Zhukovski's ballads (see my n. to Eight : XIV : 13). An echo of these dinners, the skeleton of the goose and the remains of its crimson coif, will be found in Tatiana's dream, Five : XVII : 3–4.

11 Lel', Ukrainian Lelo, Polish Lelum (Snegiryov, Russkie prostonarodnie prazdniki, I, 119, 165, 184): a pagan god (of love and grove), or supposedly one; probably derived from a mere refrain; comparable to the *leli*, *leli*, *leli* and ay lyuli lyuli of Russian songs. One also remembers the beginning of the old English ballad: "Down in the valley, the sun setting clearly. | Lilly o lille, lilly o lee."

An old Whitsuntide song goes:

I ya vídu molodá Za novïe vorotá; Dído, kálina! Lélyo, málina!

And forth shall I, young maid, Go beyond the new gate; Diddle, whitten tree! Lilly, raspberree!

In this and other Russian songs the *kálina* and *málina* are common rhyme words almost devoid of meaning (and fancifully accented); but since Russo-English dictionaries are hopelessly inept in dealing with botanical terms, the following information may be helpful.

Kalina, "whitten tree," one of the many names of Viburnum opulus L. In his Herball (1562), William Turner christened it "ople tre," from the French opier, now (viorne) obier or aubier. Is it the "whipultre" of Chaucer? It is also called "cranberry tree" (a silly and confusing appellation, since it has nothing to do with cranberry); gardeners know it as "snowball tree" or "guelder-rose." It is represented by allied species (various haws) in North America.

Malina is the common European raspberry, Rubus idaeus L.

12-13 Cf. John Brand, Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain (London, 1882), II, 165-66: "In the north [of England] slices of the bride-cake are thrice... put through the wedding-ring, which are afterwards by young persons laid under their pillows when they go to bed, for the purpose of ... [producing] dreams... [showing] 'the man or woman whom Heaven designed should be his or her wedded mate.'"

In England there also is or was a form of divination by means of "St. Thomas' onion': girls peel an onion and put it under the pillow at night with a prayer to that saint to show them their true love in a dream.

XI

^{1-2 /} And dreams a wondrous dream Tatiana. She dreams that she / I snitsya chúdnäy són Taťyáne; | Ey snitsya,

búdto-bi oná: Exactly the same intonation was used by Pushkin in Ruslan and Lyudmila, can. v, ll. 456-57: "And dreams a vatic dream the hero; he dreams that the princess ... "I snítsya véshchiy són geróyu, | On vídit búdto bi knyazhná ... (note the same ending in na).

10 / small bridge: This I regard as a reflected image, within the dream, of yet another instrument of divination. Snegiryov (in the work mentioned in n. to x : 11, vol. II [1838], p. 52) and anonymous compilers in various editions of *Martin Zadek* (e.g., 1880) give the following information. A small bridge of birch withes (such as those used for a *venik*, the short besom, with which steam-bathing Russians switch their scarlet backs) is put together and placed under the maiden's pillow. At bedtime she incants: "He who is my *suzhenïy* [the one destined me] will help me over the bridge." He appears to her in a dream and leads her across by the hand.

It will be noted that the bear, Onegin's chum (Five : xv : 11), who helps Tatiana to cross over in her prophetic dream (xII : 7-13), foreshadows her future husband, the corpulent general, a relation of Onegin's. An interesting structural move in the development of Pushkin's precise composition that blends creative intuition and artistic foresight.

14 / she stopped / Ostanovílasya oná: The dream echoes of rhythms and terms previously attached to Tatiana's experience in the last stanzas of Three are a remarkable feature of this and the next stanzas. Her dream is both a travesty of the past and a travesty of the future. Five : XI : 14 repeats exactly Three : XLI : 8.

XII

2, 13 / brook / ruchéy: Although Pushkin gives an un-

usually wide sense to this word (cf. the "roar" of Caucasian "brooks" in *Onegin's Journey*, var. XIIC: 8), I think we can admit here the characteristic transformation of dream objects: the raging torrent of romance that dins in XI dwindles to the familiar rill in Larino (Three : XXXVIII: 13) without surprising the dreamer.

- 8 / Tat'yána "ah!": This locution is another subtle reminder of Tatiana's wild dash to the brook in Three : xxxvIII (see my n. to Ah! in l. 5).
- 14 / and what then? / *i chtó zh?*: A rhetorical formula meaning here "And what do you think happened next?" Cf. Five : VII : 1.

XIII

- 3 / from the shaggy footman / ot kosmátogo lakéya: Throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century it was customary for a young lady of noble birth, when going for a walk with her governess or dame de compagnie, to be followed by a footman in livery. As late as c. 1865, in Tolstoy's Anna Karenin, pt. I, ch. 6, we glimpse little Princess Kitty Shcherbatski (one of Tatiana's granddaughters) promenading on Tverskoy Boulevard, in Moscow, with her two elder sisters and Mlle Linon, all four "escorted by a footman with a gilt cockade upon his hat." Shakespeare's "rugged Russian bear" (Macbeth, III, iv, 100) might provide a closer epithet for the rendering of kosmatïy.
- 12 / precipices / stremnln": It is curious that even a Russian winter comes to Pushkin through French poems, or from French versions of English poems. In the present case, one thinks of Thomson's Winter, ll. 300-01: "... precipices huge | Smoothed up with snow..."

13 / drifted over / zaneseni: The same word ("swept over,"
"overblown") is repeated in xv : 8 (zanesyón).

XIV

6 / in the crumbly snow / v hrúpkom snége: The usual locative is v snegu. The general sense of hrupkiy is "brittle." Here it is derived from the verb hrupat', which means "to make a crisp, crackly, crunchy sound."

Vyazemski, in *First Snow* (see quotation in n. to Five : III : 6), uses the same epithet for snow. See also Krïlov, in his admirable, poetical *The Spendthrift and the Swallow* (1818), *Fables*, bk. VII, no. IV, ll. 19–22:

... again ... come frosts; on crumbly snow the freight sleighs creak; from chimneys smoke in columns rises; frostwork scumbles the windowpanes ...

In two other evocations of winter, One : xxxv : 8-11and Five : 1 : 9, Pushkin repeats two of these images, the smoke and the frostwork.

XV

1-3 / deftly . . . submissive / provórno . . . pokórna: The rhyme seems to presage the equally inexact rhyme of XLIV: 1-3: zadórnäy . . . provórno (see n. to Five: XLIV: 3).

VARIANTS

9–10 When preparing the 1833 edn., Pushkin jotted down (PD 172):

And now the bear taps on the window and in the hut there sounds a noise . . .

The 1828 edn. gives (l. 10):

and in the hut there's dreadful noise . . .

XVI

- 4 / big funeral: Perhaps a recollection of the burial of Onegin's uncle (One : LIII), as described to Tatiana by those who had attended it. The allusion is to the noisy arval, the feast following the actual interment.
- 7 | I chtó zhe! vídit . . . za stolóm: Thus in the 1837 edn., instead of I chtó zhe vídit? . . . za stolóm, "and what does she see? . . . at the table."
- 14 / half crane, half cat: Cf. Mme de Staël on *Faust*, in *De l'Allemagne*, pt. II, ch. 23: "Mephistopheles conduit Faust chez une sorcière, qui tient à ses ordres des animaux moitié singes et moitié chats."

It is very odd that Schlegel, who assisted Mme de Staël in her labors, did not correct her strange mistake. The animal mentioned by Goethe in his *Hexenküche* scene has nothing to do with a "cat" or a "half cat"; it is simply an African long-tailed monkey (*Cercopithecus*), *eine Meerkatze*.

VARIANTS

To judge by the corrections in the drafts (2370, ff. 83^r , 83^v) and fair copy (PB 14), Pushkin had considerable trouble in choosing his animals. (See also vars. to XVII.)

9–10 Canceled drafts (2370, 83^r):

with horns and a bear's muzzle; another with a mouse's head . . .

10 Fair copy:

another with a donkey's head . . .

12 Canceled drafts (ibid.):

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. . . with a tiger's mane [sic] . . .
rat paws . . .
hawk nose . . .
red eye . . .
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Fair copy:

there stirs a proud proboscis . . .

13 Canceled draft (ibid.):

a fish with feet . . .

14 Draft (ibid.):

. . . half crane, half mole.

