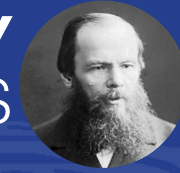


DOSTOEVSKY STUDIES



DOSTOEVSKY STUDIES



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FOREWORD



ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНОЕ СЛОВО

FOREWORD

The current issue of *Dostoevsky Studies* – the 24th of the New Series, and the second since it became an electronic open access journal – appears just as a genuine Dostoevskian year is coming to an end. Yes, 2021 has been an incredibly Dostoevskian year indeed! This is not only because of the marking of the two centuries since Fyodor Mikhailovich's birth; celebrations of this kind don't always lead to significant steps forward in the fields of scientific studies and social engagement, since the threat of empty official rhetoric and superficial media interest is always around the corner.

The bicentennial could have been a parade of platitudes, of repeatedly misunderstood 'Beauties', for some strange reasons called upon 'to save the World'... but this was fortunately not the case. Of course, we have heard a lot about these 'Beauties' and similar commonplaces in the last months, but, – and this was a pleasant surprise for me, – no more frequently than usual. Dostoevsky's work outlives any cliché; it is always contemporary, it offers different ideas to each person. Young people continue to read Dostoevsky's novels despite the fact that reading the classics seems to be considered an old-fashioned activity for many of them. Dostoevsky and his characters keep inspiring people all over the world: philosophers, scientists, artists, lawyers, and many other different specialists keep citing them in their own spheres as well as in their personal lives.

So, this bicentennial has been welcomed by an impressive number of different organizations and it eventually helped to create a groundswell of new attention towards the writer and his place in modern cultures. As with previous large celebrations in honor of Dostoevsky, in 1921, 1971, 1981, and 1996, this one has also served as proof that the 'Dostoevsky-phenomenon' grows and transforms at different moments as a compelling element of our cultural history. Each time it takes on the form of something topical and new.

In this context, the current issue of *Dostoevsky Studies* appears as part of a rich harvest. There are many reasons to consider it an outstanding historical issue: it marks not only the bicentennial of FMD, but also another special anniversary, 50 years since the foundation of the International Dostoevsky Society (1971-2021). The IDS was established in September 1971 in the little spa town of Bad Ems, in Germany, as a result of an international 'brainstorming' which began at the sixth Congress of Slavists, held in Prague in the famous summer of 1968: a glimmer of hope for a peaceful and democratic world in the years of the Iron Curtain. Dostoevsky was a powerful symbol of a new hu-

manitarianism capable of overcoming ideological oppositions. A scholar from Australia – Russian émigré Dmitry Grishin – along with Czech intellectual František Kautman and other eminent specialists in the field of Russian literature paved the way for the formation of an international association devoted to the work and heritage of Fyodor Dostoevsky. The main preliminary activity was carried out by D. Grishin and American slavist Nadine Natov, and in 1971 it resulted in the first Dostoevsky Symposium in Bad Ems, where the IDS was founded. In the same year the Dostoevsky Museum in Leningrad (St Petersburg) was opened: these were signs of convergence from both sides of the Iron Curtain. Only many years later would this willingness to converge bear fruit, but this after all only proves the foresight of such a project. The International Dostoevsky Society remains a successful example of scholarly, democratic, and inclusive exchange between people from every culture and country. We can understand Dostoevsky's heritage in many very different ways, but dialogue and mutual interest always allow our research to grow and become disseminated. This is the task of the International Dostoevsky Society and its journal *Dostoevsky Studies*.

This anniversary edition of the journal offers a rich section dedicated to the 50-year history of the IDS. Here the reader will find many unknown and little-known documents and archival finds concerning the Society since its very beginnings. Most of the contributions are memoirs: by IDS founders Irene Zohrab and Malcolm V. Jones (one of the former IDS Presidents), and by long-standing prominent IDS members such as Toyofusa Kinoshita (President of the Japanese Dostoevsky Society), Rosanna Casari and Tatiana Nicolescu. Historical glimpses of the roles of František Kautman and Dmitry Grishin in the foundation of the IDS are provided by their disciples, Miluša Bubeníková and Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover respectively. Boris Tikhomirov outlines the history of Soviet scholars' participation in the life of the IDS. Many of the above-mentioned contributions are accompanied by rich appendices, including unreleased photos from IDS Symposia, a letter from Nadine Natov and an unpublished speech by Robert Louis Jackson.

The history of the IDS reveals the riches of its 50 years of history, but we don't forget the present and the future of Dostoevsky studies: in the opening section of the issue you will find five stimulating new essays on different aspects of Fyodor Mikhailovich's work and its reception. Chloe Papadopoulos' article, "Speaking Silently and Overnarrating in Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Krotkaia*" provides a deep analysis of the poetics of this tale. Daria Farafonova re-establishes the intertextual and thematic connections between Dostoevsky and the philosophy of Blaise Pascal with some original observations; Gabriel Nussbaum inter-

rogates the *Diary of a Writer* in search of ‘the ghost of Gogol’, linking the *Diary* in this way to other works of Dostoevsky where the presence of his predecessor is clearer and better known. In his article Benjamin M. Sutcliffe relates Yuri Trifonov’s recapitulation of Dostoevsky and his time with precise textological references. Tadeusz Sucharski offers an exhaustive overview of Dostoevsky studies in Post-War Poland, accompanied by an almost complete bibliography.

The reader will also find a rich Book Reviews section: five newly released books are here described and analyzed.

The Dostoevsky year is ending, but 2022 is expected to be another rich one in our field of studies and in the life of the International Dostoevsky Society: first of all because it will be focused on the XVIIIth Symposium to be held in Nagoya (Japan) on 22-27 August 2022. Some information about the activity and projects of different scholarly groups is given in the ‘News’ section. Anyway, this historical issue of *Dostoevsky Studies* could not be completed without a moving farewell to IDS officers who have been crucial in the life of our Society. As the last issue of the journal went to print, we received the news that Rudolf Neuhäuser, one of the first IDS members, a former President and the founder of this journal, had passed away. His friend and longterm collaborator Horst-Jürgen Gerigk remembers him in an obituary in German which we publish here along with another, collective, obituary, dedicated to another of the most prominent figures in the history of our community – the former President of the IDS (and the first woman to serve as IDS President) Deborah A. Martinsen, who passed away in this Dostoevskian year and month on Sunday, November 28. Just few days ago... Deborah Martinsen played a fundamental role in the life of *Dostoevsky Studies* as well as in its transition to an electronic journal. She generously helped us from the beginning up until a few months ago, when her health conditions were already severe.

In accordance with the whole Editorial Board, I would like to dedicate this special issue of *Dostoevsky Studies*, to our dear Deborah Martinsen with deep gratitude.

On behalf of the editorial board of *Dostoevsky Studies*,

Stefano ALOE
Managing Editor



*III. 1 - Stefano Aloe with Deborah Martinsen, Moscow 2013
(Archive of S. Aloe)*

ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНОЕ СЛОВО¹

Настоящий выпуск *Dostoevsky Studies* – 24-й из “Новой серии” и второй с тех пор, как он стал электронным журналом открытого доступа, – выходит в то время, когда *год Достоевского* подходит к концу. Да, этот 2021-й год действительно явился невероятно ‘достоевским’ годом! – и отнюдь не только из-за того, что минуло два столетия со дня рождения Федора Михайловича. Празднования такого рода далеко не всегда ознаменованы значимыми шагами вперед в области научных исследований и общественной деятельности: угроза дежурной официальной риторики и поверхностного интереса средств массовой информации всегда рядом.

Двухсотлетие могло бы стать парадом трюизмов, многократным повторением ложно понятых слов о «красоте», по каким-то странным причинам призванной «спасти мир»... К счастью, этого не случилось. Конечно, об упомянутой спасительной ‘красоте’ и подобных общих местах мы не раз слышали в последние месяцы, но – и это стало для меня приятным сюрпризом – не чаще, чем обычно.

Творчество Достоевского оказалось более жизненным, нежели любые стереотипные представления о нем, оно всегда современно, оно предлагает разные идеи каждому из нас. Молодые люди продолжают читать романы Достоевского, несмотря на то что чтение классики для большинства из них, по-видимому, считается старомодным занятием. Достоевский и его герои продолжают воспалять людей по всему миру: философы, ученые, художники, юристы и многие другие представители различных профессий продолжают цитировать их как в своей сфере, так и в собственной личной жизни. В результате этот двухсотлетний юбилей был встречен впечатляющим количеством мероприятий, проведенных на весьма высоком уровне, что в конечном счете способствовало проявлению новой волны внимания к писателю и его месту в современной культуре. Кстати, предшествовавшие крупные чествования Достоевского в 1921, 1971, 1981 и 1996 гг. также были актуальными во многих отношениях, доказывая, что ‘феномен Достоевского’ возрастает и меняется с течением времени как неотъемлемый элемент нашей культурной истории. Каждый раз он оказывается злободневным и новым.

Таким образом, настоящий номер *Dostoevsky Studies* является частью большой жатвы. Есть много причин считать, что его следует рассматривать

1 Перевод с английского языка – Б.Н. Тихомиров.

как выдающийся исторический выпуск: в нем мы отмечаем не только двухсотлетие Федора Михайловича Достоевского, но и еще одну особую круглую дату – 50-летие основания Международного общества Достоевского (1971-2021). International Dostoevsky Society было основано в сентябре 1971 г. в маленьком курортном городке Бад-Эмс, в Германии, в результате международной ‘мозговой атаки’, отправная точка которой связана с VI Конгрессом славистов, состоявшимся в Праге знаменитым летом 1968 г., подававшим проблеск надежды на мирное и демократическое развитие в эпоху Железного занавеса.

Достоевский был мощным символом нового гуманизма, способного преодолеть крайности идеологических противоречий. Ученый из Австралии – русский эмигрант Дмитрий Гришин – вместе с чешским интеллектуалом Франтишекком Каутманом и другими выдающимися специалистами в области русской литературы – разработал путь к созданию международной ассоциации, посвященной изучению творческого наследия Федора Достоевского. Основная подготовительная работа была проведена Дмитрием Гришиным и американской слависткой Надин Натовой, и в 1971 г. был созван первый учредительный симпозиум по Достоевскому, состоявшийся в Бад-Эмсе, где и было основано IDS. В том же году был открыт Музей Достоевского в Ленинграде (Санкт-Петербурге). Вот признаки сближения созидательных сил с обеих сторон железного занавеса. Только много лет спустя такая готовность к сближению достигла успеха, но, в конце концов, этим лишь доказывается дальновидность данного проекта. Международное общество Достоевского является успешным примером научных и демократических, всеобъемлющих связей между людьми разных стран и культур. Мы можем понимать наследие Достоевского по-разному, но диалог и взаимный интерес позволяют нашим исследованиям развиваться. Именно в этом состоит задача Международного общества Достоевского и его журнала *Dostoevsky Studies*.

Это юбилейное издание журнала содержит великолепный монографический раздел, посвященный 50-летней истории IDS. Здесь читатель познакомится со множеством неизвестных и малоизвестных документов, результатами архивных поисков, касающихся Общества с самого его зарождения. Большая часть материалов представляет собой мемуары ветеранов IDS Айрины Зохран и Малкольма В. Джонса (одного из бывших президентов Общества), а также давних видных членов IDS, таких как Тоёфуса Киносита (президент Японского общества Достоевского), Розанна Казари и Татьяна Николеску. Исторические сведения о роли Франтишека Каутмана и Дмитрия Гришина в создании IDS представлены их ученика-

ми – соответственно Милушей Бубениковой и Слободанкой Владив-Гловер. Борис Тихомиров рассказывает об истории участия советских ученых в жизни IDS. Многие из этих материалов сопровождаются богатыми дополнениями, в том числе впервые публикуемыми фотографиями с симпозиумов IDS, письмом Надин Натовой и неопубликованной речью Роберта Луиса Джексона.

История IDS весьма актуальна в год 50-летия Общества, но мы не забываем о настоящем и будущем исследований Достоевского: в первом разделе выпуска читатель найдет подборку из пяти интересных статей, посвященных различным аспектам творчества писателя и его рецепции. Статья Хлои Пападопулос “‘Говорить молча’ и пересказывать в *Кроткой* Федора Достоевского” – глубокое погружение в поэтику этой новеллы. Дарья Фарафонова восстанавливает интертекстуальные и тематические связи между Достоевским и философией Блеза Паскаля, сопровождая анализ рядом оригинальных наблюдений; Габриэль Нуссбаум исследует *Дневник Писателя* в поисках “призрака Гоголя”, связывая таким образом *Дневник* с другими произведениями Достоевского, где присутствие его предшественника более очевидно и хорошо известно. Бенджамин М. Сатклифф приводит в своей статье конкретные текстологические ссылки на размышления Юрия Трифонова о Достоевском и его времени. Тадеуш Сухарский предлагает весьма репрезентативный обзор традиций изучения Достоевского в послевоенной Польше, сопровождаемый почти исчерпывающей библиографией. Читатель также найдет раздел с обширными обзорами книг, где описаны и проанализированы пять недавно выпущенных изданий.

Год Достоевского завершается, но ожидается, что следующий 2022-й год также будет очень насыщенным как в сфере научных исследований, так и в деятельности Международного общества Достоевского: прежде всего потому, что его центральным событием станет XVIII Симпозиуму IDS, который состоится в Нагое (Япония) 22-27 августа 2022 г. Небезинтересная информация о деятельности и проектах различных научных групп представлена в разделе “Новости”. И бесспорно, этот исторический выпуск *Dostoevsky Studies* не мог быть завершён ничем иным, кроме трогательного прощания с членами руководства IDS, которые сыграли выдающуюся роль в жизни нашего Общества. Ко времени выхода в свет последнего, 23-го номера журнала до нас дошла скорбная новость о том, что скончался Рудольф Нойхойзер, один из первых членов IDS, его бывший президент и основатель этого журнала. Его друг и давний соратник Хорст-Юрген Геригк посвятил ему некролог, написанный на немецком языке, который мы публикуем здесь в одном разделе с коллективным не-

крологом, посвященным еще одной из самых выдающихся фигур в истории нашего сообщества – почетному президенту IDS (и первой женщине, занимавшей пост президента IDS) Деборе А. Мартинсен, скончавшейся в этот год и месяц Достоевского, в воскресенье, 28 ноября. Всего несколько дней назад...

Дебора Мартинсен сыграла фундаментальную роль в издании *Dostoevsky Studies*, а также в переводе журнала в электронный формат. Она щедро помогала нам с самого начала и вплоть до последних месяцев, когда ее состояние здоровья было уже очень тяжелым. В согласии со всей Редакционной коллегией я хотел бы с глубокой благодарностью посвятить памяти нашей дорогой Деборе Мартинсен этот специальный выпуск *Dostoevsky Studies*.

От Редакционной коллегии *Dostoevsky Studies*

Стефано Алоэ,
Главный редактор



III. 2 – Deborah Martinsen in Granada, 2016.
Photo Graf Aloyse (from the Archive of Stefano Aloe)

ARTICLES



СТАТЬИ

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Speaking Silently and Overnarrating in Fyodor Dostoevsky's Krotkaia

...I spoke almost silently. And I'm a master of speaking silently, I've spent my whole life speaking silently and have silently lived through whole tragedies with myself. Oh, but I was also unhappy!

(246-247)

...говорил почти молча. А я мастер молча говорить, я всю жизнь мою проговорил молча и прожил сам с собою целые трагедии молча. О, ведь и я же был несчастлив!

(ИСС 24; 12)¹

Speech saturates Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Krotkaia* (1876), wherein the first-person narrator, a loquacious grieving pawnbroker, seeks to comprehend the cause of his wife's suicide. But this speech, strangely, is often as silent as it is voiced. The conditions of the narrator's marriage to his young wife, the meek one of the story's title, are laid out frenetically: he paces back and forth in his home, hovering over the fresh corpse; he ceaselessly speaks, surrounding himself with his own voice in the silence of his wife's temporary crypt. Circular speech, repetition, justifications and explanations float through the ether, transplanting themselves onto the written page, creating what Dostoevsky dubs a realistic, but fantastic story. The 'fantastic' form of the story points to a major theme of

* I would like to thank the anonymous readers at the North American Dostoevsky Society for their feedback on this article in its earliest stages, as well as Eric Naiman for his helpful suggestions while serving as discussant for a later draft, presented at *ATSEEL* 2020. Special thanks to Stefano Aloe and the anonymous readers at *Dostoevsky Studies* for their many helpful comments.

1 The English translations from *Krotkaia* are taken from Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Meek One*, in Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Eternal Husband and Other Stories*, translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Bantam Books, 1997), pp. 233-277.

the text: the problem of communication.² Reading *Krotkaia*, I follow the seemingly ceaseless speech of Dostoevsky's narrator, but will also listen to the pauses, speechless moments, and silence. In doing so, I discuss the audible and inaudible in *Krotkaia*, positing that reevaluating the relationship between speech and silence calls for reconsideration of the work's narrative landscape.

This paper's epigraph, "I spoke almost silently. And I'm a master of speaking silently, I've spent my whole life speaking silently and have silently lived through whole tragedies with myself" (246-247; *ПСС* 24; 14), encapsulates the contradictory nature of speech and silence in this work. But, what does it mean to speak silently? Can silence ever constitute a communicative mode? Susan Sontag negotiates this seemingly antithetical relationship in "The Aesthetics of Silence". According to Sontag, silence exists in a dialectic with noise or speech: silence cannot exist without speech, nor vice versa.³ In his analysis of silence in *Brat'ia Karamazovy*, Malcolm V. Jones similarly observes that discourse is not possible without silence, which is fundamentally polysemic.⁴ Silence, in other words, is not something apart from speech; it is an integral part of speech. The phrase "to speak silently" implies that the speaker successfully imparts a message to the listener without ever having uttered the message. In this wordless exchange the silent subject (the speaker) imbues silence with speech and communicative potential, this potential is then actualized by the listener, who imputes speech to the wordless interlocutor.

In *Krotkaia*, the narrator attempts to impart just such an unarticulated message to his wife. Silence materializes as a primary communicative mode within the text and defines the relations between the pawnbroker and the meek one. Silence functions dynamically in the text, changing in accordance with the fluctuating circumstances of the couple's marriage. It is first introduced into the relationship by the pawnbroker as a pedagogical tool – he withholds speech in order to control his wife and her perception of him. He aspires to have his wife understand the essence of his being and to solve his unspoken riddle. Instead, under the tyranny of her husband's wordlessness, the meek one falls silent. In this article, I investigate the pawnbroker's dubious teaching method, showing

2 Dostoevsky writes, «Я озаглавил его 'фантастическим', тогда как считаю его сам в высшей степени реальным. Но фантастическое тут есть действительно, и именно в самой форме рассказа, что и нахожу нужным пояснить предварительно» (*ПСС* 24; 5).

3 Susan SONTAG, "The Aesthetics of Silence", in Susan SONTAG, *Styles of Radical Will* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969), p. 11.

4 Malcolm V. JONES, "Silence in *The Brothers Karamazov*", in Horst-Jürgen GERIGK (Hrsg.), *Die Brüder Karamasow: Dostojewskijs letzter Roman in heutiger Sicht* (Dresden: Dresden UP, 1997), S. 30.

it to be an oppressive measure that the meek one appropriates and, ultimately, uses against her 'teacher'.

The communicative potential of silence carries more weight in *Krotkaia's* narrative than has generally been suggested in scholarship to date. The dominance of first-person narration in the work has at times led scholars to focus solely on the pawnbroker's voiced discourse. The meek one, on the other hand, is commonly seen as either a silent victim, imbued with Christological significance, or a plot device that motivates the first-person narrator's confessional mode.⁵ Scholarship that explores *Krotkaia's* Christological message or that posits the corpse as a physical embodiment of Mikhail Bakhtin's unfinalizable word seems to ignore the crisis of communication that haunts this couple's marriage and the story's composition.

At the story's beginning, the pawnbroker looks upon his wife's body, passionately lamenting her death. Soon after, however, the lifeless figure that is provocatively laid out on the table disappears into the background of the logorrheic pawnbroker's narration, only to reappear as a character in the story of the *pawnbroker's* disgrace and subsequent failed marriage. In his analysis of *Krotkaia*, Bakhtin observes that the story "is directly structured on the motif of conscious ignorance. The hero conceals from himself and carefully eliminates

- 5 The meek one (and her silence) motivates and facilitates the pawnbroker's narrative and has, accordingly, been read within a feminist framework, wherein the female character functions entirely in service of her male counterpart. Barbara Heldt observes that "heroines of male fiction serve a purpose that has little to do with women: these heroines are used lavishly in a discourse of male self-definition". See Barbara HELDT, *Terrible Perfection: Women and Russian Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1987), p. 2. The female plotline is often a mere episode, which serves to delineate the conditions that have contributed to a man's development. Analyzing gender, dialogic discourse, and narrative structure in *Krotkaia*, Harriet Murav, like Heldt, highlights the nominal space afforded to the female character in nineteenth-century Russian literature. Her formulation, however, differs in that she locates the source of elision in discourse. She interrogates the applicability of Bakhtinian dialogism to women through exploring how and if the female character in Dostoevsky participates in the author and hero's dialogic relationship. Murav finds that male confessions in *Krotkaia*, *Zapiski iz podpol'ia* (1864), and *Besy* (1871) require a female victim: "The female protagonist in Dostoevsky provides the occasion for her representation as a victim in the confession of a male hero". See Harriet MURAV, "Reading Woman in Dostoevsky", in Sona HOISINGTON (Ed.), *A Plot of Her Own: The Female Protagonist in Russian Literature* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1995), p. 46. Elizabeth BLAKE likewise explores the gendered side of silence in "Sonya, Silent No More: A Response to the Woman Question in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*", *Slavic & East European Journal*, 50, no. 2, 2006, pp. 252-271.

from his own discourse the very thing that is constantly before his eyes”.⁶ This paper shifts attention back to this silent presence on the table and asks: Can we push beyond the notion that the meek one is nothing more than a sounding board – first silent, then dead –, an imagined construct for the narrator?

I argue that we can, that silence in this work is highly communicative. *Krotkaia* centers on an asymmetrical dialogic relationship,⁷ in which the husband and wife are unable to communicate. The polarization of communication between “overnarration”, discussed in the first section of this article, and silence, discussed in the second section, delineates and exacerbates the unequal power dynamics in the couple’s marriage and defines the narrative logic of the story itself. Silence materializes as abuse, but simultaneously opens up space for the meek one to develop her *own* silence, one that undermines and circumvents her living counterpart’s oration. If we read the meek one’s wordlessness as communicative, the plot of *Krotkaia* becomes one of reversal, a plot in which the silent object of narration actually cultivates narrative agency and, in so doing, provokes the narrating subject’s speech.

1. *Overnarration*

Krotkaia engages in overnarration, a neologism that I have developed with *Krotkaia* in mind to describe the story’s dominant narrative style, which depends upon and grows out of silence; the act of telling all is diametrically opposed to silence, but, nonetheless, cannot exist without it. The pawnbroker’s narration, in other words, is made possible by the silence of his imaginary interlocutor(s), as well as the eternal silence of his wife. The pervasive silence in which the pawnbroker finds himself at the time of the story’s telling originates from conflicted communication within the diegesis: silence drives the plot forward; it produces and prolongs conflict as it comes to define the couple’s marriage, a marriage that develops out of inequality, usury, and exploitation. This term

6 Bakhtin goes on to argue that the narrator’s monologue forces the narrator to admit “what he has in fact known and seen from the very beginning”. See Mikhail BAKHTIN, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. and trans. by Caryl EMERSON (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 247. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.08865>

7 My use of this term is informed by Ilya Kliger’s analysis of the anamorphic plot in *Krotkaia* and Dostoevsky’s novelistic narratives – in the anamorphic plot, he observes, “dialogic partners [...] rarely find themselves on an equal footing”. See Ilya KLIGER, “Anamorphic Realism: Veridictory Plots in Balzac, Dostoevsky, and Henry James”, *Comparative Literature*, vol. 59, no. 4, Fall 2007, p. 304. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40279382>

provides a framework within which to examine the formal implications of first-person narration in *Krotkaia* and explains how these formal characteristics are employed by the narrator in an effort to engulf his wife's image and voice.

I ascribe a double meaning to overnarration. It is a formal, stylistic narrative technique, as well as a communicative mode through which a speaker asserts dominance over an interlocutor. As a prefix, 'over' denotes excess and effort (for example, 'overkill'; 'overdrive'); as a preposition, it localizes an object in relation to another object ("He was standing over her"). In this sense, 'to over-narrate' resembles the verb 'to overwrite', which can mean both to write in an overwrought style and to write over the surface of an object. Keeping in mind *Krotkaia's* experimentation with communicative modes, – write seems limiting and much too authorially – centered; – narration more aptly describes the text's *orally-transmitted* narration. In overnarration orality and the written word can coincide.

1.1. Formal Techniques

Overnarration as a formal technique explicitly relates to a text's style. It can be identified within a variety of narrative forms, but it most often dominates first-person narratives, where the subject of the text is its narrator and the object of narration is its narrator's life.⁸ Dostoevsky frequently employs overnarration in first-person narratives that emphasize self-reflexive (self-centered) subjectivity, bordering on emotionality. *Krotkaia* and *Zapiski iz podpol'ia* (1864), classified respectively as soliloquy and diatribe by Bakhtin,⁹ are two of Dostoevsky's most demonstrably overnarrated works. In overnarration, emotionality pervades the language, tone, and structure of a text. As well, overnarration is characterized by repetition, non-chronological sequencing, interjections, asides, contradictions, and the like. Most times, these features exist within the span of a single page or even a single paragraph.

This is precisely why I call it *overnarration* and why it effectively captures the essence of *Krotkaia's* narrative style. This is an excessive style that is inextricable from the tragic circumstances that motivate the pawnbroker's narration:

8 Overnarration is not simply synonymous with first-person narration. It is a useful concept for reading not only *Krotkaia*, but also *Zapiski iz podpol'ia*, and, even, *Podrostok* (1875). Conversely, the term does not productively apply to the first-person narration of *Zapiski iz mertvogo doma* (1860), due to stylistic differences that are beyond the scope of the present paper.

9 BAKHTIN, p. 154.

the meek one's suicide. The narrator seeks to come to grips with the suicide: "I keep pacing and want to figure it out for myself" (235; *ICC* 24; 6).¹⁰ Identifying the cause of the meek one's suicide is fundamental to the story's plot. However, as Irina Paperno posits, Dostoevsky recognized the inaccessibility of suicide and, accordingly, chose to externalize the enigmatic act, offering the reader a suicide recounted entirely through the voice of the suicide's husband.¹¹ Thus, it is not the suicidal subject who narrates, but the one who is left behind to contemplate the act. Dostoevsky positions the subject of suicide as the object of narration and tasks the pawnbroker with identifying the suicide's cause— but, in a complicated twist, the pawnbroker must grapple with the very real possibility that *he* is its cause; a fact that, inevitably, contributes to the manner in which he tells his story.

The pawnbroker's emotional and moral investment in the plot is communicated directly, in his *own* voice, and it is here, in the story's delivery, that the plot's complexity lies. The pawnbroker's inner workings are revealed through a ceaseless, unfiltered stream of thoughts, memories, and explanations: "He is in bewilderment and has not had the time to collect his thoughts. He paces his rooms and tries to make sense of what has happened, 'to collect his thoughts to a point'" (233; *ICC* 24; 5). The story's overnarrated style is doubtless a realistic consequence of the pawnbroker's bereavement, and the proximity of the act itself. It is also a consequence of silence. Shortly before his wife's death, the narrator breaks the silence that has pervaded his marriage, falling at the feet of the meek one with a melodramatic confession. When his wife dies, however,

¹⁰ Like his narrator, Dostoevsky, sought to *figure out* suicide in his fictional and journalistic writings; notably, he did so in *Dnevnik pisatel'ia* (1873; 1876-1877; 1880-1881), where he published *Krotkaia* in November 1876. In *Dnevnik*, he examined suicide through the lens of positivism, religion, and the contemporary moment, publishing reports on real-life suicides and engaging with his readership in written correspondence about them. *Krotkaia* was published after the contentious "Dva Samoubiistva" (October 1876), in which Dostoevsky discussed the suicides of Liza Herzen, daughter of Alexander Herzen, and of a seamstress, Mar'ia Borisova. *Krotkaia* differs substantially from these events, but retains one detail from *Dnevnik's* real-life cases, borrowing Borisova's icon. For "Dva Samoubiistva", see *ICC* 23; 144-148. This subject has been written on extensively; for more, see Irina PAPERNO, *Suicide as Cultural Institution in Dostoevsky's Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997); Kate HOLLAND, "The Fictional Filter", in *Dostoevsky Studies*, New Series, vol. 4, 2000, pp. 95-116; and Leon BURNETT, "Effacement and Enigma in the Making of *The Meek Girl*", in Robert REID and Joe ANDREW (Ed.), *Aspects of Dostoevskii: Art, Ethics, and Faith* (New York: Rodopi, 2012), pp. 149-166.

¹¹ PAPERNO, p. 183.

his confession transforms into a seemingly endless, hysterical soliloquy that is dominated by self-contradictions, repetitions, exclamations, and interjections.

1.1.1. *Self-contradiction*

The pawnbroker's narrative is rife with self-contradiction: "Despite the seeming consistency of his speech, he contradicts himself several times, both in logic and in feelings" (234; *ICC* 24; 5). Because opposing interpretations of events exist side by side, unfiltered and unedited, they emphasize the process of narration as being a conduit for understanding.¹² The pawnbroker's monologue is ostensibly an attempt to understand why his wife died and to puzzle out the timeless question: who is guilty? Self-contradictions emphasize the pawnbroker's desire to *figure it out*, but undermine his postured authority. The pawnbroker is coming to grips with what has happened as he paces around his wife's corpse and is, accordingly, developing his terms in real time. Describing what constituted a quarrel, he states: "[...] there was a quarrel the next day. That is, again, there were no quarrels, but there was silence and – and a more and more bold look on her part" (248; *ICC* 24; 15). The idiosyncratic definition of quarrel – a prolonged, unresolvable silence, punctuated with glares – must be derived from the narrator's meandering speech.

As the citation above suggests, self-contradiction does much more than represent the pawnbroker as an unreliable narrator. Self-contradiction also lays bare the opposing impulses at play in the story's power dynamics. For instance, after his wife attempts to kill him in his sleep, the pawnbroker claims that he is delighted by the thought of her suffering, hating her while desiring to punish her. Conversely, in the same breath, he expresses forgiveness (264; *ICC* 24; 25). He then concludes his thought, saying:

On the contrary, in my eyes she was so defeated, so humiliated, so crushed, that I sometimes pitied her painfully, *though for all that* I sometimes decidedly liked the idea of her humiliation. It was the idea of our inequality that I liked... (264; *ICC* 24; 25 – emphasis mine *C.P.*).

The pawnbroker relishes inequality. In his marriage, as I show in the second half of this article, he maintains control over his wife by withholding information, speech, and touch. Conversely, he seeks control over his readers/listeners

12 Gary Saul Morson identifies "processual intentionality" as a primary element of *Dnevnik's* design. See Gary Saul MORSON, "Editor's Introduction", in Fyodor DOSTOEVSKY, *A Writer's Diary*, ed. by Gary S. MORSON (Northwestern UP, 2009), p. xliv.

(the imagined *gospoda*) by granting them access to too much material.¹³ On the level of the text, the pawnbroker overloads his “gentlemen” with conflicting information. In his tangled web of thoughts, feelings, and opinions, the pawnbroker anticipates and accommodates contradictions. In so doing, he seeks to control all possible interpretations of his story and, thereby, maintain the position of power he so coveted in his marriage. But, as in his marriage, he fails to attain his goal in his narrative.

1.1.2. Repetition

i. Repetition is a rhetorical device that emphasizes the narrator’s characterization of and emotional reaction to events. Given below are the most frequent ways in which repetition materializes in the text: Frequent use of words such as ‘naturally’ [*razumeetsia*], ‘however’ [*vprochem*], ‘in a word’ [*v odnom slove/odnim slovom*]:

These words are typically meant to clarify or succinctly summarize an observation. However, when employed with excessive frequency, these words emphasize the narrator’s lack of control over his own material and thoughts. They also contribute to the text’s colloquial style, functioning in a similar way to the colloquial English interjections ‘like’ and ‘you know’. For example:

Naturally, she didn’t explain anything to me herself that time. It was later that I found out about *The Voice* and everything. She was then spending her last strength to advertise, at first, *naturally*, with pride [...]. *Naturally*, all this was

13 The imagined audience is particularly important within the context of this story’s unconventional narrative transposition. It is also an essential component within the stylistics of overnarration. In *Krotkaia*, the reader is presented with what Dorrit Cohn refers to as an autobiographical monologue. The autobiographical monologue is a recitation of the speaker’s life to himself. In this sense, it does not disambiguate oral and written communication, leading to the problem of who the speaker’s audience truly is: the autobiographical monologue, “create[s] a highly stylized rhetorical effect, since reciting one’s own biography to oneself does not appear psychologically plausible. Or rather, it appears plausible only if the speaker pursues a definite aim with this recitation, an aim of public confession or self-justification”. See Dorrit COHN, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978), p. 181. The audience’s invisible presence influences speech characteristics, such as the frequent use of the imperative and explanatory asides. The repetition of the particle *-ka* also denotes a degree of subservience on the part of the speaker in relation to his audience. For example, see *ICC* 24; 14.

added to the advertisement gradually [...] (237; *ICC* 24; 7-8 – emphasis mine *C.P.*).

ii. Repetition of expressions word for word, or identical constructions:

[...] this was a *beast*, this was a *fit*, this was a *beast* in a *fit* (251; *ICC* 24; 17 – emphasis mine *C.P.*);

Why, then, did I love her, *why* did I esteem her, *why* had I married her? (255; *ICC* 24; 20 – emphasis mine *C.P.*);

Oh, I was never *liked*, even at school. Never and nowhere was I *liked*. Lukerya is also unable to *like* me. The incident with the regiment, though a consequence of the *dislike* for me, was undoubtedly of accidental character (261; *ICC* 24; 23 – emphasis mine *C.P.*).

Repetitions such as these are emphatic and contribute to the charged emotional style evident throughout the narrator's account. They give the impression that the narrator is imploring his listener to understand the stakes of his narrative. These repetitions are characteristic overnarration: they create a surplus of words, saying in multiple iterations what would be comprehensible within a singular, concise expression.

1.1.3. Interjections, exclamations, and asides

Interjections, exclamations, and asides contribute to the text's oral quality. They are the narrator's running commentary on his own narrative. The most frequently used interjection in the text is 'oh'. 'Oh', which traditionally introduces an *exclamatio* in tragedy, is notable in that it functions both as a pause and as an expression of lamentation. It is often coupled with repetitious statements, compounding the emotional and the rhetorical. These expressions tend to appear when the pawnbroker addresses his audience. In almost all cases, exclamations resemble asides, which are meant to clarify any ambiguity in the pawnbroker's intended message. Interjections, exclamations, and asides are marked by the use of the imperative, exclamation marks, and parentheses. Repeated words, followed by an exclamation mark, within parentheses compound all of the above. Some examples include:

Oh, filth! Oh, what filth I dragged her out of then! (244; *ICC* 24; 12);

Oh, incomprehension, oh, my blindness! (272; *ICC* 24; 32);

Oh, wild, wild! *Incomprehension! Implausibility! Impossibility* [*Nedorazume-
nie! Nepravdopodobie! Nevozmozhnost'*] (274; *ICC* 24; 33 – emphasis mine
C.P.);

But I didn't understand it then and ascribed her color to humility (the veil!)
(265; *ICC* 24; 26);

And what childlike laughter, so dear, just as before, when she was my fiancée
(one instant! one instant!) (271; *ICC* 24; 30).

If the number of quotations cited above seems extreme, it is not because I have unwittingly adopted the pawnbroker's tendency to overnarrate, but because I want to emphasize that these speech characteristics appear excessively frequently. Disambiguating these stylistic categories is challenging not only because they occur so regularly, but also due to the fact that they often occur together, within a single sentence or over the length of a paragraph. The combination of these categories within short spans of text lends a certain rhythm to the pawnbroker's speech that is at once manic and calculated. The reader becomes so accustomed to this colloquial style, to emotional inflection, to repetition, that the poignancy of these rhetorical devices becomes meaningless. At the same time, this overnarrated style is stifling, it slows down the plot by opening up space for detours.

1.2. Narrating (over) the meek one

Overnarration can also describe a particular style of authorship. In this aspect of overnarration, the object of narration is narrated over, such that the object is diminished by the subject in a subjugating manner. The narrating subject (in this case, the pawnbroker) seeks to reach an understanding about the object of his narration (his wife) through the act of authorship, which, in the overnarrated mode, is overdetermined by the subject's perception and interpretation.

'Narrating over' the meek one limits the reader's access to her. It inhibits her verbal, gestural, and physical communication. The narrator provides the reader with glimpses of the meek one's body, with snippets of her speech and silence; however, her inner life is inaccessible. Even her most autonomous acts, her moments of rebellion, explored in the second section of this article, are presented to the reader through mediated physical expression, through her husband's identification of a "mocking wrinkle", (249; *ICC* 24; 15) or a "bad smile" (251; *ICC* 24; 17). The meek one is fragmented: she is limited to a flushed face, a set of lit up eyes, a stomping foot. At the story's end, she is syn-

ecdochally represented by her empty boots, which will forever wait by the foot of her bed to be filled.

During the couple's courtship, the pawnbroker observes the meek one in order to familiarize himself with her character; he fixes upon fragments that suit a preconceived narrative that he will later impose upon her. Describing the first time that he truly noticed her, the narrator says: "This was at the very beginning, and I, of course, didn't distinguish her from the others: she comes like everybody else, well, and so forth. But later I began to distinguish. She was so slender, fair-haired, medium tall; with me she was always awkward, as if abashed" (235; *II*CC 24; 6). He begins to distinguish her from others like her; she is particularized only because he finally manages to see her and to write a story for her.¹⁴ She emerges out of the crowd as a collection of features and characteristics that he perceives and then interprets. He continues to engage in the interpretive act during their marriage and, especially, after her death, narrating the story of her life and suicide to an imagined audience that has no recourse to the story's object for verification.

In this way, the pawnbroker engages in "scripting", a term developed by Sarah Young in her analysis of *Idiot* (1868) to describe an interactive narrative process, whereby characters enact their own stories by persuading (or, often, coercing)¹⁵ others to participate in their realization. "Scripting" is a defense of one's loophole and a refusal to "[lose] the final word about [oneself]".¹⁶ Characters who submit to others' scripts are at risk of losing control of their own narratives and of being objectified.¹⁷ In the overnarrated text, scripting loses its interactive character; it is, instead, hierarchically determined by who is narrating the text itself. The pawnbroker's narrating over the meek one is very much a consequence of his desire to control not only the meek one, but also his own narrative (as well as, his reader's understanding of that narrative). The pawnbroker's overnarration aspires to objectivity in its purported goal. However, because his object is not an active participant in meaning creation on the level of the text,

14 It is after this episode that the narrator begins to inquire after her and find out about her financial destitution. He is only able to formulate the likelihood of their marriage when he understands the extent of her lowly position and powerlessness. It is from this moment that her story begins to be formed within the narrator's mind. On the role of money in *Krotkaia*, see Boris CHRISTA, "'Money Talks': The Semiotic Anatomy of *Krotkaia*", *Dostoevsky Studies*, New Series, vol. 4, 2000, pp. 143-152.

15 Sarah YOUNG, *Dostoevsky's The Idiot and the Ethical Foundations of Narrative* (London: Anthem, 2004), p. 18.

16 *Ibidem*, p. 19.

17 *Ibidem*.

she seems to serve as nothing more than a conduit for his self-edification. His failure to make his marriage work is partially accounted for by his unsuccessful attempt to script the meek one: he thinks he can control this seemingly malleable sixteen-year-old girl and write her into his own story, but, as we will see, he is mistaken in his belief that her life was created to embellish his own.

The couple's struggle for narrative control is further elucidated in the second section of this paper, but it is worth noting that the autonomy of the pawnbroker's soliloquy is threatened not solely, to quote Gabriella Safran, by his wife's "renunciation of the role of intrageneric narratee".¹⁸ Dostoevsky, too, declines to grant the pawnbroker total authorial control of the narrative. He first does so in the story's title, which, through implicating the work's subject as the meek one, emphasizes her crucial role in the narrative. In denying his titular heroine a name, however, Dostoevsky also underscores her obfuscation.¹⁹ The author then prefaces the narrator's unreliability in his "Ot avtora," alerting the reader to the overnarrated nature of the story to come. He additionally undermines his narrator in his inclusion of the meek one's (non)verbal communicative acts, which, despite their mediated character, alert the reader to the pawnbroker's inability to grasp his wife's opaque inner life fully. In those moments, Dostoevsky cues the reader to listen to the meek one. He overwrites the pawnbroker, just as the pawnbroker overnarrates his wife. Envisioning this story as a hierarchy, one finds Dostoevsky writing, squarely located above his narrator, who, pacing, is squarely located above his wife. At the bottom, one finds the meek one – around whom the story revolves, but who is always the object, never the subject. Both in the diegetic world and on the level of the narrative, the subject controls the object.²⁰

Having explored voiced discourse on the level of narrated text, in the next section I explore silence as an absence and excess, with the aim of understanding how silence functions within *Krotkaia's* narrative texture and how it is that the meek one, refusing to be narrated over, becomes a 'master of speaking silently'.

18 Gabriella SAFRAN, "The Troubled Frame Narrative: Bad Listening in Late Imperial Russia", *The Russian Review*, 72, no. 4, October 2013, p. 568.

19 Unlike Dostoevsky's other nameless characters, such as the Underground Man and, even, the pawnbroker, who narrate their own stories, the meek one is the anonymous object of a story that, despite bearing her moniker as its title, is really all about her husband. Her moniker is not a self-imposed anonymity, but merely marks her as a submissive character, who is at the mercy of another's actions.

20 The issue of gender and, in particular, the gendering of the right to speak in *Krotkaia* deserves further analysis, but is beyond the scope of the present study.

2. Silence

Silence occupies a significant place in *Krotkaia*, a story so loquacious (or overnarrated) as to be excessive: there is too much speech, too many emotions, too much information – speech pours forth from silence and is a result of the absence of open communication that dominates the conditions of the characters' marriage.

What is silence? How can we define it? Among the synonyms that Dal' gives for *molchat'* are 'to keep silence' (*bezmolstvovat'*), 'not to speak' (*ne govorit'*), and 'not to make a sound' (*ne izdat' zvuka*).²¹ *Molchat'* because, in *Krotkaia*, it and various derivations of *-molch-* appear forty-two times, as opposed to *-tish-*, which appears four times and *-tikh-*, nine times. This is important, because *molchanie*, of all the Russian silences, relates precisely to human speech – it is the silence that takes place when people are not speaking, whereas *tishina* refers to a lack of noise, a sense of inner peace, making it rather more neutral and multifaceted than *molchanie*.²²

Even in Dal's definition, it is clear that silence cannot exist without its opposite. As Sontag writes, "one must acknowledge a surrounding environment of sound or language in order to recognize silence".²³ And, so, silence exists in a dialectic with noise or speech. In this way, according to Sontag, there can never be pure silence – silence becomes a part of dialogue and is, by extension, a form of speech. Silence is communicative: "somebody's silence opens up an array of possibilities for interpreting that silence, for imputing speech to it".²⁴ For Sontag, silence simultaneously invites and bars communication.²⁵ This formulation

21 Владимир И. Даль, *Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка*, т. 2 (Москва: Изд. книгопродавца-типографа М.О. Вольфа, 1881), с. 350.

22 Jones has argued that a dialectic of silences, *molchanie* and *tishina*, is fundamental to the deep structure of Dostoevsky's novels. For more on this topic, see JONES, pp. 29-45; Михаил ЭПШТЕЙН, *Слово и молчание: метафизика русской литературы* (Москва: Высшая Школа, 2006); Benjamin JENS, "Silence and Confession in *The Brothers Karamazov*", *The Russian Review*, 75, January 2016, pp. 51-66.

23 SONTAG, p. 11.

24 *Ibidem*, p. 16.

25 The expansion and limitation of interpretive potential that Sontag describes, in the simplest terms, can be explained by the following imagined scenario: Two friends are speaking. Friend A asks Friend B, "where would you like to go for dinner?" Friend B answers with silence, which prompts Friend A to fill the silence with increasingly specific questions (for example, about the type of food or the price point of the restaurant). Friend B's facial expressions, given in response to each question, provide Friend A with information about

may seem to be contradictory, but, in truth, it points to *the* precondition of silence's existence: a subject/object or speaker/listener relationship must exist in order for the narration or recognition of silence to take place.

Silence and speech, then, can productively coexist on the level of narrative. However, within the context of this story's diegesis, the same cannot be said of how silence and speech affect human relations. The pawnbroker's overnarration arises as a direct consequence of silence; it depends upon and develops out of silence: the silent corpse, the silent relations between husband and wife. Silence makes narrative possible and mirrors the evaluative process that the pawnbroker engages in when he ascribes meaning to his wife's silence. In this way, silence is a locus of absence and excess in speech, in narration.

Silence appears in the text in three distinct, but interrelated ways. These three modes of silence contribute to the meek one's seemingly contradictory dual status as an oppressed and autonomous figure. Interestingly, however, they also reveal the degree to which the pawnbroker's silence infects the meek one.

2.1. *Oppressive silence*

The first form of silence is oppressive silence. The pawnbroker introduces silence into the household, using it as an educational measure. Though the pawnbroker never states his pedagogical intention outright, in the drafts for *Krotkaia* Dostoevsky twice mentions that the pawnbroker seeks to reeducate (*perevospatat'*) the meek one. The verb *perevospatat'* first appears in a note, written above the phrase, "For what, for what did she die?" that reads: "To reeducate her [*Perevospatat' ee*]" (*ICC* 24; 323 – translations from drafts are mine, *C.P.*). It then appears in the phrase, "I wanted to reform [*perevospatat'*] her character" (*ICC* 24; 332). In its first use, Dostoevsky seems to offer an answer to the pawnbroker's question, intimating that the meek one died as a result of this cruel *perevospatanie*.

The pawnbroker's description of the couple's honeymoon period poignantly illustrates the oppressive character of this coercive reeducation:

The main thing is that from the very first, though she tried to hold back, she threw herself to me with love, she would meet me with rapture when I came

Friend B's opinion. From this scenario, it becomes clear that silence, rather than barring communication, created space not only for Friend A to interpret Friend B's silence, but also prompted Friend A to pronounce more utterances, to overcommunicate.

home in the evening, told me in her prattle [*lepetom*] (the charming prattle of innocence!) all about her childhood, her infancy, her parental home, her father and mother. But I immediately doused all this ecstasy at once with cold water. It was in this that my idea lay. To her raptures I responded with silence, benevolent, of course...but all the same she quickly saw that we were different, and that I was – a riddle (245; *ИСС* 24; 13).

This passage reveals much about how the meek one is characterized. She tells him about her childhood in her prattle (*lepetom*). *Lepetom* is often associated with the speech of a child – here, it colours her manner of speech as childlike. This is one of the few instances in which the pawnbroker acknowledges that he has married an innocent, young girl. Read in light of her age, the drafts' *perevospitat'* (derived from the verb 'to rear', *vospitat'*) implies that the pawnbroker is a father figure, occupied with the upbringing of his child. At the beginning of the marriage, she is open, perhaps even excited and exuberant, whereas the pawnbroker is withholding, a characteristic that is evident not only in his emphatic silence, but also in his lack of touch.²⁶ The meek one throws herself at him with love and he denies her affection. To her prattle, he replies with silence. Silence becomes something that the pawnbroker (and the meek one) can wield. To answer with silence is to instrumentalize it, as is reflected in the Russian's use of instrumental case (*molchaniem*, *ИСС* 24; 13); "you could cut the silence with a knife" provides the perfect example of how silence takes on material qualities in metaphoric speech. It is also telling that the narrator elides the meek one's speech in this passage. He silences her telling in his telling and focuses attention onto himself. And he does so forcefully – he says, "I immediately doused all this ecstasy at once with cold water" (245; *ИСС* 24; 13).

The pawnbroker's pedagogical imperative, then, is to exercise control over his wife by taking her voice. He douses his wife's exuberance with cold water in an effort to temper her youthful vitality. In actuality, he is exercising his power over her. The pawnbroker nurtures the trauma of a failed duel and his subsequent discharge from the regiment, carrying it over into his profession and marriage.²⁷ This failed duel constitutes the pawnbroker's shame, which he

26 The story avoids any direct reference to sexual intimacy. It is only after the episode with the revolver, when the marriage is already "dissolved" (*rastorgnut*), that the narrator alludes to physical relations by passively punishing his wife, banishing her to an iron bed that is cordoned off by a screen (*ИСС* 24; 22).

27 Robert Louis Jackson observes that "the concept of the duel is central to the [story's] idea and structure". See Robert L. JACKSON, "The Temptation and the Transaction: *A Gentle Creature*", in Robert L. JACKSON, *The Art of Dostoevsky: Deliriums and Nocturnes* (Prince-

overcomes only after the meek one is “defeated” in the couple’s unconventional, silent duel (259; *ПСС* 24; 22). Because of his cowardly inaction, he falls in the ranks, loses his income, and wanders St. Petersburg as a beggar.²⁸ Information about this duel gradually emerges throughout the text; first through the appearance of a former acquaintance, Efimovich, with whom his wife secretly meets, then through the meek one’s taunting. He attempts to keep his shameful past a secret, while at the same time punishing the meek one as if she were its cause. When the pawnbroker says, “I was – a riddle” (245; *ПСС* 24; 13), he really means, *I have a secret*.

Prior to their marriage, the pawnbroker tests the meek one, assessing her capacity for discovering and understanding his secret. He begins this evaluative process early on, when the meek one comes to pawn her petty worldly possessions in order to advertise in the daily newspaper, *Golos* (“The Voice”). The meek one, desperate for work, publishes a personal advertisement, which is paraphrased by the narrator on the story’s first page as follows: “here, say, thus and so, [*vot, deskat’, tak i tak*] a governess, agrees to move, and to give lessons at home, and so on and so forth [*i proch., i proch.*]” (235; *ПСС* 24; 6 – *translation modified*). In the mouth of the pawnbroker, the meek one’s written composition is transformed into fragments that are couched in colloquial phraseology, like *deskat’, tak i tak*, and *i proch., i proch.* Later, the pawnbroker further elaborates on the content of her advertisement, directly quoting her; despite the direct quotation, he nonetheless ends his citation with “etc., etc., [*t.d., i t.d.,*] the same old stuff!” (237; *ПСС* 24; 8). These phrases render his future wife’s situation unremarkable and underscore the ubiquity of her precarious position by suggesting that the reader can very easily fill in the predictable blanks left by the narrator’s “etcetera” and “thus and so”. The meek one is just one more nameless suicide readily found in the miscellany (*smes’*) section of the daily news. Appraising the value of her petty trinkets, the narrator simultaneously seeks to identify, evaluate, and confirm the extent of her precarity.

The meek one comes to know the pawnbroker, then, as a result not only of her lowly position, but also of the necessity of communicating this to a broader public. When she places her advertisement in *Golos*, she harnesses the power of the news to try to better her station. Here, the news is a positive medium for

ton: Princeton UP, 1981), p. 244.

28 Lucjan Suchanek observes that the pawnbroker becomes an underground man after his discharge from the regiment. See Lucjan SUCHANEK, “Молча говорить – повесть Ф.М. Достоевского *Кромкая*”, *Dostoevsky Studies*, vol. 6, 1985, p. 129, sites.utoronto.ca/tsq/DS/06/125.shtml

self-improvement and empowerment; at the same time, it puts the meek one in a highly precarious position – as a body for sale. This message, however, goes unanswered but for the pawnbroker’s response. Michael Holquist observes that Dostoevsky’s inclusion of *Golos* was not motivated by the mere fact of its actual existence as a popular St. Petersburg daily. Instead, he writes, “it is named on the first page of this particular story in order to announce the terms of the tale’s dominant structural metaphor: the human voice, and the myriad kinds of silence it fills”.²⁹ The power dynamic built into this brief scene in the couple’s life foreshadows the communicative model that will follow thereafter. The meek one speaks up, but does so only to be silenced.

It is notable, then, that the meek one remains entirely silent during the early transactions at the pawnshop: “And all silently. Others, they argue, beg, bargain in order to get more; this one no, just what’s given...” (235; *ICC* 24; 6). He takes this silence for desperation, but also detects rebelliousness, calling her silent exit from his shop on her second reported visit a revolt (*bunt*) (*ICC* 24; 8). Her passivity, coupled with her defiantly flashing “blue, big, pensive eyes”, strike the pawnbroker and present a challenge (236; *ICC* 24;7). He proceeds to provoke the meek one and to test her limits. He attempts to manipulate her through modulations in his tone of voice, for example. He first speaks to her in a “gentlemanly” tone, keeping to “a few words, polite and stern. ‘Stern, stern, stern’ [*Strogo, strogo, strogo*]” (236; *ICC* 24; 7). It is, notably, “with sternness [*pod strogost’iu*]” that he later brings her into his home (*ICC* 24; 13 – translation mine, *C.P.*). This establishes him as a figure of authority. He then abandons this tone briefly in favour of a more familiar one, “I entered into friendly conversation with unusual politeness” (237; *ICC* 24; 8). He relies on the spoken word as a tool for control; here, with the intention of diminishing the meek one’s ability to oppose him.

Gaining momentum, he “ventured then to test [*ispytat*] her for a last time” (237; *ICC* 24; 8). He proceeds to read her what he deems a successful advertisement in *Golos*, using this as an occasion to critique the effectiveness of her advertisement, implicitly blaming her for the hopelessness of her situation. The verb *ispytat*’ reflects the pawnbroker’s desire to assess the meek one’s viability as a wife. The provocation of his final premarital trial serves as the first instance wherein the pawnbroker takes the meek one’s voice away from her, rewriting (or overnarrating) her message in his words so as to underscore her inferiority.

29 Michael HOLQUIST, “The Either/Or of Duels and Dreams: *A Gentle Creature* and *Dream of a Ridiculous Man*”, in M. HOLQUIST, *Dostoevsky and the Novel* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977), pp. 148-149, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.32258>

The pawnbroker assumes, and counts on the fact, that the meek one, having passed his tests, will solve his silent riddle and read the prescribed narrative he writes for her and for himself.³⁰ The riddle he poses is an oppressive punishment, masquerading as an educational measure; it provokes and prolongs the extremes of excess and absence that define their relationship. Ultimately, the only thing that the pawnbroker teaches his wife is how to wield silence, interpret another's silence, and punish the one who is silent. That is, she provokes *him* to speak, to fill in gaps of excessive silence. Even before they marry, when the pawnbroker asks for the meek one's hand, silence intensifies the desire to speak. After he proposes, the pawnbroker pauses, thereby allocating the floor to the meek one. (This is called turn-taking, a silent pause that fulfills a procedural role in dialogic interaction.) The meek one, however, does not respond fast enough for the pawnbroker and her silence takes on an emotive, rather than procedural, function. The pawnbroker grows intolerant of the silence and probes her:

I must add: right there at the gate she thought for a long time before she said yes. She got so thoughtful, so thoughtful, that I already started asking: 'Well, what is it?' – and even couldn't help myself, asking with a certain chic: 'Well, what is it, miss?' – adding a polite touch. 'Wait, I'm thinking.' (243; *ICC* 24; 12).

The pawnbroker, confident that the meek one will accept his proposal, is unsettled by the meek one's silence. His self-assurance quickly transforms into feigned obsequiousness with his ironic use of "*slovoers*" ("*Nu chto zhe-s*", *ICC* 24; 12). This dialogic exchange demonstrates silence's emotive force and foreshadows the impact that the meek one's silence will later have upon the pawnbroker.

2.2. Repressive silence

The pawnbroker's failed duel motivates the text's second mode of silence, repressive silence: the repression of communication with others and oneself. The pawnbroker is a humiliated figure, whose silence (*molchanie*) originates from disgrace. Indeed, as Jones has shown, *molchanie* (as opposed to *tishina*) in

30 Klinger observes that the pawnbroker marries the meek one precisely because he believes that she can "solve the enigma of his identity and thus re-stage and reverse the disgrace that has hung over him since the day of his expulsion from the regiment". See KLINGER, p. 302.

Dostoevsky is a silence “of prohibition, of repression, of forgetting”.³¹ Repressive silence shows through in the pawnbroker’s, “You see, gentlemen, there are ideas ... that is, you see, certain ideas, once they’re uttered, expressed in words, come out terribly stupid. They come out shameful for oneself” (249; *ПСС* 24; 16).³² He is afraid to utter his innermost thoughts aloud, to say them aloud opens them up to the judgement of others and himself.³³ Thomas H. J. Dyne observes that lack of transparency in *Krotkaia* is fundamentally at odds with the pawnbroker’s “narrativizing, totalizing gaze”.³⁴ The pawnbroker withholds information in an effort to control all facets of his narrative. However, his lack of transparency prompts his wife to fill in the gaps, seeking out other sources of information. The narrator loses control of his narrative precisely because he represses his “shameful” ideas and past.

In the weeks leading up to the suicide, the pawnbroker can no longer control his speech or repress his emotions. On a “bright and sunny day” in April, the pawnbroker hears his wife quietly singing (265; *ПСС* 24; 26). It soon dawns on him that, despite his recent efforts to repair their relationship, she has “forgotten” about him (266; *ПСС* 24; 27). Safran observes that this song startles the pawnbroker and prompts his subsequent outburst precisely because “it is not meant for its listener”.³⁵ According to Ilya Klinger, the meek one’s song forces the pawnbroker to recognize that his wife is not merely an embodiment of his “exteriorized gaze”, but that she has an inner

31 JONES, p. 43. Jones identifies a repressive impulse in Ivan Karamazov’s *molchanie*, see JONES, p. 36.

32 The hero of *Podrostok* expresses a similar sentiment when he states: “Ваша мысль, хотя бы и дурная, пока при вас, – всегда глубже, а на словах – смешнее и бесчестнее” (*ПСС* 13; 36). Like the narrator of *Krotkaia*, Arkady’s repression of communication precipitates his verbose autobiographical first-person narrative.

33 Jason Cieply explores the problem of articulation and reception, considering Fyodor Tiutchev’s elided intertext, *Silentium!* across Dostoevsky’s oeuvre, as well as the import of silence within Bakhtin’s work on Dostoevsky and his early philosophical works. Cieply accommodates silence in the polyphonic novel, showing that it is fundamental to unfinalizability. See Jason CIEPLY, “The Silent Side of Polyphony: On the Disappearances of *Silentium*’ from the Drafts of Dostoevskii and Bakhtin”, *Slavic Review*, vol. 75, no. 3, Fall 2016, pp. 678-701, <http://www.jstor.com/stable/10.5612/slavicreview.75.3.0678>

34 Thomas H. J. DYNE, “‘That’s the horrible part: I understand everything!’: The Narrative Ethics of Misreading the Other in Dostoevsky’s *Poor Folk* and *The Meek On*”, *Slavic & East European Journal*, vol. 64, no. 3, 2020, pp. 455-456.

35 SAFRAN, p. 568.

life.³⁶ He accordingly attempts to regain control of his story, counteracting her opacity by introducing transparency; he confesses all (about the duel, his intentions for the future, his feelings for his wife): he falls at the meek one's feet and showers her with unwanted embraces. In these moments of rupture, the pawnbroker histrionically expresses all that has been repressed; he begins his overnarrated story. The abrupt shift from silence to speech is not, however, consensual or reciprocal – it is registered, in the context I present, as an attack.

2.3. *Rebellious silence*

Rebellious silence, the third form of silence, is, notably, the only type of silence that is exclusive to the meek one, for whom it is a direct response to the pawnbroker's oppressive and repressive silence. While the pawnbroker only engages in the latter types of silence, his wife mobilizes her husband's signature silences, as well as rebellious silence. The meek one's silence is particular to her because it is predominantly represented as provocation, indignance, or disdain; it is an emotive rejoinder and, as such, is dissimilar to her husband's calculated and severe silence. Rebellious silence also occurs at a very specific moment in the text. It is foreshadowed in the pre-marital scenes addressed earlier in this article, but takes on a derisive character only after the pawnbroker rejects his wife's embraces and intensifies his silence: "these were morbid, hysterical impulses, and I needed firm happiness, along with respect from her" (248; *ICC* 24; 15). His silence is met with silence, but not with the respect he so desires. Instead, her "silence" and "bold look" connote rebellion (248; *ICC* 24; 15). She has been oppressed, her speech has been repressed, but her eyes and body continue to speak.

One of the meek one's most affected acts of rebellion begins gesturally. It is triggered in "*Krotkaia buntuet*" when the pawnbroker, scolding his wife for accepting a pledge that he had previously rejected, declares his independence and states that he has never hidden anything from her. Hearing this categorical (patently false) declaration of transparency, the meek one "suddenly jumped up", "stamped her feet", laughed in her husband's face, and exited the apartment (251; *ICC* 24; 17). She wordlessly leaves home for the next two days, prompting the pawnbroker to seek her whereabouts. When he discovers that she has been

36 KLIGER, p. 303. Jackson also identifies this as a decisive moment in the spouses' power reversal. See JACKSON, p. 257.

out, uncovering all that he has, in fact, been hiding, he realizes that his wife is solving his silent riddle, but is refusing his script.

The pawnbroker, attempting to temper his wife through silence, has unwittingly taught her independence. Such is made particularly clear in the meek one's voiced discourse, which is no longer that of a prattling, effervescent child. On the eve of the meek one's rendezvous with Efimovich, a "portentous scene" (252; *ПСС* 24; 18) takes place, during which the meek one, now a "violent and aggressive being", disdainfully questions the pawnbroker about his past (253; *ПСС* 24; 18). By the end of her interrogation, she has succeeded in proving that, contrary to his aforementioned declaration, her husband has not been transparent, but has entered into their marriage with shameful secrets. However, still unwilling to relinquish control, the narrator continues to withhold information (namely, his knowledge about the upcoming rendezvous) and, thereby, tacitly allows their marriage to dissolve. Following through with his plan to spy on the illicit meeting instead of diverting her beforehand, he prolongs a silent struggle for power that culminates in attempted murder, the meek one's illness, and, finally, in her complete dissociation from the marriage. The meek one succeeds in disproving her husband's categorical claim to truth, but she, nevertheless, fails to usurp control over the marriage through her (un)voiced rebellion, which serves only to stimulate the pawnbroker's desire to conquer her and ceases with the commencement of her illness.

The meek one's rebellion, both voiced and gestural, sets in motion the course of events that derails the pawnbroker's plans to educate (control) her. What began with bold looks, stomping feet, and provocative questions, culminates in the most pregnant silence of all: a gun to the head. However, it is, finally, her unvoiced rebellion of indifference that forces the pawnbroker to speak. The meek one only manages to gain the upper hand when her silence becomes oppressive and forces the pawnbroker to abandon control of his externally-imposed narrative. Throughout the marriage, she transitions from an open creature to a silent "tyrant and tormentor" and, finally, to an enigma just before her death (250; *ПСС* 24; 16).

In *Krotkaia*, silence expands communicative space and invites unchecked interpretation. Unarticulated, inaudible communication is ultimately the source of the couple's unhappiness. After all, the meek one engages in all of the same silences as her husband: oppressive and repressive silence are embedded within her rebellious silence and, in this way, she becomes his double. The pawnbroker's failed duel causes psychological strain that infects his speech patterns and communicative potential. This trauma is then projected onto his marriage in the form of (non)verbal abuse. The meek one's silence draws the narrator's

words from him. She withholds everything from him and then forgets about him. Forced to recognize that his wife is but a mere reflection of his own silent self-effacement, he abruptly transitions from one extreme form of communication to another. This sudden shift in communicative modes threatens the meek one's hard-won, though sorrowful, autonomy and she flees from her husband to her death.

Speech and silence exist as reciprocal extremes that facilitate and determine the asymmetrical nature of the struggle for power in this unhappy marriage. At first, silence might be a marker of the meek one's victimization, but as the story progresses, it becomes the source of her agency; a progression that, in the end, makes this a plot of a reversal, in which the meek one appropriates the tools of her husband in order to rob him of the power he so desperately sought to wield, first through silence and then, overnarration. She leaves him alone, listening to the sound of his own voice.

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Dostoevsky and Pascal: the paradox of two abysses

Il n'y a rien de si conforme à la raison que ce désaveu de la raison.

Blaise Pascal, *Pensées*

There are, in Fyodor Dostoevsky's work, evident signs of his interest in Blaise Pascal's paradoxical thought, especially regarding the cognitive effort of the reason defeating itself, which is synthetised in Pascal's formula *désaveu de la raison* and is so consonant with Dostoevsky's spiritual research. The 'spiritual affinity' between the two great writers was acknowledged by Lev Shestov, Nicolaj Berdjajev, Vasilij Rozanov, Leonid Grossman; it became the object of several studies which shed light upon some important aspects of this dialogue,¹ mostly focusing on ideological substrate of their similarities. Konstantin Barsht dedicated a rich and illuminating chapter of his book *Достоевский. Этимология повествования* (*Dostoevsky: Etymology of Narration*, 2019)² to Pascal's influence on Dostoevsky. In addition to providing cogent evidence of intertextuality, mostly

- 1 In his short and incisive article, I. Lapshin examines the presence of Pascal's *Thoughts* in Dostoevsky's work in the light of the "continuous tormented struggle" for faith, which represents a core of the spiritual research of both writers: Иван И. ЛАПШИН, "Достоевский и Паскаль", in *Научные труды Русского народного университета* (Прага, 1928), с. 55-63. More recent studies focus on the impressive typological affinity between their philosophical positions on the level of the motive "roll calls", though without offering a textual analysis of the dense network of Pascalian allusions which abound in Dostoevsky's texts. Cf. Галина Я. СТРЕЛЬЦОВА, "Паскаль и Достоевский", in Г.Я. СТРЕЛЬЦОВА, *Паскаль и европейская культура* (Москва: Республика, 1994), с. 330-355; Борис Н. ТАРАСОВ, "Достоевский и Паскаль (творческие параллели)", *Вопросы литературы*, 1999, № 5, с. 75-92; Б.Н. ТАРАСОВ, *Мыслящий тростник: жизнь и творчество Паскаля в восприятии русских философов и писателей* (Москва, 2005).
- 2 Константин А. БАРШТ, "Мысли Блезза Паскаля в романе *Преступление и наказание*", in К.А. БАРШТ, *Достоевский: Этимология повествования* (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2019), с. 115-151.

on material from *Crime and Punishment*, he provides a solid historical base to this relationship, tracing Dostoevsky's acquaintance with Pascal in Russian translations and making some plausible suggestions about the French edition with which the Russian writer could have been familiar.

Nevertheless, there is a need for a systematic and accurate textual analysis of the numerous allusions to Pascal's conceptual horizon, which can be individuated in some of the crucial points of Dostoevsky's prose, especially those pertaining to the criticism of reason based on revealing its abyssal contradictory nature. In the present article, I will try to fill this gap at least partly, demonstrating how some of the French philosopher's central ideas and especially the form of his argumentation were contemplated in depth and reframed in Dostoevsky's creative 'laboratory'.

There are some surprising consonances between the positions of the two thinkers at different levels of discourse, starting with their aversion to Jesuitism, which for Dostoevsky represented the apotheosis of the Catholic worldview (for Pascal, Jesuitism constituted the object of his brilliant polemic attack in *Provincial Letters*), and ending with the Jansenist concept of *grace* and *hidden God* (*Deus absconditus*, *Dieu caché*). Both authors claim that reason cannot elucidate the complexity of reality. Undoubtedly, these positions originate from different ideological grounds. However, there are numerous signs that Dostoevsky takes Pascal as a model for productive paradoxical thinking, which is the only way to embrace the *aporiai* of reality and of *Ratio*, insolvable on the level of the *Ratio*, which still, paradoxically, intuitively grasps them profoundly, becoming itself the source of this *désaveu de la raison*.

Dostoevsky passed through the school of Pascal's *Thoughts* with regard to the rejection of the rationalistic grounds of faith and religion,³ as well as pure rationality as a cognitive and ontological ideal, which is expressed in the image of the "crystal palace" in the *Notes from Underground*. This allegorical image was originally inspired by a polemic with Nicolay Chernyshevsky, whose social illuminist and utopian ideal becomes an object of parody for Dostoevsky. On a deeper and more complex level of thought, I suggest that Dostoevsky redeems Pascal's figure of the "tower" (tower) as a metaphor for the human predisposition to fix in steady forms that which is naturally fluid and fugitive, and sooner or later explodes, crushing the constructions of Reason: "Nous brûlons du désir de trouver une assiette ferme, et une dernière base constante pour y édifier une tour qui s'élève à l'infini, mais tout notre fondement craque et la terre s'ouvre

3 Cf. СТРЕЛЬЦОВА, с. 332.

jusqu'aux abîmes".⁴ The underground "paradoxist" redeems the irreducible ambiguity of being, appealing to the "palace" as a monument to human pride, and reveals the abyssal vacuum on which it is erected. This palace can only be profaned, which is perfectly in keeping with Pascal's intention to always show the opposite of appearances, correcting what is deformed by human perception:

А покамест я еще живу и желаю – да отсохни у меня рука, коль я хоть один кирпичик на такой капитальный дом принесу! Не смотрите на то, что я давеча сам хрустальное здание отверг, единственно по той причине, что его нельзя будет языком подразнить. Я это говорил вовсе не потому, что уж так люблю мой язык выставлять. Я, может быть, на то только и сердился, что такого здания, которому бы можно было и не выставлять языка, из всех ваших зданий до сих пор не находится (*ПСС* 5; 120).⁵

The image of the "tower" (башня) will appear on the pages of the "Grand Inquisitor", and before, in *Demons* (I mean the ironical description of the "poem" by Stepan Trofimovich Verkhovensky in the beginning of the novel, where the Tower of Babel is presented as finally completed by a kind of superhumans, who substitute the divinity and takes over the government of the world),⁶ as a symbol of the human presumption to "regiment" existence on a purely rational basis and adapt the complexity of reality to the categories of the 'Euclidian mind' in order to take absolute control of it. Here, the Tower of Babel is also used in the Pascalian sense, i.e., as a figure of the presumptuous

4 Blaise PASCAL, *Pensées*, éd. Ph. Sellier, in B. PASCAL, *Les Provinciales, Pensées et opuscules divers* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2004), pp. 755-1373 (fr. 230, p. 947). "We burn with desire to find a steadfast place and ultimate fixed basis whereon we can build a tower to reach the infinite. But our whole foundation breaks up, and earth opens to the abysses" (the online edition I use is based on the English translation by C. Kegan Paul of *The Thoughts of Pascal* (London: Bell and Sons, 1901): https://oll-resources.s3.us-east-2.amazonaws.com/oll3/store/titles/2407/Pascal_1409_EBk_v6.o.pdf).

5 "But while I am alive and have desires I would rather my hand were withered off than bring one brick to such a building! Don't remind me that I have just rejected the palace of crystal for the sole reason that one cannot put out one's tongue at it. I did not say because I am so fond of putting my tongue out. Perhaps the thing I resented was, that of all your edifices there has not been one at which one could not put out one's tongue".

6 "Finally, in the very last scene, the Tower of Babel suddenly appears and some athletes finally finish building it with a song of new hope, and when they have built to the very top, the proprietor of, shall we say, Olympus flees in comical fashion, and quickwitted mankind takes over his place and at once begins a new life with a new perception of things".

human inclination to distort the truth in order to reach the state in which “everything will be so clearly calculated and explained that there will be no more incidents or adventures in the world” (*Notes from Underground*).

Dostoevsky opposed rigid rationality with “fluid” logics, which could catch contrasting perspectives and contradictions inherent to human nature. These are very close to Pascal’s paradoxical “*raisons du cœur que la raison ne connaît point*”⁷ (later, we will follow the developments which the idea, quoted almost literally in some of his texts, receives in Dostoevsky’s work). Both thinkers consider the human being in terms of the *coincidence of opposites*, which in Dostoevsky’s novels is expressed (in terms of Mikhail Bakhtin’s great discovery) in the coexistence of “unmerged voices”, often opposed to one other even in, and irreducible to the harmonic unity. This corresponds to the polyphonic principal. In Dostoevsky’s creative thinking, this strategy takes the shape of “bifurcation”, as Bakhtin argues:

Where others saw a single thought, he was able to find and feel out two thoughts, a bifurcation; where others saw a single quality, he discovered in it the presence of a second and contradictory quality. Everything that seemed simple became, in his world, complex and multi-structured. In every voice he could hear two contending voices, in every expression a crack, and the readiness to go over immediately to another contradictory expression.⁸

Dostoevsky, who was utterly conscious of contradictions and dualities permeating reality and who made this consciousness a fulcrum of his poetics, was fascinated by Pascal’s peculiar dialectics, which do not lead to a Hegelian synthesis but rather imply a suspension between thesis and antithesis, which are equally valid. The *paradox* constitutes the prevailing method to explore the abyss that the human being represents to himself, as it is consistent with the object of the research: “S’il se vante, je l’abaisse / S’il s’abaisse, je le vante / Et je le contredis toujours / Jusques à ce qu’il comprenne / Qu’il est un monstre incompréhensible”⁹. Pascal’s project, inter alia, hinges on evidencing the inadequacy of human reason – which still vaguely perceives its involvement in another, invisible order – when dealing with the ultimate questions of being,

7 PASCAL, fr. 680, p. 1217: “reasons of the heart which the reason knows not of”.

8 Mikhail M. BAKHTIN, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. and trans. C. Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 30.

9 PASCAL, fr. 163, p. 898. “If he exalt himself I humble him, if he humble himself I exalt him, and ever contradict him, till he comprehend that he is an incomprehensible monster”.

and can be described (as an important scholar like Benedetta Papàsogli did) in terms of the continuous “dialectic rhythm of a thought that passes through overturnings from *pro* into *against*, where the truth is never affirmed without taking into account the opposite, where the reason keeps in check the reason”.¹⁰ This judgment can be fully applied to the dynamics determining Dostoevsky’s artistic thought. Moreover, the fact that both scholars differed in their opinions and interests, as did Mikhail Bakhtin in the 1920s and Benedetta Papàsogli in the 1990s, but arrived at convergent conclusions regarding these two authors, Pascal and Dostoevsky, seems to me to be solid methodological evidence.

Dostoevsky was definitely aware of the first adequate Russian translation of the *Thoughts*, which was produced by Ivan G. Butovsky in 1843 and which he appreciated highly.¹¹ However, he was already very familiar with Pascal’s *opera magna* in French as early as 1838, as letters to his brother Mikhail attest. In the letter dated 9 August he explicitly quotes Pascal’s name and his paradoxical thought upon the real essence of *philosophising* which is nothing but “mockery on philosophy itself” (ПСЦ 28; 50), aligning himself with paradoxical critique of rationality which discerns Pascal’s philosophising.¹²

In the same letter, he approaches closely to one of Pascal’s central ideas related to the urgency to show man his multiplicitous and contradictory nature, the irreducible coexistence of the contrasts in him, and the lacerating condition of being caught between nothingness and the Absolute:

Одно только состоянье и дано в удел человеку: атмосфера души его состоит из слиянья неба с землею; какое же противузаконное дитя человек; закон духовной природы нарушен... Мне кажется, что мир наш – чистилище духов небесных, отуманенных грешною мыслию (ПСЦ 28; 50).¹³

10 Benedetta PAPÀSOGLI, “Introduzione”, in Blaise PASCAL, *Pensées*, nuova ed. a cura di Ph. Sellier secondo l’“ordine” pascaliano, trad. di B. Papàsogli (Roma: Città Nuova, 2003), pp. 5-27: 16 (my translation).

11 Cf. БАРИШТ, с. 116.

12 Cf. “Se moquer de la philosophie, c’est vraiment philosopher”.

13 “Only one condition of things is it given to man to know: the atmosphere of his soul consists of a fusion of heaven and earth; what a disobedient child is man; the law of spiritual nature is broken... It seems to me that this world of ours is a purgatory of heavenly spirits, darkened by sinful thought”. Also the continuation of this passage recalls Pascal’s insistence on the torment of the mind which comes to know its actual condition, preferring the state of unconsciousness: “Но видеть одну жесткую оболочку, под которой томится вселенная, знать, что одного взрыва воли достаточно разбить ее и слиться с

In these words, one can clearly hear the echo of Pascal's reflection upon the ambiguous nature of man, "un milieu entre Dieu et le néant", "un néant à l'égard de l'infini, un tout à l'égard du néant".¹⁴ A fragile and impossible balance between nothing and infinity is the measure of the human condition: "*Entre nous et l'enfer ou le ciel, il n'y a que la vie entre deux, qui est la chose du monde la plus fragile*".¹⁵ One of Pascal's central intentions is to highlight the fundamental ambiguity of man as his blessing and his damnation at the same time. He is open to the transcendental (the divine in him), while the abyss of his presumption and egoism makes a beast of him: "L'homme n'est ni ange ni bête, et le malheur veut que qui veut faire l'ange fait la bête".¹⁶

Pascal discusses the *fusion* of the two incompatible opposite principles in the human soul and, as we saw, Dostoevsky grasps this point with an admirable premature artistic penetration. "Car enfin qu'est-ce que l'homme dans la nature? Un néant à l'égard de l'infini, un tout à l'égard du néant, un milieu entre rien et tout, infiniment éloigné de comprendre les extrêmes".¹⁷ This medial position of man between misery and greatness, and also between "Nature" and "Grace", a distinction which originates from Saint Augustine's meditation on the divine origin of any good of which man is capable, will be deeply considered by Dostoevsky. This constitutes one of crucial points of the dialectic tension that characterises his artistic and philosophical research.

Radical critique of speculative rationalism penetrates *Thoughts*: according to Pascal, it eliminates the metaphysical depths of human nature, reducing its complexity to the mere object of an abstract analysis, which claims to be exhaustive. It undermines the emotional and vivid experience of the Divine, which is only possible through the ways extraneous to reason. Ivan, the upholder of "geometric spirit" in Dostoevsky's work, admits this. Faithful to Pascal's lecture, this "eccentric and paradoxist" radically questions the basis of rational

вечностию, знать и быть, как последнее из созданий... [...] Душа так подавлена горем, что боится понять его, чтоб не растерзать себя" (ПСС 28; 50).

14 Cf. "A nothing in regard to the infinite, a whole in regard to nothing, a mean between nothing and the whole".

15 PASCAL, fr. 185, p. 926. "Between us and hell or heaven, there is nought but life, the frailest thing in all the world".

16 PASCAL, fr. 557, p. 1129. "Man is neither angel nor brute, and the misfortune is that whoever would play the angel plays the brute".

17 PASCAL, fr. 230, p. 944. "For after all what is man in nature? A nothing in regard to the infinite, a whole in regard to nothing, a mean between nothing and the whole; infinitely removed from understanding either extreme".

thinking with regard to existence's ultimate questions, recognising its failure. If man cannot even conceive of how two parallel lines could cross, how dare he speculate about what infinitely transcends him:

Я, голубчик, решил так, что если я даже этого не могу понять, то где ж мне про Бога понять. Я смиренно сознаюсь, что у меня нет никаких способностей разрешать такие вопросы, у меня ум эвклидовский, земной, а потому где нам решать о том, что не от мира сего. Да и тебе советую об этом никогда не думать, друг Алеша, а пуще всего насчет Бога: есть он или нет? Все это вопросы совершенно несвойственные уму, созданному с понятием лишь о трех измерениях (ПСС 14; 214).¹⁸

In fact, for Pascal (and for Dostoevsky in *The Brothers Karamazov*), Descartes is a perfect adept of rationalism venerating the *God of the philosophers*:¹⁹ the God created in man's image and likeness, who does not lead him to real knowledge but rather down a labyrinth of deceptive appearances. In his last novel, perhaps the most 'pascalian' in terms of posing problems, Dostoevsky makes the devil say the famous cartesian formula; the devil appears during Ivan Karamazov's delirium and verbalises the ideas on which the character has meditated for a long time:

То есть, если хочешь, я одной с тобой философии, вот это будет справедливо. *Je pense, donc je suis*, это я знаю наверно, остальное же всё, что кругом меня, все эти миры, бог и даже сам сатана – всё это для меня не доказано, существует ли оно само по себе или есть одна только моя эманация, последовательное развитие моего я, существующего до временно и единолично... (ПСС 15; 77).²⁰

18 "If I cannot understand even that, then it is not for me to understand about God. I humbly confess that I do not have the ability to resolve such questions, I have a Euclidean mind, an earthly mind, and therefore it is not for us to resolve things that are not of this world. And I advise you never to think about it, Alyosha my friend, and most especially about whether God exists or not. All such questions are completely unsuitable to a mind created with a concept of only three dimensions".

19 Cf. PASCAL, fr. 742, p. 1300.

20 "Well, if you like, I have the same philosophy as you, that would be true. *Je pense, donc je suis*, I know that for a fact; all the rest, all these worlds, God and even Satan - all that is not proved, to my mind. Does all that exist of itself, or is it only an emanation of myself, a logical development of my ego which alone has existed for ever".

The absolutisation of a rational capacity, which is represented here ironically and grotesquely, is indissolubly related to the affirmation of the Ego and its will as an ultimate criterion and measure of reality. In both Dostoevsky's and Pascal's reflections, it is opposed to the "order of the heart", which has its supreme expression in the Christian ideal of *pietas*, or love. It alone is capable of embracing opposites and accepting the paradoxical nature of being and of reason itself: "En Jésus-Christ toutes les contradictions sont accordées"²¹ (Dmitry in *The Brothers Karamazov* seems to follow the similar logics, applying a polyphonic vision, which accepts the coexistence of contraries, to earthly reality: "God sets us nothing but riddles. Here the boundaries meet and all contradictions exist side by side" (*ИСС* 14; 100). The devil takes the cartesian logic of rationalistic solipsism to the extreme, a great temptation for reason and one that has a truly diabolic appeal. It causes the individual to affirm his egoistic will beyond God and thus against God, depart from the ideal of *charitas* (which can only be achieved through the *grace*), and therefore totally abandon God.

In fact Ivan acknowledges the misery of the human mind, especially in front of the "future universal harmony" which will rein in the eternity when the illusion of temporary existence will be over and supreme justice will triumph:

Я убежден, как младенец, что страдания заживут и сладятся, что весь обидный комизм человеческих противоречий исчезнет, как жалкий мираж, как гнусенькое измышление малосильного и маленького, как атом, человеческого эвклидовского ума (*ИСС* 14; 214-215).²²

Nevertheless, in the end, Ivan affirms the supremacy of the mind over the heart, illustrating the paradox that constitutes the whole of Pascal's philosophising: "Il n'y a rien de si conforme à la raison que ce désaveu de la raison".²³ The microscopic, invisible but fundamental part of the human interiority, in which the infinity is contained. This image of the mind as infinitely small as an atom recalls Pascal's "raccourci d'atom", to which one of the most powerful and fascinating passages of the *Thoughts* is dedicated:

21 PASCAL, fr. 289, p. 970. "In Jesus Christ all the contradictions are reconciled".

22 "I believe like a child that suffering will be healed and made up for, that all the humiliating absurdity of human contradictions will vanish like a pitiful mirage, like the despicable fabrication of the impotent and infinitely small Euclidean mind of man".

23 PASCAL, fr. 213, p. 933. "There is nothing so conformable to reason as this disavowal of reason".

Je veux lui faire voir là-dedans un abîme nouveau, je lui veux peindre non seulement l'univers visible, mais l'immensité qu'on peut concevoir de la nature dans l'enceinte de *ce raccourci d'atome*. Qu'il y voie une infinité d'univers, dont chacun a son firmament, ses planètes, sa terre, en la même proportion que le monde visible. [...] Qui se considérera de la sorte s'effraiera de soi-même et se considérant soutenu dans la masse que la nature lui a donnée entre ces deux abîmes de l'infini et du néant, il tremblera dans la vue de ses merveilles. [...] Car enfin qu'est-ce que l'homme dans la nature? Un néant à l'égard de l'infini, un tout à l'égard du néant, un milieu entre rien et tout, infiniment éloigné de comprendre les extrêmes, la fin des choses et leur principe sont pour lui invinciblement cachés dans un secret impénétrable.²⁴

Thus, in Dostoevsky, as in Pascal, the weakness and inadequacy of the 'Euclidean' mind, which is still capable of embracing the universe by thought, is continuously brought to light through its claim to reach the essence of all things, while detaching itself from the solid etic and spiritual base – in other words, according to limpid reformulation by a young Dostoevsky of Pascal's idea, out of touch with the "thought of the heart": "Познать природу, бога, душу, любовь... Это познается сердцем, а не умом. [...] Ум – способность материальная... душа же, или дух, живет мыслию, которую нашептывает ей сердце" (ПСС 28; 54).²⁵

These are the words that the seventeen-year-old Dostoevsky addresses to his brother in another letter. The redemption of the "order of the heart" is symptomatic and will somehow become the *Leitmotiv* of the whole of his work. It is quite close to Pascal's perspective, which summarises a millenary tradition (from St. Paul, St. Augustine to St. Francis and Nicholas of Cusa): "C'est le

24 PASCAL, fr. 230, p. 944. "Then I will open before him therein a new abyss. I will paint for him not only the visible universe, but all that he can conceive of nature's immensity in the enclosure of this diminished atom. Let him therein see an infinity of universes of which each has its firmament, its planets, its earth, in the same proportion as in the visible world [...] Whoso takes this survey of himself will be terrified at the thought that he is upheld in the material being, given him by nature, between these two abysses of the infinite and nothing, he will tremble at the sight of these marvels [...]. For after all what is man in nature? A nothing in regard to the infinite, a whole in regard to nothing, a mean between nothing and the whole; infinitely removed from understanding either extreme. The end of things and their beginnings are invincibly hidden from him in impenetrable secrecy".

25 "Nature, the soul, love, and God, one recognizes through the heart, and not through the reason. [...] Now, Reason is a material capacity, while the soul or spirit lives on the thoughts which are whispered by the heart".

cœur qui sent Dieu, et non la raison: voilà ce que c'est que la foi. Dieu sensible au cœur, non à la raison. (...) *Le cœur a ses raisons, que la raison ne connaît point*.²⁶ Similarly to Pascal and St. Augustine, Dostoevsky seems to solve the problem of human freedom, which for many years constituted the object of his mental torment, founding it in God: it is only by dissolving the individual in Him that one can achieve integrity, as St. Augustine claims.²⁷ At the same time, God for Dostoevsky, according to Luigi Pareyson,

is not the object of affirmation that can be peacefully ascertained; approaching Him involves a continuous and tormented search [...]: God waits for the man behind the corner, ready to strike him at the most unexpected moment, and He is certainly closer to the ones who are desperate for having denied Him, than to the ones who believe to have always affirmed him.²⁸

From Pascal's perspective, which is perfectly in line with St. Augustine's theological thought²⁹ ("Inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te": *Conf.*, I 1), anxiety, unrest and torment are marks of the spiritual search; the absence of profound peace is vital for man and ensures he has the energy to seek God. The "crucible of doubt", through which Dostoevsky's "hosanna had passed", as he declared on different occasions, is the essence of an authentic religious feeling: "the thirst alone of spiritual revelation is already a spiritual revelation".³⁰ As Pascal asserts, he who seeks God already possesses him ("Tu ne me chercherais pas, si tu ne me possédais"³¹). The obstacles in man's spiritual way lead to a deeper, more vivid and authentic "understanding" *with the heart* of the essence of religion. It is this unrest which is a means of spiritual transfiguration:

26 PASCAL, fr. 680, p. 1217 (the italics are mine). "It is the heart which is conscious of God, not the reason. This then is faith; God sensible to the heart, not to the reason". "The heart has its reasons, which reason knows not".

27 Some of the aspects of St. Augustine's influence on Dostoevsky have been studied by Vladimir КАНТОР in "Исповедь и теодицея в творчестве Достоевского (рецепция Аврелия Августина)", in Stefano ALOE (a cura di), *Su Fëdor Dostoevskij. Visione filosofica e sguardo di scrittore* (Napoli: La scuola di Pitagora editrice, 2012), c. 279-294.

28 Luigi PAREYSON, "Le dimensioni della libertà in Dostoevskij", in Sante GRACIOTTI (a cura di), *Dostoevskij nella coscienza d'oggi* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1981), pp. 107-121, p. 119 (my translation).

29 Cf. Philippe SELLIER, *Port-Royal et la littérature. Pascal* (Paris: Champion, 2010).

30 Lucio DAL SANTO (a cura di), *Dostoevskij inedito. Quaderni e taccuini 1860-1881* (Firenze: Valecchi, 1980), p. 408 (my translation).

31 PASCAL, fr. 756, p. 1323. "You would not seek Me if you did not possess Me".

“Toutes ces contrariétés qui semblaient le plus m’écarter de la connaissance d’une religion est ce qui m’a le plus tôt conduit à la véritable”.³²

Even as a youth, Dostoevsky accompanied his reflection on the destiny of man, his real nature and the greatest mystery of existence with an often polemical dialogue with Pascal. But the awareness that Dostoevsky had about this affinity progressively intensified in his later work. The unrest to which man is condemned is a sign of his ambiguous and fatal incapacity “to know certainly and to ignore absolutely”. His inability to solve these crucial problems – particularly the problem of God’s existence – still being profoundly appealed by them, is fundamental to human nature, and this “knowing ignorance” is constitutive to it. The inquietude is a synonym of spiritual depth, but also a damnation. In his long speech, the Grand Inquisitor defines the human condition as full of unrest and misery, and the formula he uses is almost a literal translation of Pascal’s “Condition de l’homme: inconstance, ennui, inquietude”:³³ “Неспокойство, смятение и несчастье – вот теперешний удел людей”³⁴ (ПСС 14; 234), The quote appears right after the Grand Inquisitor accuses the prisoner of leading mankind to the painful awareness of its state.

According to Jean Deprun’s striking formula in the part of his research which is dedicated to Pascal’s thought, the inquietude constitutes an “apolgetic fact par excellence”,³⁵ and Dostoevsky seems to have assimilated these optics in his paradoxical affirmation of faith through the torment of doubt. For Pascal, he who follows the heart and its reasons is “reasonable”, especially with regard to the search for God: “Il n’y a que deux sortes de personnes qu’on puisse appeler raisonnables: ou ceux qui servent Dieu *de tout leur cœur* parce qu’ils le connaissent, ou ceux qui le cherchent *de tout leur cœur* parce qu’ils ne le connaissent pas”.³⁶

The aporias of reason preclude access to the complex, ‘polyphonic’ comprehension of reality, associated with the ideal of love, which is expressed by God’s incarnation in Christ, and which is realised through compassion, which Dostoevsky in the *Idiot* and in a letter defines as the most important and perhaps the sole law of human existence. In other words, there exists a logic of the *heart*: it

32 PASCAL, fr. 23, p. 838. “All these contradictions which seemed to have taken me further from the knowledge of religion, are what most rapidly lead me into truth”.

33 PASCAL, fr. 58, p. 849. “The condition of man; inconstancy, weariness, unrest”.

34 “Unrest, confusion and unhappiness – that is the present lot of man”.

35 Jean DEPRUN, *La Philosophie de l’Inquiétude en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1979).

36 PASCAL, fr. 681, p. 1225 (the italics are mine). “There are but two classes of men who can be called reasonable; those who serve God with their whole heart because they know him, or those who seek him with their whole heart because they know him not”.

nourishes a dialogical, opened “rationalism”, which is opposed to the autocratic, monological and total one. This mental attitude can partly be summarised in a paradoxical formula, which radically questions the legitimacy of the “crystal palace” as an existential ideal in the Underground Man’s speculation: “two times two makes five is sometimes a most charming thing as well” (*ИСС* 5; 119).