XVII

- 1 / Eshchyó strashnéy, eshchyó chudnée: This line bears an amusing resemblance to the "Curiouser and curiouser" of Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, (1865), ch. 2.
- 3-4 / goose's neck . . . red-calpacked skull: It is tempting to see here a last memory of the Arzamas dinners of 1817-18. See n. to Five : x : 6 and Eight : xIV : 13.
- 5 / windmill...dances: Tomashevski (1936, Vremennik pushkinskoy kommissii, II, Moscow) published a pencil sketch by Pushkin showing the windmill of Tatiana's dream and a small dancing skeleton. Pushkin drew it in his copy of the separate edition of Four and Five. The vanes or sails of a windmill are termed "wings," kril'ya, in Russian.

In a MS variant of Eight : XLVI, Tatiana recalls the local windmill (canceled reading in the PB fair copy). This is not the mill (Six : XII : 11 and XXV : 10), apparently a water mill (Six : XXVI : 1), near which Lenski falls in his duel with Onegin, but the Russian reader is reminded of it since both "windmill" and "water mill" are *mel'nitza*.

The squat-jig is, of course, the well-known Russian masculine dance performed with bent legs.

In the *Dneprovskaya Rusalka* (see n. to Two: XII: 14), a burlesque personage is changed into a bear, a tree is transformed into a windmill, and bags of flour perform a dance. Pushkin may have seen it in his youth in St. Petersburg.

- 7 The separate edition of Four and Five gives "Yells" for "Barks."
- 7-8 See my n. to One : XXII : 5-6, where the leitmotiv represented by these lines is discussed for the whole novel. The guests, who in Tatiana's waking life will be present at the name-day party, and later at the balls in Moscow, are benightmared and foreshadowed by the fairy-tale ghouls and hybrid monsters in her dream.

In Ivan Hemnitser's fable *The Two Neighbors* (*Fables*, 1779) a similar intonation occurs (ll. 24–25):

Here's bark of dogs, and porcine squeal, And cry of men, and thump of blows.

In a remarkable poem, a beautiful tale about a magic castle, by the precursor of Russian romanticism, Gavrila Kamenev $(1_{772}-18_{03})$, entitled *Gromval* (pub. 1804), and consisting of unrhymed quatrains with masculine endings, the first two verses of each in dactylic tetrameter (a most unusual combination), the following two lines $(1_{05}-1_{06})$ express a similar theme in a similar manner:

> Dúhi, skelétï, rukámi skhvatyás', Gárkayut, vóyut, hohóchut, svistyát . . .

Skeletons, spirits, with hands interlocked, bellow and whistle, and wail, and guffaw . . .

And, finally, in a dream that Sofia invents when speaking to her father, Pavel Famusov, in Griboedov's *Woe from Wit*, there occurs in act 1, l. 173:

... stón, ryov, hóhot, svíst chudóvishch!

. . . groans, roar, laughter, whistles of monsters!

The formula is international. Tennyson has much the same intonation in *The Day Dream: The Revival* (1842), ll. 3–4:

And feet that ran, and doors that clapt, And barking dogs, and crowing cocks . . .

*

The reviewers Pushkin takes to task in his n. 31 (which see) contended that in the case of *hlop*, "clap," and *top*, "stamp," the full form (*hlópanie*, *tópanie*) alone was correct. Pushkin uses *hlop* and *top* in *The Bridegroom* (see below), ll. 139 and 137 respectively.

In 1826 Pushkin revised, or invented, a folk song (one of a set of three) about Stenka (Stepan) Razin, the famous Volga bandit (a rebellious Don Cossack caught and quartered in 1671), which starts:

> Not the stamp of horse, not the parle of man —'tis the good old weather whistling, luring me, Stenka Razin, to roam the sea . . .

A similar intonation occurs in Pushkin's great ballad *The Bridegroom: a Folk Tale*, composed in July, 1825, at Mihaylovskoe and consisting of forty-six stanzas of masculine-rhymed iambic tetrameters and femininerhymed iambic trimeters (babaccee), ll. 137, 153:

Then cries I heard, the stamp of horse . . . Cries, laughter, songs, and noise, and clink . . .

Natasha, a merchant's daughter, disappears for three days (she gets lost in a wood, as we discover later) and returns, bewildered and silent. After a while she reverts

to her usual rosy cheerfulness, until one evening the sight of a young man driving a dashing three-in-hand past her porch makes her blanch again. He asks her in marriage, and her father forces her to accept the offer. At the wedding feast she relates what purports to be a dream (she tells of a forest trail that led her to a log cabin full of sparkling jewels), but is really the story of a murder committed by the young man, who is then and there arrested. The ballad, which verbally is superior even to Zhukovski's *Svetlana*, is magnificently onomatopoeic; ll. 117–20, for example, render to perfection the soughing of a dense wood:

> . . . v glushí Ne slíshno bílo ni dushí I sósnï lish da éli Vershínami shuméli.

. . . in the forest depth one did not hear a single soul; only the pines and firs made murmur with their crests.

I could not render the *s*-*s*-*s* and *s*h-*s*h-*s*h-*s*h of the original and retain the sense.

8 / the parle of man, the stamp of steed: Cf. Praed, *The Red Fisherman*, l. 117:

Neigh of steed, and clang of steel . . .

VARIANTS

1 Drafts (2370, f. 83^v):

{Rats in rose-colored livery > . . .
 Roosters in colored livery . . .

Canceled fair copy and separate edn. (1828) of chapter:

 $\langle A \text{ rat in light-blue livery} \rangle \dots \langle A \text{ raven in a light-blue livery} \rangle \dots A fidgety hedgehog in livery \dots$

Notes for 1833 edn. (PD 172):

 $\langle A \text{ horned owl on a winged snake} \rangle$... A goggled snake, hedgehog in livery ...

5 / Drafts (2370, f. 83^v):

 $\langle \text{there on a chair a windmill dances} \rangle \dots$ there a live windmill dances . . .

Fair copy and separate edn. of chapter:

in uniform a windmill dances . . .

XVIII

Compare with various details and intonations of Tatiana's dream the end of ch. 15 of Nodier's *Sbogar*, where Antonia is telling Jean of her delirium:

Tout, ici, étoit plein de fantômes.—On y voyoit des aspics d'un vert éclatant, comme ceux qui se cachent dans le tronc des saules; d'autres reptiles bien plus hideux, qui ont un visage humain; des géants démesurés et sans formes; des têtes nouvellement tombées . . . et toi, tu étois aussi debout au milieu d'eux, comme le magicien qui présidoit à tous les enchantements de la mort.

12 / his eyes flashing: In Dmitriev's *Prichudnitsa*, the heroine, Vetrana (*Anglice* Zephyrina), a frivolous belle full of freaks, who has everything, including a good husband, but feels sorely ennuied, is transported in a dream by an enchantress, who wishes to teach her a lesson, into a perilous forest where a robber, "his eyes flashing," snatches her up, gallops off with her, and tosses her into a river.

This vzórami sverkáya in EO, Five : XVIII : 12, is a recollection of the blistáya vzórami, "eyes blazing," in the last stanza of Three (XLI : 5), when Onegin suddenly appears before her, fulfilling as it were the request Tatiana makes in 1. 74 of her letter (Three : before

XXXII): "... interrupt the heavy dream." Now the reveries have built up, Onegin's image continues to develop along the demoniac lines already suggested by 1. 59 of her letter. The blazing and flashing gazes will, however, be transformed into the "wondrous tender" (*chúdno nézhen*) "look of his eyes" (*vzór egó ochéy*) of Five : XXXIV : 8–9 (recollected further as "the momentary softness of his eyes," *Mgnovennaya nezhnost*' [nom.] *ochey*, Six : III : 2).

13 / making a clatter / gremyá: Producing a loud, clangorous noise by pushing back his chair.

Ll. 12-13 link up the past (Three : XLI : 5) and the future (Five : XXXV : 1).

XIX

- 9-14 In this Boschian assemblage the *usi* in the beginning of l. 11 may mean the whiskers of a felid or the feelers of an arthropod as well as an ogre's mustachio. Parts of elephants and boars, and the tail of a diabolical poodle or lion, can be vaguely made out among the conventional medievalisms.
- 13 / all point as one / Vsyó ukazúet: "All points," "the whole [crowd] points," is the same idiomatic form as in the opening phrase of One : XXI, Vsyo hlópaet, "All clap as one," "All claps," "The whole [house] claps."

XX

5-7 / Onegin gently . . .: The critic alluded to in Pushkin's n. 32 is Boris Fyodorov, who, in reviewing Four and Five (1828) in his magazine, *The St. Petersburg Spectator*, accused Pushkin of immorality and flippancy.

The verb uvlekat', Fr. entraîner, as used in l. 5, stands

somewhere between "to draw" and "to sweep away," and, despite our poet's protestations, does connote a certain degree of blandishment and enticement, as, of course, it should in this passage.