In *Demons*, Dostoevsky illustrates the destructive, devastating potential of pure Reason in its tendency to measure and to prove what cannot be approached in terms of the ‘Euclidian mind’, the potential that can give rise to the most horrid and inhumane brutality. However, the part in this novel where the words attributed to Pascal are explicitly quoted in French and repeated twice by Stepan Trofimovich is full of irony: “On trouve toujours plus de moines que de raisons”.

For Dostoevsky and Pascal, the heart is superior to Reason, and the highest form of expression of the latter is Justice interpreted in a human perspective (formed and determined by the *esprit géométrique* or, in Dostoevsky’s categories, by the Euclidian mind): “If someone proved to me that Christ is outside the truth and that in reality the truth were outside of Christ, then I should prefer to remain with Christ rather than with the truth” (*ИСС* 28; 176), as he claims in a letter to Natalia Fonvizina from late January – early February 1854. In fact, Christ is presented here as a haven of supreme Justice, which in its authentic nature, i.e. when it is not deformed by human rationality, is unthinkable without love. The French philosopher’s presence on the horizon of Dostoevsky’s reflection is tangible here, as it is in other passages of his texts where the central ideas of Pascal’s Christology are echoed: “on se fait une idole de la vérité même, car *la vérité hors de la charité n’est pas Dieu*”.³⁷ Truth deprived of charity is abstract, rational, potentially tyrannic and inhumane, as Aglaya suggests to Myshkin regarding his judgment of the young anarchist Ippolit Terentyev. She literally summarises Pascal’s impressive assumption: “As for you, I think you are behaving very badly, because it is not right to judge a man’s soul as you are judging Hippolyte’s. *You have no gentleness, but only truth – so you are unjust*”.³⁸ In the same dialogue, Aglaya accuses the prince of *heartlessness* in response to his promise to prevent Nastasya Filippovna from writing her any more letters.

37 PASCAL, fr. 755, p. 1322 (the italics are mine). “We make an idol of truth itself, for truth apart from charity is not God”.

38 А с вашей стороны я нахожу, что все это очень дурно, потому что очень грубо так смотреть и судить душу человека, как вы судите Ипполита. У вас нежности нет: одна правда, стало быть, – несправедливо. (*ИСС* 8; 354).

In these episodes, Myshkin seems to embody the logic of “absolute good” comprehended rationally, which in the long run contradicts the principle of authentic humanity based on what Bakhtin would define as a ‘polyphonic’ acceptance of reality – or the infinity of realities composed by different people’s visions:

It is quite possible to imagine and postulate a unified truth that requires a plurality of consciousnesses, one that cannot in principle be fitted into the bounds of a single consciousness, one that is, so to speak, by its very nature *full of event potential* and is born at a point of contact among various consciousnesses.³⁹

The “entirely positive” personage, the “extremest incarnation of the Christian ideal of love that humanity can reach in its present form”⁴⁰ (Dostoevsky himself defines its realisation through the character of Myshkin as a failure) ends up paradoxically annihilating this ideal by fetishising it and subordinating it to rational thinking mechanisms. In the background, there is the Enlightenment idea of rational good, already embodied in the image of the “crystal palace”, which is grotesquely rethought here. That is what gives rise to Vittorio Strada’s original affirmation that the *Idiot* can be interpreted also as a kind of anti-Candid:

Voltaire’s novel is an ironical profanation of the optimistic providentialism, an illuministic *Don Quixote* which parodies Leibniz’s *Theodicy*, while *The Idiot*, through that Quixote-like Christ who is Myshkin, reconsecrates a tragic and paradoxical Christianity, substituting with the “Euclidean” rationalism the faith which is tempered in the crucible of doubt. Against Voltaire Pascal is being asserted.⁴¹

It is emblematic that Strada puts together the names of these two thinkers here, especially in light of the fact that the Condorcet edition of Pascal’s *Thoughts* with Voltaire’s decisive participation (1776) was the first significant attempt to order, from the point of view the Enlightenment philosophy, the (intentionally) diffuse fragments of Pascal’s discourse about spiritual research. In this edition, “Pascal-scientist and moralist overshadows Pascal-mystic and

39 BAKHTIN, p. 81.

40 Joseph FRANK, *Dostoevsky a Writer in His Time* (Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 577.

41 Vittorio STRADA, *Le veglie della ragione. Miti e figure della letteratura russa da Dostoevskij a Pasternak* (Torino: Einaudi, 1986), p. 34 (my translation).

theologian".⁴² It is probably through this edition that the young Dostoevsky, who names Pascal in the letters to his brother, was first acquainted with the *Thoughts*. This edition predates the publication of Butovsky's translation. Dostoevsky could even have become fascinated by the rationalistic focus in which this Apology of Christianity was presented (i.e. in Voltaire's Preface, since we know that the young writer went through a phase of Voltairean scepticism⁴³). He might have understood that it contradicted the intimate intention of Pascal's project and its organising principle, which the author himself defined as *l'ordre du cœur* (the *order of the heart*).⁴⁴

Admitting that something in the human being is beyond rational comprehension and it greatly influences human nature is a mark of a mystical approach. Valerian Maykov, one of the most eminent critics of the nineteenth century, comments on this artistic attitude, which Dostoevsky defines later in his short story *The Meek One* (1876) as a "fantastic realism". Maykov states that the *mystical vision* unexpectedly results from the writer's capacity to penetrate "to the chemical structure of matter".⁴⁵ According to his incisive observation, Dostoevsky delved so deeply into "human things", that he shone a light on the "mystical reflex" of the depicted reality.

If we accept Strada's suggestion, Voltaire's *Candide* is also recognisable among the archetypes which could have inspired the image of Myshkin, especially regarding his candour and genuine faith in the rational nature of supreme good. Myshkin is so profoundly open to other people's realities, so altruistic and selfless, that one could suspect him of being an "abstraction", an impossible idealisation, "an earthly simulacrum of the purely spiritual entity".⁴⁶ At the same time in the narration this ideal is being continuously opposed to the reality of human contradictions, which Myshkin himself tends to embrace through his accepting attitude. That is how the comic often results in *tragic humanism*, and Pascal is properly "being affirmed against Voltaire".

The sense of mystery, derived from the unsolvable contradictions and aporias of human nature, orients Pascal's project and permeates its textual form, making his argumentation conformable with its object, and thus paradoxical and profoundly contradictory. The openness of man, his being incomplete and never equal to himself is a sign of his multiplicitous nature transcending itself:

42 PAPÀSOGLI, p. II.

43 Cf. Robert L. JACKSON, *Dostoevsky's quest for form. A study of his Philosophy of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

44 Cf. SELIER, *Port-Royal et la littérature. Pascal*.

45 Валериан Н. МАЙКОВ, *Сочинения*, т. I (Киев, 1901), с. 208-209.

46 STRADA, p. 33.

“L’homme passe infiniment l’homme”,⁴⁷ or, according to Dmitry’s ironical re-framing, “Yes, man is broad, too broad, indeed. I’d have him narrower” (ПСС 14; 100). It is evidenced by man’s aspiration to the sublime, which is combined with its opposite, the “animal” part in him. The implicit dialogue between Pascal and Voltaire, whose famous idea of the necessity for humanity to invent God is quoted literally in the novel, is powerfully perceptible as a substrate of Ivan’s ambiguous reasoning in this, as in some other significant passages of the novel:

...был один старый грешник в восемнадцатом столетии, который изрек, что если бы не было бога, то следовало бы его выдумать, *s’il n’existait pas Dieu il faudrait l’inventer*. И действительно, человек выдумал Бога. И не то странно, не то было бы дивно, что Бог в самом деле существует, но то дивно, что такая мысль – мысль о необходимости Бога – могла залезть в голову такому дикому и злому животному, как человек, до того она свята, до того она трогательна, до того премудра и до того она делает честь человеку (ПСС 14; 213-214).⁴⁸

Here, there is clearly an intention to demonstrate the contradictions within “the atmosphere of the human soul”, which is equally open to divinity and beastliness and which is suspended between two abysses. This “atmosphere” makes man an “incomprehensible, monstrous miracle”. Dmitry, the most vivid and tragic character of the novel, confesses his own beastly nature, declaring himself an *insect*, thus achieving a tragic grandeur in a lucid and painful awareness of his smallness, which is in keeping with Pascal’s paradox of man who “is great in that he knows himself to be miserable”. Man infinitely transcends man, as Dmitry’s passionate confession suggests – a head-spinning speech, where “incomprehensible, monstrous” human nature is affirmed: “Тут берега сходятся, тут все противоречия вместе живут. [...] Нет, широк человек, слишком даже широк, я бы сузил. [...] Тут дьявол с богом борется, а поле битвы – сердце людей” (ПСС 14; 100).⁴⁹ Stupor in the face of the immense mystery that the human be-

47 PASCAL, fr. 164, p. 901. “Man infinitely transcends man”.

48 “There was an old sinner in the eighteenth century who declared that, if there were no God, he would have to be invented. *S’il n’existait pas Dieu, il faudrait l’inventer*. And man has actually invented God. And what’s strange, what would be marvellous, is not that God should really exist; the marvel is that such an idea, the idea of the necessity of God, could enter the head of such a savage, vicious beast as man. So holy it is, so touching, so wise and so great a credit it does to man”.

49 “Here the boundaries meet and all contradictions exist side by side. [...] Yes, man is broad, too broad, indeed. I’d have him narrower. [...] God and the devil are fighting there and the battlefield is the heart of man”.

ing represents permeates Ivan's and Dmitry's reflections, which seem sometimes to allude to the transcendent or even divine origin of man's torment in the fatal inconceivability of his ambiguous nature, implying coexistence of nothingness and greatness in him. As Pascal's man, Dostoevsky's characters fall into the *abyss* without taking their eyes off the sky, and some of them seem to exclaim as the great philosopher does: "Quelle chimère est-ce donc que l'homme, quelle nouveauté, quel monstre, quel chaos, quel sujet de contradiction, quel prodige, juge de toutes choses, imbécile ver de terre, dépositaire du vrai, cloaque d'incertitude et d'erreur, gloire et rebut de l'univers!"⁵⁰ All of these dimensions are present in Dostoevsky's work, in the long run without any of them prevailing over others. This vision of human nature is profoundly polyphonic.

So, what is at stake for Dostoevsky is always a man. He somehow seems to complete Pascal's project, peering into the abysses of the human soul with ruthless lucidity. The dramatic and decisive choice lies between the man-god (*čelovekobog*), a kind of a superman, and the God-Man (*Bogočelovek*), i.e. Christ, in the certainty that pure humanity will destroy itself if it is not enlightened and redeemed by Christ, the only mediator of *Deus vere absconditus* ("Nous ne connaissons Dieu que par Jésus-Christ. Sans ce médiateur est ôtée toute communication avec Dieu"⁵¹). This goes to the heart of Pascal's Christology. The extreme outcome of the "double infinity" constituting the "atmosphere of the human soul", which determines man's ambiguous nature (his being both "beast" and "angel") is reflected in Karamazov's spirit, which can be 'stratified' in three guises, or hypostases – spirit, intellect, and passion. Also, as Dmitry asserts, Alyosha is not exempt from this fundamental moral duality inherent to Karamazov, and generally to man: "All we Karamazov are such insects, and, angel as you are, that insect lives in you too, and will stir up a tempest in your blood" (*ICC* 14; 100).

In Ivan's hallucination, the devil – or his *alter ego* – reveals that it is particularly satisfying for him to succeed in tempting great souls full of generosity and doubts, such as Ivan's. These souls "can contemplate such abysses of belief and misbelief at once" (*ICC* 15; 80). Later, during the trial, in the crucial point of his discourse, the attorney uses the same terms, describing two abysses which he claims characterise Karamazov's spirit: in the context of his highfalutin and

50 PASCAL, fr. 164, p. 900. "What a chimera then is man! how strange and monstrous! a chaos, a contradiction, a prodigy. Judge of all things, yet a weak earth-worm; depository of truth, yet a cesspool of uncertainty and error; the glory and offscouring of the Universe".

51 Cf. "We know God only by Jesus Christ. Without this mediator all communion with God is taken away" (PASCAL, fr. 221, p. 936).

pathetic speech, this reference, which is insistently repeated, sounds almost mocking, like a grotesque rethinking of Pascal's motive. At the same time, his assumptions could have a universal meaning and could be extended to the whole of the human condition. Dmitry represents the extreme version of a man who is lacerated by his median nature and continuously oscillates between the heights of the spirit and the most horrendous passions: "Мы природы широкие, карамазовские, [...] способные вмещать всевозможные противоположности и разом созерцать обе бездны, бездну над нами, бездну высших идеалов, и бездну под нами, бездну самого низшего и зловонного падения" (*ПС* 15; 129).⁵²

Dostoevsky reflects on a moral plan upon man's abyssal nature and develops one of the directions implicit in Pascal's thought, which prefigures the abysses of the subconscious. The theological dimension of his discourse implies interpreting the abominable part of human nature as a "signature" of original sin, which can only be redeemed through a constant and devoted exercise of *charitas*.

What characterises Pascal's theology is an exclusive attention to the soteriological motives of Christian dogmatics, original sin and redemption, which in Dostoevsky's world are dialectically connected. The tension which constitutes the ideological foundation of the Russian writer's work is mostly concentrated between these two poles, which in *The Brothers Karamazov* take the form of two abysses – turpitude and purity, corruption and redemption, sin and grace. The transmission of original sin is declared the key mystery of existence, and probably constitutes the *question* which Ivan is tormented by and which he feels an urge to *resolve*, even if he suspects that it is not possible for humans to understand it because human finitude constrains man's ability to understand the truth reliably. The inability to relate earthly justice to divine justice is a great source of suffering:

Если они [дети] на земле тоже ужасно страдают, то уж, конечно, за отцов своих, наказаны за отцов своих, съевших яблоко, – но ведь это рассуждение из другого мира, сердцу же человеческому здесь на земле непонятное. Нельзя страдать неповинному за другого, да еще такому неповинному!⁵³ (*ПС* 14; 216-217).

52 We are of a broad, Karamazovian nature [...] capable of containing all possible opposites and of contemplating both abysses at once, the abyss above us, an abyss of lofty ideals, and the abyss beneath us, an abyss of the lowers and foulest degradation".

53 "If they [children], too, suffer horribly on earth, they must suffer for their fathers' sins, they must be punished for their fathers, who have eaten the apple; but that reasoning is of the other world and is incomprehensible for the heart of man here on earth. The innocent must not suffer for another's sins, and especially such innocents!"

This passage, I presume, is directly inspired by Pascal's fragment, where he posits the impossibility of truly understanding oneself without approaching the mystery of the transmission of original sin, which still remains incomprehensible:

Qu'y a-t'il de plus contraire aux règles de notre miserable justice que de damner éternellement un enfant incapable de volonté pour un péché où il paraît avoir si peu de part qu'il est commis six mille ans avant qu'il fût en être. Certainement rien ne nous heurte plus rudement de cette doctrine. Et cependant, sans ce mystère le plus incompréhensible de tous nous sommes incompréhensibles à nous-mêmes. Le nœud de notre condition prend ses replis et ses tours dans cet abîme.⁵⁴

Similarly for Pascal, whose purpose is to induce faith through the paradox, the question of theodicy is impossible to solve through the 'Euclidean mind'. There cannot be any valid theoretical evidence of God's existence. The endeavour itself of making it humanly comprehensible, reducing what is inaccessible to a purely pragmatic discourse, has something macabre in it, as the pure opportunism of Pascal's wager evidences: let us imagine that God exists and let us act as if he did; if he actually does not, we do not lose anything; if he does, we win everything. The extreme expression of Ivan's idea, which in Dmitry's reformulation sounds like a moral law, "If God does not exist, everything is permitted", can also be seen as an overturned *pari*. An Italian writer and critic Leonardo Sciascia in the novel *Todomodo* (the ideological background of which is a sort of dialogue between Pascal and Dostoevsky⁵⁵) further debunks the idea, grasping the authentic sense of the dialectics of sin and redemption which are fundamental to the Christian worldview: "If God doesn't exist nothing is permitted". If there is no God, no redemption is possible.⁵⁶

54 PASCAL, fr. 164, p. 902. "There is nothing so repugnant to the rules of our miserable justice as to damn eternally an infant incapable of will, for a sin in which he seems to have so scanty a share, that it was committed six thousand years before he was in being. Certainly nothing shocks us more rudely than this doctrine, and yet without this mystery, the most incomprehensible of all, we are incomprehensible to ourselves. The tangle of our condition takes its plies and folds in this abyss".

55 Cf. Daria FARAFONOVA, "E sempre lo contraddico, finché non comprenda che è un mostro incomprensibile". L'universo pascaliano di Leonardo Sciascia, *Lettere italiane*, LXVIII (2016), 1, pp. 152-172.

56 Cf. "Dio esiste, dunque tutto ci è permesso. [...] E nella sua vera essenza, questo è il cristianesimo: che tutto ci è permesso. Il delitto, il dolore, la morte: crede sarebbero

Finally, the question of ethics in a world where man cannot know his real condition but can only have a vague anguish for something he intuitively feels to have lost is brought to light in the reflection on the *immortality of the soul* as the basic question of the morality. In a note from *A Writer's Diary*, dated November-December 1876, Dostoevsky definitely has in mind Pascal's diatribe against indifferentism with regard to this problem which, according to both, should be every man's greatest concern and the object of his uninterrupted reflection.

L'immortalité de l'âme est une chose qui nous importe si fort, qui nous touche si profondément, qu'il faut avoir perdu tout sentiment pour être dans l'*indifférence de savoir ce qui en est*. Toutes nos actions et nos pensées doivent prendre des routes si différentes, selon qu'il y aura des biens éternels à espérer ou non, qu'il est impossible de faire une démarche avec sens et jugement, qu'en les réglant par la vue de ce point, qui doit être notre dernier objet.⁵⁷

Dostoevsky gives a more intransigent, radical interpretation to the question, insisting on the importance and the ethic potential of authentic and firm belief in the immortality of the soul. He also points out the disproportional *indifferentism* (индифферентизм) for this fundamental problem of human existence, rendering the concept in Russian exactly by the Latin root word, that is to say by a calque, which is a more elevated and specifically connoted analogue of «равнодушие» (this linguistic detail reveals how close his reasoning is to Pascal's one):

Основная и самая высшая идея человеческого бытия – необходимость и неизбежность убеждения в бессмертии души человеческой. [...] Без веры в свою душу и ее бессмертие бытие человека неестественно, немислимо и невыносимо. [...] это неверие укореняется и повсеместным, странным каким-то индифферентизмом к этой высшей идее человеческого существования. [...] А высшая идея на земле *лишь одна* и именно – идея о бессмертии души человеческой, ибо все остальные высшие идеи жизни, которыми мо-

possibili, se Dio non ci fosse?» (Leonardo SCIASCIA, *Todomodo*, ed. by P. Squillaciotti, 2 voll. (Milano: Adelphi 2012), vol. I, pp. 835-935: 897).

57 PASCAL, fr. 681, p. 1219. "The immortality of the soul is a matter of so great moment to us, it touches us so deeply, that we must have lost all feeling if we are careless of the truth about it. Our every action and our every thought must take such different courses, according as there are or are not eternal blessings for which to hope, that it is impossible to take a single step with sense or judgment, save in view of that point which ought to be our end and aim".

жет быть жив человек, *лишь из нее одной вытекают* (ПСС 24; 47-48; italics are in the text).⁵⁸

Pascal drops the reader in a mass of contradictions, in which almost nothing is affirmed without being immediately retracted. This performative method of demonstrating the mystery which man represents to himself implies a spiritual route, an inner transformation. This intention defines the form, modality and content of Pascal's reasoning. Dostoevsky accomplishes a similar operation on the artistic level, using the paradox to guide his artistic thinking and the narrative structure of many of his works. His enduring and profound relation with Pascal's reflection illuminates this paradoxicality with a singular ethic force, with a profound and tormented humanity, with a paradoxical and unfailing trust in man despite overwhelming evidence, despite all of Reason's arguments, which are constantly presented in their weakness and sterility in front of the *reasons of the heart*.

58 "The fundamental and the loftest idea of human existence is the necessity and the inevitability of a conviction in the immortality of the human soul. [...] Without this belief in one's own soul and in its immortality human existence is unnatural, unthinkable, and intolerable. [...] This disbelief strikes root also thanks to some strange indifferentism towards the highest idea of human existence. [...] There is *only one* higher idea on earth, and it is the immortality of the human soul, for all the other 'higher' ideas of life by which humans might live *derive from that idea alone*".

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“Don’t Get Angry, Just Pray”: The Ghost of Gogol in Dostoevsky’s Diary¹

Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek.

Romans 2:9 (ASV)

Словом, книга может послужить только доказательством великой истины слов апостола Павла, сказавшего, что весь человек есть ложь.

Nikolai Gogol, *Авторская исповедь*²

It may be hard to believe, but there is actually more to be said about Gogol’s influence on Dostoevsky. This was already an established critical question by the time Yuri Tynyanov used the two writers as material for his theory of parody a century ago,³ but one of Dostoevsky’s most explicit parodies⁴ of

1 I am grateful to Professor Ilya Vinitsky for his comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this article. I would also like to thank *Dostoevsky Studies*’s anonymous reviewers for their comments. I am entirely responsible, however, for the content of this discussion in its current form.

2 Николай В. ГОГОЛЬ, *Полное собрание сочинений в 14 тт.* (Москва: Изд-во АН СССР, 1937-1952), т. 8, с. 433.

3 Юрий Н. ТЫНЯНОВ, *Достоевский и Гоголь (К теории пародии)* (Петроград: ОПОЯЗ, 1921). Tynyanov’s study lists a number of literary techniques that Dostoevsky developed from Gogol’s writing, proves that Dostoevsky used Gogol’s style and persona for comic effect throughout his career, and makes the point that Dostoevsky himself saw Gogol as a great wall that he had to surmount as a writer. I will draw on Tynyanov’s work later in this paper. See also Василий В. РОЗАНОВ, *Легенда о Великом инквизиторе Ф.М. Достоевского* (Москва: Республика, 1996) and Donald FANGER, *Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism: A Study of Dostoevsky in Relation to Balzac, Dickens and Gogol* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), both of which analyze the artistic relationship between the two writers in ways that complement Tynyanov’s work.

4 I am using Tynyanov’s definition of the term, which requires a “shift” from one literary

Gogol remains totally undiscussed. I have in mind the January 1876 section of *The Diary of a Writer* (1873, 1876-7, 1881), which contains a posthumous 'quote' from the earlier author: "Не дразните чертей, не якшайтесь, грех дразнить чертей... Если ночью тебя начнет мучить нервическая бессонница, не злись, а молись, это черти; крести рубашку, твори молитву" (*ИСС* 22; 32).⁵

These words appear at the beginning of an article called "Spiritualism. A Little Bit About Devils. The Extraordinary Cleverness of these Devils, If Only These Are Devils," a title that suggests ironic playfulness on the author's part. The essay itself bears this out, as Dostoevsky interweaves an argument about devils being the source of spiritualist phenomena like table-turning with a series of reminders that devils are not real and that this whole line of thinking is not serious. This tension reaches its peak at the conclusion, where Dostoevsky explicitly states that he is joking; he also writes that insofar as spiritualism can be considered a new religion, it should be taken seriously; having already gone into detail about the reasons why Dmitri Mendeleev's anti-spiritualist commission cannot succeed, he then expresses hope that the commission's investigation will be productive (*ИСС* 22; 37).⁶

'Gogol' is quoted at the essay's very beginning. This establishes a sarcastic attitude towards spiritualism, but the pseudo-quote also deserves serious critical attention for what it reveals about the mature Dostoevsky's use of Gogol. By using established approaches to reading Dostoevsky and Gogol, namely those of Tynyanov and Boris Eikhenbaum, I plan to show that the *Diary* parody reveals Dostoevsky's profound knowledge of Gogol's actual artistic devices. His attention to the details of Gogol's style both critiques the general practice of ghost writing and transforms the quotation into an unusual kind of mystification. In this context, moreover, the shape of the article's general critique of spiritualism reveals that Gogol's art is one source of the ambiguity inherent in Dostoevsky's late rhetoric of religious belief,

structure to another, both of which are visible to the reader: ТЫНЯНОВ, *Достоевский и Гоголь...*, с. 7, 31, 48. In the present case, the clear use of Gogol's literary devices within the new context of Dostoevsky's journalism satisfies both requirements, as will be discussed in detail later.

5 "Don't bother the devils, don't hang around them, it's a sin to bother the devils... If nervous insomnia begins to plague you at night, don't get angry, just pray, it's the devils; cross your shirt, say a prayer". All translations are mine.

6 See also William LEATHERBARROW, *A Devil's Vaudeville: The Demonic in Dostoevsky's Major Fiction* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2005), pp. 178-181 for a general overview of the article's argument about devils.

which is essential for both his writings on spiritualism and *The Brothers Karamazov*.⁷

Before turning to the text itself, though, we should understand the context that produced it. Michael Gordin has already discussed spiritualism's general significance for Dostoevsky and for the contemporary Russian intelligentsia: it was a modish trend in many elite Petersburg circles of the 1870s, thanks mostly to the efforts of Nikolai Vagner (1829-1907) and Aleksandr Aksakov (1832-1903),⁸ so Dostoevsky is correct when he sarcastically writes in the *Diary* that spiritualism is currently in fashion (*ИСС* 22: 32). For Russians, it was also a broadly Western phenomenon. Spiritualism originated in America, and, by the time it reached Petersburg, it had already become a hot topic in England and continental Europe.⁹

Dostoevsky underscores this Westernness in his article, mockingly claiming that one Russian woman's house now contains twice as many devils as "Uncle Eddy's cabin" (*ИСС* 22; 32), a reference to both *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the well-known American spiritualists Horatio and William Eddy.¹⁰ This is already a critique, since Dostoevsky frequently used America, which he associated with nihilism and godless death, as an ideological foil for Russia.¹¹ "Nihilist" is also an epithet that Dostoevsky applied to Aksakov in his letters, reflecting his sense that spiritualism was harmful from a religious perspective, and therefore

7 Rozanov connects Dostoevsky's mockery of spiritualism to his later "Grand Inquisitor" passage. РОЗАНОВ, с. 83. Michael GORDIN also discusses the connection in his article "Loose and Baggy Spirits: Reading Dostoevskii and Mendeleev", *Slavic Review*, vol. 60, no. 4, 2001, p. 770.

8 GORDIN, pp. 757-760. Gordin mentions the relevant section of the *Diary* as a part of his larger argument, but he does not discuss the parody of Gogol at length.

9 *Ibidem*, pp. 759-761.

10 ВАДИМ Д. РАК, "Примечания", in *ИСС* 22; 335. The same page of Rak's commentary also details the concrete points of contact that Dostoevsky had with spiritualism, which include a number of works on the matter, translated by Aksakov, in Dostoevsky's library; his acquaintance and correspondence with Vagner; and his attendance at a seance, which only took place after the publication of the January 1876 chapter of the *Diary*.

11 Notes from *Underground* references America's contemporaneous civil war as an example of an "advanced" civilization growing bloodthirstier as it progresses (*ИСС* 5; 112). Svidrigailov's suicide in *Crime and Punishment* is metaphorically termed a journey to America (*ИСС* 6; 394-5), and serves as the inverse of Raskolnikov's confession, which is instead a journey toward Jerusalem (*ИСС* 6; 405). An even more telling and contemporary instance of this critical attitude towards the United States appears in *Demons*, where Kirillov and Shatov praise American culture, which includes its spiritualism, while in their nihilist phase (*ИСС* 10; 112).

disturbing in its contemporary growth.¹² Dostoevsky's polemic against spiritualism, then, is on one level a new development of a familiar theme in his work, that of Westernization's perceived role in fomenting nihilism and thereby impeding Russia's spiritual rejuvenation.

Biographical facts slightly complicate this picture, though. Dostoevsky was preparing his first critique of spiritualism and actively seeking to attend seances, both at Aksakov's house¹³ and at Vagner's,¹⁴ at the same time. After one of Vagner's seances, Dostoevsky felt it necessary to briefly record in a notebook that he did not participate, but this sequence of events suggests ambivalence rather than sheer horror or contempt. Consequently, Dostoevsky's use of spiritualism as a motif in his writing and his biographical attitude towards it should be considered as separate phenomena, albeit connected ones.

Spiritualism's popularity and the discourse surrounding it also triggered Dostoevsky's choice to make Gogol the subject of this specific parody. A few weeks before the January *Diary's* publication, the Petersburg newspaper *Golos* reported that a Muscovite spiritualist had apparently summoned Gogol's spirit, which had then dictated the lost second part of *Dead Souls* to a medium.¹⁵ People who read the resulting manuscript alleged that its style was quite similar to Gogol's. *Golos's* feuilletonist finds the idea of Russian intellectuals engaging with spiritualism, which is referred to in one moment as "самого бесшабашного суеверия",¹⁶ contemptible. The way in which the episode with Gogol is introduced is unambiguous: "Представьте себе, один из представителей московского интеллекта, человек серьезный, состоящий при литературе, даже 'руководитель', вдруг обратился в медиума".¹⁷ The dichotomy in which progressive Russian liberals should be opposed to spiritualism and other such superstitious nonsense is already clear.¹⁸ This orientation

12 GORDIN, p. 760.

13 *Ibidem*, pp. 761-762.

14 РАК, с. 335.

15 *Ibidem*, с. 336. The article itself, "Московские заметки: новый год и новые желания", can be found in *Голос*, № 6, 6 (18) января 1876, с. 1-2.

16 "The most mindless superstition" (*Голос*, с. 2).

17 "Imagine, one of the representatives of Moscow intellect, a serious person who works in literature, a 'leader,' even, suddenly went to a medium". *Ibidem*, с. 2.

18 Another representative quote, which concludes the feuilleton's mediation on "desire": «Следует ли отсюда, что надо перестать «желать»? Отнюдь нет, потому что «желания» в нравственном мире человека то же, что движение в физическом: без него нет жизни». "Does it follow from all this, that one must cease 'desiring'? Far from it, because 'desires' in man's moral world are the same as movement in the physical one: there is no life

is unsurprising, but it goes on to inform Dostoevsky's treatment of the topic, since, as Gordin has already detailed, the *Diary* targets both the spiritualists and their more rational critics. In our specific case, the Gogol parody and the January article as a whole obviously do not seriously defend spiritualism, but they also avoid the scathing tone of the *Golos* feuilleton. The ironic, playful approach Dostoevsky chooses, in other words, is not indebted to contemporary journalistic discourse.

Tone aside, it is not a surprise that this news item would have caught Dostoevsky's attention. At the time, he was advancing his own theory of Gogol's artistic value. In the 1873 *Diary*, for example, he refers to Gogol as a purely Russian author, one who cannot be productively translated: the merits of his art 'literally disappear' in French (*ИСС* 21; 69).¹⁹ In April 1876, Dostoevsky defends Gogol against contemporary criticism by arguing that the earlier author's masterpieces are valuable because of their 'inner content', by which he meant that Gogol's portrayal of certain character 'types'²⁰ provokes the reader to reflect on life's most profound questions. Here, he even cites the controversial *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends* as a weak yet 'characteristic' example of Gogol's artistry that pays attention to both style and this inner content (*ИСС* 21; 106). At this point, then, Dostoevsky was publicly celebrating Gogol as a writer who epitomized the ideal of expressing ideological content within stylized artistic forms.²¹ This 'Gogolian' sensibility also deeply informs Dostoevsky's work on spiritualism in the *Diary*.²²

without it" (*Голос*, с. 2). This equation of desire and physical movement reflects a modish, implicitly positivist perspective.

- 19 There would have been a tension in Dostoevsky's mind between the Russian word (and accompanying practice) спиритизм, which comes from the French, and the untranslatable Gogol. Moreover, Dostoevsky references this same French translation of Gogol in his drafts for the *Diary* in the final months of 1875 (*ИСС* 24; 73), meaning that this question of Gogol's Russian value was still on his mind, and actually overlapped with the development of his parody.
- 20 This is in line with Tynyanov's observation that Gogol's typology of characters was of paramount importance for Dostoevsky. ТЫНЯНОВ, *Достоевский и Гоголь*, с. 10.
- 21 That is, as opposed to communicating through direct, and possibly artless, polemics. In this sense, Dostoevsky's writing on Gogol in the early 1870s grows out of his earlier dispute with Dobroliubov and Chernyshevsky about aesthetics and art's political significance. See his article "Mr. -bov and the Question of Art", in *ИСС* 18; 70-103.
- 22 Gordin similarly writes that Dostoevsky argues against his opponents on a "suprational, emotional level" in the *Diary*. GORDIN, p. 770. For a broader treatment of Dostoevsky's work in the *Diary* as fiction in the guise of nonfiction, see Gary Saul MORSON, *The Bound-*

Dostoevsky's evaluations of Gogol's art had their analogue among the spiritualists. Ilya Vinitsky has shown that the practice of ghost writing is itself a kind of critical reevaluation. An author's posthumous thoughts on any given subject would inevitably reflect contemporary attitudes, since the mediums would write what their audiences wanted to hear. Dead writers could even didactically comment on their own artistic output in order to realize 'metaphorical views' that the living held about the significance of their work.²³ Given ghost writing's interpretive potential, one might suspect that the aforementioned spiritualist version of *Dead Souls*' second volume, which has not survived, was in some sense a critical reevaluation of Gogol. It likely advanced a certain interpretation of his art and, perhaps, of his biography.²⁴ Since the question of how to properly read and understand Gogol was clearly on Dostoevsky's mind at the moment, the emergence of a new spiritualist, 'Western' interpretation of Gogol would have been significant for him.

To sum up, two aspects of this spiritualist text's existence would have piqued Dostoevsky's interest and motivated the parody. He was already suspicious of spiritualism as a general phenomenon because of its links to the West and its idolatrous, fetishistic mysticism.²⁵ This is why he goes on to associate it with anti-religious 'nihilism' in some of his letters and in his fiction. This ghostwritten manuscript, moreover, would have been a new literary fact within a discourse about Gogol's importance and Russianness that Dostoevsky took very seriously. Another way to put this is that Dostoevsky's public writing about spiritualism, which more or less begins in the January *Diary*, grows out of his contemporary work on Gogol.²⁶

aries of Genre: Dostoevsky's Diary of a Writer and the Traditions of Literary Utopia (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 58-68.

23 Vinitsky develops this argument by analyzing spiritualist poems attributed to Pushkin's ghost, which prove to be commentaries on Pushkin's figure and legacy. See his book *Paradoxes: Modern Spiritualism and Russian Culture in the Age of Realism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), pp. 59-69.

24 We unfortunately do not know the identity of the spiritualist or the medium who summoned Gogol, a fact that could have enabled a more concrete hypothesis about the work's content.

25 GORDIN, pp. 763, 767.

26 In one sense, the "devils" that Dostoevsky describes in the article, which are paradoxically clever because of their evident foolishness, inherit qualities from some of the writer's earlier descriptions of Gogol. His notebooks from the early 1860s contain the line «Гоголь – гений исполинский, но ведь он и туп, как гений» (*ИСС* 20; 153). "Gogol is a tremendous genius, but for that he is also dull, like a genius". A more contemporary note that express-

The parody is extremely brief, but it reveals itself to be a rich text. The way in which Dostoevsky introduces 'Gogol's' message from beyond is already mysterious: as he writes, «Гоголь пишет с того света утвердительно, что это черти. Я читал письмо, слог его» (ПСС 22; 32).²⁷ Perhaps Dostoevsky is simply claiming to have read 'Gogol's' manuscript. However, circumstantial evidence undermines this interpretation. There is no mention of any firsthand encounter with a ghostwritten text in his letters from the end of 1875 or from January 1876, which is when Dostoevsky would have learned about the Gogol summoning. He was in contact with Vagner at the time, though, and explicitly writing to him about seances. Surely Dostoevsky would have at least briefly mentioned a fake Gogol text to his spiritualist acquaintance, if he had actually read such a thing. Gogol and ghost writing are also nowhere to be found in a January letter to Vsevolod Solovyov, another contact of Dostoevsky's with an interest in spiritualism (ПСС 29; 64-73).²⁸

The parodic quotation itself makes it harder still to believe that Dostoevsky is referring to an actual piece of ghost writing. As he knew, the posthumous 'Gogol' work was purported to be *Dead Souls*' second volume, which is a fictional novel with a narrative and characters, for surviving drafts of the work

es the same contours can be found in his plans for the novel *Adolescent* from 1875, where he describes Gogol's behavior in *Selected Passages* as a manifestation of the "underground": «Это то самое подполье, которое заставило Гоголя в торжественном завещании говорить о последней повести, которая выпелась из души его и которой совсем и не оказалось в действительности. Ведь, может быть, начиная свое завещание, он и не знал, что напишет про последнюю повесть. Что ж это за сила, которая заставляет даже честного и серьезного человека так врать и паясничать, да еще в своем завещании (Сила эта русская, в Европе люди более цельные, у нас мечтатели и подлецы)» (ПСС 16; 330). "It is that very underground that made Gogol, in a solemn will, talk about a final tale that sang out from his soul and which turned out to not exist at all in reality. Well, maybe, beginning his will, he didn't know that he would write about his final story. What kind of force is it that makes even an honest and serious man lie and play the fool thus, and in his will moreover? (This force is Russian, in Europe people are more whole, we have dreamers and scoundrels)". Here, Dostoevsky again chooses Gogol as an emblem of both Russianness and a baffling oscillation between poles of behavior, although here they are moral. This same cluster of attributes emerges in the course of the January article on spiritualism. Certainly this latter text is much more ironic, but this ironization is in accord with Tynyanov's theory of parodic evolution.

27 "Gogol writes from that world positively confirming that these are devils. I read the letter, the style is his".

28 It is worth mentioning, however, that Vsevolod Solovyov was the source for the final Diary article's brief mention of a young Petersburg student's experience at a seance. ПАК, с. 335.

had been published as early as 1855. Dostoevsky's parody is instead presented as being 'Gogol's' own voice, rather than that of a narrator. This was common for ghost writing, but it would have been inappropriate as a reference to the specific manuscript that *Golos* describes.

So, it seems like Dostoevsky has created a short Gogolian work of his own, and that the actual spiritualist work is just a pretext for creative parody. From a formal perspective, though, the claim that Dostoevsky has seen a 'real' manuscript is still important. By referencing a text that ostensibly exists outside of the *Diary*, Dostoevsky creates a certain expectation on the part of his audience, which is at least superficially familiar with both Gogol and the spiritualists. This will be important for the dialogical, mystificatory effect. As Tynyanov writes, moreover, parody is not always directed towards specific works: a genre, author, or entire literary movement can be parodied. Dostoevsky's reference to a letter should be understood in this sense. It gestures toward ghost writing as a genre, the assumptions and conventions of which he can parody without necessarily engaging with a specific piece of spiritualist writing.²⁹

The parody's lack of a single target does not mean that it is completely *sui generis*, however. Dostoevsky draws heavily on Gogol's actual writings, combining images and techniques from different periods of his literary activity. The basic 'plot' of the parody is not in keeping with *Dead Souls* or Gogol's Peters-

29 Юрий Н. ТЫНЯНОВ, "О пародии", in Ю.Н. ТЫНЯНОВ, *Поэтика. История литературы. Кино* (Москва: АН СССР, 1977), с. 288. It is even possible that Dostoevsky had this parody in mind some time before he read the *Golos* article. His notebooks for the *Diary* include a short note from November 1875 that reads «Из письма Гоголя с того света о спиритизме и чертях, ссылка на Послание к Римлянам, глава II, стих 9» (*ПСС* 24; 68). "From Gogol's letter from the other world about spiritualism and devils, a reference to the Epistle to the Romans, chapter 2, verse 9". It is impossible to determine whether Dostoevsky had already heard about a seance involving Gogol, or whether the letter is purely his invention at this stage; similarly, it is unclear whether the reference to Paul's Epistle to the Romans was Dostoevsky's own idea for a future letter or not. Either way, the idea of Gogol writing from the grave about devils was on Dostoevsky's mind independently of *Golos's* reporting. A rough draft of the anti-spiritualist argument appears later in the notebooks (*ПСС* 24; 93-96), and the idea of Gogol writing a posthumous letter appears at this point, too, although Dostoevsky doesn't attempt a literal parodic quotation in the sketch. The idea of Gogol's quoting Paul is no longer explicitly present. As will be discussed below, however, the final parody strongly draws on Gogol's letter "Advice", which appeared in *Selected Passages* and opens with a reference to another line from the same chapter of *Romans*. See Игорь А. ВИНОГРАДОВ, "Комментарий", in Николай В. ГОГОЛЬ, *Духовная проза* (Москва: Русская книга, 1992), с. 479.

burg stories, where demonic presences are either fantastic, in Tzvetan Todorov's sense of the term,³⁰ or only implied by means of symbolism.³¹ The devils' image in the parody has much more in common with some of his Ukrainian stories, like *Christmas Eve* and *St. John's Eve in Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka* or *Mirgorod's "Vii"*, where devils are unambiguously real creatures that one could consort with. This also resonates with biographical attestations about a famous episode from the end of Gogol's life, in which he blamed his ultimate destruction of the second volume of *Dead Souls* on the devil, or "sly one".³²

The implied relationship between 'Gogol' and the audience adds another layer to the parody. Gogol's mature fictional works do sometimes contain apostrophes to the reader, such as the ones at the end of *Nevsky Prospekt* and in the final chapter of *Dead Souls*. But those addresses are highly poetic in their language and tone.³³ Dostoevsky's parody, in contrast, is primarily composed of relatively conversational commands to the reader regarding devils and insomnia. This style is not wholly alien to Gogol's oeuvre, but it is more consistent with his voice in *Selected Passages* than with the narrative style of

30 It is impossible to confidently say that the demonic forces portrayed in stories like *Portrait*, for example, are either real or completely hallucinated: the tension between these two possibilities is part of the effect. Tzvetan TODOROV, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre* (Ithaca, 1975).

31 Dmitri Chizhevsky identifies a paradigmatic case of this tendency in his analysis of *Overcoat*, where he shows that Gogol implies the presence of a demonic force in the story via the twice-mentioned picture of a faceless general on a snuffbox: Chizhevsky links this image to a folkloric tradition of the devil having no face. See Dmitri CHIZHEVSKY, "About 'The Overcoat'" in Robert MAGUIRE (Ed.), *Gogol from the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 319-321. There is a long tradition of identifying the demonic in the seemingly decorative layer of Gogol's prose, although some of these interpretations are less formalist than Chizhevsky's close reading: see approaches like MERZHKOVSKY's "Gogol and the Devil" and BRIUSOV's "Burnt to Ashes" in *Gogol from the Twentieth Century*. Nabokov's interpretations of *Overcoat* and *Dead Souls* are explicitly indebted to the Symbolists, and follow a similar line of thought. See Nikolai GOGOL (New York: New Directions, 1961).

32 As recounted by Aleksei Tarasenkov in a memoir first published in 1856. See Алексей Т. ТАРАСЕНКОВ, "Последние дни Н. В. Гоголя", in Н. БРОДСКИЙ, Ф. ГЛАДКОВ, Ф. М. ГОЛОВЕНЧЕНКО и др. (под ред.), *Н.В. Гоголь в воспоминаниях современников* (Москва: Гослитиздат, 1952), с. 516, 672.

33 For a more detailed discussion of Gogol's high style, see Victor TERRAS's article "Nabokov and Gogol: The Metaphysics of Nonbeing", in J. DOUGLAS CLAYTON and Gunter SCHAARSCHMIDT (Ed.), *Poetica Slavica: Studies in Honour of Zbigniew Folejewski* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981).

Dead Souls.³⁴ As mentioned earlier, Dostoevsky considered *Selected Passages* to be a legitimate work of Gogol's,³⁵ so the prevalence of the imperative voice here serves to defend Dostoevsky's reading of Gogol by presenting a device from *Selected Passages* as both properly Gogolian and independent of *Dead Souls*.

Dostoevsky's attention to the minutiae of Gogol's writing emerges in the sound of the parody, as well. Reading the lines aloud makes it clear that they have an almost metrical syllabic regularity, and that Dostoevsky has paid close attention to assonance in the parody's vowels.³⁶ This is especially visible towards the end, in the phrase "не злись, а молись: крести рубашку, твори молитву". The one major exception is the phrase "нервическая бессоница," which disrupts the entire sentence's rhythm. This is another of Gogol's techniques. Eikhenbaum makes much of a passage with a strikingly similar conceit at the beginning of *Overcoat*, where Gogol establishes phonetic regularity through the consistent sounds of word endings and an obvious syllabic rhythm, only to introduce a word that violates these patterns. Eikhenbaum calls this a "comic sound gesture", serving as an example of what he calls the "grotesque" in Gogol, which is an effect created by unexpected shifts in the tone and sound of his writing.³⁷

34 For one particularly representative example, take the the letter "Advice", which ends like this: «Позаботься прежде о себе, а потом о других; стань прежде сам почище душою, а потом уже старайся, чтобы другие были чище». ГОГОЛЬ, *ПСС*, т. 8, с. 283. "First take care about yourself, and then about others; first become purer of soul yourself, and then at that point make effort, so that others would be purer". *Selected Passages* is famously full of such commands, as in the chapters "Woman in Society", or "The Russian Landowner", among others. This didacticism even became a subject of discussion and critique among his friends, as is reflected in Sergei Aksakov's correspondence with Gogol from the period. See Сергей Т. АКСАКОВ, "9 декабря, 1846" in Николай В. ГОГОЛЬ, *Переписка Гоголя в 2-х томах* (Москва: Художественная литература, 1988), т. 2, с. 74.

35 Besides the mention in the *Diary* itself, Тунянов has collected Dostoevsky's pronouncements on the work from throughout his career, all of which show that Dostoevsky considered it second-rate, but did not agree with Belinsky's claim that the work was a complete betrayal of Gogol's talent and of his earlier works. Тунянов's article also goes on to demonstrate that Dostoevsky's single most prolonged parody of Gogol, in *The Village of Stepanchikovo*, was directed precisely at the Gogol of *Selected Passages*. ТУНЯНОВ, *Достоевский и Гоголь*, с. 28-29, 32-34. All of this is to say that Dostoevsky's imitation of Gogol's didactic tone in the *Diary* is not meant to undercut the sense that he is channeling Gogol. It instead strengthens the parodic effect of the fake quotation.