The *slagdet* ("deposits," Fr. *dépose*) in the next line is associated in Russian with related forms meaning "to fold," "to join," and so on, and conveys, in the present context, a singularly limp-jointed and yielding state on the part of the subject. It is used here in a sense close to *ukladivat*', which means "to have one lie down," a connotation enhancing the deliberate and purposeful quality of Onegin's action.

10-XXI: 3 / Lenski . . .: M. Gershenzon, in his article "Snï Pushkina" (Dreams in Pushkin),* argues that Tatiana subconsciously knows in her dream that (1) Lenski, despite his poetry, is nothing but a budding vulgarian and that (2) Onegin subconsciously hates him for this.

There is, however, nothing in Tatiana's dream to justify this statement. "Onegin," writes Gershenzon, in his remarkably silly paper, "is nauseated by the trite, Philistine, maudlin quality of Lenski's romance; and how human, how comprehensible it is that he gives way to his vexation, roils Lenski, and whirls away Olga, like any lad pitching a pebble at a pair of cooing doves"!

Gershenzon also mentions a little book by S. Sudienko, whom he considers a crank, *Tayna poemi A. S. Pushkina* "*Evgeniy Onegin*" (The Enigma of Pushkin's Poem Eugene Onegin; Tver, 1909), in which an allegoric meaning is attributed to various details of Tatiana's dream, the two sticks forming the bridge, for example, being the two meetings that she had had with Onegin, and so on.

^{*}Published in *Pushkin*, a collection of essays by various authors, ed. N. Piksanov (Moscow, 1924), pp. 79–96.

VARIANTS

1 Canceled drafts (2370, f. 84^r):

"Mine!" said Eugene in a bass voice . . . "Mine!" said pale Eugene . . .

9-10 In a canceled draft (ibid.), Olga comes in:

with a pale lampad in her hand, followed by Lenski . . .

XXI

1–3 See n. to XX : 10.

XXII

- No tá, sestrí ne zamecháya: The long-drawn, wistful chant of this line is an echo of Three: XXXIII: 1, Oná zarí ne zamecháet, "She takes no notice of the sunrise," and is in its turn echoed by similar first-line intonations in Eight: XXXI, Oná egó ne zamecháet, "She does not notice him," and Eight: XLII, Oná egó ne podïmáet, "She does not bid him rise." An incantatory and recitative leitmotiv.
- 12 / Martin Zadeck / Martín Zadéka: I am inclined to regard this personage as the fabrication, in 1770, of an anonymous German-Swiss ephemerist who may have derived his sage's name from zaddik, a rabbinical title meaning the "specially righteous," or from Zadok, a priest in the time of Solomon, or from Zedechias, the fameux cabaliste who, in the reign of Pepin the Short (eighth century), proved to scoffers that the elements are inhabited by sylphs, whom he advised to show themselves to men, which they did, riding in splendid airships (according to the Abbé Montfaucon de Villars, in a ro-

mance directed against the Rosicrucians, Le Comte de Gabalis, ou Entretiens sur les sciences secrètes, Paris, 1670).

The University Library of Basel possesses a collection of eighteenth-century pamphlets entitled Historische Schriften on the flyleaf and Varia historica on the cover (indexed as Leseges. Brosch. No. 17). Mlle Eugénie Lange, librarian at the Swiss National Library, kindly obtained for me a photostat of the fourth pamphlet in the series. It is a four-page affair bearing the title "Wunderbare und merkwürdige Prophezeyung des berühmten Martin Zadecks, eines Schweitzers bev Solothurn der im 106ten Jahr seines Alters, vor seinem Tode den 20. Dezember, und nach seinem Tode den 22ten Dez. 1769. in Gegenwart seiner Freunde prophezeyet hat, auf gegenwärtige und zukünftige Zeiten." The brochure gives a short description of his life (he retired to the Alps in 1730, subsisted on herbs there for thirty years in holy solitude, and died in a poor hut not far from Soleure) and of the predictions he made on his deathbed (such as Turkey's disintegration, the coming opulence of Scandinavia and Russia, Danzig's dazzling grandeur, the conquest of Italy by France, the complete invasion of Africa by three Northern nations, the destruction of most of the New World by cataclysms, and the end of the world in 1969). The pamphlet was evidently widely distributed; versions of it were included in various divinatory compilations, German and Russian. The name of Martin Zadeck (spelled in Russian Martin Zadek or Martin Zadeka) appears with those of Tycho Brahe and Johann Kaspar Lavater on the title page of a 454-page Oraculum in three books published in Moscow in 1814, and there are many other editions, such as The Ancient and New Oraculum Discovered after the Death of a Hundred-and-Six-Year-Old Recluse Martin Zadeck (Moscow, 1821) and The New Complete

Oraculum and Enchanter, containing "The Interpretation of Dreams" and "The Predictions of Bruce and Zadeck" (Moscow, 1880).

XXIII

5 / Malvina: Malvina, by Mme Cottin (Paris, 1800; 1801, according to L. C. Sykes, author of an admirable study, *Madame Cottin*, Oxford, 1949). Mme Cottin was also the author of *Mathilde*; see n. to Three : IX : 8, on Malek-Adhel.

Malvina de Sorcy, after the death of her friend Milady Sheridan (niece, one supposes, of Rousseau's Lord Bomston), goes to live with a relation, Mistriss (the *iss* is a French specialty of the time) Birton, in Scotland, where M. Prior, a Catholic priest, and Sir Edmund, a rake, both fall in love with her. The malice of Mistriss Birton occasions various dreadful and complicated events in consequence of which Malvina loses what mind she has.

To judge by a canceled draft of l. 5 (in 2368, f. 49^{v} , "... with a Russian Malvina"), Pushkin may have meant the Russian version that had appeared in 1816-18(according to Brodski, p. 231), and in that case Tatiana would hardly have read it.

- 6 / three rubles fifty: Probably (as noted by Lozinski, 1937), in paper money ("assignations"), which would equal one ruble in silver.
- 7-8 / collection of vulgar fables / Sobrán'e básen ploshchadníh: The reference is to chapbooks meant for the lower classes—merchants, artisans, more or less literate retainers, and so forth.
- 10 / two "Petriads": Among the half-dozen "Petriads"

(epics devoted to Peter I, miserable imitations of miserable French "Henriades") known to have circulated at the time, there was a grotesque *Lyric Hymn*, in eight cantos, by Prince Sergey Shihmatov, the publication of which (in 1810) provoked Batyushkov's witty epigram, *Advice to an Epic Poet*:

> Choose any name to designate Your half-barbaric song: Peter the Big, Peter the Long —But not Peter the Great.

Two other heroic poems dealing with Peter are those by Roman Sladkovski (1803) and Aleksandr Gruzintsev (1812); and there is a French tragedy in verse, *Pierre le Grand* (Paris, 1779), by Dorat. The best of the lot is Lomonosov's *Pyotr Velikiy*, geroicheskaya poema, in 1250 iambic hexameters (rhyming bbaaccee). It consists of an exordium (64 lines, dated Nov. 1, 1760) and two cantos (632 and 554 ll.). Ll. 171-73 of can. I are pleasantly prophetic:

> Russian Columbuses, despising gloomy fate, shall open a new path mid ice floes to the east, and to America our empire shall extend.

10 / Marmontel, tome three: In Marmontel's Œuvres complettes (Paris, 1787, 17 vols.), the third volume contains Contes moraux, which had first appeared in 1761 (in a La Haye edn., 2 vols.), followed by Nouveaux contes moraux (Paris, 1765). Pushkin's library contained the 1818–19 edn. of the complete works.* I notice that Brodski (1950, p. 49) writes Contes morales and that Chizhevski (1953, p. 212) misspells the author's name "Marmontelle."

The association in Pushkin's mind between Peter the Great and Marmontel may have been owing to a recollec-

^{*}See B. Modzalevski, "Biblioteka Pushkina (bibliograficheskoe o pisanie)," *P. i ego sovr.*, III, 9–10 (1909), p. 282.

tion of Gilbert's satire *Le Dix-huitième Siècle* (1775), wherein Antoine Léonard Thomas is mentioned, author of *La Petréide*, an epic in honor of that tsar, interrupted by the poet's death in 1785:

Thomas est en travail d'un gros poême épique; Marmontel enjolive un roman poétique . . .

VARIANTS

7-9 In canceled drafts (2368, f. 49^v) the book hawker takes in exchange "Lhomond" and vokábulï da chásť Levéka. The allusions here are obviously to Elémens de la grammaire françoise, by Charles François Lhomond (Paris, 1780), which went through countless editions and revisions; and to Histoire de Russie, by Pierre Charles Levesque (Paris, 1782, 5 vols.), or to his Histoire des différents peuples soumis à la domination des Russes (Paris, 1783, 2 vols.), which Pushkin had in his library.

XXIV

7-8 The "alphabetic" order of the Russian words is incorrect (zh in the Russian alphabet precedes l, and the sequence of the words in m should be medved', metel', mostok, mrak):

> ... bor, búrya, vóron, él', coniferous forest, tempest, raven, fir tree, Yozh, mrák, mostók, medvéd', metél'... hedgehog, darkness, small bridge, bear, blizzard...

The "raven" is a pentimento (see var. XVII : 1, canceled fair copy), and so is the "hedgehog" (see ibid., fair copy and separate edn. of Four and Five). "Ráven" appears in the fair copy of XXIV : 7 (PB 14) and in all three editions. However, Acad 1937 prints *véd'ma*, "witch," instead of *vóron*, on the strength of a MS correction that Pushkin made in his copy of the five printed issues of the novel bound together (Chapters One through Six; preserved in MB 8518) sometime or soon after Six was published (March 25, 1828). The voron worried Pushkin. In the margin of the draft of *Winter*, dated Nov. 2, 1829 (2382, f. 15^{v}), he jotted down voron as a memorandum note above another one referring to Seven : XXXI : 1-4 (see n. to Seven : XXXI : 1-4). Perhaps he meant to reinstate the "raven in a light-blue livery," canceled in XVII : 1.

In the draft $(2368, f. 49^{v})$, XXIV : 8 reads:

Medvéd', mostók, muká, metél' . . . bear, small bridge, flour, blizzard . . .

This "flour" is an allusion to the dancing windmill in Tatiana's dream, but it also affords interesting proof of Pushkin's psychological indebtedness to the *Dneprovskaya Rusalka*, in which bags of flour dance on the stage (see nn. to Two : XII : 14 and Five : XVII : 5).

Other words looked up by Tatiana are, in the draft $(2368, f. 49^{v})$, *zhenit'ba* ("marriage"), *shatyór* ("tent"), *shalásh* ("hut"), with the canceled *dom* ("house"); also *ruchéy* ("brook"), *sér'gi* ("earrings"), and a few other tentative ones that can be hardly made out in Pushkin's MS.

To judge by certain details of style, the oneirocritical index (*sonnik*) in the 1880 edn. of *Martin Zadeka*, which I have consulted, should not differ (apart from a few obvious additions to the basic text) from early nineteenthcentury versions of the dream book. True, the 1880 index does not contain all the words Tatiana looked up, but it does list "raven," "fir tree," and "bear." It says that if a raven is vocal in your dream (and all Tatiana's animals were very much so) this forebodes the death of a relative —which takes care of her sister's fiancé; a "fir tree" means marriage—and Tatiana will marry next year; a "bear" spells affluence—and her husband will be the

wealthy Prince N. In other words, Zadeck should have solved at least some of her "doubts." Curiously enough, there is not much more Tatiana could have looked up in connection with her dream, except perhaps "goat," "crane," and "windmill," all of which foretell trouble, whereas hoofs and barking portend, respectively, marriage and a quarrel.

13 | Dney néskol'ko ond potóm: The line is accented in an interesting way, the strongest word (dney) coinciding with a depression and forming a false spondee with the accented first syllable of néskol'ko, while ond and potóm are weak words with semiscuds on their ultimas: $b \perp 0 = 0 \pm 0 \pm 1$.

XXV

1 / bagryánoyu rukóyu: The epithet bagryaniy, "crimson," is synonymous with purpurniy, "porphyrous," and implies a rich tone of red, the French pourpre, not the English "purple," which is deep violet (Russ. fioletoviy).

The bagryanaya ruka strikes, or should strike, a Russian as amusing because the Homeric rhododactylos Eos, "rose-fingered dawn" or "dawn of the rosy arms" (see Simaetha's invocation of the moon in Theocritus' Idyl II), is given by the Russian epithet the scarlet hands and arms of a washerwoman (as Vyazemski quips in a short poem of 1862).

A French poet would have said "rosy hands" (e.g., Casimir Delavigne: "Déjà l'Aurore aux mains vermeilles . . .").

As far as I can make out (and frankly, I have not gone into the question beyond its shallows), there were two kinds of classical purples: the Tyrian purple, which was crimson, the color of blood and dawn; and the Tarentine dye, said by poets to rival the hue of the violet. French poets in their use of *pourpre* drove the Tyrian idea to a point where sight ceased to be of any moment; and an abstract sunburst replaced the perception of any specific hue; they were followed by the Russians, whose purpur is merely the conventional crimson of a heavy curtain in an allegory or apotheosis; but the once woaded English. with their Saxon cult of color, turned to the plum, and the Purple Emperor butterfly, and the heather in bloom, and remote hills-in short, to "amethyst" and "violet" for their conception of purple. "You violets . . . | By your pure purple mantles known," writes Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) in a poem addressed to Elizabeth of Bohemia. Shakespeare's "long purples" (Hamlet, IV, vii, 170) become characteristically "fleurs rougeâtres" with Letourneur, which, of course, makes nonsense of the comparison to the bluish fingers of dead men in the same passage. The bright-red variety of purple does crop up as a Europeanism in Shakespeare and other poets of his time, but its real ascendancy, of short duration happily, comes with the age of pseudoclassicism, when Pope seems to have deliberately conformed to the French use of pourpre; Pope's pupil, Byron, followed suit, and Pichot can hardly be accused of erring in his choice of hue when he makes of Don Juan, II, CL, 2-3 ("... the lady, in whose cheek | The pale contended with the purple rose"): "... la jolie personne, sur les joues de laquelle le vermillon de la rose semblait le disputer à la påleur des lis"-which (while automatically interpolating the accepted counterpart, "lily," in one of the tritest formulas in literature) identifies purple with the color of blood.

-4 In one of his Nonsensical Odes (Vzdornë odë), Aleksandr Sumarokov (1718–77), an influential rhymester of the time, parodies Lomonosov's imagery thus: The grass with a green hand has covered many places; Aurora with a crimson foot leads forth new years.

Pushkin's n. 34 to the quatrain of XXV quotes the opening of Lomonosov's Ode on the Anniversary of the Ascent to the Throne of Her Majesty Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (1748), in twenty-four stanzas rhyming ababeeciic.

Another "crimson hand" occurs in Lomonosov's ode on an earlier anniversary of the same reign (1746), in twenty-seven stanzas (ll. 11-14):

> And lo, with crimson hand already Aurora on the world opens the gate, sheds from her raiment rosy light on fields, on wood, on town, on seas.

But the first "crimson hand" in Lomonosov occurs even earlier, in an ode known only from a fragment, which he published in his *Manual of Rhetoric* (1744). It slips rather easily into English rhyme:

> From golden fields descends Aurora On us with crimson hand to strew Her brilliants, sparks, festoons of Flora, To give the fields a rosy hue; To hide the dark with her bright cloak And birds to mellow songs provoke. Most pure, the ray of blessings thine Doth ornament my zealous line; Grows clearer in thy purple's fire The tone of my most humble lyre.

Porfira, the "royal purple" in l. 9 of Lomonosov's piece, is not always seen as blood red by Russian poets. It is given a fiery-amber color (*v porfirah ógnennoyantárnih*) in l. 6 of Shevïryov's remarkable *A Dream* (Son; fifty-three iambic tetrameters, published in 1827). Franciszek Malewski (1800–70), a Polish man of letters, has left a note in his diary to the effect that this *Dream* was criticized (as "the delusion of a champagne drinker") at a party in Polevoy's house, where Pushkin, Vyazemski, and Dmitriev were present.* Shevïryov apparently knew English: his epithet seems to come from Milton's $L^{*}Allegro$ (1645), ll. 59-61:

Right against the Eastern gate, Where the great Sun begins his state, Rob'd in flames, and Amber light . . .

VARIANTS

5-10 Drafts (2368, f. 43°), ll. 5-6:

with children and their tutors whole families of neighbors . . .

Canceled draft (ibid.), l. 5:

with governesses and with tutors . . . s madámami, s uchitelyámi . . .

Another draft (ibid.), ll. 5–10:

greetings, kind words [*láski*] await Tatiana: the day before already two calashes [*kolyáski*], a hooded coach [*kibítka*], three sledded coaches [*trí vozká*], whole families of neighbors ... with mammies ... servants ... young daughters, children.

In a canceled draft (ibid., f. 41^{v}), referring to Five : XXIX : 1-2, the attendants are taken care of as follows:

the tutors, governesses, nurses eat with the children in the drawing room . . .