36 Тунянов has already noted that Dostoevsky underscores the melodiousness of Gogol's writing in his parody in *The Village of Stepanchikovo*. *Ibidem*, с. 40.

37 The original is «комический звуковой жест». Борис М. ЭЙХЕНБАУМ, "Как сделана

Eikhenbaum argues on this basis that Gogol's specific word choice is often based on sound, rather than on meaning. This is also true at points in Dostoevsky's parody. The bizarre phrase "крести рубашку" depends on its pairing with твори молитву, since this can be justified by the phrases' syllabic regularity. "Трех дразнить чертей" is an absurd phrase on the semantic level, but it also scans rhythmically. In short, Dostoevsky's choice to let sound be a motivating factor in the parody reflects serious attention to the stylistic level of Gogol's writing, or what Eikhenbaum calls *skaz*.³⁸ The parody therefore also serves as encouragement for treating this style as essential to Gogol's art.

The text's vocabulary deserves discussion as well. Almost all of the words attributed to 'Gogol' appear quite regularly in the author's actual writing, with the exception of the verb "якшаться". The exact phrase "нервическая бессонница", which is the most crucial for the parodic effect, is also nowhere to be found. The individual word «бессонница» does appear infrequently in his fiction, plaguing characters in *Nevsky Prospekt*, *Portrait*, and *Dead Souls*.³⁹ Gogol also explicitly complains of his own insomnia in a series of letters from 1847, some of which had been published long before Dostoevsky's parody.⁴⁰ *Нервический* is also common in these letters, but it never specifically describes his insomnia.⁴¹ Dostoevsky's specific phrase can be justified on the phonetic level, as mentioned above. This means, however, that the parody's "comic sound gesture" is both one of the more distinctive aspects of Gogol's writing and in

«Шинель» Гоголя" in Борис М. ЭЙХЕНБАУМ, *О прозе* (Ленинград: Художественная литература, 1969), с. 314-15. The passage Eikhenbaum analyzes is longer and undoubtedly more complex than Dostoevsky's short parody, but the basic principle is applicable to both works.

38 An imitation of *skaz* is not necessarily at odds with Dostoevsky's interest in parodying Selected Passages. As Aleksandr ZHOLKOVSKY has discussed, the latter work preserves the essential traits of Gogol's earlier *skaz*, albeit without being explicitly comic. See his essay "Re-reading Gogol's Miswritten Book: Notes on Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends", in Susanne FUSO and Priscilla MEYER (Ed.), *Essays on Gogol: Logos and the Russian Word* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1992), pp. 172-184.

39 ГОГОЛЬ, *Полное собрание сочинений*, т. 3, с. 28-29, 132; т. 6, с. 49, 176.

40 See ГОГОЛЬ, *Полное собрание сочинений*, т. 13, с. 199, 203, 205, 207, 211; т. 14, с. 91, for his usage of the term in correspondence.

41 The idea that Gogol's nerves were diseased was one that he often mentioned in letters during the last decade of his life. Some examples that were published well before 1876 can be found in ГОГОЛЬ, *Полное собрание сочинений*, т. 12, с. 336, 453, 458, 506; т. 13, с. 208; т. 14, с. 125, 143. This is far from an exhaustive list. Dostoevsky would certainly have been aware of this tic of Gogol's, but incorporates it into his parody in an original manner.

another sense foreign to Gogol's work. We will return to this problem of simultaneous presence and absence, which has important interpretive consequences.

This central phrase thus 'proves' to us that Gogol himself has not written the lines under consideration here. Such proof is in no way necessary, but it is still worth considering the implications of the playful suggestion that, if Gogol isn't writing to the spiritualists from the other world, then the message really comes from the very devils who are asking to be left alone in the parody. "Нервическая бессонница" functions within this context as a detail that betrays the fact that this text is demonic in nature. This conceit, in which an ornamental detail functions as a key to perceiving a gap between representation and reality, is itself a fundamental trait of Gogol's art.⁴²

Summing up, Dostoevsky almost succeeds in satisfying the expectation produced by his initial claim that he has seen a manuscript written by Gogol's ghost, since the two sentences that he writes are extremely reminiscent of the dead author. This perceptive accuracy reflects Dostoevsky's interest in critical revaluations of Gogol, as do the intertextual references to less popular works of his, like *Selected Passages*. Even the moments where Dostoevsky diverges from Gogol's lexicon evince a close reading of Gogol, since the words in the parody that Gogol himself did not use are also the ones that serve as Dostoevsky's versions of Gogol's symbolism. The parody thus produces an uncanny effect, since its 'voice' is so close to Gogol's.

Following Tynyanov, we have noted that Dostoevsky's mock quotation stylizes Gogol's work and scoffs at the entire genre of ghost writing. Such spiritualist texts are unique as a form of spurious literature⁴³ in that they do not attempt to make readers believe in the existence of an unreal but plausible author, as a more conventional hoax would. Instead, ghost writing turns real, dead writers into masks for the true author.⁴⁴ This does not resolve the question of how Dostoevsky's parody should be considered from the standpoint of genre, though. It is in dialogue with standard ghost writing, but clearly distinct. The essential ambiguity of Dostoevsky's parody makes it difficult to categorize,

42 As mentioned earlier, Chizhevsky and the Symbolists make use of this gnostic approach.

Tynyanov does not subscribe to the mystical attitude of these readings, but he does call Gogol's characters and images "masks", arguing that they underscore the difference between what reality is and what it seems to be. ТЫНЯНОВ, *Достоевский и Гоголь*, с. 12-17.

43 I take the term from K. K. RUTHVEN's book *Faking Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), which deals with ontological questions of the distinctions between "real" and "fake" texts, and examines the various functions that spurious genres can perform.

44 VINITSKY, p. 62.

which ultimately strengthens the effect of his parody and his entire ideological polemic against spiritualism.

It is difficult to imagine that any reader would believe that Dostoevsky is really quoting Gogol. The opposite is true: Dostoevsky's entire joke is based on Gogol's obvious and fundamental absence from the text. The parody is therefore closer to the genre of mystification, which should somehow point a reader towards its own deception. This has a productive function: ideally, recognizing a mystification should motivate the audience to engage with other texts more critically, so as to be sure that they are not also misleading or false in some regard. In other words, the mystification is meant to re-center the importance of truth in literature by blurring the lines between real and 'fake' texts.⁴⁵ This framework seems appropriate for Dostoevsky's parody. By producing a strikingly effective copy of Gogol without any spiritualist performance, Dostoevsky confronts the reader with an unmasking of the spiritualists' literary output. The newly critical reader can subsequently recognize 'authentic' ghost writing as simple parody, rather than proof of the supernatural.

Mystifications can be quite well written, however, and therefore not immediately recognizable as imitations. The surrounding context is often what undermines a mystification's authenticity. Abramson observes all this in her case study of Prosper Mérimée's *La Guzla*, which is a collection of original works alleged to be authentic Yugoslavian folk poetry. Mérimée does successfully imitate many real conventions of the region's verse, but his invention of a Yugoslavian bard, who is mostly characterized in the book's paratext, ultimately gives away the truth of his mystification and serves as a critique of the idealized Romantic notion of 'pure' folk art. This demystification is an essential part of the overall project, in that it becomes a secular version of religious revelation. This is appropriate for a genre that originated and gained popularity in Enlightenment Europe.⁴⁶

45 I have drawn extensively from Julia ABRAMSON's work on the mystification as a genre, *Learning From Lying: Paradoxes of the Literary Mystification* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 13-17, 28, 145-146.

46 ABRAMSON, pp. 37, 107-108. Mérimée's mystification had consequences for Russian literature in that he successfully fooled Alexandr Pushkin, who would later go on to produce his own mystifications. See Александр А. ДОЛИНИН, "Как понимать мистификацию Пушкина *Последний из свойственников Иоанны Д'Арк*" in Рональд ВРООН и др. (под ред.), *И время и место: Историко-филологический сборник к шестидесятилетию Александра Львовича Осювата* (Москва: Новое издательство, 2007), с. 198-216. Dolinin shows that Pushkin's motivations and strategies in his mystification were similar to those discussed above, and the text invited careful decoding.

There is no such revelatory demystification in Dostoevsky. Thanks to his sarcastic tone, the ‘summoning’ of Gogol is obviously fake from the start, meaning there is no catharsis to be had in recognizing this. Moreover, there is no clear demystificatory move anywhere in the larger section about spiritualism, which is instead primarily characterized by irony and ambiguity. The predominant conceit, as mentioned earlier, is that spiritualism is the work of devils, but Dostoevsky also denies the existence of devils throughout, and the serious and comical aspects of this treatment of spiritualism do not resolve.⁴⁷ He mocks ghost writing with the Gogol parody, but intentionally withholds an explicit description or critique of what ghost writing and spiritualism really are. Dostoevsky has thus produced a parody that is similar to a mystification, since it is polemical and self-consciously false, but remains distinct from the genre by refusing to cultivate an epiphany for its readers.

Given Dostoevsky’s ideological commitment to Orthodoxy, this treatment of mystification is appropriate, given that he would have resisted writing something that aimed to effect a secular equivalent to revelation. Gordin observes another form of this resistance in Dostoevsky’s polemic against Mendeleev, who was trying to discredit spiritualism by positively disproving it. Dostoevsky believed that this was an ineffective strategy, as belief is independent of empirical proof, and it would therefore be impossible to discover evidence that would effectively undermine the spiritualists’ fundamentally illogical convictions.⁴⁸

This suspicion of empiricism is at the heart of Dostoevsky’s ambiguous quasi-mystification.⁴⁹ As mentioned above, he stresses that ghost writing is a conventionally literary genre, but the section as a whole suggests that a given reader’s attitude toward the parody’s persuasive potential, like one’s attitude toward seances, will be decided by pre-existing questions of faith and belief, preventing a proper demystification. Dostoevsky’s open mystification that does not resolve thus rejects the grounds of the highly positivist debate between the spiritualists and critics such as Mendeleev, which revolved around whether or

47 In this sense, the overall section’s structure ironically reiterates the aforementioned tension between supernatural and natural causes that defines Todorov’s fantastic.

48 See GORDIN, pp. 764-767. The primary focus here is on articles that Dostoevsky wrote after January 1876, but in the January Diary Dostoevsky does refer to a spirit photographer who was exposed as a fraud: however, even his own confession to this effect could not convince his clients, since they had independently chosen to believe otherwise (*IICC* 22; 35-36).

49 Gordin broadly observes that Dostoevsky’s strategies of persuasion are generally rhetorical, rather than rational. He never tries to affirmatively prove that spiritualism is wrong, but instead mocks it or associates it with unsavory ideas and images (e.g., the aforementioned link between spiritualism and America in *Demons*). GORDIN, pp. 770-772.

not the supernatural could be scientifically proved to exist. He instead invites the reader to consider a more traditional, non-positivist religious perspective, which privileges the mystery of faith.

In short, the parody and the article as a whole only point to what spiritualism is not, without any positive assessment of what it really is. The way in which a reader engages with the parody thus becomes question of faith, not rational persuasion. This reveals another aspect of Gogol's importance within the article, in his strategy of implying the positive by representing its negative inverse.⁵⁰ As noted above, the earliest iteration of Dostoevsky's posthumous Gogol letter had something to do with a line from Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek."⁵¹ The explicit reference is ultimately left out, but it is not difficult to see this quotation as a subtext to the final article, which criticizes both spiritualism and its detractors. However, the fact that this condensed, affirmative, Biblical version of Dostoevsky's argument ultimately exists only on the subtextual level powerfully resonates with Gogol's technique of subsuming an essential moral message underneath caricature.⁵² Dostoevsky's aforementioned evocation of the 'inner content' that one could uncover beneath Gogol's types, moreover, reflects his own awareness of this sensibility in Gogol.

Gogol's caricatures are also relevant because Dostoevsky's choice of this rhetorical form for his ideological polemic against both Mendeleev and the spiritualists returns us to the topic of the grotesque. The central device of Dostoevsky's piece, as has been mentioned, is the aggressive oscillation between criticizing the demonism of spiritualism and his insistence that it's all a joke. This technique is also another part of how Eikhenbaum understands Gogol's grotesque. It is the aesthetic effect of Gogol's unexpected alternations, which can be phonetic or rhetorical, as in the examples noted above. Eikhenbaum also sees it at the end of *Overcoat*, analyzing the story's conclusion as the result of Gogol's constant alternation between comic and tragic modes of writing. This

50 Fanger discusses this tendency, and its connection with Dostoevsky, when discussing Gogol's representation of Petersburg. FANGER, pp. 102, 109; for a broader set of perspectives on Gogol's strategy of implication see GOGOL, *Exploring Absence* (Bloomington: Slavica, 1999), a collection of essays exploring different ways in which Gogol's art attempts to express the unexpressable.

51 Rom. 2:9 (ASV).

52 The symbolic readings of *Overcoat* and *Dead Souls* mentioned earlier are relevant here, as is Gogol's own re-interpretation of *Inspector General* as an allegory for the Russian soul. ГОГОЛЬ, *Полное собрание сочинений*, т. 4, с. 130-133.

ultimately produces a “trick”⁵³ whereby the expected melodramatic ending becomes comical and does not resolve, an effect which Eikhnenbaum observes in Khlestakov’s exit in *Inspector General*, as well. Gogol’s *Nose*, where the narrator both dismisses the content of his story as complete nonsense and affirms that such things really do happen, is another antecedent for Dostoevsky’s decision to end⁵⁴ his essay by presenting overlapping but irreconcilable ideas.

In other words, Dostoevsky consciously makes use of Gogol’s grotesque model here. It is visible in the parody itself, where he disrupts the expected rhythm of his own writing. The unexpected complexity of his parody is a reversal on another level as well, since it turns what is ostensibly a quick joke at ghost writing’s expense into a serious close reading. Even more broadly, the rhetorical reversals that Dostoevsky employs throughout the article for the sake of his fundamental religious critique of spiritualism can themselves be understood also as a development of Gogol’s grotesque style.⁵⁵

Tynyanov’s classic study of the two writers only focuses on Gogol’s importance as a source of comic phrases and characters in Dostoevsky. By 1876, however, we can see that Gogol’s style had also become a model that Dostoevsky could use in his journalistic polemics, which were playful and serious⁵⁶ at the same time. In other words, Gogol’s influence on Dostoevsky continued to develop and take on new forms up until the zenith of the latter writer’s career. Most importantly, this mystification suggests that Gogol’s influence on the late Dostoevsky should be understood as both stylistic and seriously ideological.

Furthermore, this reading of the January *Diary* article invites a reevaluation of the specific contours of Dostoevsky’s dialogue with Gogol in *The Brothers Karamazov*.⁵⁷ The Grand Inquisitor passage has already been mentioned, and Ivan Karamazov’s argument with the devil and Father Ferapont’s visions of pet-

53 *Обман* in the original. For the entire section cited here, see ЭЙХЕНБАУМ, с. 319-326.

54 Strictly speaking, this is not the end of the text: the third chapter of the *Diary* contains two short sections following the discussion of spiritualism, but they are not explicitly connected to his polemic, and Dostoevsky treats the end of this article as the end of a train of thought.

55 Tynyanov observes that Dostoevsky’s general use of Gogol’s techniques, which he calls masks, often leads to a moment in which Dostoevsky reveals some idea or character trait that contradicts the original ‘Gogolian’ expectation. ТЫНЯНОВ, *Достоевский и Гоголь*, с. 19-22. This can be understood as a specific instance of that general theory.

56 This also serves as a specific instance of Rozanov’s observation that Dostoevsky’s work was both religious and blasphemous. РОЗАНОВ, с. 27-28.

57 The *Diary*’s general connection to Dostoevsky’s final novel is well-discussed. See Andrew WACHTEL’s lucid discussion of the two works in his book *An Obsession with History: Russian Writers Confront the Past* (1994) for one overview.

ty demons are two other instances that seem more or less to continue the imagery and essential religious ambiguity evinced by the Gogol parody under discussion here. Given the sources of Dostoevsky's parody, moreover, it is worth considering how less canonical works of Gogol's, especially *Selected Passages*, inform Dostoevsky's many-layered adaptation and development of Gogol's style. Doing so will shed new light on yet another element of Dostoevsky's final masterpiece.

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***When Trifonov read Dostoevsky:
Ideology, Avarice, and Violence
in late Soviet culture***

In one of his last interviews, author Iurii Trifonov (1925-1981) used a mix of praise and awe to discuss *Crime and Punishment*. Describing the novel as “an abyss of thoughts and associations with our time”, he was horrified by the way his own world embodied Raskol’nikov’s maxim that “everything is permitted”.¹ For Trifonov, Dostoevsky revealed the contradictions between ideology, action, altruism, and avarice underlying Soviet culture, yet his reading of the classic writer also illuminates the contradictions within Trifonov’s own thoughts. At some moments Trifonov joined orthodox Soviet critics, who tried to retroactively enlist Dostoevsky as a supporter of revolution. This failed effort highlighted the cultural stakes compelling Trifonov to view fiction as a harbinger of socialism.

A prominent *shestidesiatnik*, Trifonov is best known for portraying the Moscow intelligentsia. His celebrated *House on the Embankment* (“Dom na naberezhnoi”, 1976) depicts a greedy protagonist who, in the final years of Stalinism, secures a career by betraying his mentor as well as his fiancée. The novella refutes the assumptions that the ends justify the means, a Dostoevskian motif influencing Trifonov’s lesser-known *Impatience* (“Neterpenie”, 1973). This historical novel, which praised the 1881 assassination of Aleksandr II, defends bloodshed in the struggle that eventually toppled tsarism. These two works give dramatically divergent readings of Dostoevsky, a figure cautiously celebrated during the 1971 sesquicentennial of his birth. *Impatience* even claims that the nineteenth-century author supported the People’s Will, while *House on the Embankment* critiques its protagonist by connecting him to Raskol’nikov. I examine how these both narratives, which draw on *The*

1 On Trifonov’s praise for *Crime and Punishment*, see his interview with East German scholar Ralf SCHRÖDER, “Gespräch mit Juri Trifonow. Ein ‘Roman mit den Geschichte’”, *Weimarer Beiträge*, n. 8 (1981), S. 133-154, quotation on p. 148, quoted in Sigrid MCLAUGHLIN, “Iurii Trifonov’s *Dom na naberezhnoi* and Dostoevskii’s *Prestuplenie i nakazanie*”, *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, n. 2 (1983), pp. 275-283, 277.

Demons, *Brothers Karamazov*, and *Crime and Punishment*, expose Trifonov's concerns with Soviet culture.

Global tensions made Dostoevsky a part of the Cold War; he posed fundamental problems for the USSR's scholars due to his Orthodoxy, hatred of socialism, and suspicion of rationality.² In 1972, introducing a volume of articles on the author, Soviet editors heralded Dostoevsky studies as part of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Émigré Norman Shneidman, writing four years later, lambasted the USSR's "ideological and political considerations" regarding the author – ironically, his politicized view resembled the Soviet analysis he scorned.³ Dostoevsky studies joined international chess tournaments and piano competitions as another battlefield between the superpowers. Trifonov for his part was deeply apprehensive over the arms race and nuclear proliferation. Commenting on *The Demons*, he worried that in the atomic age a terrorist could cobble together a nuclear weapon (as a young American scientist had recently done).⁴

Susan McReynolds observes that Dostoevsky opposed socialism and capitalism for a similar reason: both reduce human and spiritual interaction to economic exchanges that eclipse spirituality and blunt compassion.⁵ For her Dostoevsky is more than a prophet of Soviet culture's darker moments, such as the

2 For a wide-ranging survey of changing Soviet attitudes to Dostoevsky, see Vladimir SEDURO, *Dostoevski's Image in Russia Today* (Belmont: Nordland, 1975).

3 On Dostoevsky studies differentiating between capitalism and socialism, see Андрей Гришунин и др., "От редакции", in *Достоевский – художник и мыслитель. Сб. статей* (Москва: Художественная литература, 1972), с.: 3-6, 4. N. N. SHNEIDMAN, "Soviet Theory of Literature and the Struggle around Dostoevsky in Recent Soviet Scholarship", *Slavic Review*, n. 3 (1975), pp. 523-538, 523.

4 On worries about nuclear weapons, see Юрий Трифонов, "Ядро правды," in Ю. Трифонов *Ядро правды. Статьи, интервью, эссе* (Москва: Изд. Правда, 1987), с. 12. Concerning *The Demons*, see Юрий В. Трифонов, "Нечаев, Верховенский и другие..." in Ю.В. Трифонов, *Как наше слово отзовется...*, сост. Александр Шитов, примечания Ольги Трифоновой и Александра Шитова (Москва: Советская Россия, 1985), с. 51.

5 Susan McREYNOLDS, "'You Can Buy the Whole World': The Problem of Redemption in *The Brothers Karamazov*", *Slavic and East European Journal*, n. 1 (2008), pp. 87-111, 96. As McReynolds summarizes, the author's own life was shaped by the acute need for money and anxiety over gambling debts (*ibid.*, 88). Luzhin from *Crime and Punishment* is entranced by capitalism, which he clumsily combines with Nikolai Chernyshevsky's rational egoism and socialism. See Feodor DOSTOEVSKY, *Crime and Punishment*. Third Edition. The Coulson Translation. Background and Sources. Essays in Criticism, ed. George Gibian (New York: Norton, 1989), pp. 126-127. For an innovative discussion of Dostoevsky, money, and gender, see Colleen LUCEY, *Love for Sale: Representing Prostitution in Imperial Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021).

passage in *The Demons* when deluded socialists call for one hundred million deaths to create a better society. Trifonov linked this terrifying quotation with Pol Pot's brutal regime. He avoided more apt comparisons with Stalinism and instead attacked an ally of China, which by the late 1970s was a rival for Soviet influence in Asia.⁶ Despite his comments on Kampuchea, Trifonov's oeuvre shows how the USSR displayed the immorality and mendacity Dostoevsky ascribed to socialism. Trifonov was all too aware of these problems although he rarely commented on them openly. His father, Valentin Trifonov, was one of the founders of the Red Army executed in 1938; however, the author's first novel, *Students* ("Studenty", 1949), glorified Zhdanov's purge of academia and even won the Stalin Prize. *The House on the Embankment* and Trifonov's unfinished novel *The Disappearance* ("Ischeznovenie", 1987) revisited Stalinism with a critical eye, while *The Old Man* ("Starik", 1978) deplored violence during the Civil War. Trifonov's allusions to Dostoevsky hint at the paradoxes of a culture promising utopia but built on bloodshed.⁷

The Strange Sesquicentennial and Trifonov's Dostoevsky

The first four decades of the USSR were not kind to Dostoevsky. Following the lead of Maksim Gor'ky, critics dismissed the author as an "evil genius" hostile to socialism and atheism. However, Gor'ky also praised the author for being a talent that "was indisputable", likening him to Shakespeare.⁸ Wolfgang Iser

6 On killing one hundred million people, see Fyodor DOSTOEVSKY, *The Demons*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Vintage Classics, 1994), p. 405. For discussion of Pol Pot, see Trifonov, quoted in the interview with Sergei TASK, "Откровенный разговор", *Литературная Россия*, 17 апреля 1981, с. 11.

7 Юрий В. ТРИФОНОВ, *Студенты*, in Ю.В. ТРИФОНОВ, *Собрание сочинений в четырех томах*, под ред. С.А. Баруздина и др. (Москва: Художественная литература, 1985), т. 1. Subsequent references abbreviate this collection as: *Iurii Trifonov: SS*. Юрий В. ТРИФОНОВ, *Исчезновение*, in Ю.В. ТРИФОНОВ, *Отблеск костра: документальная повесть. Исчезновение: роман* (Москва: Советский писатель, 1988). Юрий В. ТРИФОНОВ, *Старик*, in *Iurii Trifonov: SS*, т. 3. For a rare instance of Trifonov critiquing the USSR as a society, see his diary entry on how the rise of Solidarity could destroy the Eastern bloc: "This is the beginning of the collapse of the socialist camp and maybe even the Soviet Union. By the way, this corpse will take a long time to rot" (Ольга ТРИФОНОВА и Юрий ТРИФОНОВ, "Из дневников и рабочих тетрадей", *Дружба народов*, № 3 (1999), <http://magazines.russ.ru/druzhba/1999/3/trif.html>).

8 On Gor'ky and "evil genius", see SEDURO, p. 5. Concerning his praise, see МАКСИМ ГОРЬКИЙ, *О литературе. Литературно-критические статьи* (Москва: Советский писатель, 1953), с. 705, quoted in SEDURO, p. 9. Lenin extolled *The House of the Dead* for

explored how intertextuality references the past to define the present, letting authors claim the mantle of literary predecessors. Within this framework, Soviet approaches to Dostoevsky sometimes followed what Harold Bloom termed the “anxiety of influence”. Appearing two years after the Dostoevsky sesquicentennial, Bloom’s argument fits Soviet prose as well as British poetry: the USSR’s authors suffered from “immense anxieties of indebtedness” as they embraced certain Dostoevsky themes (critique of poverty) while assiduously avoiding others (Orthodoxy).⁹

The Thaw was a turning point. A 1956 celebration honored the seventy-fifth anniversary of his death; Bakhtin’s *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (expanded publication, 1963) used Dostoevsky’s novels to assert the dynamic, incomplete nature of art.¹⁰ This challenged the cultural rhetoric of the Khrushchev years: one year before Bakhtin’s book appeared, the General Secretary had declared the current generation would live to see communism and thus the culmination of history. The 1971 sesquicentennial of Dostoevsky’s birth exposed intractable problems in Soviet reception of the author. Vadim Kozhinov echoed Bakhtin’s belief that the “last word” to describe the world had not yet been uttered; this faith in continuing creative development contrasted with the inertia that the intelligentsia felt after the Prague Spring.¹¹ As the sesquicentennial approached, there was a boom in Dostoevsky scholarship: writer’s notebooks for *Crime and Punishment* and *The Demons* and an academic edition of *Crime and Punish-*

portraying penal servitude as a microcosm of Tsarist oppression, an ironic foreshadowing of how Gulag prose envisioned the USSR as one large labor camp. (Владимир БОНЧ-БРУЕВИЧ, “Ленин о книгах и писателях”, *Литературная газета*, № 48 (21 апреля 1955), с. 2, quoted in SEDURO, p. 18).

- 9 Wolfgang ISER, “Foreword: Intertextuality; The Epitome of Culture”, in Renate LACHMANN, *Memory and Literature: Intertextuality in Russian Modernism*, trans. Roy Sellars and Anthony Wall (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. xii. Harold BLOOM, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 5.
- 10 Mikhail БАХТИН, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984). Aleksandr Shitov and Marina Selemeneva both note that Trifonov’s final works contain polyphony similar to what Bakhtin praised in Dostoevsky’s prose. While this overstates the case, Trifonov’s oeuvre from the mid-1970s onwards contains an array of opinions voiced by various characters (Александр ШИТОВ, *Гуманизм в плену... Нравственная упругость прозы Юрия Трифонова* (Москва: Любимая Россия, 2010), с. 23; Марина СЕЛЕМЕНЕВА, *Поэтика городской прозы Ю.В. Трифонова* (Воронеж: Научная книга, 2008), с. 206).
- 11 On Khrushchev’s proclamation, see Петр ВАЙЛЬ и Александр ГЕНИС, *60-е. Мир советского человека* (Москва: Новое литературное обозрение, 1996), с. 12. Вадим КОЖИНОВ, “Величие Достоевского”, *Новый мир*, № 9 (1971), с. 28-30, 30.

ment all appeared. This did not resolve the quandary of reconciling the Slavophile author with Soviet culture.¹²

One solution was to downplay content in favor of style, as when critics hailed Dostoevsky for enriching realist prose across the globe. The second was that the author's ideas were inconsistent; scholar Il'ja Zil'bershtein applauded the writer's passion for justice but argued he had "deep delusions" as well.¹³ This metaphor of contradictions was itself key to late Soviet discourse about problems at home and abroad. The slapstick comedy *Diamond Arm* ("Briliantovaia ruka", 1969) even mocked the habit of describing places such as New York and Istanbul as interchangeable "cities of contrasts", where plentiful material goods existed alongside an exploited working class. The very presence of contradiction demanded resolution: opposing qualities must be subsumed within a Hegelian synthesis. The sesquicentennial offered no such solution. Iurii Seleznev, writing in 1973, sadly noted that depicting Dostoevsky as a conglomeration of contradictions had not helped to understand him.¹⁴

Dostoevsky proclaimed that all modern authors came out from under Gogol's overcoat. Trifonov cites Tolstoy, Bunin, Pushkin, and Dostoevsky as pre-revolutionary writers shaping his prose.¹⁵ Trifonov's best works boast a density of details evoking nineteenth-century realism, which established everyday life as a topic for serious fiction; Trifonov then "legitimated *byt* as a theme in late Soviet writing".¹⁶ The quotidian blurs with history in his prose. *The Disappear-*

12 For a survey of the publications leading up to the sesquicentennial, see Илья С. ЗИЛЬБЕРШТЕЙН и Лия М. РОЗЕНБЛУМ, "От редакции", in *Неизданный Достоевский. Записные книжки и тетради, 1860-1881 гг. Литературное наследие* (Москва: Наука, 1971): с. 5-8, 5-6. See also SHNEIDMAN, p. 525.

13 On Dostoevsky's style and global literature, see Валерий КИРПОТИН, "От составителя", in *Достоевский и русские писатели. Традиция. Новаторство. Мастерство* (Москва: Советский писатель, 1971), с. 5-6, 6; ЗИЛЬБЕРШТЕЙН и РОЗЕНБЛУМ, с. 6. For a similar discussion, see ГРИШУНИН и др., с. 3.

14 Леонид ГАЙДАЙ (директор), *Бриллиантовая рука* (Мосфильм, 1969). Юрий СЕЛЕЗНЕВ, "Постигая Достоевского ('Юбилейная' литература. Проблемы и размышления)", *Вопросы литературы*, № 8 (1973), с. 218-240, 222.

15 On Trifonov's assessment of Russian classical authors, see his "И.А. Бунин" and "Толстой Лев Николаевич", in ТРИФОНОВ, *Как наше слово отзовется...* Konstantin Fedin first introduced Trifonov to Bunin's prose in the late 1940s at the Gorky Literary Institute (ТРИФОНОВ, "И.А. Бунин", с. 26). There was another influence: Trifonov's later writing focuses on middle-aged characters recalling the 'superfluous men' Turgenev made famous in the 1850s-60s (Елена БЫКОВА, "Проблемы личности в творчестве Юрия Трифонова" (автореферат, Московский Педагогический Гос. Университет, 1995), с. 5, 10).

16 Trifonov discusses everyday life in "Выбирать, решаться, жертвовать", in *Как наше слово*

ance portrays the 1937 Pushkin celebration, a massive undertaking that coincides with a schoolmate abruptly vanishing after his parents' arrest. The novel discerns how Stalinist praise perverted the image of the great poet, whose verse opposed the slavish obedience saturating the 1930s.¹⁷

Trifonov's widow, the author Ol'ga Trifonova-Miroshchnichenko, notes his long struggle with Dostoevsky's ideas. He singled out Dostoevsky as the most talented of the nineteenth-century authors, marveling at that writer's ability to both gaze into the soul and depict emotions erupting like lava.¹⁸ Trifonov was more nuanced than some Soviet critics, who crudely differentiated Dostoevsky's characters from the "anti-heroes" of Western writers.¹⁹ Trifonov portrayed his own morally ambivalent protagonists against a background of city life, broken families, and the temptations of the material world, all hallmarks of Dostoevsky's prose. However, while Raskol'nikov and Alesha save themselves through faith and self-sacrifice, Trifonov's atheists have far less hope.

Despite manifest differences, the two authors' lives have striking similarities that begin with the loss of a parent. After the publication of *Students*, Trifonov was almost expelled from the Komsomol when authorities discovered the young man had lied about his father's execution and mother's arrest.²⁰ Dos-

отзовется..., с. 88; ТРИФОНОВ, "Нет, не о быте – о жизни!!", *ibid.*, с. 103-104. For a discussion of Trifonov and *byt*, see Benjamin SUTCLIFFE, "Utopia of Things? Iurii Trifonov, Sincerity, and the Material World of Soviet Culture", unpublished manuscript.

17 ТРИФОНОВ, *Ischeznoventie*, с. 183-184.

18 On Trifonov's interest in Dostoevsky, see Ольга ТРИФОНОВА и Юрий ТРИФОНОВ, "Из дневников и рабочих тетрадей", *Дружба народов*, № 2 (1999), <http://magazines.russ.ru/druzhba/1999/2/trif-pr.html>. Concerning Trifonov's thoughts on Dostoevsky and the soul, see Ральф ШРЕДЕР [R. Schröder], "Роман с историей," *Вопросы литературы*, № 5 (1982), с. 66-77, 73. On lava, see ТРИФОНОВ, "Нечаев, Верховенский и другие", с. 38. Those Trifonov characters immersed in the "lava" of crisis make terrifying mistakes, as the protagonist of *The Old Man* thinks when recalling atrocities during the Civil War (*Старик*, с. 473).

19 Concerning "anti-heroes," see ГРИШУНИН и др., с. 5. For an alternative to such exclusionary literary politics, see the seminal comparative monograph: Donald FANGER, *Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism: A Study of Dostoevsky in Relation to Balzac, Dickens, and Gogol* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

20 Dostoevsky lost first his mother and then his father. David GILLESPIE gives an overview of Trifonov's biography in *Iurii Trifonov: Unity through Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Concerning the scandal following the publication of *Students*, see Ольга ТРИФОНОВА, *Юрий и Ольга Трифоновы вспоминают* (Москва: Совершенно секретно, 2003), с. 3-4. Schröder noted that many critics saw parallels in the interrupted creative paths of Trifonov and Dostoevsky (SCHRÖDER, "Gespräch mit Juri Trifonow", S. 146).

toevsky and Trifonov helped create the literary images of Russia's two capitals yet their prose was influenced by the hinterlands of empire (Dostoevsky's imprisonment in Siberia and Trifonov's repeated trips to Turkmenia). Both men were disappointed by the intelligentsia. In his writer's notebooks Trifonov cites Dostoevsky's praise of a Russian officer who died rather than convert to Islam. Trifonov underscored Dostoevsky's caustic comment that an *intelligent* would not have made such a sacrifice.²¹ Indeed, in their prose the two writers envision an intelligentsia seduced by its ideas. Raskol'nikov and those in *The Demons* proffer false philosophies; Trifonov's later works show ideology justifying duplicity and greed. The two authors feared that for the naïve or unscrupulous expedience replaces integrity with the "self-delusion" that Trifonov believed plagued Raskol'nikov and also late Soviet culture.²²

Dostoevsky and Trifonov were fascinated by terrorism as another scourge of modernity. Trifonov claimed that those destroying planes and hospitals in the 1970s were the latest incarnation of nefarious nineteenth-century revolutionary Sergei Nechaev. He singled out Carlos the Jackal as an example, ignoring that the terrorist was partially educated in Moscow, inspired by Marxism, and used tactics resembling those of the People's Will. Émigré critic Mikhail Lekhmin argued that Carlos was the heir of both the People's Will and Nechaev, a link that terrified Trifonov even as the author refused to admit this.²³

Gillespie observes that Trifonov adapts Dostoevsky for "modern usage," yet does not explore how this was often a flawed process. At times Trifonov intentionally misunderstood the nineteenth-century author, particularly his belief that compassion should never be sacrificed for ideology.²⁴ *Impatience*, for instance, inadvertently revealed the power of what Bakhtin labeled Dostoevsky's "word-idea" (*slovo-ideia*): the People's Will used socialism to rationalize violence in the name of a brighter future. At other moments, Trifonov shared

21 ТРИФОНОВА И ТРИФОНОВ, "Из дневников и рабочих тетрадей", *Дружба народов*, № 2 (1999).

22 Concerning the intelligentsia and loss of integrity, see David GILLESPIE, "Trifonov on Dostoevskii", in Faith WIGZELL (ed.), *Russian Writers on Russian Writers* (Oxford: Berg, 1994): pp. 161-168, 163, and Вячеслав СУХАНОВ, "Феномен жизни-смерти в повестях Ю. Трифонова", in Александр С. Янушкевич (под ред.), *Русская повесть как форма времени: сборник статей* (Томск: ТГУ, 2002), с. 301-309, 306. On Trifonov's comment about self-delusion, see ШРЕДЕР, с. 74.

23 ТРИФОНОВ, "Нечаев, Верховенский и другие", с. 47-48. Михаил ЛЕХМИН, "Желябов, Нечаев, Карлос и другое...", *Континент*, № 49 (1986), с. 359-369, 367, 368. GILLESPIE believes Trifonov's final, unfinished project was a study of German Lopatin, a member of the People's Will (*Iurii Trifonov*, p. 159).

24 GILLESPIE, "Trifonov on Dostoevskii", p. 167.

Dostoevsky's fear of a society where 'everything is permitted', whether for personal gain or egalitarian principle.²⁵

Impatience, Nechaev, and Dostoevsky: The Horror of Certainty

Impatience and *House on the Embankment*, appearing soon after the 1971 jubilee, inherited the fascination with Dostoevsky but drew different conclusions about his meaning for Soviet culture. *Impatience* is an unwieldy work of historical fiction with multiple plots. These focus on the revolutionary Andrei Zheliabov and his comrades in the People's Will, which makes several attempts on the life of Aleksandr II. Zheliabov is arrested before the group succeeds but demands to be tried with the regicides. The novel closes with his execution next to those who carried out the assassination. *Impatience*, along with *Students*, is Trifonov's least talented work, yet this *roman à thèse* points to crucial issues implicating Soviet culture and its misuse of Dostoevsky.²⁶

In one of the few serious studies of *Impatience*, Polly Jones analyzes the novel as a part of Fiery Revolutionaries (*Plamennye revoliutsionery*), a series that Politizdat published to revive interest in opponents of tsarism. The books paid well (the publisher was referred to as a "feeder" given its generous royalties). Trifonova-Miroshchnichenko claims her husband wrote the novel due to limited options; after 1968, works focusing on contemporary life were scrutinized by censors. However, the novel's publication constituted the very action Trifonov's late prose criticized: exchanging one's sincerity for a comfortable existence.²⁷ *Impatience* is a return to the false narrative of Marxist-Leninist history

25 On the word-idea, see Игорь СУХИХ, "Пытка памятью", *Звезда*, № 6 (2002), <http://magazines.russ.ru/zvezda/2002/6/su.html>. The socialist Rakitin in *The Brothers Karamazov* is one of several Dostoevsky characters claiming that all is permitted in a world without God – Dmitry rephrases this statement while speaking with Alesha (Fyodor DOSTOEVSKY, *The Brothers Karamazov. A Novel in Four Parts with Epilogue*, trans. Richard Pevar and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002, p. 589).

26 ТРИФОНОВ, *Нетерпение*, с. 385, 404. For a short but interesting discussion of Trifonov and historical fiction, see Polly JONES, "Burned by History, but Forever Drawn to its Afterglow. Yuriy Trifonov's Historical Writing", *Forschungsstelle Osteuropa*, <https://www.forschungsstelle.uni-bremen.de/de/13/20140605113358/20201103131348/.html>.

27 Polly JONES, *Revolution Rekindled: The Writers and Readers of Late Soviet Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 13-14. Concerning the "feeder", see David LOWE, *Russian Writing since 1953: A Critical Survey* (New York: Ungar, 1987), p. 49, quoted in JONES, *Revolution Rekindled*, p. 23. At the time *Impatience* was published, Trifonov was married to Alla Pastukhova, the deputy editor of the series (JONES, *Revolution Rekindled*,

he wisely abandoned after *Students*. Natal'ia Ivanova, in the first monograph on Trifonov, notes that the Russian title of *Impatience* connotes “intolerance” (*neterpimost'*), a quality Trifonov despised in others but eulogized in Zheliabov. *Impatience* exposes the cracks in Trifonov's understanding of Dostoevsky. Two closely connected factors make this clear: how *Impatience* tries to distinguish Nechaev from the People's Will, and the ways that Dostoevsky satirizes both Nechaev and the terrorists as destructive. *Impatience* fails to make a coherent argument because Trifonov could not concede the connections between these elements. Doing so would rejected a core assumption of Soviet culture: revolution justifies violence.²⁸

Trifonov was horrified by Nechaev, the charismatic revolutionary who in 1869 instigated and participated in the killing of a comrade. The writer no doubt sensed but never acknowledged how Nechaev's paranoia, violence, and hypocrisy augured the much greater destruction Stalinism unleashed decades later. In the novel Zheliabov meets with Nechaev, entering the grounds of the Peter and Paul Fortress under cover of night. Outside the prisoner's cell, he listens to his plans. Nechaev wants to spread pamphlets falsely announcing reimposition of serfdom, lengthening conscription, and persecuting Old Believers. These claims would stoke resentment of the state, cause confusion, and clear the way for a new society. Nechaev's scheme transfixes Zheliabov for a moment.

And little by little – as the seconds went by – [Zheliabov] felt a strange hypnotic force drugging him, coming through the grated window. At one point it seemed to him that this was a brilliant idea! And there would be no need to execute the Tsar. All of Russia would rise up. However, after a second he said to himself: nonsense! All of this had been tried and had failed [...]. The man in the cell was cut off from the world. Only fragments of events made their way to him. He was struggling alone and concocting his fantasies alone. How could Zheliabov tell him that freedom and true life were getting

p. 151). Trifonova-Miroshchnichenko discusses *Impatience* in: ТРИФОНОВА И ТРИФОНОВ, “Из дневников и рабочих тетрадей”, *Дружба народов*, № 1 (1999), <http://magazines.russ.ru/druzhba/1999/1/trif.html>. On Trifonov's theme of trading morality for comfort, see Михаил СИНЕЛЬНИКОВ, “Испытание повседневностью: некоторые итоги”, *Вопросы литературы*, № 2 (1972), с. 46-62, 51, and Josephine WOLL, *Invented Truth: Soviet Reality and the Literary Imagination of Iurii Trifonov* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p. 26.

28 Наталья ИВАНОВА, *Проза Юрия Трифонова* (Москва: Советский писатель, 1984), с. 170. In the essay “On Intolerance” Trifonov laments how *neterpimost'* leads to critics misreading what they analyze and artists harming their own creations (ТРИФОНОВ, “О нетерпимости”, in *Как наше слово отзовется...*, с. 67, 70).

farther and farther away from one another? And no one knew how long this would continue.²⁹

Zheliabov is swayed by this “strange hypnotic force”. What saves him is being in touch with “events”: he understands the mood in Russia, knows the course of history, and realizes that only assassination will bring progress. In an article tellingly titled “Moral Lessons of the People’s Will”, Soviet critic Valentin Oskotsky praises *Impatience* but adds that the two men’s encounter may be fabricated. Ivanova is more categorical: the conversation did not occur and its fictitious portrayal underscores Nechaev’s influence on the People’s Will. Trifonov needed to invent this conversation to better contrast Nechaev and the revolutionaries, an artificial tactic that points to their similarities.³⁰

The protagonist’s actions emulate Nechaev’s dishonesty. To inflate his group’s stature, Zheliabov creates a stamp for a nonexistent executive committee. At another moment the revolutionaries vote to spend one-third of their funds on terrorism and two-thirds on helping peasants, acknowledging that aid to the villages will never be disbursed. Such tactics suggest Nechaev’s subterfuge more than honest efforts to better the *narod*; lies take on their own reality and taint cooperation between the radical intelligentsia and peasantry.³¹

Applauding Zheliabov’s determination and self-sacrifice, *Impatience* contends that history can be predicted and even controlled.³² Zheliabov, in prison and awaiting his execution, reflects on his life: “Everything that had happened to him in the past year was the only possibility. There had been no other ways. He had bobbed through the gutter like rainwater in a barrel.”³³ Zheliabov sees his life following the “only possibility”, the current of history carrying him “like rainwater”. There is, however, a more accurate and disturbing interpretation:

29 Трифонов, *Нетерпение*, с. 365, 366.

30 Валентин ОСКОТСКИЙ, “Нравственные уроки «Народной воли»”, *Литературное обозрение*, № 11 (1973), с. 55-61, 60. ИВАНОВА, с. 178.

31 Трифонов, *Нетерпение*, с. 83, 155. Early in the novel, a resident of Zheliabov’s village sympathizes with the revolutionaries but adds that horrible things have been done in the name of justice (*ibid.*, с. 59).

32 Assuming history is linear constitutes an anomalous return to *Students* and its praise of the Stalinist march into the radiant future. After the mid-1960s Trifonov’s works suggested that history was difficult to understand, let alone control. In *The Old Man*, for instance, protagonist Pavel Evgrafovich scrupulously recalls the Civil War yet forgets how he helped destroy a rival during the struggle (Трифонов, *Старик*, 606).

33 Трифонов, *Нетерпение*, с. 386.

Zheliabov is caught in a torrent he can neither control nor escape. His execution is the result of hubris – like Raskol'nikov, he wrongly believes that extraordinary people can shape history.³⁴

In a later article Trifonov realized that, in distinguishing Zheliabov from Nechaev, *Impatience* underlined their commonalities. The author remarked that the assassination of the Tsar postponed the constitution that Aleksandr II may have planned to support (the novel notes that People's Will did not know of this possibility). In the same article Trifonov admitted the revolutionaries were too eager for change, an error reducing them to “bomb-throwers”.³⁵ Critic Olga Sukhikh observed that the failure of the People's Will proved that violence cannot improve humanity, a realization shaping *Crime and Punishment*, *The Demons*, and *Brothers Karamazov*. As with Ivan Karamazov's “Legend” of the Grand Inquisitor, the terrorists murdering the Tsar achieved the opposite of their intention. Ivan tries to shake his brother's faith yet solidifies it; Zheliabov wants to hurry history but delays it.³⁶

Zheliabov draws strength from ideas that purport to explain how the past, present, and future interact. In a stilted scene the terrorist ponders how

Actions, words, gestures, phrases all die – the only thing that will live forever, as long as humanity exists, is ideas. There are not many of them. They can be mistaken. But they are indestructible, they will arise again and again, in different forms but remaining the same.³⁷

He then excitedly explains the political program of the People's Will to Sof'ia Perovskaia, his fellow terrorist and lover. For Ivanova, such moments are a warning of how ideas can take over consciousness; *The Demons* makes this clear via the epigraph involving evil spirits causing swine to drown themselves. Zheliabov sacrifice himself and others for ideas. *Impatience* mentions how, years before plotting to kill the Tsar, he abandoned his wife and children

34 Some critics supported Zheliabov's belief that he was following the true course of history; see, for example, ОСКОТСКИЙ, с. 58. On Raskol'nikov, see DOSTOEVSKY, *Crime and Punishment*, p. 219.