XXVI

2-12 / Pustyakóv...: These are comedy names, also found elsewhere, and with obvious counterparts in English

^{*}Incidentally, the commentary to this diary, in *Lit. nasl.*, LVIII (1952), 268, n. 30, makes the incredible mistake of assigning that criticism to the dream of Svyatoslav in *Slovo o polku Igoreve.*

literature: Pustyakov (a descendant of Fonvizin's Prostakov, "Mr. Noddy") corresponds to "Mr. Trifle" (in nice contrast to his corpulence); Gvozdín, to "Squire Clout"; Skotínin (the maternal uncle of the Minor in Fonvizin's *Nedorosl*", 1782; see n. to One : XVIII : 3), to "Mr. Brutish"; Petushkóv, to "Young Cockahoop," and Flyánov, to "Judge Flan"—grotesque personages waiting for Gogol to transfer them from a rather obvious comedy of hoggish manners and Hogarthian noses into his own fantastic and poetical world.

9 / Buyánov ["Mr. Rowdy"], my first cousin: The hero of The Dangerous Neighbor (Opasnäy sosed), a narrative poem of 154 lines in Alexandrine couplets by Vasiliy Pushkin, our poet's uncle (1770–1830), the elder brother of Sergey Pushkin. Vasiliy Pushkin had already been complimented by his young nephew in 1814 on this rather unexpected achievement, in the latter's iambic trimeters, Small Town (Gorodok); and Baratïnski, in an epigram of 1826, wittily suggested that only a pact with the devil could explain the sudden spurt of talent coming from the dull and inept poetaster that Vasiliy Pushkin had been before (and was to be after).

A galant poem in the French sense rather than an obscene one, although full of rowdy national connotations, this racy little epic was composed in April, 1811, and merrily circulated in manuscript copies among littérateurs and *bons vivants*, who learned it by heart so thoroughly that in 1815 a Russian diplomat (Baron P. Schilling), when trying out some Russian lithographic implementa in Munich, casually printed it from memory—thus being responsible for its first edition!* The second edition, a

^{*}Apart from a very small edition (now known from a unique copy in PD) privately printed by the author about Jan. 1, 1812, in St. Petersburg.

Leipzig one in 1855, was brought out from a MS gladly supplied by the author in 1830. The first edition published in Russia was Burtsev's, Petersburg, 1901. For these notes I have used a Moscow edition of 1918 (Bibliofil) and a Petersburg edition of 1922 (Atheneum).

The poem begins as follows:

Och! Let me rest and muster all my strength. What would avail me to be cagey, friends? I'll tell you everything. Buyanov, my neighbor, who spent in eight years his fortune on gypsy girls, whores, taverns, and crack coachmen,* called yesterday on me: mustache unshaven, tousled, fluff-covered, wearing a peaked cap —he came, and the whole place reeked of the pothouse.

This "dangerous neighbor" (dangerous because genial rakes lead their friends into trouble) invites the narrator to a bawdyhouse to sample a young whore, Varvushka (little Barbara), who, however, turns out to be poxy, according to an older female with whom the narrator eventually retires; he is interrupted in his undertaking by a drunken row conducted by Buyanov. Although composed in pleasingly flowing colloquial verse, the poem is far from being the masterpiece it is generally considered to be. The reader will note that Buyanov, the rowdy rake, fresh from dallying with young Varyushka, is not only invited by Vasiliy Pushkin's nephew (the "cousin" of his uncle's brain child) to Tatiana's name-day party, but is permitted, in Seven : xxvI : 2, to seek Tatiana's hand and to be mentioned by the mother as a possible candidate. In gratitude to his nephew for this kindness to Buyanov, Vasiliy Pushkin mentioned Tatiana in a worthless narrative poem in tetrameters, Captain Hrabrov (Captain "Bold"; 1829), wherein the captain is told by a lady visitor:

^{*}In the 1918 edn., "male dancers."

... I read a lot, romanticism enchants me: the other day, Miss Larin— Tatiana—gave me Caliban to read.

The reference is, I suspect, to Küchelbecker's "Dramatic Joke in two acts," *Shakespeare's Ghosts (Shekspirovü duhi*; St. Petersburg, 1825), which is discussed by Aleksandr Pushkin in the draft of a letter to Küchelbecker (first week of December, 1825: "On the other hand, Caliban is charming"), who, however, never got it: he was arrested for participation in the Decembrist revolt (Dec. 14, 1825).

Long before writing EO, our poet, in a letter to Vyazemski of Jan. 2, 1822, from Kishinev to Moscow, had formulated his opinion of his uncle's poetry: "All his works are not worth his Buyanov; and what will happen to him in posterity? I apprehend greatly [krayne opasayus'] that my cousin may be taken for my son ..."

10 The detail about the "fluff" often crops up in descriptions of this or that disreputable Russian; its presence is owing to his sleeping with his clothes on in a drunkard's world of leaky feather beds and unswept floors. Elton understood v puhú as "With downy face," and Miss Radin has, still more ridiculously, "Unshaven"! Spalding twists the puh into a "wadded coat"; and Miss Deutsch puts the down into Buyanov's hair.

VARIANTS

2 In a canceled draft (2368, f. 42^r) Pustyakov is Tumakov ("Mr. Whack").

5–12 Draft (2368, f. 43^r):

Mrs. Hlipkov, thrice young, with children of all ages, counting from two to thirty years: five sons and seven daughters. Buyanov, my first cousin, complete with skullcap, copper chains, embroidered jacket, and mustache. And the retired Counselor Lyánov . . .

who, in the fair copy (PB 14), is (ll. 12-14):

a heavy gossip, lady's clown, a glutton, usurer, and rogue.

XXVII

1 / Panfíl Harlikóv: Panfil is the popular form of Pamphilus (a Syrian saint). Harlikov is a comedy name ("Mr. Throttle") derived from *harlo*, a dialect form of *gorlo*, "throat" (cf. Fr. *gosier*), from which the verb *gorlanit*" (or *harlit*"), which means "to speak at the top of one's voice" (à plein gosier), is derived:

> And with Pamphilus Throttle's family Also arrived the Frenchman Trick, A wit, come recently from Tambov, With spectacles and red perwick

—as I once had it in my first, and sinful, attempt (1950) at rendering *EO* in rhyme.

- 6 / stanza / kuplét: This is not a "couplet" (two rhyming verses) in the English technical sense, but a strophe of several lines, often with a refrain. Pushkin actually used the term *kuplet* for the *EO* stanza. The application is French. (See also n. to Four : xxxv : 8.)
- 8-13 / "Réveillez-vous, belle endormie"... "belle Niná": It is curious to note that, in a sense, Tatiana is the fair sleeper and that she does not really awake from her magic dream, which foreshadowed the grotesque guests.

The reference here is to one of the many imitations of La Belle Dormeuse (c. 1710), attributed to Charles

Rivière Dufresny (1648–1724), who (according to Philoxène Boyer) composed tunes for his plays without knowing music and sang them to the composer Nicolas Ragot de Grandval (1676–1753), who took them down in score. The first and third lines of the first quatrain went (according to Tomashevski, in *P. i ego sovr.*, VII [1917], 67) "Réveillez-vous, belle endormie" and "Dormez profondément, ma mie" respectively, in the version Pushkin might have had in mind. The text published by Boyer, in *Les Petits Poètes français* (1861), III, 129, goes:

> Réveillez-vous, belle dormeuse, Si ce baiser vous fait plaisir; Mais si vous êtes scrupuleuse, Dormez, ou feignez de dormir.

Craignez que je ne vous réveille, Favorisez ma trahison; Vous soupirez, votre cœur veille, Laissez dormir votre raison.

Pendant que la raison sommeille On aime sans y consentir, Pourvu qu'amour ne nous réveille Qu'autant qu'il faut pour le sentir.

Si je vous apparais en songe Profitez d'une douce erreur; Goûtez le plaisir du mensonge, Si la vérité vous fait peur.

Julien Tiersot, Chansons populaires recueillies dans les Alpes françaises (Savoie et Dauphiné) (Grenoble and Moutiers, 1903), p. 243, traces the publication of the first stanza of the ballad given above to the collection La Clef des Chansonniers, ou Recueil des vaudevilles depuis cent ans et plus (Ballard, 1717) and doubts that its author was Dufresny, to whom it is assigned by L'Anthologie française (1765). Tiersot also quotes half a dozen stanzas, with music, of a so-called "folk song" (i.e., the corrupted anonymous echo of an individual effort) that he believes to have provided the theme and the tune of the *Anthologie française* piece. It begins (as in *EO*, Five : XXVII : 8):

> Réveillez-vous, belle endormie, Réveillez-vous, car il est jour; Mettez la tête à la fenêtre: Vous entendrez parler de vous!

It was, however, the more polished product that reached Russia. The words have the powder-puff touch of genteel lubricity so typical of Dufresny's age, but the air is graceful and by 1820 had long become a favorite with editors of songs for children and young ladies. By then the original lines (of which one hears some dim echoes in Tatiana's letter, e.g., ll. 39 and 62) were forgotten and replaced by more demure ones in various congratulatory arrangements, such as:

> Il faut vous appeler Julie, Ce nom nous tire d'embarras, Il rime trop bien à "jolie" Pour qu'il ne nous convienne pas.

Something of this kind, discovered in some old *Chan*sonnier des Grâces or Almanach chantant, was recited by Triquet. Leafing through my own childhood memories, I find—dim but still legible—the following madrigal, seen in an old songbook or album:

> Chérissez ce que la nature De sa douce main vous donna, Portez sa brillante parure, Toujours, toujours, belle Nina.

The elimination of one "toujours" ("Toujours, belle Tatiana") would have turned the octosyllabic trick in Triquet's case. Note that Pushkin, in ll. 13 and 14, ig-

nores metrically the *e muet* (but he makes three syllables of the Italian *niente* in One : LV : 7!).

The name Triquet ("Mr. Trick") is a comedy one and had been used in a slightly different form by Krïlov, in his completely mediocre three-act farce, *The Fashion Shop* (*Modnaya lavka*; written 1805, first produced July 27, 1806), in which there is an unscrupulous Frenchman called M. Trichet ("Mr. Trickster").

"Niná" was a French idyllic name much in vogue in the eighteenth century. See, for instance, *Le Bouquet*, a dialogue between "Nina et Daphné," by Nicolas Germain Léonard (1744–93).

Tatiana's name is pronounced here (XXVII : 14) in a French manner, "Ta-tee-a-ná," four syllables, with accent on last.

It is typical of Chaykovski's slapdash opera *Eugene* Onegin that his Triquet sings a totally different tune.

The Dufresny-Grandval tune goes:



VARIANT

1-2 In a corrected draft (2368, f. 43^r) the Frenchman arrives as the escort of a giddy widow of forty years, Mrs. Lazorkin ("Mrs. Azure").

XXVIII

- 6 | Muzika . . . polkováya: A military band.
- 9 / The young things skip / *Devchónki prígayut*: See n. to Four : XLI : 12.

- 10 / kúshať pódali: "Dinner they have served." The announcement was (by the butler): Kushať podano, "The meal [To eat] is served."
- 14 / crossing themselves / krestyás': An allusion to the preprandial rapid little sign of the cross that a Russian makes with bunched fingers over the breastbone at the very moment he sinks into his chair (which the footman behind him slips under him). The movement is mechanical, no heads are inclined, no grace is said; it is little more than a checked button.

XXIX

- 4 / of rummers / ryúmok: An allusion to jiggers of vodka rather than to glasses of wine.
- 5–8 The rhythm of these lines, especially in the original, is very similar to Swift's; cf. *The Journal of a Modern Lady*, ll. 174–78:

Now Voices over Voices rise; While each to be the loudest vies, They contradict, affirm, dispute, No single Tongue one Moment mute; All mad to speak, and none to hearken . . .

At this point, no doubt, Tatiana, with an inward gasp, recalls the loud ghouls of her dream—and next moment the blinding eye of Onegin is upon her.

- 9 / door leaves / dvéri: The reference is to a double door, porte à deux battants, sometimes called, not quite correctly, a folding door; but "double door" is also ambiguous.
- 10-11 / Maker . . . / Tvoréts . . .: Spalding has the amus-

ing howler: '' 'Ah! | At last the author [Lenski]!' cries Mamma.''

- 12-13 / each moves aside covers, chairs / vsyák otvódit | Pribóri, stúl'ya: This is a little ambiguous, since the verb may also mean "assigns," "allots"; but our poet should have added *im* ("to them," "for them") if he wished to say that the covers and chairs are being prepared for the two newcomers by the guests who tesnyátsya, "make room" (or, grammatically, "press themselves closer together").
- 13 / covers / Pribóri; 14 / friends / druzéy; XXX: 1: seat them directly facing Tanya / Sazháyut prýamo prótiv Táni: The alliterations pr and the first dr (to be taken up by tr) prepare the wonderful instrumentation of the next lines, when the sounds of moving and making room at the end of XXIX are now repeated in a new emotional key (XXX: 2-3):

I, útrenney lunť blednéy, and than the morning moon paler, I trépetney gonímoy láni... and more tremulous than the hunted doe...

Note that *útrenney* ("than the morning") is perfectly paralleled by *trépetney* ("more tremulous")—same consonants, same ending, same metrical position in same slow "swooning" line. The *ey* and *ney* repetitions are carried on from the rhyme closing one stanza into the next through the *ney* of *útrenney*, *blednéy*, and *trépetney* to *temnéyushchih* and to the *ey* of *ochéy* in ll. 4–5, with an emotional *ch* alliteration beautifully rounding up the symphony:

Ona	temnéyushchih	ochéy
she	darkening	eyes

Incidentally, it is curious to compare this delicate "morning moon" emblematizing Tatiana to the "stupid" nocturnal moon resembling Olga's face in Three : v. See App. II for a scheme of the scuds in this stanza.

XXX

1-5 See n. to XXIX : 13.

6 The separate edition of Four and Five gives "secret" (*táynïy*) for the redundant "passionate" (*strástnïy*).

VARIANT

7-14. In a variant (2368, f. 41^r) abounding in agitated enjambments, Pushkin had planned at first to have Tatiana behave like a more ordinary heroine:

the two friends' greetings

- 8 she hears not; the tears from her eyes are on the point of gushing. All at once the poor thing (faints); immediately she's carried out; all in a flutter,
- 12 the crowd of guests (begins to prattle). At Eugene everybody looks as if accusing him of everything.

XXXI

13 / inwardly / v dushé svoéy: "In his soul."

XXXII

- 4 / pie: The *piróg*, a meat pie or cabbage pie, was an important part of an old-fashioned name-day feast.
- 7 / blancmanger (pronounced as in French): This almondmilk jelly (an old French and English sweet, not to be confused with our modern "blancmange") might be

artificially colored. Its presence (as well as the presence of the Russian champagne) at Dame Larin's festive table stresses both the old-world style of her household and a comparative meagerness of means.

In Pushkin's short story "The Young Lady Turned Peasant Girl" (1830), the servants of a wealthy squire's household get for dessert "blancmanger, blue, red, and candy-striped."

At big dinners, landscapes in colored blancmanger were the fashion in eighteenth-century England.

- 8 / Tsïmlyánskoe: A sparkling wine from Tsïmlyanskaya Stanitsa, a Cossack settlement on the Don.
- 11 / Zizí: Zizi Vulf, Tatiana's name-day mate.

Pushkin's relations with the Osipov family, his country neighbors, are not easily duplicated in the annals of literary amours. During his years of enforced rustication (August, 1824, to September, 1826) at Mihaylovskoe, province of Pskov, and later on visits to the Vulfs in their province-of-Tver lands, he courted five or six members of the clan—in Malinniki, which had belonged to Nikolay Vulf; Pavlovsk, Pavel Vulf's seat, and Bernovo, that of Ivan Vulf.

There was the chatelaine herself, Praskovia Osipov, née Vindomski (1781–1859), owner of Trigorsk, or Trigorski, or Trigorskoe, near Pushkin's place, in the province of Pskov, and of Malinniki, in the province of Tver, some twenty-five miles from Staritsa; she had lost two husbands, Nikolay Vulf (d. 1813) and Ivan Osipov (d. 1822). Her signature, in Russian French, reads consecutively: Prascovie de Windomsky, Prascovie Woulff, and Prascovie d'Ossipoff. Whether or not Pushkin conducted an intrigue with her is not clear, but there seems to be no doubt of her being in love with him.

There was Zina, or Zizi, otherwise Euphrosine, or

Euphrasie, Frenchified forms of Evpraksia, Eupraxia, or Eufraxia-Zizi Vulf (1800-83), youngest daughter of Mme Osipov. Pushkin made fugitive verses for her, and from Mihaylovskoe wrote to her brother in St. Petersburg in late October, 1824, that he, Aleksandr Pushkin, aged twenty-five, and she, Zizi, aged fifteen, had the same waist measurements. To judge by a preserved silhouette, she was on the plump side at the time, and the comparison in Five : xxxII to a slim wineglass is meant as a joke.* He was her lover briefly in 1829. She married Baron Vrevski in 1831. St. Eufraxia is honored on St. Tatiana's Day, and Zizi's shade appears at the Larins' name-day dinner of the fictitious "Jan. 12, 1821," two days before Lenski's fictitious death. The real Zina Vrevski, during a visit to St. Petersburg, dined on Jan. 26, 1837, with Pushkin and her sister, on the eve of his mortal duel.