35 ТРИФОНОВ, “Нечаев, Верховенский и другие”, с. 49. On the Tsar's possible support for the constitution, see ТРИФОНОВ, *Нетерпение*, с. 377. For the mention of “bomb-throwers”, see SCHRÖDER, p. 69.

36 Concerning the Grand Inquisitor and assassination of Aleksandr II, see ОЛЬГА СУХИХ, “От великого инквизитора к «народной воле» (переосмысление философской проблематики произведений Ф.М. Достоевского в романе Ю.В. Трифонова «Нетерпение»”, *Вестник Нижегородского университета*, № 3 (2011), с. 314-320, 315.

37 ТРИФОНОВ, *Нетерпение*, с. 332.

to join the revolutionaries. Trifonov, whose father was murdered by the state, lauded a parent who left his family to foment violence.³⁸

Impatience tried to explain lies and murder committed for progress. However, its plot renders this argument a farce recalling the bumbling revolutionaries in *The Demons*. Zheliabov, despite being the novel's protagonist, is not directly involved in the assassination (an event that harms the terrorist's goals). Grishnevitsky, who threw the second bomb and killed the Tsar, receives no character development because he is a minor figure in the movement. The terrorist responsible for the first bomb, Rysakov, was a novice who lamented getting caught. By describing such errors and incompetence *Impatience*, despite the author's wishes, shows the unpredictability of history.³⁹

Trifonov praised *The Demons* for its prescient critique of modern problems yet shied away from the work's rejection of socialism. In doing so he followed the pattern of the sesquicentennial and the "rules of the game" Josephine Woll espied in Soviet culture: some aspects of the USSR could be criticized but its bedrock ideology was sacrosanct. To this end Trifonov asserted that Dostoevsky opposed "pseudorevolution", not revolution itself. Such a usefully vague term critiques Nechaev's actions and those of the socialists in *The Demons*, but not the 'real' change motivating Zheliabov (and later the Bolsheviks).⁴⁰

In *Impatience* Nechaev and the People's Will advocate carnage and chaos to shock the populace into supporting the end of tsarism. East German scholar Ralf Schroeder, in a heated interview with Trifonov, maintained that *Impatience* supported Nechaev's immoral axiom that all is permitted. Trifonov countered by referring to *The Brothers Karamazov*: Nechaev, like the Jesuits who ran the Inquisition, believed the ends were important but the means were not. Trifonov then claimed that terror cannot create social change and that the People's Will, unlike Nechaev or those in *The Demons*, was concerned with the morality of methods as well as goals. This logic is itself worthy of the Grand Inquisitor – Trifonov deemed one group of terrorists to be more compassionate than another, despite the People's Will killing more people than Nechaev and his followers.⁴¹

38 ИВАНОВА, с. 185. ТРИФОНОВ, *Нетерпение*, с. 8.

39 *Ibid.*, с. 381, 384, 391, 394.

40 Woll uses this phrase to discuss film in the Khrushchev era (Josephine WOLL, *Real Images: Soviet Cinema and the Thaw* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000). ТРИФОНОВ, "Нечаев, Верховенский и другие", с. 40.

41 For Schröder's assertion and Trifonov's response, see ШРЕДЕР, с. 67, 68. On Dostoevsky and the People's Will versus Nechaev, see ТРИФОНОВ, "Нечаев, Верховенский и другие", с. 45, 46. Trifonov acknowledged that the People's Will resembled Nechaev's pernicious

The Brothers Karamazov is another troubling intertext for *Impatience*. Oskotsky focuses on how Aleksandr II comforted a boy wounded by the first bomb. Had the ruler not done this, Oskotsky mused, he would have avoided the second explosion. The critic implies that the Tsar was destroyed by his own act of mercy. For Oskotsky this recalls the moment in Dostoevsky's novel when Ivan asks Alesha whether eternal happiness is worth the tear of a single child. Oskotsky refuses to provide an answer. Instead, he states that Trifonov's novel did not resolve the "contradiction" *The Brothers Karamazov* posed: whether harming the innocent is warranted to secure collective happiness. *Impatience* believes that this cost is necessary and, in reaching this conclusion, demonstrates Dostoevsky was correct to fear those who sacrifice morality for radical change.⁴² Iser argues that intertextuality is central to how a culture makes sense of its past. By this logic *Impatience* twists Dostoevsky's ideas; such willful misreading shows Trifonov participated in the Soviet distortion of literature and history. This allowed the USSR to justify the actions of the People's Will and elide how the group helped promote massive bloodshed.⁴³

House on the Embankment: *Raskol'nikov* versus *Verkhovensky*

Trifonov's most famous work portrays a culture that embodied many of Dostoevsky's concerns. *House on the Embankment* has a series of narrators; the frame plot, set in the 1970s, focuses on literary scholar Vadim Glebov, a member of the Moscow intellectual elite who even attends a conference in Paris. His health, however, is beginning to fail as he gains weight and overstrains his heart.⁴⁴ Two internal narratives depict Glebov during Stalinism. The first focuses on him as a child in the late 1930s, when he lives in a *kommunalka* near the famous House on the Embankment and envies his friends from the prestigious building. The second describes Glebov during the Zhdanov campaign; university administrators pressure the protagonist into joining others in denouncing his mentor, Professor Ganchuk, and thus abandoning his fiancée (Sonia), who is Ganchuk's daughter. The *povest'* has several explicit references to *Crime and Punishment*. However, it also draws on *The Demons*, specifically

"logic" but maintained that the group tried to avoid killing the innocent (*ibid.*, c. 47). It was, of course, the terrorists' prerogative to determine who fit this category.

42 ОСКОТСКИЙ, с. 59. ДОСТОЕВСКИЙ, *Brothers Karamazov*, p. 245.

43 ISER, p. xii.

44 On Glebov's body, see ТРИФОНОВ, *Дом на набережной* in *Iurii Trifonov: SS*, т. 2, с. 369.

how toxic ideas pass from one generation to another.⁴⁵ As Anne Dwyer and others discern, *House on the Embankment* deliberately revisits the plot of *Students*, where undergraduate Vadim Belov helps drive Professor Kozel'sky out of his teaching position for 'toadying to the West'. Trifonov's first novel praises the persecutors for uncovering the academic's errors: Kozel'sky downplays Russia's contribution to world literature despite writing a book entitled *The Shadow of Dostoevsky*. (Such a treatise in the postwar era signaled antipathy to socialism.) Not surprisingly, *Students* misses the irony of this reference to Dostoevsky in the final years of Stalinism, when 'everything is permitted' in the service of the word-idea.⁴⁶

By the 1970s Trifonov had effectively renounced *Students*. Speaking with Schröder, he asserted that *House on the Embankment* differed from his first novel – this was not because Trifonov had changed, but because the times were different. Trifonov clearly regretted writing the work but his explanation resembles Glebov's avoidance of guilt. At the beginning of the 1970s plot the protagonist encounters his former friend Shulepnikov, now a bitter alcoholic. Glebov dismisses his rancor, thinking that Shulepnikov should be angry at the era they lived in, not Glebov himself.⁴⁷ Both Trifonov and his protagonist displace responsibility for personal actions onto the times.⁴⁸

After the first meeting attacking Ganchuk, Glebov visits his fiancée. Sonia, whose name evokes *Crime and Punishment*, pities Glebov despite his role in their family's problems. The scholar Marina Selemeneva, commenting on her affinities with Sonechka Marmeladova, deems Sonia one of Trifonov's self-sacrificing female characters. She helps alleviate Glebov's slight sense of guilt but cannot save herself and is institutionalized in a psychiatric hospital.⁴⁹ Iuliia Mikhailovna, Ganchuk's wife, has a different reaction to Glebov's role in the

45 For a discussion of Soviet responses to *House on the Embankment*, see WOLL, *Invented Truth*, p. 77.

46 ANNE DWYER, "Runaway Texts: The Many Life Stories of Iurii Trifonov and Christa Wolf", *Russian Review*, n. 64 (2005), pp. 605-627. On Kozel'sky's toadying and book on Dostoevsky, see ТРИФОНОВ, *Студенты*, с. 261, 266. GILLESPIE comments on *Students*, Stalinism, and everything being permitted in *Iurii Trifonov*, p. 25.

47 ШРЕДЕР, с. 71. On the author's regret over *Students*, see ТРИФОНОВ, "Записки соседа. Из воспоминаний", in *Как наше слово отзовется...*, с. 147. ТРИФОНОВ, *Дом на набережной*, с. 365.

48 *Ibid.*, с. 456-457.

49 *Ibid.*, с. 489, 482-483. МАРИНА СЕЛЕМЕНЕВА, "Проблема типологии персонажей 'городской' прозы Ю.В. Трифонова (к вопросу о доминантных/периферийных моделях женственности в литературе XX в.)", *Вопросы филологии*, № 2 (2007), с. 82-88, 85.

denunciations. She berates the protagonist in a scene that is one of Trifonov's most important references to Dostoevsky:

[S]he dropped into a whisper. "I'll give you an antique ring, with a sapphire. You love bourgeois things, don't you? Gold? Gems? [. . .] She ran toward the door of a neighboring room, which was her bedroom, but fortunately she was stopped by Ganchuk, who was coming in. There followed a strange, obscure, jerky conversation about, of all things, the works of Dostoevsky. Ganchuk said that he had hitherto underrated Dostoevsky, that Gorky had been wrong about Dostoevsky and it was time to reassess him. He would have a lot more spare time now and he proposed to work on the subject.

Yulia Mikhailovna stared at her husband with sad intensity. He had said that the thought that had tormented Dostoevsky – if man's last refuge is nothing but a dark room full of spiders, then *all is permitted* – had hitherto been interpreted in a wholly simplistic, trivial sense. All such profound problems had, in fact, been distorted into pathetically inadequate form, but the problems themselves were still there and would not go away. Today's Raskolnikovs did not murder old women moneylenders with an ax, but they were faced with the same agonizing choice: to cross or not to cross the line. In any case, what was the difference between using an ax and any other method? What was the difference between murder and just giving the victim a slight push, provided that it removed him? After all, Raskolnikov didn't commit murder for the sake of world harmony but simply for his own ends, to save his old mother, to get his sister out of a tight spot, and to secure for himself something or other in this life, whatever it might have been...⁵⁰

Iuliia Mikhailovna reprises the scene with the pawnbroker and Raskol'nikov, offering him the "bourgeois" gold and jewels he covets. It is Ganchuk, however, who is Glebov's victim: the student has not used an axe but given the victim "a slight push", joining those who accuse the professor. Glebov does not act for "the sake of world harmony" but simply to advance his material interests – unlike Raskol'nikov (or Zheliabov), he is profoundly apolitical. He acts "for his own ends": after Ganchuk's ouster Glebov is confirmed for graduate study and begins a successful career.

Ganchuk worries that for Glebov "all is permitted" given that what awaits us following death is "nothing but a dark room full of spiders." Here the allusions

50 Yuri TRIFONOV, *The House on the Embankment*, in Yu. TRIFONOV, *Another Life and The House on the Embankment*, trans. Michael Glenny (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1999), pp. 343-344. Italics are present in the original.

to Dostoevsky become more complex. It is Svidrigailov (not Raskol'nikov) who describes life after death in this way. Ganchuk is a committed socialist who dismisses the possibility of any afterlife. This lack of belief is one hint that the professor, along with many other heroes of the Civil War, helped create the socialist state that eventually ostracizes him.⁵¹ Ganchuk, like Kozel'sky in *Students*, plans to study Dostoevsky and rehabilitate the author after Gor'ky's attacks. In doing so, he realizes that the conditions of the Zhdanov era are as dire as those Raskol'nikov faced. However, the professor does not comprehend that he is living in Dostoevsky's conception of hell on earth, where grasping "spiders" now direct the nation he fought to establish.⁵²

The protagonist exhibits the indecision that plagues Raskol'nikov after the murder. The narrator describes Glebov as one of those *bogatyri* who wait at the crossroads until the very last moment, unwilling to make decisions that may bring ruin. Woll connects this to Glebov being a man without qualities – as with Raskol'nikov and the younger socialists in *The Demons*, he absorbs others' ideas. However, unlike these Dostoevsky characters, he lacks any ideology aside from desiring the material comfort Ganchuk and Sonia have.⁵³ Trifonov derided the protagonist of *Crime and Punishment* for a hypocritical, self-serving relationship with the world around him. In the writer's notebooks from the last years of his life, he remarked that Raskol'nikov first compared himself to Napoleon then accused society of creating the conditions that drove him to murder. In this way Trifonov illuminated the oxymoron of an individual who claims to be above moral constraints yet exculpates himself by attacking the era in which he lives. Shortly after this passage, in his notebook Trifonov critiqued terrorists in the West: they resemble Raskol'nikov in blaming society. Glebov is far from being an extremist but, like Zheliabov, he believes the ends justify the means.⁵⁴

In *House on the Embankment* Stalinist culture abets Glebov's crime yet the novella suggests the protagonist is responsible for his own transgressions. Here Trifonov borrows from Tolstoy as well as Dostoevsky. In an article he concurred with Tolstoy's assertion that we must transform ourselves before trying to remake the world. Otherwise, Trifonov clarified, it will be "as if I plan to renovate my apartment and begin to live according to my conscience, but in the meantime, while there is dirty wallpaper and old furniture, I have the right

51 DOSTOEVSKY, *Crime and Punishment*, p. 245.

52 On Ganchuk, spiders, and Stalinism, see MCLAUGHLIN, p. 281.

53 ТРИФОНОВ, *Дом на набережной*, с. 452. Woll, *Invented Truth*, p. 94.

54 ТРИФОНОВА и ТРИФОНОВ, "Из дневников и рабочих тетрадей", *Дружба народов*, № 3 (1999), <http://magazines.russ.ru/druzhba/1999/3/trif.html>.

to live in a bad way. And it ends up that wallpaper is to blame for a man's bad actions".⁵⁵

Significantly, Trifonov uses a material metaphor (wallpaper) to discredit those who blame their surroundings for moral shortcomings: by the 1970s he was convinced that the love of things was an insidious disease ailing society.⁵⁶

In his interview with Schröder, Trifonov praised Iurii Kariakin's 1976 monograph on Raskol'nikov's "self-delusion". Soviet textbooks, Trifonov continued, did not criticize this character enough given that "self-delusion is the essence of our time".⁵⁷ Lying to oneself (and others) contradicts the mythologized ethos of the intelligentsia. Trifonov defined this group in moral terms that immediately exclude both Glebov and *raznochinets* Raskol'nikov.

An *intelligent* is what we call a person who has spiritual qualities [*dushevnyimi kachestvami*] such as selflessness, conscience, the absence of the desire for material gain. An *intelligent* simply cannot be someone who is trying to get ahead, who wishes to get more than his share from life. In my understanding *intelligentnost'* is three concepts together: education, spiritual qualities, and understanding of the world.⁵⁸

Glebov has the "education" but not the more important traits of "selflessness, conscience", and lack of greed. He belongs instead to the "smatterers" (*obrazovanshina*), a term Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn used to dismiss those *intelligenty* whom the state co-opted through privileges.⁵⁹

House on the Embankment hints that Glebov's self-interest has sources that predate his own childhood – Stalinism merely exacerbated the problem. Here Trifonov unintentionally borrows from Dostoevsky to envision how Soviet culture passes corruption from generation to generation. In *The Demons* Stepan Verkhovensky leaves his son in the care of others and their dangerous ideas, choosing to educate Stavrogin instead. Petr Stepanovich then brings

55 On Tolstoy, see ТРИФОНОВ, "Толстой Лев Николаевич", с. 34.

56 For Trifonov's worries about materialism and consumption, see "Ядро правды," с. 12. His Moscow novellas were crucial to debates over the problem of *meshchanstvo* in the Brezhnev era, as Selemenova discusses in *Поэтика городской прозы Ю.В. Трифонова*, с. 130.

57 ШРЕДЕР, с. 74. The book Trifonov praises is Юрий КАРЯКИН, *Самообман Раскольникова: Роман Ф.М. Достоевского Преступление и наказание* (Москва: Художественная литература, 1976).

58 ТРИФОНОВ, *Как наше слово отзовется...*, с. 348, note 2.

59 Alexander SOLZHENITSYN, "The Smatterers," in A. SOLZHENITSYN, *From under the Rubble*, trans. A. M. Brock, et al. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1975), pp. 229–278, 240–241.

disaster to his town. The younger Verkhovensky, like Stavrogin, has been infected by the same word-idea that begins with his father's muddled liberalism, mutates into socialism, and spreads to Shatov, Kirillov, and the other would-be revolutionaries.

The relationship between Ganchuk and Glebov has filial overtones resembling those in *The Demons*: the professor will soon be his father-in-law and is already his mentor. Ganchuk, who once fought for the Red Army, now has a fur coat and dacha, lives in the House on the Embankment, and is part of the Stalinist literary elite.⁶⁰ After the denunciations of Ganchuk begin, the professor regrets not killing the man now in charge of the investigation (in the 1920s Ganchuk had the chance to do so). Trifonov commented that the professor's fate underscores how one can turn from judge to victim.⁶¹ Ganchuk's material privilege comes from a state that promised egalitarian utopia but instituted a brutal hierarchy. Glebov is Ganchuk's less-worthy successor. He follows the professor's path of gaining a better life by eliminating opponents, but for personal gain instead of political conviction. In this manner *House on the Embankment* echoes Dostoevsky's dark take on the family chronicle. *The Brothers Karamazov* revealed that greed, falsehood, and violence spread through bloodlines. In *The Demons* the father's confused 'free thinking' becomes the son's cynical socialism. Glebov's inheritance from Ganchuk is greed, not ideas: he suffers from a more aggressive version of the materialism that marks Ganchuk's later life.

Glebov and Zheliabov discredit the precept that all is permitted, despite their beliefs to the contrary. The two protagonists demonstrate that morality is weaker than craving for comfort (*House on the Embankment*) or rage for change (*Impatience*). Trifonov's characters live out Dostoevsky's fear that striving for a better tomorrow destroys honesty and compassion. The People's Will attempted to force their future on Russia; *House on the Embankment* depicts the nightmare that such efforts created. Reading Trifonov shows how Soviet culture, in attempting to appropriate Dostoevsky, revealed its own contradictions between ethics and expediency, ideals and reality.

60 Трифонов, *Дом на набережной*, с. 405.

61 On Ganchuk as judge and then victim, see Трифонов, "Каждый человек – судьба. Беседа с корреспондентом газеты «Советская культура»", in *Как наше слово отзовется...*, с. 294. Perpetrators becoming victims during Stalinism was a key trope of writing about the period, as Vasilii GROSSMAN explores in the novella *Everything Flows*, trans. Robert Chandler and Elizabeth Chandler with Anna Aslanyan (New York: New York Review Books, 2009).

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Dostoevsky in Polish Post-War Humanist Reflection*¹

I.

The dynamically developing Polish Dostoevskyology of the Interwar Period was slowed over the next two decades by history and politics: first the Nazi occupation, then Stalinist communism, which pushed Dostoevsky (and research on his work) into the Polish scientific ‘underground’. During the war, references to the Russian author appeared in our literature only sporadically. And this happened, of course, only in texts written outside the occupied country. It is necessary to recall the work *Mickiewicz, Dostoyevsky and Blok* (1942) by Waław Lednicki, a pioneer of Polish Russian studies in the United States, whose book is absent from the bibliographies of contemporary researchers.

A reflection on Dostoevsky’s place in post-war Polish literature and science must begin with a reminder that research on the legacy of the author of *The Brothers Karamazov* developed in two strands, which cannot be subjected to similar periodization. Constantly present and free from ideological and political pressures in émigré literature, it endured limitations typical of all communist countries, especially in the Stalinist era. Ryszard Przybylski did not hesitate to state at the beginning of the 1960s that “Dostoevsky’s topicality lies [...] in the fact that he is still a ‘devil’ for 20th-century Marxism”.² However, the writer’s political convictions did not constitute a significant obstacle, as evidenced by Polish émigré Dostoevskyology, convictions which in the nineteenth century blocked his “path to Poland”.³ Young Poland (1890-1918) ‘forgave’ the author

* Translated by Joanna Artwińska.

1 The presented sketch is a significantly expanded version of the text written with Andrzej DE LAZARI, “Достоевский в польской литературе, литературоведении и философской мысли с 70-х лет XX века”, *Достоевский. Материалы и исследования*, № 20 (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2014), с. 25-43.

2 *Mówi Ryszard PRZYBYLSKI, Współczesność*, No. 23, 1964, p. 7.

3 Janina KULCZYCKA-SALONI, “Dostojewski w Polsce”, *Miesięcznik Literacki*, No. 3, 1972, p. 41.

of *The Devils* his anti-Polish phobias, and the Interbellum (1918-1939) proved that a Polish writer and reader can appreciate the artistic value and psychological depth of the artist's works, disregarding his, in fact infrequent, chauvinistic deliriums. This does not mean, however, that the problem has completely disappeared from the research horizon, only that the way of looking at it has changed.

The direction of reflections on Dostoevsky's Polonophobia, though with a shift of focus from a Polish to a universal perspective, was set before the war by Jerzy Stempowski in his essay *Poles in Dostoevsky's Novels*, which is still valid today. Here he stated that the sources of the writer's reluctance towards Poles should be found in the attempts by the Polish exiles whom he met at the Omsk *katorga* to explain torment rationally. And torment, according to folk-Russian belief, as an immanent part of human fate, must remain inexplicable. This proud and incomprehensible attitude essentially separated Poles from Russian convicts. Nevertheless, not everyone was convinced by this interpretation. Waclaw Grubiński, also a victim of Soviet-Russian repressions, fitted this "Polish" attitude almost perfectly. He looked at the work of the Russian writer, similarly to Joseph Conrad, with the eyes of a Western European rationalist who rejected Russian "hysteria"⁴, into which he also incorporated philosophical irrationalism. Accusations of Polonophobia and, consequently, aversion to Dostoevsky's work will also appear in Jan Lechoń's *Diary*, in *Wartime Notebooks: France, 1940-1944* by Andrzej Bobkowski, in essays by Władysław Folkierski and Lucjan Lewitter.

The problem of Dostoevsky's attitude towards Poles bothered (and still bothers) contemporary Polish researchers. Małgorzata Świdarska, using the instruments of imagology, 'internationalized' the problem that had so far been closed within the borders of Polish Dostoevskyology. She published a book in German in which she analysed Dostoevsky's portrayal of Poles from the 'imagistic' point of view.⁵ Marek Wedemann, in turn, studied the earliest Polish reception of the author of *Poor Folk*, in the half-century from the appearance of his debut novel until the end of the 19th century, when a strong 'pro-Dosto-

4 Waclaw GRUBIŃSKI, "Polscy 'panowie' Dostojewskiego", in W. GRUBIŃSKI, *O literaturze i literatach*, (Londyn: Stowarzyszenie Pisarzy Polskich, 1948), s. 101-103.

5 Małgorzata ŚWIDARSKA, *Studien zur literaturwissenschaftlichen Imagologie. Das literarische Werk F.M. Dostojewskijs aus imagologischer Sicht mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Darstellung Polens* (München: Biblion Media GmbH, 2001); she continued her research, examining the place of ekphrasis in the writings of the Russian author: M. ŚWIDARSKA, "Ekfrazja w powieści *Idiota* Fiodora Dostojewskiego jako sposób konstruowania kulturowej obcości", *Slavia Orientalis*, No. 2, 2003.

evsky' position emerged among many Young Poland authors. The author does not give a direct answer to the provocative question posed in the title of the book: *"A Polonophile or a Pole-Eater"*, but he 'revises' beliefs about a fundamentally negative Polish attitude. The Russian writer was viewed positively by Polish opinion as a 'humanitarian', but also as a victim of tsarism, and therefore somehow like one of 'their own'. The mediation of Russian liberal criticism had a decisive influence on this specific reception.⁶

2.

Polish emigration, to a large extent heir to the literature of the Interwar Period, continued to show interest in the Russian genius. It was in London that Stanisław Mackiewicz's first Polish monograph on Dostoevsky was written. The London *Wiadomości* began to print its fragments in 1950, while the book had already been published in English (*Dostoyevsky*, 1947) and was received enthusiastically in England.⁷ It can be rightly assumed that the Polish author 'aided' himself with materials from Leonid Grossman's 1935 work *Жизнь и труды Ф.М. Достоевского*,⁸ later used by the researcher in a fictionalized biography of Dostoevsky, whose Polish translation was published in 1968.⁹ Mackiewicz seems to have drawn many facts about the writer's life, previously unknown to Polish researchers, from these materials. The first attempts to publish the book in Stalinist Poland were unsuccessful, but as early as in the 'post-thaw' year of 1957, after Mackiewicz's return to Poland, it also found its way to domestic readers. They found in it a surprising portrait of both a great writer and a flawed man. Mackiewicz focused on the biography, integrating it into a wide panorama of the Russia of Nicholas I and Alexander II. In the 'living' narrative about the writer, the author does not hide his feelings, emphasizes the writer's ridiculousness and sins, and does not even refrain from repeating rumors, in-

6 Marek WEDEMANN, *Polonofil czy polakożerca? Fiodor Dostojewski w piśmiennictwie polskim lat 1847-1897* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2010). The problem of Dostoevsky's "Polonophobia" was also re-discussed by Jacek UGLIK, "Polacy w powieściach i publicystyce Dostojewskiego", *Przegląd Powszechny*, No. 11, 2004; and Jacek UGLIK, "Образ поляков в романах в публицистике Достоевского", *Toronto Slavic Quarterly*, No. 37, 2011.

7 Stanisław MACKIEWICZ, "Rzecz o Dostojewskim w *Wiadomościach*", *Wiadomości*, No. 34 (229), 1950, s. 4.

8 Леонид П. ГРОССМАН, *Жизнь и труды Ф.М. Достоевского: биография в датах и документах* (Москва-Ленинград: Academia, 1935).

9 Leonid GROSSMAN, *Dostojewski*, translated by S. Pollak (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1968).

cluding the worst (following Strakhov) about the rape of a little girl. But at the same time, he discovers extraordinary secrets of genius, and finds perhaps the most beautiful linguistic formulas for the work of a writer who “wanted to be a Russian writer [and] became a universalist through his relationship with the Gospel”.¹⁰ Mackiewicz proposes an innovative reading of Dostoevsky’s works (*The Village of Stepanchikovo*) and opens up new perspectives for the Polish reception of Dostoevsky at the time. Mackiewicz’s monograph is a very uneven book. Next to almost crude fragments there are revealing passages, an impression fully corroborated by the similarity of his interpretative attempts with Josif Brodski’s later readings.¹¹ They both see Dostoevsky as a writer fighting for the soul of man. Mackiewicz’s book, its English version, was highly appreciated by Stempowski, who shared several views on the Dostoevsky’s narrative technique.¹² He sees in it a reference to the tradition of the folk novel, the great progenitor of which was Daniel Defoe, followed by Eugène Sue.¹³ Perhaps this remark was related to Mackiewicz’s penetrating thesis that Dostoevsky was able to combine in his novels the poetics of the tabloid romance with the poetics of the evangelical parable.

Reflecting on the book by Mackiewicz, who after all was both a journalist and a writer, forces one to pay attention to the special place that the opinions of his literary ‘successors’ occupy in analysing Dostoevsky’s work.¹⁴ What is more, without taking them into account, our Dostoevskyology would be much poorer. In the Interwar Period, the best works on the author of *The Devils* were created not in the offices of literature researchers, but on the writing desks of Andrzej Strug and Teodor Parnicki. After the war, almost all the great émigré artists wrote about Dostoevsky. In Poland, an important book was written by Adolf Rudnicki; earlier an essay appeared by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz (a portrait

10 Stanisław MACKIEWICZ, *Dostojewski* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1957), s. 79.

11 Josif BRODSKI, “Dlaczego Kundera myli się co do Dostojewskiego?”, translated by Adam Zagajewski, *Zeszyty Literackie*, No. 3, 1996, s. 102.

12 Jerzy STEMPOWSKI, “Stanisław Mackiewicz o Dostojewskim oraz kilka uwag o biografach literackich”, w: Jerzy STEMPOWSKI, *Klimat życia i klimat literatury. 1948-1967*, selected and edited by J. Timoszewicz (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1988), s. 34.

13 Stanisław BACZYŃSKI, *Literatura w ZSSRR* (Kraków-Warszawa: Wydaw. Literacko-Naukowe, 1932), s. 45 in a book written in the early 1930s noted that Dostoevsky “restored to crime the right of citizenship in ‘serious’ literature”.

14 This remark does not apply to Polish writers alone; it is worth mentioning the excellent essays by André Gide, Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, or by Albert Camus.

of the writer, combined with a reading of *The Idiot*);¹⁵ and Bogdan Wojdowski published a sketch entitled *The Myth of Shigalev*,¹⁶ inspired by Camus's adaptation of *The Devils*, in which he emphasized the political acumen of the writer in presenting revolution, quite a courageous act in Poland at the time.

It is actually difficult to identify an important author in Polish émigré literature who did not refer to Dostoevsky. The writer appears in various ways in essays (Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Czesław Miłosz, Aleksander Wat, Józef Czapski, Józef Wittlin), in diaries (Lechoń, Witold Gombrowicz, Bobkowski, Herling-Grudziński), in fictionalized accounts of Polish prisoners of the Gulag (Stanisław Swianiewicz, Waclaw Grubiński), which significantly related to *Notes from a Dead House*. And most of all in *A World Apart*. For Herling-Grudziński was undoubtedly the Polish writer who reached most deeply into Dostoevsky's work. The sources of this interest can be found in the biographical experience of the Polish writer. In a Soviet labor camp, he read *Notes from a Dead House*,¹⁷ in which he found a vision of Russia as the eternal Dead House, and in relation to this book he wrote his work on the "different world" of the camp.¹⁸ Herling-Grudziński contrasted Dostoevsky's literary account of spiritual degradation with *The World Apart*, which shows the spiritual development and victory of man over the system, over human weakness and physicality. It is paradoxical that *Notes from a Dead House*, the articulation of fatalistic Russian determinism, liberated in the Polish writer a heroic view of fate, history, and the place of man in it.

The problems which broke into the mind in the Soviet labor camp recurred in all of Herling's works. In his short stories (*The Wings of the Altar*), in essays (*The Second Coming, Specters of Revolution*), the Polish writer, in a lively dialogue with the great Russian, searched for answers about the essence of humanity. He tried to solve the 'mystery' of Dostoevsky, analyzing both his life and his work with equal attention, usually supporting one with the other. He showed the transformation of Dostoevsky's personal experiences into great literature. He also revealed his quandaries, his giving into the temptation of despair, but also his fanaticism, atheism and sectarianism. For Herling saw Dostoevsky as a religious writer who gave himself up to constant doubt and stubbornly returned to his 'accursed questions'.

15 Jarosław IWASZKIEWICZ, *Petersburg* (Warszawa: Państw. Instytut Wydawniczy, 1976).

16 Bogdan WOJDOWSKI, *Mit Szigalewa* (Warszawa: Szkice, 1982).

17 In the Polish translation published under the wrong title *Wspomnienia z domu umarłych*; see Roman ZIMAND, "Martwy dom żywych ludzi", w: R. ZIMAND, *Czas normalizacji. Szkice czwarte* (Londyn: Aneks, 1989), s. 115-116.

18 See Tadeusz SUCHARSKI, *Dostojewski Herlinga-Grudzińskiego* (Lublin: UMCS, 2002).

The significance of Dostoevsky in Herling's work turned out to be so remarkable that Tadeusz Sucharski devoted an entire monograph to this problem. In it, he focused on examining the "space of resonance" (using the concept of Vladimir Toporov) in Grudziński's works, an approach which reveals many-sided connections with the work and person of the Russian writer. By pointing to the similarity of their prison and camp experience and the shared formula of "searching for the man in man", Sucharski tries to indicate a common metaphysical plane, similar efforts to find a way out of an alley devoid of transcendence. Nowhere else in Polish literature, he also argues, does intertextual space accommodate the articulation of national historiosophies.

In his texts on Dostoevsky, Sucharski mainly concentrates on the inspiring importance of his heritage for Polish writers. He is not interested in the question of 'impact'; not disregarding *Stoffgeschichte* in the least, he tries to seize inspirational or inspirational-polemical forms of Dostoevsky's presence in Polish works, to find ideological grounds for dispute. Apart from Herling, these will also include the writings of Miłosz and Gombrowicz.¹⁹ Miłosz's path to Dostoevsky was a complicated one. The poet-professor did not create a book about the Russian author because he was afraid that it would be a "book of distrust", the source of which was the writer's "fervent Russian millenarism and messianism".²⁰ The reluctance, however, was accompanied by admiration for the Russian writer's defense of the faith in the evangelical Christ, denied by the Russian intelligentsia, which had been "infected" by the scientific worldview adopted from the West. Miłosz searched for the quintessence of Dostoevsky's thoughts in *Notes from the Underground* and *The Grand Inquisitor*. His reflections were initiated by the essays *The Land of Ulro*, in which the poet attempted a description of the relationship between the writer's work and Western religious imagery. He showed in Dostoevsky's work the antinomies of the European thought of 'the age of reason'; he also emphasized the nationalist shallowness of his views, as defiance of attempts to humanize God

19 Tadeusz SUCHARSKI, "Zbrodnia i kara w literaturze polskiej – recepcja, polemika, inspiracja", w: T. SUCHARSKI in collaboration with Mirosława MICHALSKA-SUCHANEK (pod red.), *Dostojewski i inni – literatura, idee, polityka: księga jubileuszowa dedykowana profesrowi Andrzejowi de Lazari* (Katowice: Śląsk, 2016), s. 155-208.

20 Czesław MIŁOSZ, *Abecadło Miłosza* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1997), s. 99. Such a book from Miłosz's writings was created by his researchers: Czesław MIŁOSZ, *Rosja. Wzdrzenia transoceaniczne*, Vol. 1: *Dostojewski – nasz współczesny*, selected by B. Toruńczyk and M. Wójciak, edited by B. Toruńczyk, introduction by C. Cavangh (Warszawa: Zeszyty Literackie, 2010).

was linked by Dostoevsky with messianic faith in a Russian God.²¹ However, the author of *The Land of Ulro* noticed a similar messianic inclination to national heresy in Mickiewicz and Dostoevsky: Konrad in *Forefathers' Eve*, comparing God to the Tsar, resembles Shatov, who believes in Russia and does not believe in God. But in Mickiewicz's theodicy, Miłosz found the answer to the danger of succumbing to the logic of Ivan Karamazov's thought, the consequence of which would be acknowledging the universe as absurd. The poet's journalistic texts turned out to be an important supplement to his opinions about the Russian writer.²² In them he emphasized that both messianisms, Polish and Russian, were (are) a consequence of the collective nature of both nations. Miłosz's understanding of the revolution, of which Dostoevsky was hailed a prophet, is also extremely interesting. The poet emphasizes its religious aspect, i.e. choosing a man-God in place of God-man. He also explains the paradox of the universality of the writer confined after all to internal Russian problems. According to Miłosz, this results from the specific situation of nineteenth-century Russia, which, lagging behind Europe, absorbed problems known in the West for centuries.

Miłosz's extremely inspiring, perhaps even controversial, reflections on Dostoevsky sparked lively comments. The first one was made by Lucjan Suchanek who highly appreciated the connection Miłosz established between Dostoevsky and Swedenborg.²³ In the struggle of the Polish poet with Dostoevsky's "accursed questions", Elżbieta Mikiciuk read his disagreement with the existing order of the world, which is counterbalanced by the poet's belief in apocatastasis.²⁴ Sucharski, in turn, emphasized Miłosz's ambivalent attitude to Dostoevsky's "heresy". The poet was close to Dostoevsky's own theologically heretical efforts to 'restore' God from before the breakthrough of the Enlightenment;

21 Tadeusz SUCHARSKI, "Miłosz i 'herezje' Dostojewskiego", w: Małgorzata CZERMIŃSKA and Katarzyna SZALEWSKA (pod red.), *Północna strona Miłosza* (Gdańsk: Nadbałtyckie Centrum Kultury, 2011), s. 215-228.

22 Cf. the statements collected in the volume C. MIŁOSZ, *Rosja...*, Vol. 1: *Dostojewski – nasz współczesny: Dostojewski dzisiaj; Źródła leżą w zachodniej Europie. Wywiad* (Cz. Miłosz answers the questions of Z. Podgórzec); *Dostojewski; Dostojewski badał choroby ducha. Wywiad* (C. Gawryś and J. Majewski talk to Czesław Miłosz); *Diagnoza niedostateczna. Rozmowa o rosyjskiej historii, literaturze i polityce* (S. Frołow talks to Cz. Miłosz).

23 Lucjan SUCHANEK, "Fiodor Dostojewski w ocenie Czesława Miłosza", w: Marian BOBRAN (pod red.), *Fiodor Dostojewski w setną rocznicę śmierci* (Rzeszów, 1985), s. 60-68.

24 Elżbieta MIKICIUK, "Dostojewski Miłosza", w: Andrzej DUDEK (red.), *Idea i komunikacja w języku i kulturze rosyjskiej* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2011), s. 475-484.

his reluctance was aroused by Dostoevsky's messianic-nationalist heresy, that is, by the attempt to 'Russify' God.

Quite different problems touched Gombrowicz. He started 'playing' with Dostoevsky already in his debut *Memoirs of a Time of Immaturity*.²⁵ For Gombrowicz simply 'played' with the Russian artist more than he wrote about him. Yet, in one of the journal entries he presented his understanding of the figure of "nebular" Raskolnikov, inscribing it into the concept of an "interpersonal church" with its obligatory "mirror conscience". The hero, who is aware of the expected reaction of the "co-members" of the "church",²⁶ succumbs to this "conscience". Such a view aroused opposition from Herling, who argued that *Crime and Punishment* must not be read as a story of a criminal's adaptation to codes of conduct adopted by the community, but as a work "about the conscious need to attach one 'self' to an absolute and unchanging value".²⁷ Herling questions "interpersonal self-sufficiency", believing that there is a metaphysical sanction which Gombrowicz rejected.²⁸

3.

Dostoevsky returned to the official culture of People's Republic of Poland with the 'rehabilitation' of metaphysical and experimental literature in the late 1950s. But until the fall of communism, Polish Dostoevskyologists had to deal with censorship pressure, with the awareness of possible interference. Nevertheless, the most important achievements of the period of the thirty years 1957-1989 in the reflection on the Russian genius, collected and summarized by Jerzy Kapuściak,²⁹ will certainly remain in the Polish humanities forever. It was initiated by the national edition of Mackiewicz's monograph.

Its publication was accompanied by discussions in the 'thaw' cultural and literary press (*Po prostu*, later *Współczesność*). The monthly *Znak* significantly enriched the analysis of Dostoevsky's work. The press articles were inspired by

25 Jerzy JARZĘBSKI, *Gra w Gombrowicza* (Warszawa: PWN, 1982), s. 23-88.

26 Witold GOMBROWICZ, *Dziennik 1957-1961* (Kraków: Literackie, 1988), s. 199.

27 Gustaw HERLING-GRUDZIŃSKI, "Dwugłos o sumieniu Raskolnikowa", w: G. HERLING-GRUDZIŃSKI, *Godzina cieni. Eseje*, selected and edited by Z. Kudelski (Kraków: Znak, 1991), s. 88-89.

28 Włodzimierz BOLECKI, *Ciemny Staw. Trzy szkice do portretu* (Warszawa: Plejada, 1991), s. 40; T. SUCHARSKI, *Dostojewski Herlinga-Grudzińskiego...*, s. 162-163.

29 Jerzy KAPUŚCIK, "Próba syntezy. Fiodor Dostojewski na warszacie polskich badaczy w ostatnim trzydziestoleciu", *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, No. 4 (325), 1994, s. 125-141.

emerging scientific works devoted to Dostoevsky's place in the world of nineteenth-century philosophical ideas,³⁰ primarily by Andrzej Walicki and Ryszard Przybylski. The national stagings of his novels also played an important role, as did the Soviet adaptation of *The Idiot* by Ivan Pyriev. In his review, Ernest Bryll was indignant at the author's reduction to the role of a critic of bourgeois morality and the "cult of money".³¹ The poet-reviewer objected, though not directly, to the stripping of Dostoevsky of metaphysical depth, which was an approach typical of the epoch of vulgar Marxism. It was in *Znak* where Zbigniew Żakiewicz began his long-lasting 'adventure' with the Russian writer.³² Here also published Fr. Tomasz Podziawo, 'provoked' by the theses of Żakiewicz and Walicki. His sketch on the religiousness of Dostoevsky was one of the earliest texts in the People's Republic of Poland on this subject³³ and, additionally, written by a priest.³⁴

The works of Walicki and Przybylski were major milestones in the Polish reflection on Dostoevsky. Walicki, a historian of ideas, did not write a separate book about Dostoevsky, yet he frequently returned to the writer's ideas in his works. In the publication *Personality and History*,³⁵ Walicki included a crucial sketch, *Dostoevsky and the Idea of Freedom*, while in his work devoted to the Slavophilic trend in Russian thought, he analyzed the idea of *pochvennichestvo*,³⁶ fundamental to Dostoevsky's historiosophy, which Andrzej de Lazari would later develop. In this book, Walicki showed Dostoevsky as a profound thinker, a researcher of the "dialectics of one's own will" – leading from the personal enslavement of Kirillov and Raskolnikov to the totalitarian reality of Shigalev and the Grand Inquisitor.

30 Zbigniew ŻAKIEWICZ, "Dostojewski na tle prądów filozoficznych epoki", *Znak*, No. 7-8, 1960, s. 1019-1025. In this essay, the author referred to the recently published book by Andrzej WALICKI, *Osobowość a historia: studia z dziejów literatury i myśli rosyjskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959).

31 Ernest BRYLL, "Z Dostojewskim polemiki", *Współczesność*, No. 4, 1959, s. 5.

32 Zbigniew ŻAKIEWICZ, "W świecie pozornej wolności", *Znak*, No. 5, 1959, s. 619-627.

33 Earlier, texts were written by Jan DOBRACZYŃSKI, "Poszukiwania nadczłowieczeństwa", in J. DOBRACZYŃSKI, *Wielkość i świętość. Eseje* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1958) and Aleksander ROGALSKI, "Dostojewski – Homo religiosus", w: A. ROGALSKI, *Profile i preteksty* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1958).

34 Tomasz PODZIAWO, "Dostojewski (Uwagi dyskusyjne)", *Znak*, No. 12, 1959, s. 1590-1594; PODZIAWO, "Czy Dostojewski był filozofem?", *Znak*, No. 73-74, 1960, s. 1026-1028.

35 Andrzej WALICKI, *Osobowość a historia: studia z dziejów literatury i myśli rosyjskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1959).

36 Andrzej WALICKI, *W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii. Struktura i przemiany rosyjskiego słowianofilstwa* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964).

Along with Walicki's work on the transformations of Russian Slavophilism, the readers were presented with the best Polish monograph on the work of the Russian genius – *Dostoevsky, and the "Accursed Questions"*. The term "monograph" may seem exaggerated to a meticulous reader, because Przybylski covered in it Dostoevsky's works 'only' from *Poor Folk* to *Crime and Punishment*, so there was no room for reflection on his greatest works. But its importance, even from a contemporary perspective, seems absolutely fundamental; Przybylski's book "radically changed the situation"³⁷ in the Polish view of Dostoevsky's legacy. The thesis of his work, emphasized by the author, that the author of *Crime and Punishment* "was the only writer of the 19th century who with such determination defended the idea of the Christian harmony of the world", resonated very strongly. Przybylski's book was a reaction to the most popular (and 'crude') methods of analyzing Dostoevsky at the time: either "naive biographism", for which the only key to his writings was to look for incentives in the writer's life, or "naive sociology";³⁸ which explained everything by the repressive system of the tsarist state. Przybylski looks at Dostoevsky as a writer rooted in romanticism, seeking opportunities for the moral re-education of man. Not only does he inscribe this search in the antinomy of modern man, but also looks for "the genealogy of our present day" in Dostoevsky's work.³⁹ The author emphasizes primarily religious and ethical problems. He emphasizes the fundamental influence of Pushkin, Byron, Schiller, Lermontov; reads him in the context of 19th-century European philosophy: the Young Hegelians (Stirner, Feuerbach), Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, utopian socialism; and finally emphasizes the importance of the tradition of Russian religious thought. He also evokes the heritage of Nil Sorsky, Tikhon Zadonsky, Paisius Velichkovsky, as well as the Eastern Orthodox patristics of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite and Maxim the Confessor. The history of ideas is intertwined with hermeneutics and the art of interpretation. Przybylski's scientific discourse is close to an essayistic formula, which makes it possible to locate the monograph in the vicinity of the *belles-lettres*.

The appearance of these books by Walicki and Przybylski should be perceived as a great intellectual event, which in many respects determined further Polish studies on Russian thought and literature, including, of course, the works of Dostoevsky. One could say, to paraphrase the author of *Poor Folk*, that all

37 M. R. PRZYBYLSKI, *Współczesność*, No. 23, 1964, s. 7.

38 Tomasz BUREK, "Horyzont Dostojewskiego", *Twórczości*, No. 10, 1965, s. 115.

39 Mówi Ryszard PRZYBYLSKI, *Dostojewski i przeklęte problemy. Od Biednych ludzi do Zbrodni i kary* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1964), s. 32.

contemporary Polish researchers of his work “came out from under the coat” of Walicki and Przybylski, remaining, of course, also under Bakhtin’s ‘cloak’.