There was Zizi's elder sister, Anna, Annette Vulf (1799-1857), who passionately and faithfully adored our poet, and whom our poet deliberately and cynically debauched in 1825. Her mother whisked her away in the beginning of February, 1826, at the peak of the romance. Annette's letters to Pushkin, in 1826, from Malinniki are heart-rending.

There was another Anna, Netty Vulf, daughter of Ivan Vulf, and cousin of Annette and Zizi. She is the "tender, languorous, hysterical Netty" of a later letter from Pushkin to Annette's and Zizi's brother, Aleksey.

There was Aline, Aleksandra Osipov, Mme Osipov's stepdaughter, daughter of her second husband from a previous marriage (and mistress of Aleksey Vulf, 1805– 81, rake and diarist), later Bekleshov. Pushkin's passion for her ran parallel to the above-mentioned loves but flourished especially in the autumns of 1828 and 1829, during visits to the Vulf country places.

^{*}See also vol. 3, p. 310.

And, finally, there was Mme Osipov's niece, Anna Kern (1800–79), daughter of Pyotr Poltoratski and Nikolay Vulf's sister. Anna's first husband, whom she married as a very young girl, was Major General Ermolay Kern (Cairn, 1765–1841). Pushkin courted her in vain during her visits to Trigorskoe in the summer of 1825. Soon after this she had an intrigue with her cousin Aleksey Vulf, and only in February, 1828, in Petersburg, did she become, technically, Pushkin's mistress.

11 / kristál: Meaning here "crystal wineglass."

VARIANT

11–12 The draft (2370, f. 40^v) alludes not to Zina Vulf, but presumably to Eliza Vorontsov:

Liza, friend of my soul, the rival of French fashion plates.

xxxIII, xxxIV

I have rendered the agitated enjambments in these two stanzas.

xxxv

- 3 / luscious hive / låkomogo úl'ya [gen.]: Lakomiy kusok is a "relishing morsel." The adjective means "dainty," "delicious," "attractive to the taste," "sapid," "saporous." I have been influenced in my choice by the "luscious cells" in Thomas Hood's Ode: Autumn (1823), 1. 34.
- 6 / neighbor in front of neighbor / Soséd . . . pered sosédom: Sosed is used here and elsewhere in the sense of "country neighbor," owner of land in the same area.
- 7 | have settled | Podseli: The verb podsest', as used here,

conveys both the idea of drawing up to a certain point and sitting down there. See Seven : XLIX : 11, $K n e_Y \dots podsel$, "[moved over to her and] sat down beside her."

- 11 / omber: A card game of Spanish origin, popular in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is often mentioned in satirical verse. See Vasiliy Maykov's *The Omber Player* (*Igrok Lombera*), a poem in three cantos. (See my n. to Eight : Ia : 3.)
- 13-14 I realize that the coda hardly scans in translation and is marred by two enjambments not in the text; but here, as elsewhere, I have sacrificed melody to literalism. In the next stanza, however, the enjambment pertains to the original.

VARIANT

11-12 In the draft (2370, f. 39^v) "boston and kvintich" lure the elderly guests, and "the rapid écarté" succeeds the older games.

For the game of boston, see n. to One : XXXVIII : 11. Ecarté does not need elucidation, and *kvintich* is presumably an ancestor of *vint*, the common Russian card game of later decades. Cf. "quint," a sequence of five cards of the same suit, in piquet.

XXXVI

 / rubbers / róbertov [gen. pl. of robert]: The origin of the English word is obscure; as used in relation to other games and sports, it goes back to the sixteenth century. In Pushkin's time the French said robre, and the Germans Robber. The mysterious t—which suggests a false derivation for the Russian eighteenth-century robert is, I think, really owing to the Dutch corruption of "rubber": een robbertje whisten. 8 / Bréguet: See n. to One : xv : 13

13 "Homer" is Omír in old-fashioned poetic Russian. Elsewhere our poet uses the correct Russian Gomér. Earlier (1818–20) he had completely Gallicized the name by writing it Omér. See Ruslan and Lyudmila, can. IV, ll. 147–53:

I'm not Omér; in lofty verses he may alone sing the repasts of Grecian troops, the clink and foam of wine cups deep. Parny I much prefer to follow and have my casual lyre extol a naked shape in the night's darkness.

The "divine" is also a Gallicism, and the reference to Homer's feasts is a literary commonplace. Cf. Byron, *Don Juan*, XV, LXII, 3–6:

 ... but what Muse since Homer's able (His feasts are not the worst part of his works)
 To draw up in array a single day-bill Of modern dinners? ...

And Voltaire, La Pucelle, can. x:

. . . tous ces auteurs divins, . . . ce bavard Homère Ne manquent point . . . L'occasion de parler d'un repas.

If, as it is generally assumed, the mysterious Greek poet Homer flourished about the ninth century B.C., Pushkin erred by four centuries, as did most scholars of his day.

XXXVII, XXXVIII

The following charming two stanzas appeared only in the separate Four and Five edition of 1828. Because of the tender (and really unwarranted) allusion to Istomina (see n. to One : $xx : 5^{-14}$) Pushkin, a married man by 1833, dropped this stanza and its continuation in the complete editions.

XXXVII

In feasts I'm ready disobediently with your divinity to grapple; but magnanimously I do concede

- 4 that elsewhere you have vanquished me: your savage heroes, your irregular battles, your Cypris and your Zeus,
- 8 outbalance greatly chilly Onegin; the drowsy dreariness of the fields; my I [stomina];
- 12 our fashionable education. But Tanya, 'pon my word, is more endearing than your vile Helen.

In the corrected draft $(2370, \text{ ff. } 39^{\text{r}}, 38^{\text{v}})$ there is the following variant of ll. 10–12:

my brigadirsha, the dreariness of (northern) fields, our fashionable education.

Brigadirsha: Mrs. Larin, widow of a brigadir (see Two: XXXVI: 13). The term has a slight shade of opprobrium (good-natured here) since the day of Fonvizin's comedy *The Brigadier General* (written 1766, pub. 1786), in which the Brigadier's wife, Akulina, is a tightfisted, ridiculously ignorant woman, heartless toward the serfs, and ready to "endure the spotted fever" (as her son puts it) for money's sake.

XXXVIII

No one will even argue here, though Menelaus because of Helen for yet a hundred years cease not

- 4 to chastise the poor Phrygian land; though the assembly of Pergamum's elders around the worthy Priam, on sighting her, decide again
- 8 that Menelaus is right, and Paris right. As for the battles, I must ask you to wait a bit: kindly read on;
- 12 judge not severely the beginning; a battle there shall be, I'll have not lied, my word of honor I can give.

XXXIX

- 3, 13 / hall: I do not know if anybody has ever pointed out the curious difficulty attending the finding of equivalent terms for the parts of a house in different languages. The Russian word here comes from the German Saal and French salle, and has the unique distinction in Russian of possessing all three genders (zal, zala, zalo). It means a "reception hall" or "assembly room," differing from a drawing room (salon, gostinaya) in being more spacious, or in the present case "longer," with the furniture (gilt chairs, a grandfather clock, consoles, and so forth) relegated to wallflower positions and with a sufficient area of parquet for dancing. It is intermediate between a music room and a regular ballroom. The word zal is also employed in the sense of theater or concert hall.
- 6–7 / the Paris of the surrounding townlets: Instead of this "Paris" (son of Priam, Aphrodite's champion, Helen's lover), canceled fair copy reads *Dyupór*, the reference being to Louis Duport (1781–1853), a first-rate French dancer, who (says *La Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. XV, with disgust), "abandonnant l'Opéra, quitta furtivement Paris en 1808, au mépris de ses engagements, pour

se rendre à Saint-Pétersbourg," where he danced successfully till 1812. Pushkin changed *Dyupor* to *Lovlás* before finding *París*—the translation of which sounds ambiguous (not so in Russian, the capital of France being *Parizh*).

12 / Pustyakóvu: Russian usage with its absence of title does not disclose whether the name refers to a Miss or to a Mrs. Logically, it should be "Miss"; but in XXVI: 1-2, where the Pustyakov pair appears, no daughter is mentioned; and it would satisfy the demands of comedy . humor to have disreputable Buyanov whirl away Mr. Trifle's corpulent wife.