In the introduction to the book on the “accursed questions”, Przybylski promised a second volume, but due to problems with censorship, he could not “keep his word”. He tried to fill this severe deficiency with an elaborate chapter on Dostoevsky in the two-volume *History of Russian Literature* edited by Marian Jakóbec (1971), as well as with sketches on the “accursed questions”, personified in literary heroes (Stavrogin, Kirillov). In 1972, Przybylski published an article entitled “Stavrogin’s Death” (which resulted in the intervention of the USSR Embassy) in *Teksty*, which twenty-four years later, together with an essay by Maria Janion, “Is Stavrogin a Tragic Character?”, found its way to the book *The Stavrogin Case*.⁴⁰ These are the two most famous, but also mutually exclusive, Polish interpretations of Stavrogin’s personality. For Przybylski, Stavrogin is a Russian Don Juan, changing his worldviews one by one, and unable to believe in any idea. Without concealing his reluctance, the essayist calls him a “blasé, pubertal contestant”⁴¹ and argues that Dostoevsky personifies in the protagonist of *The Devils* the typical Russian ideological life of people who sell their freedom in exchange for nothing. A somewhat similar, though less categorical conclusion was reached by Stefan Chwin, who, in Stavrogin’s creation, tried to find the writer’s “diagnosis and warning”⁴² against the newly shaping spiritual reality. For Maria Janion, the hero of *The Devils* is an immoralist who reveals the “modern quality of tragedy”. Having departed from God, he leans under the weight of freedom and evil, feeling the experience of “empty transcendence” as well as of a painful yet “empty sense of guilt”.⁴³ It is worth mentioning a valuable attempt at a completely new look at Stavrogin, especially in the context of his suicide, proposed by Halina Chałacińska-Wiertelak. In her opinion, in the suicidal props considered to be objects of blasphemy, one can see, paradoxically, instruments serving to realize the sacred mystery. In this way, *The Devils* becomes a great metaphor of the birth of the most important symbol of Christianity, the cross.⁴⁴

40 Maria JANION, Mówi Ryszard PRZYBYLSKI, *Sprawa Stawrogina*, afterword by T. Komedant (Warszawa: „Sic!” cop., 1996).

41 Mówi Ryszard PRZYBYLSKI, “Stawrogin”, *Teksty*, No. 4, 1972, s. 37.

42 Stefan CHWIN, “Dlaczego Kain nie chce ‘stać się dzieckiem’? Rozmowa o *Biesach* Dostojewskiego”, w: Maria JANION and Stefan CHWIN (pod red.), *Dzieci* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1988), s. 97. The same volume contains an essay by Stefan CHWIN, “Stawrogin i dziecko”, s. 40-71.

43 Maria JANION, “Czy Stawrogin jest postacią tragiczną?”, w: M. JANION and S. CHWIN (pod red.), *Dzieci...*, t. II, s. 78.

44 Halina CHAŁACIŃSKA-WIERTELAK, *Культурный код в литературном произведении*

Following the excellent book by Przybylski, another audacious monograph on Dostoevsky's work and life was published by the philosopher and poet Bohdan Urbankowski. It was entitled *Dostoevsky – The Tragedy of Humanisms*. The title of the book as a whole in fact echoes the title of one of its chapters devoted to the mutual relations between art and Dostoevsky's philosophy. Thus one could look for some original 'axiological' suggestions, emphasizing, and rightly so, the 'importance' of this chapter. In the first part of the book, the author analysed the relationship between life and creativity, focused his attention on the erotic aspects of life, expanding the group of *dramatis personae* shown by his predecessors. In the writer's personal life, in an undisclosed crime, while distancing himself from 'literary gossip', he nevertheless sees "artistic material".⁴⁵ But the value of the book is revealed in the subsequent parts, which prove Urbankowski's considerable mastery of structural analysis. The author shares his observations on the method of creating "supernarratives", or "works of higher order, containing several worlds simultaneously".⁴⁶ He calls Dostoevsky's writing "the technique of superimposed photographic films";⁴⁷ he also mentions polyphony, yet omits Bakhtin(!). The most valuable fragments of the book are devoted to Dostoevsky's worldview, an emphasis which clearly reveals the influence of Andrzej Walicki, Urbankowski's scientific mentor. He reconstructs the writer's thought on the basis of all his works – both artistic and journalistic. He also reaches for fragments that have not been translated into Polish. Urbankowski interprets Dostoevsky's outlook, his concept of human alienation (above all ontological) as a consequence of "the world falling away from God",⁴⁸ in the context of German philosophy (mainly Marx and Feuerbach). According to Urbankowski, the tragedy of human existence is determined by man's being torn between the world of God and the earthly world, and Dostoevsky looks for opportunities to overcome alienation and reintegrate into humanism. "Humanism" in the title of the book takes the plural form, because Urbankowski views the literary output of the author of *The Idiot* as a battlefield of three models of humanisms: utopian, Promethean (romantic) and Christian. But he will not find the expected solutions in any of them. Therefore, in the view of the researcher, Dostoevsky is a Christian humanist who suffers a philosophical defeat, but is victorious as an artist.

(Poznań: Wydaw. Naukowe UAM, 2003), c. 88.

45 Bohdan URBANKOWSKI, *Dostojewski – dramat humanizmów* (Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1978), s. 99.

46 *Ibidem*, s. 100.

47 *Ibidem*, s. 117.

48 *Ibidem*, s. 171.

At the beginning of the 1970s, innovative methods of analysis appeared in full force in Polish Dostoevskology. These were represented by Halina Brzoza and Halina Chałacińska-Wiertelak. The former, using the instruments of the structural method,⁴⁹ tries to penetrate the principles of revealing the immanent worldview and inner aesthetics of Dostoevsky's novel. She tries to discover the "principle of principles", not only present in all of the writer's works, but actually consolidating their substance. She sees poetics as the carrier of the "worldview system of the work"⁵⁰ and undertakes a critical discussion with the concept of Mikhail Bakhtin's "polyphonic novel", with his thesis that the structural model of a work combines, on the basis of counterpoint, various ideas, "various aspects of the represented world". And she argues that in each of Dostoevsky's works, one can find a "static" system of certain values 'translatable' into various forms of literary concretization,⁵¹ such as characters, events and motives. Therefore, she sees in Dostoevsky the precursor of the 20th-century aesthetics of dissonance, not only in literature, but also in art, as evidenced by the do-decaphonic technique in music. The polemic with Bakhtin does not, however, question his concept, but only attempts to extend it. Brzoza treats the writer's philosophy as a project of "hermeneutical anthropology", although she emphasizes that the essence of this work cannot be encapsulated in even the most universal formula. The researcher continued her reflections on the worldview of the author of *The Devils* in a book devoted to the specificity of the relationship between Dostoevsky's "methodological rules" and existential thought and philosophical hermeneutics.⁵² However, Brzoza's inspiring research seems to be characterized by too frequent "escape" from "scientific and philosophical control" when she tries to combine the anthropological thought of the fathers of the Orthodox Church with the existentialism of Heidegger and Camus, with the hermeneutics of Ricoeur, and with the art of Tadeusz Kantor.

Halina Chałacińska-Wiertelak, probably most closely affiliated with the holistic concept of culture, tries to combine phenomenological and semiotic orientations.⁵³ She studies a literary work, situating it in a network of cultural

49 Halina BRZOZA, *Dostojewski – myśl a forma* (Łódź: Łódzkie, 1984); H. BRZOZA, *Достоевский. Просторы движущегося сознания* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe DAM, 1992).

50 *Ibidem*, c. 208.

51 *Ibidem*, c. 211

52 Halina BRZOZA, *Dostojewski. Między mitem, tragedią i apokalipsą* (Toruń: Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995), s. 15.

53 Halina CHAŁACIŃSKA-WIERTELAK, *Idea teatru w powieściach Dostojewskiego* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Archiwum

contexts. This is also how she reads Dostoevsky's novels, in which she seeks (or listens to) the resonance of other artistic forms. She is especially sensitive to the 'theatricality' of the scenes in his novels. The author of *The Idiot* significantly helped the researcher to develop the scientific *modus operandi*, which in her work on "comparative orientations of an artistic text" she defined as: "a hermeneutic concept of universal semiosis within one cultural supercode of the Mediterranean culture circle".⁵⁴

An important trend in Polish Dostoevskology in the 1970s is research on the literary reception of the Russian writer. This could be considered as ideologically 'neutral' as the structuralist or phenomenological attempts to read Dostoevsky. Telesfor Poźniak analysed Dostoevsky's significance for the Russian symbolists who, after years of 'purgatory', reintroduced him to Russia's literary salons.⁵⁵ There were also books on Dostoevsky's place in the work of Polish writers. Ludmiła Jazukiewicz-Osełkowska⁵⁶ in a very competent publication revealed the importance of the Russian artist for the work of Stanisław Brzozowski, the greatest Young Poland advocate of Russian literature, and the much more complicated attitude of Stefan Żeromski towards the author of *The Idiot*. The conclusion of Polish Dostoevskology of the 1970s is a great "inventorying", in the positive sense of the word, a publication by Franciszek Sielicki, which presented the reception of the classics of Russian prose in the Interwar Period.⁵⁷ Sielicki published a sketch about the presence of Dostoevsky in prose, criticism and the theater of that period already in the early 1970s, but he had to wait several more years for a book, in which this article was contained (next to an analogous reflection on the place of Tolstoy, Turgenev, Gogol, Chekhov and Saltykov-Shchedrin). It was the culmination of a truly

Czesława Miłosza, 1988); H. CHAŁACIŃSKA-WIERTEŁAK, *Komparatystyczne orientacje tekstu artystycznego. Próby interpretacji dzieł kultury rosyjskiej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Archiwum Czesława Miłosza, 2007).

54 Галина ХАЛАЦИНСКА-ВЕРТЕЛЯК, *Культурный код в литературном произведении: Интерпретации художественных текстов русской литературы XIX и XX веков* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 2002).

55 Telesfor POŻNIAK, *Dostojewski w kręgu symbolistów rosyjskich* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969).

56 Ludwika JAZUKIEWICZ-OSEŁKOWSKA, *Fiodor Dostojewski w twórczości Stanisława Brzozowskiego i Stefana Żeromskiego: studium porównawcze* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Archiwum Czesława Miłosza, 1980).

57 Franciszek SIELICKI, *Klasyki dziewiętnastowiecznej prozy rosyjskiej w Polsce międzywojennej* (Warszawa: Państw. Wydaw. Naukowe, 1985).

Benedictine work, thanks to which the researcher of the Polish reception of Dostoevsky from its beginning until the end of the Interwar Period obtained invaluable capital. In Sielicki's book this researcher will find a reliable, almost 'complete' list of critical works, artistic texts by Polish artists tracing any echo of Dostoevsky, as well as details on the stagings of his works. However, this work has a classically 'influence-ological' character, lacking reflection on the purpose of this "influence".⁵⁸

The jubilee year of the centenary of Dostoevsky's death confirmed the writer's victorious presence in Polish culture. A special issue of *Znak* devoted to the writer was published, including a *Dostoevsky Today* questionnaire. It was answered by outstanding Polish writers (Miłosz, Andrzejewski, Różewicz, Terlecki, Hertz, Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz, Pasierb, Żakiewicz) and researchers of literature (Janion, Przybylski). The questions of the survey made it possible to reveal one's emotional attitude: from the declaration of essential alienation (Rymkiewicz), through indifference (Andrzejewski), to unquestionable admiration (Przybylski). But they also provided an opportunity to engage in discussions on anthropological and theological issues, and made it possible to reveal the topicality of the issues raised by Dostoevsky. Two years later, *Literatura na świecie* (1983) devoted a special issue to the writer. The University of Lodz organized a great jubilee conference *Fyodor Dostoevsky – Thought and Work*, at the same time publishing a book with a collection of conference sketches.⁵⁹ A similar conference, which also resulted in a publication, was organized by the Pedagogical University in Rzeszów.⁶⁰ The anniversary is also referred to in a book by Rudnicki, even in its very title: *One Hundred Years Ago, Dostoevsky Died* (published beyond the reach of censorship).⁶¹ It should be seen as the culmination of Dostoevsky's constant presence in Rudnicki's work. Reflections on Dostoevsky's work are accompanied by records of the hot days in Poland after the August breakthrough. The brilliant idea of combining both trends of reflection certainly stems from the belief in

58 Among the works published in the 1970s, one should also mention the popular science brochure by Józef SMAGA, *Fiodor Dostojewski* (Krakow: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1974). Much more important were his introductions to the editions of the Russian author's novels in the National Library: *Crime and Punishment* (1987, 1992) and *The Brothers Karamazov* (1995).

59 Olga GŁÓWKO (pod red.), *Fiodor Dostojewski – myśl i dzieło. W setną rocznicę śmierci pisarza* (Łódź: Uniwersytet Łódzki, 1981).

60 Marian BOBRAN (pod red.), *Fiodor Dostojewski w setną rocznicę śmierci* (Rzeszów: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Rzeszowie, 1985).

61 Adolf RUDNICKI, *Sto lat temu umarł Dostojewski* (Warszawa: Przedświt, 1984).

the topicality of Dostoevsky's thought, which can help in understanding a complicated reality.

In 1981, Danuta Kułakowska published her first book, *Dostoevsky: Dialectics of Unbelief*, and six years later her second publication appeared.⁶² These are subsequent works devoted to the worldview of the Russian writer, primarily his Orthodox Christology and historiosophy. Kułakowska, relying on Marxist methodology (although she is also close to sociological geneticism), criticizes Bakhtin's thesis about the lack of causality in the writer's novels. Not concealing her religious indifferentism, she doubts the 'truthfulness' of Dostoevsky's faith, noting rather its dependence on the writer's historiosophical ideas. In him, Kułakowska sees an artist who "brilliantly anticipates the barely outlined antinomies of a rapidly secularizing consciousness";⁶³ that is afraid of the consequences of rejecting Christ's teachings and envisions human life at its own risk, which Herling called "liberation from superstition". The author notes that the writer's protagonists "talk about God' but do not 'talk to God";⁶⁴ and therefore she tries to point out the core of Dostoevsky's thoughts. She places in it the alternative of religion and atheism (not in the sense of opposition, but of a dialogue), of Christ and the Antichrist, or, better yet, the principle of "without Christ" and "with Christ". It is in this antinomy that the author sees the dialectical essence of the writer's Christology, which takes a 'negative' or 'positive' dimension, but the qualification is by no means evaluative. Kułakowska thus opposes the approaches that by definition depreciate the "positive content of atheism".⁶⁵ She analyzes the novel incarnations of "negative Christology" (Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, Ivan Karamazov), with a significant differentiation of atheistic attitudes, and less original personifications of "positive Christology" (Sonia, Myshkin, Alyosha, Zosima). She argues that Dostoevsky's atheism is not so much "a negation of God, but a questioning of the moral and [...] philosophical consequences of religious creationism".⁶⁶ Kułakowska returned to the issue of the dialectics of faith and unbelief (need and impossibility) in her book on Dostoevsky's "antinomies of humanism". She focused 'only' on *The Brothers Karamazov*, seeing in this work the writer's last attempt at achieving a synthesis of humanism, anthropocentric by nature, with a Christian, and therefore

62 Danuta KUŁAKOWSKA, *Dostojewski. Antynomie humanizmu według Braci Karamazowów* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987), z. 1/4.

63 Danuta KUŁAKOWSKA, *Dostojewski: dialektyka niewiary* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1981), s. 27.

64 *Ibidem*, s. 89.

65 *Ibidem*.

66 *Ibidem*, s. 224.

theocentric, vision. The importance of Kułakowska's books was emphasized by Kapuścik, who pointed out that the author's religio-logical approach allows the reader to see both elements of the novelist's worldview: soteriological and heretical, or, to put it more subtly, non-canonical.⁶⁷

Dostoevsky's faith is unquestioned by Anna Rażny, who looks for its reflection in the writer's work. In the book *Fyodor Dostoevsky. The Philosophy of Man and the Problems of Poetics* she rejects the concepts which attribute an autonomous character to poetics (Bakhtin, Tynianov, Vinogradov) and declares that she perceives the universals of humanity as superior to the universals of form. Thus, she subjects the writer's work to an evaluative interpretation, using mainly Ricoeur's hermeneutics, phenomenology (Husserl, Scheler), existentialism (Kierkegaard) and its Christian variant (Marcel). For Rażny, there is no value outside of Christianity, and there is no truth outside of Christ. Therefore, she tries to convince the reader that the philosophy of man and the philosophy of values of the writer "have an eminently Christian character".⁶⁸ She identifies the one Christian 'truth' of Dostoevsky with the 'one' human truth expressed by the philosophers supporting her interpretations. Dostoevsky is a Christian writer for the researcher, so she does not notice any philosophical conflicts in his work, or inconsistencies in his worldview. The author also referred to the philosophical anthropology of Fr Józef Tischner, who in *Philosophy of Tragedy* (1990), showing man's attitude to the truth and crime, also referred to Raskolnikov's experience. But his attitude to the truth was fundamentally different from that of Anna Rażny.

A dozen or so years after her work, a publication by Halyna Kryshstal, a Ukrainian researcher, who also writes in Polish, appeared. The author reflects on evil, treated as "one of the fundamental themes of Dostoevsky's work",⁶⁹ from the perspective of moral theology. In this sense, she reflects on metaphysical, physical, and moral evil. She considers man's relationship to God, to himself, and to society. Kryshstal examines the sources, manifestations and consequences as well as the forms of overcoming evil. In the subtitle, she described her book as "a theological and moral study". And almost in the fashion of a preacher, she argues that evil can only be overcome by immersion in Christ. She recalls perhaps the most famous sentence by Dostoevsky that "if there is

67 Jerzy KAPUŚCIK, *Próba syntezy. Fiodor Dostojewski na warsztacie polskich badaczy ...*, s. 130.

68 Anna RAŻNY, *Fiodor Dostojewski. Filozofia człowieka a problemy poetyki* (Kraków: UJ, 1988), s. 135.

69 Halina KRYSHSTAL, *Problem zła w twórczości F. Dostojewskiego: studium teologiczno-moralne* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2004), s. 15.

no God, everything is permitted”. According to the author, there is no morality without God, either.

Concurrently with Rażny’s work, in the same year 1988, Andrzej de Lazari’s book *Pochviennichestvo. On Research on the History of Ideas in Russia*⁷⁰ was published. The author proposes a radically different interpretation of the Russian writer’s legacy from that of Anna Rażny. For the author, the main category on which the views of the *pochvenniki*, including Dostoevsky, are based, is romantic ‘nationality’ (*народность*). In this category, de Lazari discerns the foundations of their historiosophy, aesthetics, and even religion. He claims that ‘nationality’ transformed Orthodoxy into a historiosophical category for Dostoevsky. De Lazari also published an article about the Russian genius in the 4th volume of the Russian-Polish-English lexicon *Ideas in Russia* (of which he was the initiator and editor). His article was supplemented in the same volume by sketches of the Polish Eastern Orthodox priest Henryk Paprocki and the Russian scholar Konstantin Isupov. The inclusion of three parallel texts results from the ‘postmodern’ formula of the lexicon, which presupposes several, even contradictory, interpretations of a specific ‘idea.’ The formula works perfectly, as evidenced by the sketches, in reflection on Dostoevsky’s thought.

Other books published in the 1980s. include a publication by Barbara Stempczyńska, a highly original one in Polish Dostoevskology, on Dostoevsky’s interests in painting. The author, inspired by a synthetic trend in Soviet literary studies postulating the study of typologically identical or similar ideological and aesthetic phenomena in the art of the word and visual arts of a given epoch, attempted to reconstruct the writer’s artistic sympathies, revealed in his journal and letters. From Stempczyńska’s book, the reader will learn that the

70 The book was published in Russian under the title *В кругу Федора Достоевского. Почвенничество* (Москва: Наука, 2004). In addition to this book, Andrzej DE LAZARI has published the following works on Dostoevsky in Russian: “Григорьевские мотивы в *Речи о Пушкине* Ф. Достоевского”, *Revue des Études Slaves*, vol. LIX, fascicule 4, 1988; “Категория народности у Достоевского и в эстетике соцреализма”, *Русская мысль*, № 3789, 1989; “Достоевский как идеологический авторитет в политической борьбе наших дней (о категории ‘всечеловечности’)”, *Dostoevsky Studies. New Series*, vol. 2, No 1, 1998; “Категории народа, народности и всечеловечности в мировоззрении Федора Достоевского и его духовных наследников”, в: *XXI век глазами Достоевского: перспективы человечества* (Москва: Грааль, 2002); “Тегельянство в почвенническом восприятии”, *Dostoevsky Studies*, vol. 8, 2004; “Достоевский как зеркало ‘консервативной революции’”, *НГ Религии*, 2004, No 18; “Культурная запрограммированность Достоевского, его героев и исследователей его творчества”, в: *Sub specie tolerantiae. Памяти В.А. Туниманова* (Санкт Петербург 2008).

writer not only valued supreme artistry, but he also favored paintings that expressed universal truths, with high moral ideals, free from socio-political bias.

The beginning of the 1990s marks an extraordinary development of Polish Dostoevskology as ideology ceased to restrict researchers and several works appeared with surprising new methodologies. The dominant hermeneutics is usually accompanied by a history of ideas, and the works are often interdisciplinary. In 1992, the book by Telesfor Poźniak *Dostoevsky and the East* was published. Even before this publication, the author was an unquestioned authority in Polish Russian studies and an expert on the works of the Russian writer. In his next book, the researcher dealt with the philosophical themes of Dostoevsky (accompanied by Nikolai Danilevski and Konstantin Leontiev) concerning the East. He analysed the place of the Asian-Koranic, Byzantine, and biblical myth, and finally the significance of Jewish problems in Dostoevsky's thought. He also paid attention to the cardinal importance of the political issues of that epoch in its evolution ("Constantinople must be ours!"). For the researcher, the Russian writer is undoubtedly a great one, a late romantic thinker, "a personality formed on the border of Slavic-Orthodox and Oriental cultures";⁷¹ but also "the spiritual father of Russian messianism, xenophobic nationalism, especially of anti-Semitism."⁷²

The issues of religious historiosophy and messianism of the author of *The Devils* were also researched by Michał Bohun, who convincingly showed how alien to Dostoevsky was the world of Western values (rationalism, Catholicism). He revealed the origin of the writer's hope for the redeeming character of Eastern Orthodoxy, traditional Russian culture with its "otherworldly ideal", which will open up "the path of humanity to the Kingdom of God".⁷³ The problem of evil, the *unde malum* question, and finally the "inversion of ethical concepts" are the key themes of the works of the outstanding philosopher and historian of philosophy, and at the same time the eminent essayist Cezary Wodziński. He first published the book *The Saint Idiot. A Project of Apophatic Anthropology* devoted to the phenomenon of *yurodstvo*, often referring to Dostoevsky, and concluding his reflection on the writer in the essay *Trance, Dostoevsky, Russia, or on Philosophizing with an Axe*. In brilliant form, the author asks bold questions that are not at all those of an 'ordinary' researcher.

71 Telesfor POŹNIAK, *Dostojewski i Wschód: szkic z pogranicza kultur* (Wrocław: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1992), s. 140.

72 *Ibidem*, s. 100.

73 Michał BOHUN, *Fiodor Dostojewski i idea upadku cywilizacji europejskiej* (Katowice: Śląsk, 1996), s. 130.

He refers to Russian thought, in which he emphasizes a very serious attitude to metaphysics, already lost in the West. He does not conceal his dislike of Dostoevsky's "Slavic hysteria", but after all, perhaps a little helplessly, he concludes that without him "nothing is possible".⁷⁴ Unlike Miłosz, who read Dostoevsky in the context of Western thought taken too seriously by the Russians, Wodziński does not go beyond Russia. He sees the foundations of the writer's thought in the *Raskol*, which infected the Russian universe with chaos. From that moment on, Russian spirituality took on the character of a *kblyst* trance. The *Raskol*, as Wodziński proves, led to "a profound loss of the ability to discern that the axe is for chopping wood rather than for chopping old women".⁷⁵ That is why he proposes a sensational reading of the work of Fyodor Mikhailovich [...] Raskolnikov in the context of a world turned upside-down, which is a consequence of the *Raskol* as inherent in Russian spirituality, and which leads to the loss of any ability to discern good and evil. Wodziński believes that Dostoevsky tries to restore this forgotten skill; he looks for an "other world", for the world of the *Raskol*; he is a perfect exponent of spiritual chaos, but also of the desire to find a way out of the impasse. And he "strives after grace with an axe". "Who but Dostoevsky dared to attempt such a test?"⁷⁶ – asks Wodziński. Who but Wodziński would dare such an interpretation?

Bohun and Wodziński do not exhaust the list of Polish philosophers who undertake research on Dostoevsky. Jacek Uglik and Marian Broda have earned their prominent place on it. The former, in his reflection on the "tragedy of man",⁷⁷ concentrates on the writer's conviction about the dangers of the degeneration of the human personality, about the threat to the social order posed by Western philosophical ideas (rationalism, materialism, atheism). The author, however, adopts a current axiological perspective, which does not allow to equate atheism and evil. Thus, he does not perceive the writer as a dialogic thinker, and he overlooks polyphony in his works, because he is incapable of transcending the borders of Eastern Orthodoxy and meeting the Other. Therefore, he emphasizes in the title the tragedy of man being a result of the imposition of one-dimensionality by Dostoevsky, who wanted to ridicule 'fatal' ideas: for or against God, which for the author, who defends Western philosophy, means diminishing and humiliating the status of dramatic existence. Broda,

74 Cezary WODZIŃSKI, *Trans, Dostojewski, Rosja, czyli o filozofowaniu siekierą* (Gdańsk: Fundacja Terytoria Książki Wydawca, 2005), s. 5.

75 *Ibidem*, s. 6, 59.

76 *Ibidem*, s. 121.

77 Jacek UGLIK, *Dostojewski, czyli rzecz o dramacie człowieka* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2014).

in turn, sees the creator of *The Devils* (next to Soloviev and Leontiev) as one of the most important keys to understanding mystical Russia. In the dynamics of Dostoevsky's thought, in the three-phase concept of time running from primordial unity through a state of alienation to developed mature unity, the author tries to find one of the possible historiosophical responses to the 'destiny' of Russia, subjected to a similar rhythm of development. In the final stage, as the author of *The Diary of a Writer* believed, Russia will not only regain internal unity, but will lead to "a general unification of the world and universal love of people".⁷⁸

Anna Kościółek approached Dostoevsky's work in an ecumenical spirit. Her interests focus on *The Diary of a Writer*, but the researcher does not tackle historiosophical problems or controversial issues, which are not missing from the *Diary*, and concentrates primarily on the values of the Christian world of the author of *Crime and Punishment*.⁷⁹ In her next book, Kościółek, as if 'motivated' by Kułakowska's opinion about researchers' lack of interest in *The Diary of a Writer*,⁸⁰ attempted to present it in a monographic manner. It should be remembered here that earlier sketches on the *Diary* were published by R. Łużny,⁸¹ who also significantly contributed to the Polish edition of the work. In her monograph, Kościółek dealt with the genesis of the work and the goals that the writer set for the *Diary*. She systematized the problems raised by him (beauty as an aesthetic and ethical category, Russian everyday life, the Russian people and 'Holy Russia'), making a certain differentiation between the views of the writer-journalist and the writer-artist. An important chapter of the work is based on reading Dostoevsky's artistic texts published in *The Diary of a Writer* (*Bobok*, *The Meek One*, *The Dream of a Ridiculous Man*).

Grzegorz Przebinda is also faithful to the spirit of ecumenism. He reads Dostoevsky in the context of the thoughts of Soloviev, but also of Karol Wojtyła, who is his ultimate authority. Przebinda has not published a book on Dostoevsky, but out of his numerous literary and religious sketches about the au-

78 Marian BRODA, *Zrozumieć Rosję? O rosyjskiej zagadce-tajemnicy* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ibidem, 2011), s. 154.

79 Anna KOŚCIOŁEK, *Człowiek Ewangelii w Dzienniku pisarza Fiodora Dostojewskiego* (Toruń: UMK, 1994); A. KOŚCIOŁEK, *Dziennik pisarza Fiodora Dostojewskiego. Próba monografii* (Toruń: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2000).

80 Danuta KUŁAKOWSKA, *Dostojewski: dialektyka niewiary...*, s. 77.

81 Ryszard ŁUŻNY, "Między publicystyką a beletrystyką, czyli *Dziennik pisarza Fiodora Dostojewskiego*", w: Olga GŁÓWKO (pod red.), *Fiodor Dostojewski – myśl i dzieło...*, s. 3-14; R. ŁUŻNY, "Nad Fiodora Dostojewskiego *Dziennikiem pisarza*", w: *Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji naukowych PAN w Krakowie*, t. XXIII/1 (Wrocław, 1981), s. 34-35.

thor of *The Idiot*,⁸² such a book can certainly be compiled. A manner, free from any confession-homily accents, of looking at Dostoevsky's work was assumed by Dorota Jewdokimow, who considers herself a student of Igor Yevlampijev, a supporter of the monistic model of interpreting Dostoevsky's work.⁸³ Jewdokimow also analyses the Russian genius from this perspective. In the first part of her monograph, the author reflects on the relationship between art and religion, finding in aesthetics an expression of metaphysical beliefs, while in the second part she reflects on the specificity of the relationship between God and man in the novels, journalism and letters of the author of *The Idiot*.⁸⁴

The aforementioned priest, philosopher and translator, Henryk Paprocki, writes about the religious "mystery of man" in his book *A Lion and a Mouse*, the title of which refers to the "favourite" hero of the Russian author. The researcher notices significant similarities in the structure of novel characters. They are based on the dialectic of power (the lion is the subconscious) and weakness (the mouse is the conscience). But in the author's understanding, strength is weakness, and weakness is strength. According to Paprocki, Dostoevsky – the artist builds a new anthropology, the basic element of which is a human being, defined by the author as "a man from the underground", and he fights for the human soul in the modern era which is "deprived of prejudices".⁸⁵ A few years after Paprocki's book, a publication by the Orthodox bishop Szymon Romańczuk *A Writer and God* appeared, containing articles written several dozen years earlier. The sketches, composed largely of quotations from the writings of Dostoevsky (and his researchers, linking the writer with Zosima), genealogically resemble a homily rather than a scientific text. Nevertheless, they

82 Grzegorz PRZEBINDA, "Sołowjow wobec Dostojewskiego", w: G. PRZEBINDA, *Sołowjow wobec historii* (Kraków: Arka, 1992); G. PRZEBINDA, "Historia a dzień współczesny w naszej Europie. Wojtyła czyta Dostojewskiego i Sołżenicyna", *Ethos*, No. 3-4, 2002; G. PRZEBINDA, "Dostojewski o nieśmiertelności duszy i raju pozaziemskim", w: G. PRZEBINDA, *Między Moskwą a Rzymem. Myśl religijna w Rosji XIX i XX wieku* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych "Universitas", 2003).

83 See: Teresa OBOLEVITCH, "Dostojewski jako metafizyk. Próba metarefleksji", w: T. OBOLEVITCH (pod red.), *Metafizyka a literatura w kulturze rosyjskiej. Метамфизика и литература в русской культуре* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II. Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2012), s. 174.

84 Dorota JEWDOKIMOW, *Człowiek przemieniony. Fiodor M. Dostojewski wobec tradycji Kościoła Wschodniego* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2009).

85 Henryk PAPROCKI, *Lew i mysz, czyli Tajemnica człowieka: esej o bohaterach Dostojewskiego* (Białystok: Bractwo Młodzieży Prawosławnej w Polsce, 1997).

basically fit into the dichotomous understanding of the attitude towards God: either “the possessed”, i.e. rebels, or “the beautiful”, i.e. those “who followed Christ”.⁸⁶ A slightly different approach to Dostoevsky’s heritage is presented by the Catholic priest Dariusz Jastrząb. He views the spiritual world of the writer through the cultural and theological prism, but in Dostoevsky he sees “an artist first, and then a philosopher or a theologian”.⁸⁷ Therefore, he understands but also appreciates all the antitheses and inconsistencies in the writings of the Russian genius. Despite these ‘contradictions’, Dostoevsky assumes in the eyes of Jastrząb the proportions of a Christian guide. The author does not recognize him as an anti-Catholic thinker; he tries to prove that Christ, whom the writer defended against being reduced to the level of an abstract idea, was for him the real center of the Universe and offered hope for alleviating axiological chaos. A special role in this effort was ascribed by Jastrząb to *The Idiot*.

A few years earlier, an excellent monograph on this novel was published by Elżbieta Mikiciuk.⁸⁸ She analyzed it in the context of Eastern Orthodox spirituality and thought. Contrary to prevailing opinions, she made a courageous attempt to ‘rehabilitate’ the eponymous hero of the novel. The author rejects the dominant thesis about the powerlessness of the “beautiful man” in the world of evil and she brilliantly proves that the evangelical perspective, typical of “icon writing”, is already included in the composition of the novel. The experience of entering the dark side of human existence implies, above all, the desire to find pure beauty. Myshkin must go to the grave not only to be resurrected, but also – to save the world around him (Jastrząb will refer to this idea as well). In her work on the “paschal theater” of the writer,⁸⁹ Mikiciuk argues that Dostoevsky exemplifies evangelical truths in “dramatic action”. Reaching for the philosophy of dialogue, the researcher shows that the evangelical dimension is fully revealed during the meetings between man and man. The fundamental sense of the “paschal theater” is therefore the “passage” (passover) of Dostoevsky’s characters from death to life. Mikiciuk’s book closed the first decade of Polish ‘Dostoevskology’ of the 21st century.

86 Szymon ROMAŃCZUK, *Pisarz i Bóg: Dostojewski, Gogol, Tolstoj* (Białystok: Fundacja im. Księcia Konstantego Ostrogskiego, 2013), s. 37.

87 Dariusz JASTRZĄB, *Duchowy świat Dostojewskiego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2009), s. 20.

88 Elżbieta MIKICIUK, „Chrystus w grobie” i rzeczywistość „Anastasis”. *Refleksje na temat Idioty Dostojewskiego* (Gdańsk: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2003).

89 Elżbieta MIKICIUK, *Teatr paschalny Fiodora Dostojewskiego. O wątkach misteryjnych Braci Karamazow i ich wizjach scenicznych* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2009).

She did not close the corpus, however. The past decade, which has proved the unflagging popularity of Dostoevsky's ever topical "accursed questions", has resulted in several major publications. It was opened up with an extraordinary book *The New Testament of Fyodor Dostoevsky*, edited by Adam Bezwiński. The author collected in it excerpts taken from the copy of the New Testament left by the writer, which he had marked in some way. In the introduction to this peculiar 'anthology', the editor provided a short review of Polish research, especially that devoted to the "writer's inner world", focused on the inspirational meaning of the Good News.⁹⁰ The group of distinguished researchers has been joined by the youngest generation, boldly declaring their willingness to read Dostoevsky "anew".⁹¹ This is what Marcin Borowski writes, as does Michał Kruszelnicki. This kind of 'revisionism' proves that Dostoevsky's work is still alive and that much can still be found in it. The young authors do not reject the results of the previous studies, but present their own thoughts in dialogue with them. The best evidence of a generational symbiosis seems to be the book edited by Anna Rażny *Fyodor Dostoyevski and the Problems of Culture*, which contains texts by both researchers with significant achievements and novices in the field of Dostoevskology. They share the recognition of the importance of the world of values in reflection on Dostoevsky. Analysing the writer's axiology in the context of contemporary "anti-metaphysical and anti-axiological"⁹² culture, they reach, nevertheless, various conclusions, some of them "situate religion above freedom"; to others freedom turns out to be more important than religion.⁹³

The sphere of the "attitude to values" also comprises a publication by Mirosława Michalska-Suchanek,⁹⁴ devoted to the problem of suicide, which in the writer's time almost achieved the status of an "epidemic". This phenomenon 'forced' the author to outline a broad historical and social background. Against this background, she analyses the characters of suicides created by the author

90 Adam BEZWIŃSKI, *Fiodor Dostojewski i jego Nowy Testament*, w: A. BEZWIŃSKI (prepared and introduced), *Nowy Testament Fiodora Dostojewskiego* (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2011), s. 16.

91 Marcin M. BOROWSKI, *Obraz „ateisty” w twórczości Fiodora Dostojewskiego w świetle ateizmu współczesnego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo LIBRON – Filip Lohner, 2015), s. 10.

92 Anna RAŻNY, *Słowo wstępne. Fiodor Dostojewski w kręgu problemów kultury*, w: A. RAŻNY (pod red.), *Fiodor Dostojewski i problemy kultury* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2011), s. 7.

93 *Ibidem*, s. 8.

94 Mirosława MICHALSKA-SUCHANEK, *Samobójcy Fiodora Dostojewskiego* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2015).

of *The Meek One*. For the author, Dostoevsky is the first Russian thinker who treated suicide as an ethical problem, though he viewed it ambivalently. In his journalistic writing, he put the blame for the “epidemic” on the spread of ethical indifferentism in Russia, but in his novels he softened this categorical thesis by looking for the causes of suicides in metaphysical space. Recently, another publication by Michalska-Suchanek has appeared, *Fifteen Views of Dostoevsky*,⁹⁵ in which the author, convinced of the “inseparability” of creativity and biography, seems to resume the concept of “living people”. Maybe she even tries to ‘debunk’ the genius. And in each of Dostoevsky’s ‘roles’: that of a man, a writer, a journalist, she looks for the determinants of his work.

To conclude this review, a few remarks on the achievements of the youngest researchers are necessary. Borowski was intrigued by the problem of atheism in Dostoevsky’s work. The author analyses in his book both the way in which the writer created the figures of great “atheists” as well as the “faith” of their creator. He reflects on its specificity from the perspective of contemporary atheistic concepts, highlighting the fundamental differences between the “atheism” of the artist’s time and the atheism of the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. He treats his considerations as a “form of a dialogue” between epochs that are very different in spirit. From this perspective, in Borowski’s view, Dostoevsky, who experienced the “hell of doubt”, believed in faith rather than in God and desired to be granted the grace of ‘true’ faith. The indispensability of faith was related to the belief in faith being the foundation of morality. Kruszelnicki, in turn, looked at Dostoevsky’s “accursed questions” from the perspective of the existential current of European thought. The author formulated the research topic in such a way that in the seemingly exhausted research space, he found a sphere that allowed for an innovative reflection on Dostoevsky’s work. In the title “conflict and non-fulfilment”⁹⁶ he found not only the fundamental principle of the writer’s work, but also the main imperative of the behavior of his characters, who seek real life at all costs. Therefore, for the author the image of the passion of Dostoevsky’s protagonists, functions as an externalization of the writer’s problems. An extremely important achievement of the author is absorption into Polish Dostoevskology of the achievements of its English language counterpart, as most of the works cited by Kruszelnicki have not been translated into Polish.

95 Mirosława MICHALSKA-SUCHANEK, *Piętnaście odston Dostojewskiego* (Katowice: “Śląsk” Wydawnictwo Naukowe - Stowarzyszenie Inicjatyw Wydawniczych, 2018).

96 Michał KRUSZELNICKI, *Dostojewski: konflikt i niespełnienie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2017).

4.

Janina Kulczycka-Saloni, in conclusion of the above-mentioned essay, postulated the necessity to include Polish Dostoevskology in the worldwide knowledge of the writer,⁹⁷ probably not even supposing how it would develop in the next half-century. The bibliography of Polish works devoted to Dostoevsky,⁹⁸ prepared a few years ago, certainly far from complete, contains several dozen books and several hundred sketches and articles published in scientific journals and in collective works. Therefore, it would be difficult to detect areas resembling “unploughed fallow land”. One can find a very wide spectrum of the problems of poetics, anthropology, historiosophy, religious studies, ethics, as well as issues concerning Dostoevsky’s aesthetic and worldview influence on Polish and world literature. There are works which are more ‘popular’ among researchers, and there are others that attract Poles much less, which does not mean that we could speak of a Polish ‘canon’ of reading Dostoevsky. Maria Janion once declared *The Double* to be the writer’s most important work.

It is worth considering whether Polish Dostoevskology has contributed a ‘new word’ to world research. It is very difficult to provide an unequivocal answer, being aware even of the fundamentally different interpretations of *Crime and Punishment* presented by Gombrowicz and Grudziński, or the essentially different views on Stavrogin. Let us try, however, to outline the potential nature of the Polish contribution. There is certainly an echo of Polish understanding of Russia in Polish texts devoted to Dostoevsky. Miłosz in *Native Realm* argued that “Poles know about Russians what Russians know about themselves, not wanting to admit it, and vice versa”.⁹⁹ However, such ‘knowledge’ usually implies lack of emotional detachment. Our judgments are too often determined by resentments, complexes, and frustrations. It is possible, therefore, that these emotions, hidden in the subconscious, also emerge in the course of research on Dostoevsky. Nevertheless, Polish scholars usually treat this issue with understanding, magnanimously forgiving the writer his nationalistic inclinations in the name of artistic genius. They silence the disturbed patriotic feelings, in some way limiting the ability to

97 J. KULCZYCKA-SALONI, “Dostojewski w Polsce...”, s. 48.

98 Andrzej DE LAZARI, Tadeusz SUCHARSKI, “Bibliografia polskich prac o Dostojewskim po 1970 r.,” в: *Достоевский. Материалы и исследования*, № 20 (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2013), с. 582-597.

99 Czesław MIŁOSZ, *Rodzenna Europa* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2001), s. 146.

reveal the 'Polish view'. Yet, one more obstacle or difficulty must be emphasized, namely because of the fact that the Polish thought is basically a-religious, it focuses more on history, and therefore researchers writing about Dostoevsky must perform a transgression *sui generis*.

Things are different with Miłosz, a professor of Slavic literatures at the University of California at Berkeley, Herling-Grudziński, a Polish writer, but living in Italy, and Walicki, a historian of ideas, who, for many years, taught at the University of Notre Dame in the United States. Their 'Polish voice' (although they would certainly not be satisfied with such a definition) undoubtedly influenced the Western perception of Dostoevsky's Russian thought and heritage. Miłosz, Herling and Walicki opposed the Western reading of Dostoevsky, which, on the one hand, under the strong influence of Bakhtin, was completely abstracted from history, from the political views of the Russian genius, and, on the other hand, was widely and thoroughly subjected to psychoanalysis. The historical experience of Polish researchers has enabled the West to see Dostoevsky the *pochvennik*, who created his works on Russian 'soil' (*pochva*). As a result, they offered their Western colleagues an opportunity to better understand Russian reality, processes taking place in it and living ideas. At the same time, they inscribed Russian thought in the evolution of Western thought, showed its 'universal humanity'. In their attitude towards Dostoevsky, two opposing forces coexist but also contend: mental alienation determined by history is accompanied by admiration for Russian philosophical and religious thought, lacking from Polish literature. And it is probably in this symbiotic combination of the universal perspective and the 'Polish view' that the essence and meaning of Polish Dostoevsky studies lie.

Several Polish researchers have followed this path and they continue the studies of their teachers in an open dialogue with them. This thesis is most fully confirmed by the book *Dostoevsky and Others: Literature, Ideas, Politics*. The publication was not only a Polish 'tribute' for the 150th anniversary of the writing of *Crime and Punishment*, but above all a homage and a gift to Professor Andrzej de Lazari (who introduced Polish Dostoevskology to world audiences) on his seventieth anniversary. Many of the authors cited in this sketch have included their essays in this book. By "making the effort to find their own answers to the Professor's¹⁰⁰ 'Russian ideas'", they also prove the continuing topicality and relevance of Dostoevsky's work.

100 Tadeusz SUCHARSKI, "Andrzej de Lazari i idee rosyjskie", w: M. MICHALSKA-SUCHANEK (pod red.), *Dostojevski i inni...*, s. 11.

**50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
DOSTOEVSKY SOCIETY
(1971-2021)**



**50-ЛЕТИЕ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО
ОБЩЕСТВА ДОСТОЕВСКОГО
(1971-2021)**

Malcolm V. JONES
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The International Dostoevsky Society A personal tribute

As a founding member of the International Dostoevsky Society, I am delighted to have the opportunity to pay a personal tribute to the Society on its 50th anniversary and on the 200th anniversary of Dostoevsky's birth. Although I can claim little credit for its success, it gives me great satisfaction to have been associated with the IDS from its very first meeting. More importantly, it enables me to publicly acknowledge its contribution both to my own academic life and to that of many other scholars over the last half century, as well as its dynamic (dialogic) role in promoting the study of Dostoevsky's work itself. Its triennial symposia and its various publications, together with the many opportunities it has afforded for meeting other Dostoevsky scholars, gathered together from around the globe, have provided an exceptional forum for co-operation and mutual stimulation. For some years, it was also a rare meeting place for free discussion between scholars from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

I was fortunate to be present at the first meeting of the IDS at the beautiful West German spa town of Bad Ems in 1971. As the only British participant, I emerged from Bad Ems with the imposing title of 'British national representative', entitled to participate in meetings of the Executive Committee. Fifteen years later, in 1986, I was to host the VIth Symposium at the University of Nottingham while, in 1995, I was elected President and served in this capacity at the Xth Symposium in New York in 1998.

So it might be imagined that I would have privileged knowledge of the inner life of the Society from its very beginnings.

This is not, however, really the case. In the event, I have been able to attend only nine of the Society's 17 Symposia, the last being the XIIth at Geneva in 2004. My memories are vivid but fragmentary; the papers I have retained are incomplete; my role in the history of the Society was, for most of its existence, marginal. While I was sometimes brought in to ensure wider participation in key decisions, I was only occasionally catapulted into the centre of action. Moreover, much of real significance has happened since 2004. During that time, the Society has reached maturity, with full participation by Russian scholars, including

a Russian President and a Symposium in Moscow itself, where Dostoevsky was born. I can therefore offer only personal reflections on events that others may remember quite differently, and from different perspectives.