The draft of this stanza and those of XL-XLV are lost.

*

\mathbf{XL}

z / Al'bána: Albane, the Frenchified form of Albano or Albani. This Francesco Albani, a second-rate Italian painter (1578-1660), was extremely popular in the eighteenth century. Cloying and coy, he specialized in flat mythological scenes with a pseudoclassical slant dear to the Age of Reason, and since he never painted a ball or any other contemporaneous assembly, the explanation of this allusion is either that Pushkin recalled in a retrospective flash some Vénus procédant à sa toilette, which may have prompted the simile in One : xxv : 12 (see n.), or else that he selected at random the name of what was then a famous painter. For rococo reasons, French writers of the eighteenth century placed l'Albane beside Raphael (the darling of the nineteenth century) and even called him "l'Anacréon de la peinture." Phoebus conduisant son char is still represented by crude prints in the parlors of central-European boardinghouses.

Albano's sad case is one of the most striking examples of fading fame; he is practically never mentioned today; but the references to him in European literature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are numberless. I can mention only a few:

Gentil-Bernard (1710–75), L'Art d'aimer, can. I, ll. 57–58:

> Dans mes tableaux, Albane plus fidèle, Peignons l'Amour comme on peint une belle . . .

and ll. 199–202, 205–06, 244:

Ce sont les jeux des Amours triomphants; Albane eût peint ces folâtres enfants: L'un, pour servir une flamme secrète, Contre un jaloux dirige une lunette;

Tel à sa voix joint un clavier sonore; Tel autre esquisse un objet qu'il adore.

Et dans nos bals, vrais temples de l'Amour . . .

La Harpe (1799), *Lycée*, ou Cours de littérature (the manual Pushkin knew so well), VIII, 189 (1825 edn.), quotes from Voltaire's *Henriade* (1728), can. IX:

Les folâtres Plaisirs, dans le sein du repos, Les Amours enfantins désarmaient ce héros: L'un tenait sa cuirasse encor de sang trempée; L'autre avait détaché sa redoutable épée, Et riait en tenant dans ses débiles mains Ce fer, l'appui du trône, et l'effroi des humains . . .

and adds: "Cette touche est de l'Albane . . ."

The same La Harpe, ibid. (1825 edn.), XIII, 560, speaking of Beaumarchais' *Noces de Figaro*, says: "Ce charmant page [Chérubin] entre ces deux charmantes femmes occupées à le déshabiller et à le rhabiller est un tableau de l'Albane" (cf. *EO*, One : XXIII : 4, "is dressed, undressed, and dressed again"). Lebrun, Odes, bk. v, no. XII, has:

D'azur il peint une cabane, Et son art, au pinceau d'Albane, Prête d'infidèles vernis.

Antoine Lemierre (1723–93), *La Peinture* (1769), can. III, has:

La foule des Amours de tous côtés assiège L'atelier de l'Albane et celui de Corrège . . .

Hazlitt, "On *Gusto*," in his *Round Table* essays (1817), remarks: "There is a gusto in the colouring of Titian.... Rubens makes his flesh-colour like flowers; Albano's is like ivory..."

Byron in 1823, speaking of one of the pictures at Norman Abbey, *Don Juan*, XIII, LXXI, 5, has: "Here danced Albano's boys [cupids] . . ."

Casimir Delavigne, Messéniennes, II (Messéniennes et poésies diverses, 1823), exclaims:

Adieu, Corrége, Albane, immortel Phidias; Adieu, les arts et le génie!

J. A. Amar, in an "Avertissement" to the 1820 edn. of the *Œuvres* of Jean Baptiste Rousseau, author of tedious odes and bewigged cantatas, describes the latter as "exécutés avec le pinceau de l'Albane ou du Corrège."

Pushkin himself, in his Frenchified youth, alluded several times to "l'Albane." In *The Monk* (1813), can. III, there is the passage:

> With a firm hand I would have seized a brush and having downed a bumper of champagne, I would have set my ardent head to work like Titian or the passionate Alban to represent Natalia's charms. . . .

In the third quatrain of the tetrametric *To a Painter* (to his schoolmate Illichevski; 1815), young Pushkin had:

Around the slender waist of Hebe the zone of Venus bind; with Alban's secret charm surround my queen [another schoolmate's sister, Katerina Bakunin].

In *The Dream* (1816), one of his very first poems of real worth (see n. to Four : xxxv : 3-4), Pushkin clamors for "Alban's tender brush to depict love and youth" (l. 200).

XLI

1-3 / mad... whirl of the waltz / bezúmnïy ... vál'sa víhor': In Justification (Opravdanie, 1824), a tetrametric poem of forty lines, Baratïnski had depicted, in his usual awkward but eloquent manner, the "mad waltz" wherein he would whirl various nymphs:

> Brushing their perfumed curls with my face, clasping with an avid hand [zhádnoy dlán'yu] their graceful waists...

See also the dreadful Sainte-Beuve performance, in *Vie, poésies et pensées de Joseph Delorme* (1829), in n. to One : XXXVIII : 3-4.

- 11-12 | Spustyá minútï dvé, potóm | Vnov' s néyu vál's on prodolzháet: I have attempted to reproduce the tautological elements of this poor passage. "A couple of minutes later he goes on waltzing with her" was what our poet intended to say.
- 14 / sóbstvennïm glazám: A common Gallicism (ses propres yeux) instead of the correct svoim glazam, "his own eyes."

XLII

8 / in . . . towns / v gorodáh: I suggest that this is a misprint for v gorodkáh, "in small towns."

XLIII

Ll. 1-4 are in the fair copy. Ll. 5-14 were published in the 1828 edn. The whole stanza was omitted in the 1833 and 1837 edns.

As the whip drives in manège sand the frisky fillies on the longe, the men, in a tumultuous ring,

- 4 have driven, jerked the maidens: the hobs, the spurs of Petushkóv (retired chancery clerk) resound. Buyanov's heel
- 8 breaks verily the floor around. Crash, stamping, rumble come in turn, the deeper in the woods, the more the logs. Crack hoofers now take over;
- 12 they all but plunge into a squat-jig. Ah, easy, easy! Heels will crush the ladies' toes!
- 6 / kantselyarista: Instead of the expected kavalerista, "cavalryman."
- 10 / woods . . . logs: "The deeper you go into a wood, the more logs there are," says a Russian proverb, inept as all proverbs are, but hitting the line here with just the right crack. Pushkin is stressing the barbarous vulgarity of a provincial ball.

XLIV

- 1 See XXVI : 9–11 and note to it.
- 3 / Deft: It will be noticed how nicely the "deftly" at the end of xv : 1 is echoed by the "deft" here.
- 9–10 In a short poem written in Kishinev, *To a Greek Lady* (Calypso Polychroni, who was said to have been Byron's

mistress), Pushkin had, in 1822, used a similar intonation:

> Unconsciously a tremor started in your conceited breast, and you, leaning upon his shoulder . . . no, no, my dear, the fire of jealous fancy I will not nourish. . . .

XLV

It is amusing to examine what live Byron was doing while Pushkin's creature danced, dreamed, died:

On Jan. 12, 1821, O.S. (Jan. 24, N.S.), while Lenski in northwestern Russia went to his last ball, Byron in Ravenna, Italy, noted in his diary: "... met some masques in the Corso ... they dance and sing and make merry, 'for tomorrow they may die.'"

Next evening, Jan. 13 (Jan. 25, N.S.), while Lenski was writing his last elegy, Byron noted: "One day more is over . . . but 'which is best, life or death, the gods only know,' as Socrates said to his judges . . ."

And Jan. 14 (Jan. 26, N.S.), the day Lenski and Onegin were having their duel, Byron jotted down: "Rode—fired pistols—good shooting."

This will probably remain the classical case of life's playing up to art.

- 11 / calls for a horse / trébuet konyá: I would have understood this as "calls for his horse," "orders his horse to be brought out," if it were not more likely that Lenski and Onegin had come to the party in the latter's sleigh, and now the former has to borrow a mount from the Larins' stable.
- 14 The separate 1828 edn. of Four and Five gives:

Kak ráz reshát sud'bú egó. shall adequately solve his fate.

Five: XLV

But in order to avoid the fusion of *kak raz* ("just in the right way" or "time") with the next word (*reshat*), Pushkin, in the errata appended two months later to Six, altered the line to:

Vdrug razreshát sud'bú egó. shall in a trice resolve his fate.

The Commentary is concluded in vol. 3.