Anyone attempting to write a history of the Society will be confronted by problems similar to mine. One might of course confine oneself to documentary sources. This would inevitably result in a dry and colourless institutional account of events that were in reality sometimes exasperating and frustrating, but more often inspirational, exhilarating, rewarding, constantly on the move, and full of colourful – one might almost say Dostoevskian – personalities. Rudolf Neuhäuser has referred to this phase of its history as that of “an independent, voluntary organisation”.¹ Among other things, this meant that it was driven by the personal commitment and enthusiasms of its founders, heavily dependent on personal initiatives, improvising where necessary (as reflected, for example, in the revisions to its constitution approved at Rungstedgaard in 1977) to keep it on track. The flavour of such an organisation could hardly be caught by a dry institutional narrative.

Yet even an account based on documentary evidence would present problems. Alterations were often made to the programmes of the Symposia at the last moment and some of the listed participants did not in the event attend, or gave papers with different titles, or at different times, or not at all. Nor are the lists of officers and title-holders that appear in the Society’s publications entirely reliable, often retaining names long after the expiry of their terms of office and failing to record the election of new members until there was nobody left with a clear memory of what had actually happened. Certain of the ‘traditions’ ascribed to the Society were sometimes no more than aspirations.

To complicate matters further, any future historian of the Society will have to reckon with the fact that, between Symposia, many of the day-to-day decisions and all the forward planning in the early years were conducted through the exchange of mimeographed or hand-written memos, personal encounters at chance meetings around the world and independent personal initiatives for which approval might be sought retrospectively. The first twenty years of the Society’s history were of course lived under the shadow of the Cold War. Before the days of electronic mail, in a community with four official languages employed randomly, with no provision for interpreting, and in which scholarly work was

1 Rudolf NEUHÄUSER, “The International Dostoevsky Society: From the beginnings to the End of its Existence as an Independent Voluntary Organization”, *Dostoevsky Studies*, New Series, 21, 2017, pp. 13-41. See also Malcolm V. JONES and William Mills TODD III, “A Letter to the Editorial Board of Dostoevsky Studies”, *Dostoevsky Studies*, New Series, 22, 2018, pp. 7-9.

often fraught with personal, political and national passions and rivalries, it was perhaps amazing that the Society held together at all. Each Symposium seemed to produce its own version of a Dostoevskian scandal scene. Some regular participants even claimed to look forward to them.

Yet what might have been a recipe for chaos turned out in the event to be the Society's inner strength. This owes much to some key factors that any history should acknowledge.

The first of course is the universal genius of F.M. Dostoevsky, of which no more needs to be said in this place and in this context. The second, and not far behind, is the 25 years or more of service given by Nadine Natov, its executive secretary from 1971 to 1995. Her commitment to Dostoevsky studies in all its manifestations, and to the IDS, of which she could rightfully claim to be co-founder, supplied the personal dynamism that characterised its work for its first 25 years and beyond. Nadine Natov had many helpers on whom she depended, especially members of the North American Dostoevsky Society, founded on her initiative in 1970. But hers was the indomitable energy and missionary fervour that lit the fire of enthusiasm and kept it alight. She was deservedly elected an Honorary President when her final term as Secretary came to an end in 1995. Many have spoken and written of her generosity, good-heartedness, her fierce dedication and her passion for everything that promoted the international study of Dostoevsky's work. She was capable, as I know myself, of infecting others with that enthusiasm, and of persuading them to undertake tasks which, in their right minds, they would scarcely have contemplated. There were times when her presence seemed ubiquitous and, for many years, the IDS seemed to embody a blend of Dostoevsky's and Nadine Natov's personalities.

The third is the support the fledgling Society received from so many of the world's leading Dostoevsky scholars. To mention any other names at all risks overlooking some whose contribution in the early years, though less visible, was vital to the business of giving credibility and practical shape to the initial enthusiasms of its founder members. These include the hosts of all the Symposia that were to follow. Special mention must however be made of some outstanding names. One of these is undoubtedly Rudolf Neuhäuser, who was not only one of the founding fathers but also for many years edited *Dostoevsky Studies* from its earliest incarnation as a *Bulletin*. Through its vicissitudes with different publishers and editors, the journal was to maintain an enviably high academic standard across the four languages approved by the Society, under the direction of Rudolf Neuhäuser, Gene Fitzgerald, Horst-Jürgen Gerigk and other members of its Editorial Board. Down the years it published not only much important research

and many fine critical studies but also the invaluable bibliographies that were compiled for many years by June Pachuta Farris.²

In his own account of the Society's history, Rudolf also mentions the critical role in the foundation of the IDS of Robert L. Jackson, Dmitrii Grishin (whose idea it was) and G.M. Fridlender who was an extremely important supporter. Robert L. Jackson was also the Society's second President. By no means least, mention must be made of Deborah Martinsen, who was for many years Treasurer, co-hosted the New York Symposium in 1998, and was herself President during the period of the highly successful Moscow Symposium, an event to which the IDS had been (very) cautiously moving since its inception. As Treasurer in the early days of the Society, responsible for collecting membership dues, she would probably understand the expression 'herding cats'.

Few members were sufficiently fluent in Russian, French, German and English³ to get full value from all the papers read at Symposia, and English tended to dominate the programme from the start. But perhaps as important as the formal sessions were the conversations that took place between them, on walks round the delightful, and often historic places where they were set, at mealtimes and over coffee, and on the outings that were always included in the programme, or inspired by the concerts, dramatic performances or Requiem Masses that always accompanied them. Some of these contacts gave birth to books (5 in my own case) and to articles, some collaborative, some in translation, some published in the Society's own journal, many elsewhere. Many members established personal friendships with colleagues who shared their interests, leading to personal invitations to lecture and to take part in other conferences abroad, sometimes across the Iron Curtain. For many generations too, they were forums where younger scholars might be introduced to senior figures in their field, whose work they knew and admired but whom they might otherwise never have met, let alone socialised with, and whose attention they might never have attracted.

The question of Soviet participation was a thorny one. Certainly there were distinguished Russian émigré participants from the very beginning, and there were also members from the other countries of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, but rarely from the Soviet Union itself. While recognition of the international and inter-disciplinary significance of Dostoevsky's work was a founding principle of the Society, it was clearly paradoxical that there were no Soviet Rus-

2 See Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, "Dostoevsky Studies. New Series 1993-2017", *Dostoevsky Studies*, New Series, 21, 2017, pp. 43-44

3 I can find no reference to the use of languages in the Constitution, but it was generally accepted that only these four languages were admitted for use at Symposia and in the Society's publications.

sian participants. Not only was Dostoevsky a great Russian writer, and almost all his works set in Russia, but Russia was also the home of generations of scholars who had produced fundamental research into his life and work, on which we all depended, not to mention the scrupulous work on his *Collected Works* going on in St Petersburg at the time under the direction of G.M. Fridlender and his team at Pushkinsky dom.

Apart from political mistrust, one reason for their absence was the difficulty of extending personal invitations to Soviet scholars. The usual procedure was to send an invitation to an institution, which would then nominate a 'delegation' of its own choosing. Another was an apparent wariness on the part of the Society's leading members of the possibility of a Soviet 'take-over', which might result not only in the exclusion of papers that were politically unacceptable in the Soviet Union, but also narrow the interdisciplinary reach of its programmes and its publications. For a time, this wariness extended to the choice of locations for Symposia and, indeed, there seemed to be a danger that such limits might be imposed at the first IDS Symposium held in Eastern Europe in Ljubljana in 1989. But this danger, together with a suggestion that all papers should be delivered in Russian, was thankfully averted.

There had in fact been three distinguished Soviet Russian participants at the IIIth Symposium at Rungstedgaard in Denmark in 1977: (M.V. Khrapchenko, G.M. Fridlender and P.V. Palievsky). But there were no more before the VIth Symposium at Nottingham in 1986, when G.M. Fridlender was in the event the only Soviet Russian scholar able to participate. But now, with the advent of Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, and a relaxation of East-West tensions, these problems were gradually to abate and Russian scholars to play a full part in future Symposia. On my election as President at Gaming in 1995, I said that it was my hope that Russian participation would be continually strengthened and that we should soon be able to arrange a Symposium in Russia itself. Sadly, G.M. Fridlender was to die that very year but, by the time of the next Symposium in New York in 1998, there was already a very strong Russian presence and it would not be long before a Symposium would take place in Moscow itself in 2013 and Vladimir Zakharov would serve as the first Russian president of the Society. A future historian of the Society might wish to trace the fluctuating participation of various national groups and its broadening reach.

I have retained papers and photographs relating to most of the Symposia that I attended. Sometimes I kept a day-to-day diary as well. Reading them through brings back happy memories of experiences, encounters and inspirational conversations at Symposia at Bad Ems, Bergamo, Cérisy-la-Salle, Nottingham, Oslo, Gaming, New York, Baden-Baden and Geneva. The bulkiest, inevitably, relate to

those in which I played an official role: at Nottingham in 1986; on my election as President at Gaming in 1995; in my capacity as President at New York in 1998. Some of these documents, unhappily, relate to the deaths of prominent members and supporters, beginning with the death of Janko Lavrin at the close of the Nottingham Symposium in 1986. He was 99 and had been Nottingham's first professor of Slavonic languages. During my presidency I also had the sad task of recording the deaths of two of our Honorary Presidents, René Wellek and G.M. Fridlender, both of whom died in 1995, while in 2000 came the death of Frank Seeley, who had introduced me to the study of Dostoevsky as an undergraduate and supervised my own doctoral thesis at Nottingham.

The Nottingham Symposium was generally held to have been a notable success, with participants from 21 countries and 61 papers.⁴ The Symposium was held in a modern Hall of Residence on one of the most attractive campuses in the UK. Moreover, the University Park was situated alongside the beautiful Wollaton Park estate, crowned by its Tudor (16th century) mansion, while private excursions to visit the city, with its castle and historic inns, were easily made. Outings were arranged to Stratford-on-Avon (Shakespeare), Newstead Abbey (Byron) and Eastwood (D. H. Lawrence), all having significant associations with Dostoevsky's work. A piano recital by Alla Kravchenko, a Requiem Mass for Dostoevsky and a closing banquet completed the programme. Nadine Natov referred in her report to the "quiet, friendly atmosphere" that prevailed.⁵ There were, however, the usual stress points. I was unable to attend most of the sessions myself, owing to the stream of organisational issues and the personal requests by participants with which all conference organisers are familiar.

I unfortunately missed the VIIth Symposium in Ljubljana in 1989. It happened to coincide with a hiatus in the production of *Dostoevsky Studies* (no issues appearing in 1990, 1991 and 1992). Consequently, it was unable to publish any of the papers read at the Ljubljana Symposium, but 24 of these appeared in a separate volume entitled *Dostoevsky and the Twentieth Century, the Ljubljana Papers* published by Astra Press in Nottingham in 1993,⁶ which I edited myself and which helped to fill the gap.

At the Gaming Symposium in 1992, I had the honour of being elected President for the following three years, with Erik Egeberg as Secretary. This was a

4 In his article on the early years of the IDS (*see note 1*), Rudolf Neuhäuser misremembered its location and, perhaps for that reason, devoted no space to it.

5 Nadine NATOV, "The Sixth International Dostoevsky Symposium [...] held at Nightingale Hall at the University of Nottingham", *Dostoevsky Studies*, 7, 1986, pp. 215-17.

6 Malcolm V. JONES (Ed.), *Dostoevsky and the Twentieth Century: The Ljubljana Papers* (Nottingham: Astra Press, 1993).

significant moment not only for me but also for the Society, for it was the Symposium at which Nadine Natov was to step down as Executive Secretary and to be elected an Honorary President,⁷ alongside René Wellek, Dmitrii Likhachev and G.M. Fridlender. It also marked the close of Rudolf Neuhäuser's presidency. Though they both continued to exercise influence from the wings, and to make their voices heard for some years to come, this was undoubtedly a key moment in the Society's history. The contribution made by distinguished Russian participants was a particularly welcome feature of this Symposium.

During the next three years, problems with the publication of *Dostoevsky Studies* rumbled on in the background without a clear resolution. At Gaming, it was decided to discontinue the arrangements whereby the journal was published under the management of Charles Schlacks at the University of Utah, Vols 2 to 6 (1994-1998) coming out in a single volume in 1998. Negotiations with Dresden University Press were long drawn out and there had been another long gap in publication. Although I was not involved in these negotiations myself, I was made aware of the problems, and required to intervene at key moments. Further consternation was caused in some quarters by the announcement inside the back cover of the last issue to be published in Utah of a new journal called *The Dostoevsky Journal, An Independent Review*, edited by one of our members, Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover. Rudolf Neuhäuser, who had invested so much time and effort in negotiating a new deal with Dresden University Press, was particularly upset by this development. On the other hand, it could be seen as a welcome sign of the spontaneous growth of members' activities, alongside the national Dostoevsky Societies that had sprung up independently in several countries.

At the end of my three-year term, I presided over the Xth Symposium in New York, organised by Robert Belknap, Deborah Martinsen and their colleagues at Columbia University. As with other Symposia, the meetings were brilliantly organised and there were ample opportunities to fit in excursions and outings round the great city. Once again, the contribution of Russian participants was an outstanding feature of the Symposium and I relieved a heart-warming letter of thanks after its close. Apart from chairing the General Assembly, my own principal contribution was a presidential address in which I foresaw the development of two new lines of research on the eve of the new millennium: on the one hand, there was the burgeoning growth of interest in the religious dimension of Dostoevsky's writing in post-Soviet Russia; on the other there was the dominance of post-modernist theory in the humanities in the West, which had, as yet, left little imprint on the study of Dostoevsky, but would surely do so, I thought,

7 Her name was unfortunately not added to the list of Honorary Presidents in the issues of *Dostoevsky Studies* published at the University of Utah from 1993 to 1998.

in the near future. I recall with pleasure that I was able to introduce younger scholars from my own country to the IDS in New York. These were Alex Harrington, Sarah Hudspith and Sarah Young, who have all published significant contributions in the field.

Although it had become normal for presidents to serve two terms, I felt obliged to seek a successor after my initial three years. This was partly because I had taken early retirement from my university in the previous year and no longer had an institutional base from which to work, and partly because of my wife's deteriorating health. We were fortunately able to persuade Horst-Jürgen Gerigk to take on this task, with Erik Egeberg continuing as Executive Secretary.

Apart from papers relating to individual Symposia, I have retained a fascinating folder labelled 'Problems and Controversies' which relates for the most part to issues that arose and had to be addressed between Symposia. One of the fattest understandably concerns the fortunes of *Dostoevsky Studies*, especially to its transfer between publishers; others relate to financial problems; others to constitutional matters; others to the succession (and even the identity at given points) of the Society's office-holders. Then there were issues of a political nature too. Some involved proposals for boycotts over human rights issues, or solicited support for members experiencing political embarrassment. Some were more parochial, such as the proposal of one of our members at Nottingham to video the sessions. This met with some resistance, lest any of the East European participants should be recorded saying things that might get them into trouble back home. It was also necessary to be aware of the sensitivities of members from countries where no funding was available, lest they should feel they were being treated as second-class members. The size of the folders does not necessarily equate to the magnitude of the problem. One of the bulkiest concerns the proposed date of the Nottingham Symposium and whether it was still possible to change it to avoid a conflict with MAPRYAL long after all the bookings had been made (It was not).

Some of the problems and controversies arose from misunderstandings, cultural differences and perceived personal affronts (of the kind that Dostoevsky would have understood all too well). Some were of an organisational kind. Each host country has its own way of organising conferences, and differing constraints were imposed by local requirements. These did not always conform to the vision of those who, with justice, saw themselves as guardians of the Society's soul. Compromises had to be reached and life had to move on.

There were also, as Rudolf Neuhäuser has highlighted in his article, issues over the legal status of the Society. However successful it had turned out to be while driven by the energy and enthusiasm of its founding members, and howev-

er democratic its General Assembly might have appeared, the processes by which recommendations reached the General Assembly could rarely be described as transparent. Moreover, without affiliation to an international cultural body, or charitable status under one or another national jurisdiction, it could be impossible to open a bank account, let alone to receive grants from outside bodies. The financing of each Symposium depended largely on local arrangements, and the financing of *Dostoevsky Studies* seemed always to be on a knife-edge. Rudolf had himself made unsuccessful attempts to resolve this issue. It was left to Ulrich Schmid, during his presidency from 2004 to 2007, to find a solution involving changes to the constitution which, whatever reservations some of the founder members may have had, received the approval of the General Assembly with little dissent.

My own last Symposium was the one at Geneva in 2004. Of that, as well as of the others that I attended but have not described in any detail, I retain the fondest of memories. Of course, I remember some outstanding contributions during the formal sessions but, above all, I remember the stimulating conversations that I enjoyed in between. I think with deep satisfaction of the expansion of the Society, with Symposia in an ever-increasing list of different countries, each with its own tradition of Dostoevsky scholarship, but with a shared belief in the value of international dialogue.

I recall saying in my retirement speech from the University of Nottingham in 1997 that the IDS seemed at times like a scaled-down version of what the world would have been like if it had been created by Dostoevsky. Of course, that was said with tongue in cheek, but there were indeed times when it seemed as though the membership consisted principally of characters from his novels. Fortunately, we had all read our Bakhtin, and polyphony ultimately prevailed. The evidence is to be found in its flourishing condition 50 years on and I am deeply grateful for the opportunity of paying my own tribute on this notable occasion.

Милуша БУБЕНИКОВА
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Франтишек Каутман и его место в истории создания Международного Общества Достоевского

Год 2021 знаменателен для достоевсковедов всего мира. В этом году отмечается несколько достоевских и достоевсковедческих годовщин, среди которых на первом месте – 200-летие рождения Федора Михайловича Достоевского. С годовщиной рождения великого писателя имеет непосредственную связь создание Международного Общества Достоевского (далее – МОД) 50 лет тому назад. В конце 60-х годов XX века приближающаяся 150-ая годовщина рождения писателя вдохновила достоевсковедов на создание их профессиональной организации. Планы на создание этой организации обдумывались и обсуждались в условиях политической оттепели в Европе, когда казалось, что сотрудничество ученых из Запада и Востока будет возможным. Последующие события показали, что это была иллюзия. На протяжении многих лет реальному и дельному сотрудничеству препятствовали ‘железный занавес’ и условия политической несвободы на Восток от этого занавеса.

Для чешского достоевсковеда с его знаниями, накопленными к 2021 г., трудно себе представить разговор об истории создания Международного Общества Достоевского без того, чтобы упомянуть фамилию чешского знатока творчества Федора Михайловича Достоевского, автора многих работ о писателе, включая монографию о нем – Франтишека Каутмана (František Kautman, 1927-2016). Однако, из международного контекста и научного общения современных достоевсковедов эта фамилия давно исчезла. На совместном интернетном сайте Международного и Североамериканского Обществ Достоевского в подробном описании истории возникновения МОД в октябре 2021 г. нигде фамилия Франтишека Каутмана не встречается.¹ Причем были попытки вернуть имя Каутмана в историю международного достоевсковедения и сознание достоевсковедов XXI века. Уже в 2008 году петербургский альманах

1 См. <https://dostoevsky.org/about/history/>

Достоевский и мировая культура опубликовал воспоминания Каутмана “Моя жизнь с Достоевским (1957 -1997)”,² где автор подробно пишет о своей переписке с Дмитрием Гришиным³ и совместной разработке идеи Гришина на создание международного Общества Достоевского. Он пишет, что

[в] Советской России отнеслись к такой идее враждебно [и] только после того как удалось заинтересовать этим предложением американцев [...], канадцев [...], скандинавов [...] и немцев [...], было основано общество International Dostoevsky Society. Я стал одним из первых членов Общества, представителем Чехословакии в организационном комитете, писал в его *Бюллетень*, но после августа 1968 г.⁴ поддерживать контакты с западными коллегами было непросто. [...] (На учредительный симпозиум в Бад-Эмсе (1971) я просто послал письменное извинение и приветствие, напечатанное в *Бюллетене* Общества).⁵

Участию Каутмана на конгрессе МОД в Копенгагене в 1977 г. воспрепятствовали официальные чехословацкие органы, наказавшие ученого за его подпись под документом «Хартия-77» – публичным воззванием, подписанным 242-ми общественными деятелями Чехословакии в январе 1977 г., в котором критиковалось правительство страны, нарушавшее собственную Конституцию и основополагающие документы Организации Объединенных Наций в области прав человека. Часть воспоминаний Каутмана, касающаяся его участия в МОД, заключают трогательные слова: «Постепенно мои связи с Обществом сошли на нет, мне перестали приходить информационные материалы, а поскольку я не мог платить членские взносы, то мое членство в Обществе, вероятно, было приостановлено».⁶

2 Франтишек КАУТМАН, “Моя жизнь с Достоевским (1957-1997)”, *Достоевский и мировая культура*, Альманах № 24 (Москва: Серебряный век, 2008), с. 223-250.

3 Дмитрий Владимирович Гришин (1908-1975) – литературовед, русист, профессор Мельбурнского университета.

4 Конкретным исходным пунктом, с которого начинается история МОД является Международный съезд славистов в Праге в августе 1968 года (с 7 по 13-е число). Некоторые участники съезда, задержавшиеся в Праге, стали 21-го августа нежеланными свидетелями оккупирования Чехословакии войсками Варшавского договора (за исключением Румынии).

5 КАУТМАН, с. 234.

6 Там же, с. 235.

Франтишек Каутман прожил длинную и активную жизнь. У него была своя история человека – ученого до августа 1968-го года и после него. Публичное выражение несогласия с оккупированием Чехословакии в основном армией братского тогда Советского Союза осуждало человека на постепенное исчезновение из своей профессии и из общества. Это была судьба не только Каутмана. Многие в последствии стали диссидентами. Ученые, учителя и инженеры стали продавцами, кочегарами или мойщиками окон.

Франтишек Каутман закончил в 1949-м году Институт политических наук в Праге. В 1949-1952 гг. он был главным редактором издательства «Чехословацкий писатель». В 1952-1959 гг. он учился в аспирантуре в Литературном институте им. Горького в Москве. Перед отъездом в Москву его главной темой в литературе была чешская поэзия, а именно творческое наследие поэта С. К. Неймана (S. K. Neumann, 1875-1947). В Москве Каутман углубился в изучение русской классической литературы и все больше внимания начал уделять наследию писателя Ф.М. Достоевского, а также его восприятию в чешской культуре. Результатом его занятий стали опубликованные книги: *Boje o Dostojevského* [Битвы за Достоевского] (1966) – книга в хронологическом порядке, с 40-х гг. XIX века по 60-е гг. XX века, приводит историю важнейших интерпретаций, переводов и этапов восприятия Достоевского в чешской культурно-общественной жизни и в чешской литературе;⁷ *F. X. Šalda a F.M. Dostojevskij* (1968) – монография об отношении выдающегося чешского литературного критика Ф. Кс. Шальды первой половины XX века к творческому наследию Достоевского; и *Dostojevskij – věčný problém člověka* [Достоевский – вечная проблема человека] (впервые в самиздате в 1976 г.); а также подготовка издания писем Ф.М. Достоевского на чешском языке в 1966 г.⁸ В 1970-1989 гг. Ф. Каутман активно работал в диссенте и публиковался в самиздате и в периодиках, издаваемых за пределами Чехословакии. Он обратил свое внимание на творческое наследие Франца Кафки и чешских писателей Эгона Гостовского (Egon Hostovský, 1908-1973),

7 Милуша БУБЕНИКОВА, “Достоевский в Чехии”, в: Татьяна А. КАСАТКИНА (под ред.), *Достоевский и XX век*, т. 2 (Москва: ИМЛИ РАН, 2007), с. 377.

8 Более подробно об этих работах и творческом наследии Ф. Каутмана см. КАУТМАН, “Моя жизнь с Достоевским (1957-1997)”, БУБЕНИКОВА, “Достоевский в Чехии”, а также сб. Miluša BUBENÍKOVÁ, Radka HRÍVKOVÁ (Sest.), *Na trnitých cestách života a tvorby. Sborník příspěvků ze symposia pořádaného u příležitosti jubilea Františka Kautmana* (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR, 2015) (сборник включает полную библиографию работ Ф. Каутмана и работ о нем, с. 167-247).

творившего в эмиграции, и трагически погибшего поэта Виктора Дыка (Viktor Dyk, 1877-1931), и занимался также вопросами философско-политических консеквенций существования чешского народа. Большинство этих работ ему удалось издать официально после 'бархатной' революции 1989 года.

'Бархатная' революция стала для почти 63-летнего Каутмана животворным исходным пунктом для новой активности в разных направлениях. Он вернулся за кафедру, читал лекции по литературе студентам философского и педагогического факультетов. Он стал членом редакционного коллектива, готовящего академическое издание 3-го тома работы Т. Г. Масарика *Россия и Европа*.⁹ Каутман регулярно писал комментарии и полемики на злободневные темы в газеты и журналы и сотрудничал с новыми писательскими организациями. В 2004 г. он стал инициатором возобновления деятельности Общества Достоевского в Праге (вместе с Радкой Гржибковой и Милушей Бубениковой). Возобновленное Общество, в большинстве случаев в сотрудничестве со Славянской библиотекой в Праге и Кафедрой русистики Педагогического факультета Карлова Университета, организует литературные беседы, семинарии и конференции и ему удалось издать несколько сборников, среди которых важнейшими можно назвать сб. *Достоевский сегодня. Сборник материалов конференции с международным участием*¹⁰ (в сборнике публиковались лучшие представители чешской русистики того времени, а также приветственное письмо Ф. Каутмана на чешском, английском и русском языках) и сборник, посвященный юбилею рождения Ф. Каутмана *На тернистых дорогах жизни и творчества*,¹¹ издание которого финансово поддержали члены Международного Общества Достоевского – Наталья Владимировна Шварц, Deborah Martinsen и Robert L. Belknap, а также члены чешского Общества Достоевского в Праге. Сборник удалось представить и показать лицом Франтишека Каутмана на большом экране делегатам конгресса МОД в Гранаде в июне 2016 года. К сожалению известие о его 'возвращении' в ряды достоевсковедов всего мира не удалось передать самому Каутману, который незадолго после окончания конгресса скорпостижно скончался.

Кругом возвращаемся к началу размышления об участии Ф. Каутмана

9 Tomáš G. MASARYK, *Rusko a Evropa: Studie o duchovních prouděch v Rusku*. Díl III, část 2. a část 3. (Praha: Ústav T. G. Masaryka, 1996).

10 Miluša BUBENÍKOVÁ, Marta HRABÁKOVÁ, Radka HRÁBKOVÁ (Sest.), *Dostojevskij dnes: Sborník příspěvků z konference s mezinárodní účastí* (Praha, 27. listopadu 2006, Národní knihovna České republiky) (Praha: Národní knihovna ČR, Slovanská knihovna, 2007).

11 Miluša BUBENÍKOVÁ, Radka HRÁBKOVÁ (Sest.), *Na trnitých cestách života a tvorby...*

в формировании МОД. В сентябре 2021 года получила автор этой статьи возможность прочитать в Литературном архиве Памятника национальной письменности в Праге письма Д. Гришина Ф. Каутману 1968-1974 гг. Каутман дал ей на это еще при жизни свое согласие. В фонде Каутмана хранится 13 писем от Д. Гришина (1 письмо от 1968 г., 6 писем от 1969 г., 2 письма от 1970 г., 3 письма от 1971 г. и 1 письмо от 1974 г.). В письмах пишется обо всем том, что наконец удалось осуществить (создании общества, организационном комитете, конгрессах, бюллетени, публикациях, библиографии работ о Достоевском), но без личного участия самого Каутмана. В приложении к этой статье мы публикуем первое и единственное письмо от 1968 года и будем надеяться, что в недалеком будущем удастся не только опубликовать все эти письма, но также подыскать ответы на них самого Каутмана и таким образом сделать картину истории создания Международного Общества Достоевского более объективной и полной.

Приложение

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[рукопись] 18. 12. [19]68

Глубокоуважаемый профессор Kaufman!¹²

Мне много хорошего написал про Вас профессор Mathauser¹³ и я очень сожалею, что не смог познакомиться с Вами на съезде в Праге.¹⁴

Приходится обращаться к Вам письменно. На съезде я говорил со многими коллегами о необходимости создания интернационального общества востоковедов. Мы даже провели там маленькое совещание. Бывший на совещании профессор Фридендер¹⁵ настоял, чтобы общество было организовано при комитете славистов.¹⁶ Просили профессора Parolek¹⁷ заняться этим вопросом.

12. Фамилия Каутмана написана неправильно, что может служить свидетельством тому, что Д. Гришин обращается к Каутману впервые.

13. Zdeněk Mathauser (1920-2007) – чешский литературовед, русист, эстетик, член Пражского лингвистического кружка.

14. Имеется в виду Международный съезд славистов – ср. примечание № 4.

15. Георгий Михайлович Фридендер (1915-1995) – достоевковед, в дальнейшем член и почетный президент МОД.

16. Международный комитет славистов, организующий Международные конгрессы славистов с 1929 г.

17. Radegast Parolek (1920-2019) – чешский литературовед, русист, профессор Карлова университета, автор монографии *F.M. Dostojevskij* (Прага, 1963) – о полемике с ним см. КАУТМАН, “Моя жизнь с Достоевским”, с. 231.

Но после всего случившегося у Вас,¹⁸ я получил письма от коллег, которые находят, что общество должно быть организовано не при комитете славистов, а самостоятельно. Кроме того, до следующего конгресса славистов пять лет. Ждать очень долго. Не лучше ли нам взяться за организацию самим? Что Вы думаете обо всем этом? Поговорите с профессором Parolek.¹⁹ Может быть Вы с ним будете членами организационного комитета от Чехословакии?

Разрешите пожелать Вам всего хорошего и поздравить Вас с наступающими праздниками.

Ваш Д. Гришин

DR. D. GRISHIN
Russian Depart[ment]
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Australia

P. S. простой почтой высылаю Вам текст доклада, который я читал на конгрессе.²⁰

18 Оккупация в августе 1968 г. – ср. примечание № 4.

19 Проф. Паролек опубликовал воспоминания, в которых есть упоминания о его участии в Международном съезде славистов в Праге в августе 1968 г., но без названия фамилии проф. Гришина и намеков на идею создания МОД – см. Radegast PAROLEK, *Kruté a krásné dvacáté století: Memoárová mozaika v pěti dílech* (Praha: Academia, 2013).

20 Наверное имеется в виду статья ГРИШИНА “Жанры Дневника писателя Ф.М. Достоевского”, в: *VI Международный съезд славистов, Прага, 1968* (Мельбурн: Мельбурнский университет, 1968).

IRENE ZOHRAB

Victoria University – Te Herenga Waka, Wellington

Impressions (from a New Zealand perspective) of the history of the IDS and its Symposia

The inaugural International Dostoevsky Symposium in Bad Ems, West Germany in September 1-5, 1971, dedicated to the sesquicentennial anniversary of the birth of F. M. Dostoevsky, saw the founding of the International Dostoevsky Society (IDS). As a participant at that symposium, I have been invited to contribute some personal thoughts and observations on the IDS from a distinctive New Zealand perspective: “The History of the IDS (and of its regional expressions) is going to be a significant part of the history of Dostoevsky studies”. Addressing me in my role as the New Zealand Representative of the IDS, the invitation continued: “it would be really important to have a memory or an article from you – as one of the founders of the IDS and as the senior rep of Oceanian Dostoevsky studies [...]. The Dostoevsky community needs more voices from its beginnings and from crucial moments of this history”.

I have shared some views on earlier occasions about the IDS¹ – intended as an international forum for the study of the life and works of F.M. Dostoevsky, and I feel duty-bound to attempt to set down some further impressions on this 50th anniversary of the Society’s existence, that also marks the bicentennial anniversary of Dostoevsky’s birth in 1821. But I know in advance that it will be an impossible task to fulfill and give the topic justice. The IDS was created and has flourished for the last 50 years thanks to the voluntary work and dedication of countless outstanding individuals from many countries of the globe inspired by what Dostoevsky and his works have meant to them and to world culture. Their names and input should be recognized and acknowledged, but that, unfortunately will be impossible for me to do, especially from my distant ‘outsider’s’ perspective from Aotearoa, though nevertheless an unattainable ideal to strive for!

1 I was invited to say a few words about the first IDS Symposium at the Plenary Opening of the XV IDS Symposium in Moscow in 2013: “Приветствия XV Симпозиума Международного Общества Достоевского”, Москва, 2013. See also: Ирен ЗОХРАБ, “Восприятие Достоевского писателями и священнослужителями Новой Зеландии”, *Достоевский. Материалы и исследования*, т. 20 (Санкт-Петербург, Нестор-История, 2013), с. 420-438.

Most of us interested in the history of the IDS would have read the contributions on various aspects of the society's past in recent issues of *Dostoevsky Studies. The Journal of the International Dostoevsky Society, New Series*, vol. 21 (2017) and vol. 23 (2020) by Rudolf Neuhäuser (Klagenfurt, Austria) and Stefano Aloe (Verona, Italy) respectively.² Each one of these two contributions was memorable in its own way and detailed, though the former was considered by some to be rather 'subjective', while the latter was more impartial and even-handed, plus leavened by its 'Dostoevskian' humour. Certain inaccuracies in the account of Neuhäuser were corrected in subsequent letters to the Editorial Board of *Dostoevsky Studies* from Malcolm V. Jones (Nottingham, UK), William Mills Todd III (Harvard, USA).³

IDS Symposia or Conferences have been taking place every three years since 1971 in different locations of the globe and in distinctive picturesque venues. They have been the catalyst that has united its membership, nourished its growth and served to encourage the production of original research on Dostoevsky, while popular interest in him has been growing exponentially. Each one of those conferences required a mammoth team effort to bring to fruition, guided by the Society's ruling president, its executive secretary and an organizing committee. Members of the IDS, who were involved in organizing these conferences can be counted in their hundreds, even thousands. Here is a reminder of the number and sequence of these conferences:

I - 1971 – Bad Ems, West Germany; II - 1974 – St. Wolfgang, Austria;
 III - 1977 – Rungstedgaard, Denmark; IV - 1980 – Bergamo, Italy;
 V - 1983 – Cerisy-la-Salle, France; VI - 1986 – Nottingham, Great Britain;
 VII - 1989 – Ljubljana, Yugoslavia; VIII - 1992 – Oslo, Norway;
 IX - 1995 – Gaming, Austria; X - 1998 – New York, USA;
 XI - 2001 – Baden-Baden, Germany; XII - 2004 – Geneva, Switzerland;
 XIII - 2007 – Budapest, Hungary; XIV - 2010 – Naples, Italy;
 XV - 2013 – Moscow, Russia; XVI - 2016 – Granada, Spain;
 XVII - 2019 – Boston, USA.

2 Rudolf NEUHÄUSER, "The International Dostoevsky Society: From the Beginnings to the End of its Existence as an Independent Voluntary Organization", *Dostoevsky Studies. New Series*, vol. 21, 2017, pp. 13-42. Stefano ALOE, "Foreword and a Short History of the Journal", *Dostoevsky Studies New Series*, vol. 23, 2020, pp. 5-18. In Russian: "Вступление и краткая история журнала", *ibidem*, с. 19-28.

3 Malcolm V. JONES, William Mills TODD III, "A Letter to the Editorial Board of *Dostoevsky Studies*", *Dostoevsky Studies. New Series*, vol. 22, 2018, pp. 7-9.

The Society's channels of communication, whether the early *Bulletin of the International Dostoevsky Society* or the later publications of *Dostoevsky Studies* in all its different series and manifestations, also its *Dostoevsky Monographs*, and more recently its website, have been instrumental in accelerating the impact of Dostoevsky internationally. And these channels too have required incredible effort and expertise to launch, maintain and keep flourishing. As the newly elected current President of the IDS International Dostoevsky Society, Carol Apollonio (USA) has reminded us in her "Introduction" to the opening of the inaugural electronic issue of *Dostoevsky Studies* vol. 23 (2020): the journal that "marks the turn of the new century – Dostoevsky's third" has been published "in Klagenfurt, Austria; Pittsburgh, Salt Lake City, Idyllwild, CA (USA); and Dresden and Tübingen, Germany. With each new stage of its development, the journal has expanded its reach and responded to the spirit of the times".⁴

In 2013 in response to an invitation from Emil Dimitrov (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) to write an introductory note for the inaugural issue of the journal of the Bulgarian Dostoevsky Society *Dostoevski: misāl i obraz. (Dostoevsky. Thought and Image)* and resurrect memories of the initial plans to form an IDS in 1971, I noted: "In the accounts of the history of the creation of the International Society of Dostoevsky full credit is always given to Dmitrii V. Grishin of the University of Melbourne as the initiator of the idea".⁵ For the sake of legitimacy I cited the information in the Obituary for Grishin published in the *Dostoevsky Bulletin*, no. 6, November 1976, (p. 35) by Neuhäuser.⁶ It stated that

In 1968, on the occasion of the VIth International Congress of Slavists in Prague, Dmitry Vladimirovich (D.V. Grishin) gathered some of the Slavists who had participated in a session dedicated to Dostoevsky and proposed the foundation of an International Society to coincide with the writer's 150th birthday in 1971. At first the International Committee of Slavists was requested to undertake the preparatory work. When this did not work out, Dmitry Vladimirovich founded an International Organising Committee.

4 Carol APOLLONIO, "Introductory Word", *Dostoevsky Studies*. New Series, vol. 23, 2020, p. 4.

5 Айрини ЗОХРАБ, "Международното общество 'Достоевский' – история и надежди", *Достоевски: мисъл и образ*, Том 1, (София: Исток-Запад, 2014), с. 12-18, <https://www.ozone.bg/media/pdfs/5761cfoe79034.pdf>

6 Rudolf NEUHÄUSER, "Dmitry Vladimirovich Grishin", *Bulletin. International Dostoevsky Society*, No. 6, November 1976, p. 35.

The sequence of events is probably known to most, so there is no need to repeat here everything that I wrote in 2013, only to stress that Grishin took it upon himself to engage the international community of Slavists to bring this project to fruition: “His untiring devotion found expression in a world-wide correspondence and appeals which eventually proved successful”. Finally, under his Presidency of the Organising Committee it was arranged to hold the inaugural Symposium in the spa-town Bad Ems in 1971 and Grishin was elected its first Vice-President (out of three), its Australian national representative and designated as “Founder” (*See ill. 1 and 2 in the Appendix*).⁷ Grishin was assisted in the organisation of the first Dostoevsky Symposium by Nadine Natov of the George Washington University, Washington D.C. and by Neuhäuser. Natov was instrumental in organising the formation of the North American Dostoevsky Society (NADS) (that encompasses the US and Canada) in December 1970 in New York that also lobbied for the creation of IDS. The NADS officers elected were Robert Louis Jackson (President), Neuhäuser, Vladimir Seduro and Victor Terras (Vice-Presidents), Natov (Secretary-Treasurer). It would be fair to say that without Natov’s commitment, generosity, and sheer hard work, the International Dostoevsky Society may not have got off the ground as successfully and spectacularly as it did in the early 1970s. Neither would it have continued with its Symposia every three years, described by Nadine as “a very useful and efficient scholarly organization, which provides an excellent opportunity for academic and personal contacts and collaboration among scholars from various countries”.⁸

I could not omit in my contribution to the journal of the Bulgarian Dostoevsky Society from sketching out briefly my impressions of the importance to the history of the IDS of its early newsletter: *Bulletin of the International Dostoevsky Society* that developed later into the journal *Dostoevsky Studies*:

Rudolf Neuhäuser, today Professor Emeritus of Slavic Studies, Alpen-Adria Universität Klagenfurt, took a leading part in organizing the founding Symposium of the International Dostoevsky Society (IDS) in Bad Ems. Neuhäuser was Head of the Department at the University of Western Ontario at the time, and later edited from 1980 to 1989 the first nine issues of *Dostoevsky Studies*. The earlier *Bulletins* were also edited by him.⁹

7 *Bulletin of the International Dostoevsky Society*, No 1. Inside cover page.

8 Irene ZOHRAB, “In Memory of Nadine Natov, 1918-2005. Obituary”, *Dostoevsky Studies*. New Series, vol. 9, 2005, pp. 243-245.

9 ЗОХРАБ, “Международното общество ‘Достоевский...’”.

I pointed out that Neuhäuser was assisted by a number of others in the production of the *Bulletin*. Soon after its establishment the *Bulletin* was published for two years at the University of Pittsburgh with the assistance of Professor Charles Schlacks Jr. After this “Professor Martin P. Rice of the University of Tennessee became Assistant Editor and began publishing the *Bulletins* at the University of Tennessee. The initial aim of these *Bulletins* was to compile and publish a bibliography of works relating to Dostoevsky.” Attached was a scanned first page of the *Bulletin*, vol. 1, no. 2, November 1972. It listed all the Office-holders of the International Dostoevsky Society, including 20 National Representatives.

The Representative of the USSR is listed as Sergey Belov, although to the best of my knowledge he had not attended the International Dostoevsky Symposium. In fact, no one from Russia attended the inaugural Symposium. There were representatives from Russia at later Symposia [...]. In the 6th issue of the *Bulletin* for November 1976 the IDS welcomed its latest members – the Japanese Dostoevsky Society, founded in Tokyo in 1969. An account of the activities of the Japanese Dostoevsky Society by Professors K. Araya and T. Kinoshita, was published in that issue of the *Bulletin*.¹⁰

Neuhäuser’s recollections of the history of the publications of IDS, the *Bulletin* and *Dostoevsky Studies*, reminded us that the journals’ path to success had been bumpy at times: “no issues of the journal appeared in the years 1990, 1991 and 1992” and “no issues were published for 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997”.¹¹ In the same issue of *Dostoevsky Studies* for 2017, Horst-Jürgen Gerigk (University of Heidelberg) provided a brief over-view (in German) of the production of *Dostoevsky Studies* New Series since he became its chief editor.¹² Following their accounts, the complicated saga of the publication of the *Bulletin* and of *Dostoevsky’s Studies* from its inception was further explained and clarified by Stefano Aloe.¹³

From my perspective today (one that has been affected by producing the *NZSJ*), the uncertainties and complications of bringing out an IDS publication for the last 50 years were finally overcome under the management of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ NEUHÄUSER, “The International Dostoevsky Society”, pp. 36-37.

¹² HORST-JÜRGEN GERIGK, “Dostoevsky Studies. New Series. 1993-2017”, *Dostoevsky Studies*. New Series, vol. 21, 2017, pp. 43-44.

¹³ ALOE, pp.5-18, 20-28.

Gerigk, who took over the responsibility of producing *Dostoevsky Studies* New Series in 1998. He has been listed since that time on its Editorial Board page as being one of its Managing Editors. His “experienced guidance” and “consistent solid leadership”, as Aloe referred to it, have been instrumental in consolidating the journal’s academic reputation and economic survival.¹⁴ The other four Managing Editors at the time were Erik Egeberg (University of Tromsø), Gene Fitzgerald (University of Utah), Malcolm Jones (University of Nottingham) and Neuhäuser (University of Klagenfurt) (They have all had an input into *DS*, but unless they write about it themselves, we shall never know its nature and extent). Further stability was achieved when from Volume 3 (1999) *Dostoevsky Studies* began to be published by Attempto Verlag in Tübingen (later to become Narr Francke Attempto Verlag).¹⁵ The composition of the “Managing Editors” appears to have remained constant for over ten years, until Volume 14 (2010) when a Guest Editor, Susan McReynolds (Northwestern University) edited Volume 13 (2009) on “Dostoevsky and Christianity”. The following year from Volume 15 (2011) Deborah A. Martinsen (Columbia University) was added to the list of Managing Editors, while Fitzgerald and Jones became Honorary Editors. From Volume 18 (2014) Ulrich Schmid (University St. Gallen) became a Managing Editor. Volume 22 (2018) was the journal’s last paper issue. There was no publication in 2019 and Volume 23 appeared as an on-line issue in 2020: “The first on-line *Dostoevsky Studies*, begins its life in Verona, Italy, with the most diverse and international Editorial Board in history”.¹⁶ Today the Managing Editor is Stefano Aloe, while Gerigk becomes an Honorary Editor. During that time the initial make-up of Editorial Consultants appeared to remain fairly stable, though new names were added 2011-2012, and again more recently.

Through the efforts of all, pioneering research relating to Dostoevsky and his works that was “international in character” and original was promoted, as the IDS intended it, perhaps in accordance with Grishin’s view of Dostoevsky’s image:

Dostoevsky’s image is both contradictory and indistinct: he assumes alter egos, his character varies; instead of one face we see many, as it were, and we try, each of us individually, in isolation from one another, to comprehend and explain this enigmatic and contradictory writer. These tasks are beyond the powers of

14 *Ibidem*, p. 9.

15 GERIGK, pp. 43-44.

16 APOLLONIO, p. 4.

a single person. We need collaborative criticism, we need a broad exchange of opinion, we need discussion, we need personal contact.¹⁷

The aims of the proposed IDS as Grishin saw them were expressed in his “Appeal” (*Obrashchenie*) to established researchers of Dostoevsky and his works. His “Appeal” was also cited in full in the text of his Inaugural Address at the opening of the Symposium in Bad Ems. As he explained in his address, initially Grishin had contacted Dr František Kautman (Czechoslovakia) (who had published a review of Grishin’s book on the *Writer’s Diary: Dnevnik pisatel’ia F. M. Dostoevskogo* (1966) in the Prague journal *Cheshskaya Rusistika*). Following the ‘Prague Spring’, Czechoslovakia was considered to be one of the more liberal Eastern Bloc countries. Grishin invited him (Kautman) to become a member of an Organising Committee for the foundation of IDS, which the latter accepted. On the advice of Kautman, Grishin also wrote to Sergey V. Belov (USSR) and invited him as well, which the latter also accepted. He then approached professor Igor Vahros (Finland). As the size of the Organising committee grew, Grishin composed the text of the “Appeal” (*Obrashchenie*) and a *Draft Charter (Proekt ustava)*. These were published in their entirety in the Czech journal *Chekhoslovatskaya Rusistika* no. 5, 1970 and subsequently in other countries as well (*See ill. 3*). Grishin has recorded that he also contacted Boris I. Bursov, Dmitri D. Blagoi and Konstantin I. Fedin, all of the USSR, plus the Academy of Sciences, though the latter according to him was not interested. In his introductory speech to the first IDS Symposium he said that he had received many letters of interest from “Leningrad, Prague, Warsaw and other cities and countries, with the request to do everything in his power to publish all the Symposium materials, including discussions”.¹⁸

In his “Appeal” Grishin stressed that: “Dostoevsky was a writer of huge cosmic sway. In his works he posed not just national but world problems; in his ‘harsh epoch’ he dreamt of a ‘union of all humanity’, of world-wide harmony, of creating heaven on earth. He investigated man’s spiritual life. While always remaining Russian and even the most Russian of all Russians, he crossed the bounds of national limitation and became a citizen of the world”... Grishin continued:

17 Dmitry V. GRISHIN (President of the Organizing Committee), “Aims and Purposes of the Symposium”, *Bulletin of the International Dostoevsky Society*, vol. 1, 1972, p. 4.

18 Дмитрий В. Гришин, “Международный Симпозиум Достоевского. Отчетный доклад председателя оргкомитета международного общества исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского, Д-ра Д.В. Гришина на первом международном симпозиуме. 2 сентября 1971 года”, *Эпоха. Русская литературная газета*, апрель 1972, с. 11.

It seems to me that the time has come for researchers into Dostoevsky's life and works from different countries to unite in a single association, which will have as its aim: assisting in the establishment and development of friendly ties and collaboration between members of the association, facilitating the exchange of information, publishing a bulletin, reference works and separate monographs, and organizing meetings between colleagues from different countries of the world. [...] The organizing committee calls on all researchers into Dostoevsky's works to take the most active part in the association's activities. [...] I appeal to you to consider yourselves at this symposium not just participants in but creators of our association. ... We must remember that by our present activity we are laying the foundations for future generations of researchers into Dostoevsky's works.¹⁹

Grishin's untimely death in 1975 prevented him from shaping the later development of the IDS. From then on the guiding principles and the emerging ethos of the IDS was shaped and determined by its Presidents, with the assistance of its Executive Secretaries. An influential Executive Secretary was Nator, as has been pointed out, and not solely by virtue of her long service from 1971 to 1993. She was followed by Egeberg (Norway), Schmid (Switzerland), McReynolds (USA) and Aloe (Italy) each one of whom had an input into the IDS (for instance Schmid created its first website and initiated an investigation into its Constitution).

The Presidents have included Nils Åke Nilsson (Sweden); Jackson (USA); Michel Cadot (France); Neuhäuser (Austria); Jones (Great Britain); Gerigk (Germany); Schmid (Switzerland); Martinsen (USA); Vladimir Zakharov (Russia); and most recently Apollonio (USA).

Doubtlessly, the creation of the IDS served to bolster the movement to publish the *Complete Collected Works* of Dostoevsky in 30 vols. in the Soviet Union. Its instigator and leader of its research team, G.M. Fridlender in an interview with K.A. Stepanyan in 1995 recalled the history of the project stating that "The publication was really difficult to carry out [...] primarily because for many years they tried to disrupt the publishing of this publication 'from above', and later to slow it down for political reasons".²⁰ Fridlender stated

19 Дмитрий В. Гришин, "Международный Симпозиум Достоевского. Речь председателя организационного комитета исследователей жизни и творческой деятельности Ф.М. Достоевского, Д-ра Д.В. Гришина на первом международном симпозиуме, посвящённом 150-летию со дня рождения гениального русского писателя", *Эпоха. Русская литературная газета*, апрель 1972, с. 10.

20 "С подлинным уважением к гению Достоевского..." Интервью с академиком РАН

that the first volume of the *PSS (Complete Collected Works)* was ready to be published in 1971, but did not appear in that year of Dostoevsky's jubilee, but at the beginning of 1972:

Subsequently, many people who were hostile to Dostoevsky addressed the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and other authorities with a demand to stop the publishing of this academic publication. One of these appeals was addressed to M.A. Suslov, who imposed a resolution on it: "Please sort this out" [...]. But we had many friends both in Russia and abroad, and we managed to repulse all these attacks. Publishing house "Nauka" twice (after the release of the 7th and 17th volumes) interrupted the release of the publication, and also tried to throw out of it draft materials for *The Adolescent*, (which did not come out in volumes XIV and XV straight after the text *The Adolescent* – that instead contained *The Brothers Karamazov*, but came out in volumes XVI and XVII), as well as to make a number of cuts in volume XXI, but we did not agree with this and insisted, not without difficulty, on the completeness of the reproduction of the author's text in all volumes of the academic edition.²¹

Fridlender added that they decided later to produce a series that would be a 'sputnik' to the *Complete Collected Works: Dostoevsky. Materials and Research*: "In the 20 years from 1974 until 1994 we published 11 volumes". In addition to their own participants these "included also works by scholars from Germany, France, England, Japan, USA, New Zealand and other countries".²²

I must admit (again from my NZ perspective with its tradition of female Prime Ministers of which there have been three) that I recall particularly the memorable election of Deborah Martinsen (USA) in 2007 at the XIIIth Symposium of IDS in Budapest, Hungary, as the first female President of IDS. I had been acquainted with her for some time, as she had contacted me some years earlier (after I had begun publishing contributions on Dostoevsky as Editor of Meshchersky's *Grazhdanin* in Australasian and international publications, including *Dostoevsky Studies*), and she passed on to me an autographed

Г.М. Фридендером", *Достоевский и мировая культура*. Альманах, № 4, Москва, 1995, с. 5-20 (11). See also: Георгий М. ФРИДЛЕНДЕР, "О научных принципах и задачах академических изданий русских классиков (на материале *Полного собрания сочинений Достоевского*)", *Известия Академии наук СССР (Серия литературы и языка)*, 1991, т. 50, № 5, с. 401-413.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²² *Ibid.*, p.15.

copy of an article from Vladimir Viktorovich (USSR), who wished to establish contact (*see ill. 4*). The elections were preceded by quite a long and fairly heated discussion by the Executive Council and the Regional Coordinators of the IDS. It resulted in Deborah's election to the presidency (to follow on that of Ulrich Schmid), and the election of Aloe as Executive Secretary (to follow on Susan McReynolds in that role). I participated in that discussion backing Martinsen's nomination and floated the idea that consideration should be given soon to nominating as President a representative from Russia. Since then I have valued the inclusive, libertarian and democratic nature of Deborah's presidency that reflected her own open-mindedness and professionalism.

At the time of her election in 2007 the NADS (founded in 1970), was perhaps the biggest national Dostoevsky society, though it was eventually to be overtaken by the Dostoevsky Society in Russia (*Rossiiskoe Obshchestvo Dostoevskogo*) that had been founded in the early 1990s when it became formally a member of IDS. The National representatives for Russia have been at various times V. Tunimanov (Institute of Russian Literature, St. Petersburg), who became vice president of IDS in 1995, Igor Volgin (Moscow University) until 2001 and then Vice-President, the late K. Stepanyan, and currently Pavel Fokin.²³

Following D. Martinsen's two-term presidency V.N. Zakharov of the University of Petrozavodsk, Russian Federation was elected President from 2013 to 2016 and again for a second term from 2016 to 2019. In my view, these two recent presidencies (Martinsen and Zakharov) have achieved much in extending the Dostoevsky network, each one being extremely productive in their spheres of influence. The recent election to the presidency at the XVIth IDS Symposium in Boston of Carol Apollonio, the former president of the NADS, marks the Society's second female presidency. It coincides with the bicentennial celebrations of Dostoevsky's birth that have been in preparation for a number of years now in many countries. Some of these planned events are extremely imaginative and "fun".²⁴ Inside Russia, according to a recent article in *Neizvestnyi Dostoevsky* by V. Zakharov on "The Relevance of Dostoevsky" the special feature of Dostoevsky's bicentennial anniversary is the competition held by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR): "Sources and methods

23 Perhaps in the near future the Russian IDS might follow the example of the IDS in the West and have a female national representative elected. In my opinion, Ludmila Saraskina would fit the bill being one of the original members of IDS.

24 <https://bloggerskaramazov.com/>; <https://www.dostojewskijgesellschaft.de/jubilaeums-jahr-2021.html>

in the study of the legacy of F. M. Dostoevsky in Russian and world culture” (2018-2021). This resulted in the support of 28 projects by leading Russian researchers. It will culminate in the publication of an “unprecedented corpus of studies on Dostoevsky’s biography, philosophy, creativity, textual criticism and poetics”.²⁵ Zakharov is administering this mammoth RFBR (*РФФИ*) competition project, as well as overseeing other events and publications in connection with the celebrations.²⁶ Some 300 monographs are in preparation to be published for this Dostoevsky anniversary. For some two decades now Zakharov has been the editor-in-chief of several serial publications in Russia, including the “Canonical works” in the old orthography and the guiding force of some important projects such as the wide-ranging website on Dostoevsky at Petrozavodsk State University. He gave an early overview of it in his paper to the IDS in Geneva (*see below*) and his achievements have been described in some detail also by Aloe.²⁷

Zakharov, with the support of Martinsen, was instrumental in ensuring that for the first time in the history of IDS a Symposium was held in Russia. Igor Volgin, the president of the Dostoevsky Fund (*Fond Dostoevskogo*) together with the organising committee also used their influence to support it. At this XVth IDS in Moscow in 2013, 26 countries were represented with 142 participants. Its theme was “Dostoevsky and journalism” and it resulted in the publication of a volume *Dostoevsky i zhurnalizm* in the series *Dostoevsky Monographs* under the chief-editorship of Zakharov.²⁸ He was also instrumen-

25 Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, “Актуальность Достоевского”, *Неизвестный Достоевский* [*The Unknown Dostoevsky*], vol. 8, no. 1, 2021, с. 5-20.

26 According to its website the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR) was created by decree № 426 of the President of the Russian Federation “On urgent measures for preserving scientific and technological potential of the Russian Federation”. It is a self-governing state non-profit organisation in the form of a federal organisation controlled by the Government. The Foundation provides targeted diversified support to leading groups of researchers regardless of the organisation they represent. Support of “initiative scientific research” in all the principal directions of fundamental science (*nauki*) is carried out strictly on a competitive basis after a comprehensive evaluation.

27 АЛОЕ, р. 10. Other educational institutions of higher learning in Russia and those affiliated with the Russian Academy of Sciences are also involved in the celebrations, as are museums etc. Acknowledged should be Institute of Russian Literature ‘Pushkin House’ in St Petersburg, the Maxim Gorky Institute of Literature in Moscow and also the State Institute for Art Studies.

28 В. ЗАХАРОВ, К. СТЕПАНЯН, Б. ТИХОМИРОВ (под ред.), *Достоевский и журнализм* (“Dostoevsky Monographs”; 4) (Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2013), с. 384.

tal, so I have heard, in ensuring that the organisation of the very successful XVIth Symposium would take place in Granada, Spain, the first one to be held in that country. In addition, Zakharov worked together with the NADS and former president Martinsen to make certain that the next Symposium would be held in Boston, USA. There were some complications about this as the Bulgarian Dostoevsky Society wished that the IDS be held in Bulgaria, but the Boston location prevailed. This was the second time that an International Dostoevsky Symposium was held in the USA, the first being in New York in 1999 (although the idea of a venue in the US was first suggested in the 1977, but Bergamo was chosen instead). Due to the co-operation between the two presidents (Zakharov and Martinsen) it was possible, it seems, to arrange for Apollonio to be nominated unopposed as the new president of IDS. But prior to that Apollonio's position as president of NADS had to be taken care of, but this was made possible since both NADS and IDS had been expanded by creating an advisory group of mid-range and young scholars. With further co-operation the position of president of NADS has been filled with the nomination of Kate Holland of the University of Toronto, Canada. She in turn, I am told, lobbied for Katherine Bowers to be promoted to be a NADS vice-president, in addition to her post as web master (Bowers successfully supervised the renovation of the website and expanded its inclusivity). One can't help commenting that such exemplary and fruitful co-operation between the NADS and Russia's Dostoevsky Society might serve as an example to the US and Russian establishment powers-that-be to emulate.

Of course, each president, who guided the direction of the international conferences had their own vision that was expressed in the theme of the individual conferences, and gave the general objectives of the IDS their own special emphases (although Grishin had laid the foundations for the future direction of these aims-*zadachi*). These were summed up by the president Jackson in his speech at the Vth IDS in Cerisy-la-Salle:

Finally, let me say that the fulfillment of the first three objectives of our *Society* – to bring together scholars from all parts of the world, to do so in conditions of beauty and measure, to maintain our independent status – facilitates a fourth objective: to foster a spirit of friendship and cooperation among scholars and, in this small way, to further Dostoevsky's great ideal of *sobornost'* (a supremely Russian and Orthodox ideal) among all peoples.²⁹

29 Robert Louis JACKSON, President of the IDS, "The Fifth International Dostoevsky Sympo-

The last part of the sentence was said without, it seems to me, any apparent political overtones, nor implications in mind – though it was still during the ‘Cold War’ period when the Soviet Union was an atheist state and when the concept of *sobornost*’ was inadmissible within its ideology. Today the political situation has changed and with it the direction of Dostoevsky studies in Russia that now emphasises the importance of themes relating to religion in Dostoevsky’s works within the context of Russian Orthodox Christianity.

Curiously enough, while going through NZ newspapers for additional material for this article that is intended to represent views on Dostoevsky from a ‘NZ perspective’ I came across a report in one of the most popular and widely distributed NZ newspapers at the time, *The New Zealand Herald* of 29 June 1895 on “Literature and Art” (mainly relating to the success of Tolstoy’s *Master and Man*), where a similar sentiment relating to Dostoevsky’s alleged ideal was expressed: the writer of that article (while referring to the enthusiastic welcome of Tolstoy’s *Master and Man* by Europe at large), is quoted as saying that “Russia might well be proud of this fact and see in it the fulfilment of a prophecy of Gogol and Dostoevsky, who confidently looked forward to the time when “the West” would eagerly absorb the redeeming gospel and new light of the Russian East”.³⁰

In contrast to the image of Russia being seen as representing a “redeeming gospel” and a “new light” of the Russian East, it was also often stereotyped as representing the monstrous excesses of Tsarist and later Soviet systems, punishing those who dared to question it with imprisonment in Siberia. In an article “A Russian Novelist” published in the *Auckland Star* on 2 October 1886, the writer refers to Dostoevsky’s exposure in *Zapiski iz mertvogo doma*, translated at the time as *Buried Alive: Or, Ten Years of Penal Servitude in Siberia*, “of the frightful abuses which then prevailed in Siberian prisons, where convicts were not unfrequently flogged to death” and identifies Russia with the “Empire of the Night”.³¹ Both these contrasting cliché-like images of Russia were partially created and reinforced by the impact of Dostoevsky’s works. His fictionalized account of his imprisonment in Siberia in *Buried Alive* was subsequently destabilized by his later “Pushkin” Speech (1880) published in his *Diary of a Writer* in which he controversially proclaimed of seeing the mission of the Russian people to reconcile divisions: “To become brother of all people, a *universal*

sium. Inaugural Address”, *Dostoevsky Studies*, vol. 4, 1983, pp. 195-197, <http://sites.utoronto.ca/tsq/DS/04/195.shtml>

30 “Literature and Art”, *The New Zealand Herald*, 29 June 1895, p. 3 (Supplement).

31 “A Russian Novelist”, *Auckland Star*, vol. XVII, issue 232, 2 October 1886, p. 5.

man (vsechelovekom) (ИЦС 26; 147). In accordance with this vision, Russia, the oppressor of its own people, was also the creator of a people capable of universal reconciliation that would extend to encompass both East and West. This seeming change of direction in the works of the later Dostoevsky was all the more persuasive to readers and 'justified' since it followed on his own revolutionary activities within the Petrashevsky Circle that resulted in arrest, imprisonment and service in a convict regiment in Siberia. Like Janus, the Roman god of endings and beginnings, with two faces looking in opposite directions, Dostoevsky's stance enhanced the dual image of Russia in the West. It may have been a factor in Soviet policy to 'rehabilitate' Dostoevsky during the period of the 'Thaw' in the late 1960s in preparation for the 150th anniversary of his birth in 1971 and the publication of the Academy edition of his *Complete Collected Works* (1972-1990).

Coincidentally, the movement to 'reread' Dostoevsky's works, especially those that had not been studied and republished in the Soviet Union for some decades, was initiated in the West, with special focus on *Demons* and *The Diary of a Writer*. Translations, including that of *The Diary of a Writer* were published in English and introduced by Boris Brasol in 1949.³² Grishin in Australia published in Russian his PhD thesis awarded at Melbourne University on *Dnevnik pisatel'ia F.M. Dostoevskogo* in 1966. Vl. Tunimanov completed his thesis at Leningrad University in 1966 on the fiction in *Diary of a Writer*. A few years later Gary Saul Morson published his Yale University PhD thesis *Dostoevsky's "Diary of a Writer": Threshold Art* (1974). In that same year there appeared in Russia Igor Volgin's *The Diary of a Writer*, the first independent study of the complete work in the Soviet Union.

My own association with what would become later the IDS was set off by a chain of events after the Russian Department at Victoria University College, now known as Victoria University of Wellington and by its Māori name as Te Herenga Waka, received notification from the Soviet Union informing it of the imminent sesquicentennial anniversary of the birth of F.M. Dostoevsky in 1971. To mark the anniversary the Department was later supplied by the Soviet Legation in Wellington with five Soviet films, including the 1969 film of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (directed by Lev Kulidzhanov and starring Innokenty Smokhtunovsky and Victoria Fyodorova). The films were screened

32 F.M. DOSTOIEVSKY, *The Diary of a Writer*, translated and annotated by Boris Brasol (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949).

publicly at the University Memorial Theatre in 1971.³³ The invitation came, if my memory serves me right, via the Soviet Legation from the Centre of Russian Language at Moscow State University of M.V. Lomonosov and its director V.G. Kostomarov, whose initial report about the foundation of the Centre was published in the *NZSJ* in 1967 and the Department had kept in touch with the Centre since.³⁴ An announcement was included into the Winter issue, 1971, no. 7 of *NZSJ* (i.e. August issue that was printed in the Southern Hemisphere's winter) calling for contributions on Dostoevsky in connection with the 150th anniversary of his birth for publication in the following *NZSJ* Summer issue, 1971, no. 8 (that usually appeared in December).³⁵

In addition, the Department received notification about the proposed Dostoevsky symposium in Bad Ems that is likely to have come from the Organising Committee. The Head of the Department doubtlessly received a notice from Grishin with his Appeal (*Obrashchenie*),³⁶ a version of the one sent by Grishin to journals, such as *Rusistika* in Czechoslovakia that opened with a call to mark the anniversary:

In 1971 the whole of humanity will be marking the 150th anniversary of this Russian writer and thinker of genius, Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky. Interest in Dostoevsky's life and works is growing day by day and reaching unparalleled heights for the jubilee. Every passing year sees an increase in the number of scholarly works devoted to Dostoevsky, who has long become not just a Russian writer but a world writer as well.³⁷

I was a junior member of the Department, where Russian had been taught by pioneering professor Nicholas N. Danilow since 1942. Victoria Universi-

33 "New Zealand University News", *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, Winter 1971, No.7, page 101.

34 В.Г. КОСТОМАРОВ, дир. Научно-методического центра русского языка при МГУ, "Центр русского языка. Задачи и планы", *Journal of the New Zealand Slavists' Association*, Summer, 1967.

35 "In connection with the 150th anniversary of Dostoevsky's birth", *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, Winter 1971, No 7, p. 102: "In connection with the 150th anniversary of Dostoevsky's birth: It is proposed to devote the next issue of the Journal (No. 8) to articles about this outstanding author and the Editor would welcome contributions, especially those emphasising Dostoevsky's influence outside Russia".

36 Members of the Department had been in communication with Grishin at least from 1964 – see illustration of Grishin's autographs of 1964 and 1966 in the Appendices.

37 ГРИШИН, *Эпоха*, с. 10.

ty of Wellington was the first university in Australasia to begin the teaching of Russian (*See ill. 5*). A full independent Department was created in 1962. Following the partial retirement of Danilow, an interim Visiting Professor of Russian, Elizabeth Koutaisoff, was appointed for three years. There was also a visiting lecturer from Moscow University teaching over part of 1970-71. In addition, a Fullbright scholar was attached to the Department for the full academic year of 1971. He was Professor Kenneth E. Harper, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, University of California, Los Angeles.³⁸

Furthermore, there had been contact between Grishin and Danilow. They appear to have first met no later than 1964 (and possibly earlier) in Melbourne when Grishin had presented Danilow with a copy of the earliest version of his pamphlet *Aforizmy i vyskazyvaniya F.M. Dostoevskogo* (1961, 77 pp.) with his autograph-signature. They met again in Melbourne in 1966 when Grishin again presented him with a signed copy of *Dnevnik pisatelja F.M. Dostoevskogo* (1966, 271 pp.) (*See Appendices for ill. 6 and 7 of autographs below*). Neither Danilow, nor any of the other senior professors wished to attend the inaugural Dostoevsky Symposium in Bad Ems, but I was keen to do so. It was decided that I should be the one to represent Victoria University and was given a generous overseas leave. Earlier I had completed my M.A. Honours degree in Russian (with a major in English literature, plus French and German) having been taught courses on literature including Dostoevsky by Danilow. The Handbook he had compiled on Dostoevsky included extracts from pre-revolutionary Russian textbooks, plus some by émigré commentators such as Konstantin Mochulsky and Nikolay Berdyaev, as well as popular texts in English by George Steiner, Ernest J. Simmons, Boris Brasol (on *The Diary of a Writer*), and so on. In addition, Danilow provided his own comments and synopses of Dostoevsky's major novels (his favourite being *The Possessed*) that had been staged in a dramatization by Albert Camus at Victoria University earlier (the production having been arranged and organized with my help – *see ill. 8*).³⁹ A production of *Crime and Punishment* was staged at the University theatre in June 1972 sponsored by the Department. There were some brilliant books being published by American University presses at the time that enriched one's understanding of Dostoevsky's texts. The University of Chicago Press had

38 "Kenneth Harper. Professor Emeritus. In Memoriam", UCLA. Department of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Languages and Cultures, <https://slavic.ucla.edu/person/kenneth-harper/>

39 Sarah GAITANOS, *Nola Millar: A Theatrical Life* (Wellington, 2005) pp. 239-240.

published a five-volume series of Dostoevsky's Notebooks under the editorship of Edward Wasiolek, mostly in translations by Victor Terras, comprising *The Notebooks for Crime and Punishment* (1967), *Notebooks to the Idiot* (1967), to *The Possessed* (1968), to *A Raw Youth* (1969), and to *The Brothers Karamazov* (1971). These were all based on earlier Russian publications of the Notebooks of between 1918 and 1935, as the volumes containing the re-edited Notebooks (*Rukopisnye redaktsii*) in the later Nauka edition in 30 volumes *ИСС* (1972-1990) had not been published at that time. E. Wasiolek had done an enormous service to the academic community in English-speaking countries, where Dostoevsky's works were being taught.⁴⁰ A few years after the publication of the Notebooks there appeared the three volumes of *The Unpublished Dostoevsky. Diaries and Notebooks 1860-1881* under the General Editorship of Carl R Proffer with an Introduction by Robert L. Belknap published by Ardis, Ann Arbor (1973). The latter were based on the material in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 83, published in 1971.

The opportunity for "academic and personal contacts" promised in Grishin's *Appeal* to be provided by the Symposium was certainly appreciated by me when I finally arrived at Bad Ems late on Tuesday, August 31 and was immediately welcomed by Natov, who introduced me to Jackson and Irina Kirk, the latter professor at the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Connecticut, Storrs. After my tortuous journey from NZ the conference seemed like a haven to me and I must have thought I had found my comfort-zone. I had travelled in accordance with a fairly complicated itinerary with stop-overs via Auckland, Sydney, Bangkok (Thailand) followed by Teheran (Persia), Athens (Greece), Istanbul (Turkey), Rome (Italy) and finally London, then back to Frankfurt and on to Bad Ems by train. Though I have been invited to narrate my recollections from a personal perspective, yet am still uncertain how far one could go. I have tucked away my comments about my journey into a footnote and the reader can skip that if he/she wishes.⁴¹

40 Yet when one searches on the internet today for some details about E. Wasiolek there is hardly anything of any substance.

41 I might mention that I thought I'd had a fairly traumatic time travelling from NZ, especially in Teheran when I arrived at Mehrabad International Airport in the middle of the night and for some unknown reason without a Visa. Though this was prior to the toppling of the Shah and the Iranian revolution that brought in the Islamic Republic, I still had a difficult time explaining myself. Later I was also shocked at the sight of so many beggars in the streets (I remember especially a young man walking towards me with half his arm cut off and dripping blood, although it had a flimsy bandage tied around it. As he approached me he thrust the bleeding stump of his arm right into my face; unfortunately, I could not help

The next morning Grishin in the smaller Concert Hall of the Kursaal Gebäude opened the Plenary Inaugural Session of the proceedings with his inaugural address on "Aims and Purposes of the Symposium".⁴² It was followed by the address of Jackson, President of the North American Dostoevsky Society (NADS) on "Dostoevsky: A Vision in Motion"; it began with his reminiscences of his meeting with Arkady S. Dolinin (d. 1968), the Soviet Dostoevsky scholar. Then followed three reports: Mihai Novicov (University of Bucarest, Romania), George Florovsky (Princeton University, USA) and Gerigk. After lunch other papers were delivered either in English, Russian, French or German. They were devoted to one of three themes: (I) Dostoevsky in Social, Religious and Philosophical Perspectives; (II) Dostoevsky's Work in a Comparative Perspective; and (III) Dostoevsky's Art. BTW some of the papers listed in the programme were not delivered as the participants did not arrive, and these included René Girard and Jacques Catteau. The next day there was a Business Meeting in the evening with another Report by Grishin, as President of the Organising Committee. It was mainly a call to action to participants, proposals for future plans, such as the launching of a *Bulletin*, and a discussion about finances and raising funding. Then Nadine Natov chaired the meeting and the proposed Constitution of the society was discussed and approved. It was followed by the election of officers and charged with conduct were Nicholas V. Pervushin (McGill University, Canada) and Alexis N. Guédroïtz (Bruxelles, Belgium), a distinguished Russian émigré, of whom there were a number present.⁴³

him). In Athens I was stuck in a lift between floors at my hotel. When the doors were eventually forced open I had to jump down onto the lower level below. One of the buses that took me on an excursion to view ancient Greek sites was involved in a minor accident and in addition I was car-sick and could not fight off a disabling migraine in the heat. In Istanbul I was attacked by some huge lean stray feral cats, who climbed up my back and neck. In Rome I got lost and could not remember the address or the name of the place I was staying at, and kept wandering around with a severe migraine in the heat. Eventually I went into some building attached to an Orthodox church and asked the priest for help, but he turned me away.

42 ГРИШИН, *Эпоха*, с. 10. This address has been translated into English by David Foreman and is featured in the Appendices, both in translation and its original Russian.

43 I was offered by some of the old Russian émigrés introductions to people they thought I should meet in my travels outside New Zealand. As a result I met in Paris the Russian writer Boris Zaitsev (shortly before he died some months later) and was escorted around antiquarian Russian bookshops by the bibliographer Alexey Struve (1899-1976), the son of Petr Struve, brother of Gleb and father of Nikita Alekseiévitch Struve. As a result several cartons

The Summer issue of *NZSJ* was devoted, as promised in its previous issue, to Dostoevsky. Several of the delegates at Bad Ems contributed articles, including John D. Simons of Florida State University on “The Grand Inquisitor in Schiller, Dostoevsky and Huxley”.⁴⁴ Irina Kirk of the University of Connecticut contributed two articles on “Buddhistic Elements in *The Idiot*” and “Polemics and Art in Dostoevsky and Camus”.⁴⁵ There were also a number of local contributions, one on Dostoevsky as “The Man with a One Track Mind” by K.F. Harper, our Fullbright Visiting Scholar.

The *NZSJ* issue opened with a short report that I had prepared about the Dostoevsky conference in Bad Ems (*see ill. 9*). The special character of Dostoevsky’s genius promoted by the organizers was noted and the writer’s universal significance and relevance to the contemporary world: “Dostoevsky, although in many respects a distinctively Russian writer, contributed to the spiritual heritage of all mankind”.⁴⁶ Research into Dostoevsky’s work and life was therefore “a matter of importance in all countries and the Symposium was firmly of the opinion that the coordination of such research was in the interest of international understanding”.⁴⁷

Outlined in the Report was the programme of the Symposium, listing the names of contributors and topics covered. It was noted that the Constitution of the Society had been approved, office holders appointed, as well as representatives from 13 countries (later increased to 21 countries). Also described was the beautiful setting of the Symposium that still retained at least one of the houses that Dostoevsky had stayed in during his sojourns in the health-resort Bad Ems, as well as the imposing hotel “Russischer Hof” favoured by his upper-class contemporaries, and the beautiful Russian Orthodox Church of Saint Alexandra built between 1874 and May 1876 (consecrated in 1877) all of which “enriched one’s understanding of the writer”. “As is so often the case at conferences, the most fruitful discussions took place outside official Symposium hours, during walks along the gentle Lahn River with its promenades or up in the wooded hills, during the excursion to the Castle of Stolzenfels, during

of Russian books were posted to New Zealand to the Victoria University Library.

44 Simons is best known for his book on Schiller (1981) and of two sets of Monarch Notes on Dostoevsky’s novels: *Brothers Karamazov* (1983) and *Crime and Punishment* (1988).

45 Kirk is best known for her books on Dostoevsky and Camus, and on Chekhov. Later she was to become engrossed in writing about the dissidents in the Soviet Union and published *Profiles in Russian Resistance* (1975).

46 Irene ESAM, “International Symposium on F. M. Dostoevsky. Sept. 1-5, 1971”, *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 1971, pp. 1-4.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

mealtimes, often taken in outdoor restaurants up in the hills bordering Bad Ems or in the late evenings at night cafes. It was a symposium with a very special character and one to remember – as even veterans of international conferences admitted”. The setting was to become an important ingredient of future conferences (as pointed out by Jackson, *see footnote 29*).

John Shahovskoy (1902-1989), Archbishop of San Francisco and Western United States, the Rev. George Florovsky (1893-1979), former Dean of St. Vladimir Theological Seminary and Rev. Dmitry Grigorieff (1919-2007) officiated at a memorable Sunday Liturgy service. A special Memorial service for Dostoevsky was also conducted being a unique experience one that many thought would be unrepeatable. However, the Memorial service would take place at some other Symposia of the IDS, including the fifteenth in Moscow in July 2013, with the Memorial service (*panikhida*) being conducted at Darovoe in the Zarsk region, where Dostoevsky had spent some of his summers as a child.

The following year in April, Grishin arranged, without my knowledge, for my account of the symposium to be published in Russian translation in a Russian-language journal in Australia called *Epokha* (*see ill. 10*).⁴⁸ Together with my account, also published were both of Grishin’s speeches to the Symposium and two reviews of his book.⁴⁹ The editor of *Epokha* composed a piece on Dostoevsky’s biography, while a remarkable long article by N.P. Medi “К столетию Бесов Достоевского” was the showpiece of the issue, having begun to be serialized in the January to March 1972 issues.⁵⁰

In June 1972 I received from Grishin an autographed copy of his book *Dostoevsky-chelovek, pisatel' i mify* (1971, 369 pp.) with an inscription saying “Дорогой Ире на память о Симпозиуме в Бад Эмсе. От автора. 14/6/72. Д.

48 Ирина ЭСАМ, “Международный Симпозиум Достоевского. Бад Эмс /1 – 5 сентября 1971/”, *Эпоха. Русская литературная газета*, апрель 1972, с. 9. Unfortunately, in the process of translation some additional information was added and some mistakes crept in, including the fact that Dostoevsky used to visit Bad Ems with his family, and stay at hotels, which was not the case. More emphasis was added to the promotion by Grishin of one of the chief aims of IDS, namely the belief that “cooperation and interactions (*vzaimosviaz*) between researchers of Dostoevsky’s works would serve the interests of world community (*mirovoi obshchestvennosti*)”.

49 ГРИШИН, *Эпоха*, с. 10; с. 11.

50 Н.П. МЕДИ, “К столетию Бесов Достоевского”, *Эпоха. Русская литературная газета*, апрель 1972, с. 3-8. It is now available on the website of the Pushkin Literary Society of South Australia: http://www.pushkin.org.au/_r22/media/system/attrib/file/6/literary-view-Medi.pdf

Гришин” (“To dear Ira in remembrance of the Symposium at Bad Ems. From the author. 14/5/72. D. Grishin”) (*See ill. 11*).⁵¹

As the NZ representative of IDS (and on some occasions after the demise of Grishin also the Australasian representative) I attended many of the subsequent Symposia, endeavoring to present papers on topics that were new discoveries at the time and that were subsequently published in a variety of international collections and journals. Details about publications and research on Dostoevsky in New Zealand, including my own, can be found in a contribution published in the series *F.M. Dostoevsky. Materialy i issledovania*, vol. 20, St Petersburg (2013).⁵²

I should note at this point that it is very difficult to present one's impressions of the IDS and reminisce about one's Dostoevsky connections, and the events and personages involved without referring to personal details. Any history of the IDS is also inevitably tied up with the history of one's own research path and publications, and one's interactions with colleagues. It is difficult to separate the personal from what might be considered to be of public interest. I have reread some of my notebooks and letters sent to members of the family while I was overseas attending conferences, only to discover that they were written from a personal perspective. Where does one draw the line between 'full disclosure' of information relating to so-called 'history' and the possible suppression or withholding of 'history'? It would have been much easier to write this if it were like a diary or in the genre of a literary confession about the narrator's path of discovery relating to one's own engagement with Dostoevsky scholarship in the context of IDS, highlighting the sacrifices, the good and bad times, the support and let-downs it provoked.

Whenever an opportunity presented itself to attend an overseas conference I would also visit the Soviet Union to work in research libraries and spend some time in London, Oxbridge and the US doing research. As the Russian Department grew and the number of its major subjects and non-major courses rapidly increased, as did one's administrative and advisory-committee work, it became increasingly difficult to arrange for one's teaching duties to be taken care

51 The following year, when I was the sole chief editor of *NZSJ* and Acting Head of the Department I published in the *NZSJ* a pioneering article contributed by Grishin's son Alexander on the 'Stroganov icons'. Alexander D. GRISHIN, "'The Stroganov Icons': A Study in Late Sixteenth Century Russian Patronage", *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, no. 12 (Summer, 1973), pp. 20-37.

52 Д.В. ДЖОНС, "Творчество Достоевского в Новой Зеландии", *Достоевский. Материалы и исследования*, т. 20 (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2013), с. 155-166.

of.⁵³ In addition, the size of my family grew.⁵⁴ It was convenient when on some occasions overseas conferences would be scheduled to take place consecutively in the European summer. I usually delivered papers at International Slavists' Congresses in Eastern Europe that took place every five years: Warsaw (1973), Zagreb (1978), Kiev (1983), Bratislava (1993), as well as the World Congresses for Soviet and East European Studies, later ICCEES. By the mid 1990s after the formation of the Russian Federation conferences on Dostoevsky were taking place in various locations in Russia, some sponsored by the Russian branch of the IDS, and I began to attend some of these as did other members of the IDS. I remember in November 1996 in Moscow giving a paper (unscheduled) at the Plenary Session of the "International and Scientific (*Nauchnaya*) Conference on F.M. Dostoevsky and World Culture in Celebration of 175-years since the Writer's Birth", (as well as a second scheduled paper, at one of its sessions).⁵⁵ Immediately after delivering the former I received several requests for a copy from publishers and editors wishing to publish it.⁵⁶ I travelled to Petrozavodsk to attend one of their regular conferences on "Biblical Text in Russian Literature in XVIII-XX Centuries", with the papers published in the accompanying series edited by IDS member V.N. Zakharov. Also memorable was an international conference in Kolomna in August, 2003 on "Pedagogical Ideas in Russian Literature" organised by a member of Russian IDS, V. Viktorovich, with special sessions on Dostoevsky. Usually I would have formal introductions and documentation for permission to work in research libraries and archives and meet with Slavists, but I am embarrassed to admit there were times when I used various other unorthodox methods to get access to the material.⁵⁷

53 *Prospectus. School of European Languages and Literature. Russian Section, Victoria University*, Wellington, 1997 shows that the Russian section in the 1990s was teaching in 29 course of which 7 were full year and 22 half-year. In addition it was contributing to 6 courses in European Studies and Comparative Literature. There were three to four members of staff.

54 Two more children were born around the mid 1970s, and now there were three to be taken care of (although I never ever had any maternity leave).

55 ДЖОНС, с. 160; "Библиография", *Новый Мир*, 10, 1997, с. 249; Виктор В. ЦОФФКА, "Международная научная конференция Ф.М. Достоевский и мировая культура", *Вестник Московского университета. Филология*, Серия 9, 1997, № 2, с. 219-226.

56 И. ЗОГРАБ, "Редакторская деятельность Ф.М. Достоевского в журнале *Гражданин* и религиозно-нравственный контекст *Братьев Карамазовых* (к истории создания романа)", *Русская литература*, 1996, № 1, с. 55-77.

57 Long-distance travelling from NZ and obtaining visas was an inconvenience. Travel itself entailed going through numerous airport security screenings. I used to wear my hair up secured by a bow, and sometimes even my hair would be screened repeatedly with a hand-

So, to get back to IDS conferences, my memories of the IVth International Dostoevsky Symposium in Bergamo, Italy, August 17-23, 1980 are fairly vague as I was unwell a lot of the time and in fact, was taken into the Emergency department of the local hospital. Irina Kirk accompanied me to AE. Looking at the *Abstracts* has triggered my memory and I remember being challenged by the complexity of Wolf Schmid's paper on "Единство разнонаправленных впечатлений восприятия. Рассказывание и рассказываемое в *Братьях Карамазовых*" (Some years later I managed to get a copy of it from Schmid). A paper by Árpád Kovács on "The transformation of the rhetorical and poetical function of inner actions in the structure of Dostoevsky's characters" was also challenging, as were some other of the many outstanding papers presented. I recall being fascinated by some group presentations by young Italian *dostoevskovedy* on "Colours and their artistic function in Dostoevsky's works" in a session chaired by Nina Каусисвилі, and "Типология и функция среды и предметов в романах Достоевского" chaired by Eridano Bazzarelli. The theme of Typology featured widely at the Symposium. A deputation from the USSR that was to include V.Y. Kirpotin, G.M. Fridlender and others did not arrive. I was pleased when my paper was selected for publication (formally confirmed to me in a letter with the "last correctures" signed by doct. Gian Piero Piretto). I had made use of some rare material from *Grazhdanin* during Dostoevsky's editorship acquired from the Lenin Library in Moscow, now known as the Russian State Library (RGB). At the time I was even more interested in A.N. Ostrovsky and theatre, than in Dostoevsky. I remember on my trips to Russia trying to meet specialists on the dramatist and being invited to visit Lidia M. Lotman, of the Institute of Russian Literature 'Pushkin House' (sister of Yury Lotman), in an apartment in Leningrad that she shared with some relatives. She took me into her tiny ascetic bedroom with its narrow metal bed and talked to me about Aleksandr Nikolaevich at length. Amongst others, I visited V.Y. Lakshin, deputy editor of *Novy Mir* in his apartment in Moscow, and was invited to converse in his impressive study, where he gave me an autographed copy of his latest book.

held device dragged along my scalp (I couldn't help wondering what it might be doing to my brain). Sometimes the alarm went off for no identifiable reason: I was told that this happened when a person was highly radioactive. By the time I arrived at my destination (whether in London or elsewhere) I would be told by a GP that my BP reading was so high that I "should not be even walking". Sometimes I was given advice by people both within and outside Russia on what to do and not do, and that could be off-putting. I remember receiving advice from a prominent Russian scholar and academician, who counseled me not to discuss any of my research or my ideas regarding future projects with my colleagues in Russia! Needless to say I did not follow his counsel.

I traveled to my next IDS Symposium at Cerisy-la-Salle, Normandy, France from 16-23 August, 1983 via Tokyo/Anchorage/Paris on the Japanese Airline. The Symposium took place at a secluded old castle surrounded by a large park in the midst of the countryside that seemed uninhabited and there were no amenities to be seen anywhere for miles. It is remembered chiefly by some as the occasion at which the spirit of Dostoevsky was present and showed its disagreement with an interpretation of his work proposed by a particular speaker. Neuhäuser in his account recalls that during the presentation on a calm sunny day “Suddenly a powerful gust of wind with an ear-splitting noise tore open the first of the windows ... and swept all the speaker’s papers from the table. For a long moment there was absolute silence in the room. Then somebody whispered ‘Fedor Mikhailovich’, and somebody else would echo it”.⁵⁸

I was given accommodation in the stables of the castle, together with other younger females and East European delegates. To get into our quarters we had to climb up some steps clutching on to a rope that served as a bannister. Irina Kirk attended, but she had had a massive stroke in March 1982 and told me she had been in a coma for two months. Mrs Wellek, (the wife René Wellek, professor in Comparative Literature at Yale University, who was made an Hon. President) kept saying that Irina Kirk was still alive thanks to the advances of American medical technology.⁵⁹

In my letters home I mentioned the late Jacques Catteau: “who is regarded as the local ‘God’ of Dostoevsky studies, head at Sorbonne, editor of *Revue des études slaves*, author of the most important book on Dostoevsky in French *La Création littéraire chez Dostoïevski*. We have it in the library, I ordered it two years ago [...]. One of the most interesting papers was on the last day of the conference by a girl PhD student from Columbia, who had worked on the correlation between certain physical laws (ie physics of Newton) in Dostoevsky and prevalent at the time – she took the concept of inertia of matter (fortunately, she didn’t mention the theory of thermodynamics!)”. In retrospect that “girl” was Professor Lisa Knapp of Columbia University, though I can’t remember precisely why I was concerned about ‘thermodynamics’ specifically, unless I had referred to it in my own paper.

The conference theme was confined to Dostoevsky’s works in the first half of the 1870s – *The Possessed*, (*The Devils*), *The Raw Youth*, *Diary of a Writer*,

58 NEUHÄUSER, p. 32.

59 I shall always remember Irina for the intrepid adventurer that she was arriving at our house in Wellington and then embarking on a hiking tour of the South Island only to be stranded by the weather.

1873. Hence I presented a paper on “Dostoevsky as Editor of *Grazhdanin*” with a 45-page handout of significant passages from that newspaper-journal.⁶⁰ Combined with an explication it was accepted for publication in the following issue of *Dostoevsky Studies*. Prior to the symposium I had sent Neuhäuser another related paper, my compilation of a chronological description of the contents of *Grazhdanin* during Dostoevsky’s editorship with some attributions of authorship. Neuhäuser wanted to publish it and in a letter of 20 April 1983 wrote: “The actual printing (composer and off-set) will be done by Prof. Rice (Tennessee).”⁶¹ At the same time he floated the idea: “Prof. Rice and I have discussed the possibility of starting a monograph series (as do some learned journals like our *Wiener Slawistisches Jahrbuch*).” He added that if this should not materialise “I would certainly be prepared to make space in the *DS*, but then you would need to limit yourself to 80-100 pages at most”. Subsequently the *DS* was facing difficulties with the withdrawal of Martin Rice. I never had the chance to publish anything similar to it until much later in *The Dostoevsky Journal* edited by Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover, when the layout and printing was overseen by the experienced Charles Schlacks Jr. I had worked with Schlacks Jr. earlier in 2002 on the compositing and printing of another long article for the same journal, that had been entrusted since 2000 to Vladiv-Glover as chief editor, and she has successfully continued producing it to this day, while championing a distinctive editorial policy. I was asked to become an Associate Editor in 2002 and have carried out my duties ever since. Vladiv-Glover has described her productive editorship in her introduction to the latest issue of the journal:

The Dostoevsky Journal: A Comparative Literature Review was first published in 2000 by the American publisher Charles Schlacks Jr., under the name *The Dostoevsky Journal: An Independent Review*. Schlacks entrusted the role of chief editor to me, 21 years on, I am still in the role. In that time the journal supported and kept alive Dostoevsky studies in Australia, publishing the research work of many promising young national and international scholars who went on to successful careers in Slavic Studies in the USA, Canada, Europe, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand. In 2014, Schlacks retired and sold many of his journals to Brill (Leiden), amongst them *The Dostoevsky Journal*. He had already agreed to a change of subtitle suggested by me, so when Brill took

60 Many years later at the IDS Symposium in Moscow I was pleased to hear from Bill Todd that he still used my handout in his Graduate Seminars at Harvard.

61 Letter from Rudolf Neuhäuser to Irene Zohrab of 20 April 1983.

over, the journal was already known as *The Dostoevsky Journal: A Comparative Literature Review*.⁶²

After Cerisy-la-Salle, I had returned to London, visiting Oxford as usual, and later travelled via Moscow to attend just for a couple of days in September the IXth International Slavists' Congress in Kiev, where I was scheduled to deliver a paper. I had been granted a visa to stay in Moscow and conduct some research. However, on September 1, 1983 a Korean Airline flight 007 (KAL) jumbo jet was shot down by a MiG-23 in a 'missile attack' by Soviet Union forces in the Sea of Japan killing 269 persons on board. KAL 007 had been on a flight from New York to Seoul via Anchorage, Alaska, (similar to the flight path in my itinerary I thought at the time) and was reported missing. On September 6 TASS acknowledged that the aircraft had indeed been shot down on entering Russian air space after warnings were ignored. Later my flight on Japan Airlines departing from Moscow to Tokyo twice a week was cancelled, as were most flights by Western airlines at that time. I had to remain in Moscow extending my accommodation bookings in an attempt to find another airline. In the meantime my family was waiting for me to return to Wellington and to my teaching duties. When I finally managed to find a seat on a flight to London, I was incredibly relieved when we touched down at Heathrow.

It is with nostalgia and fond memories that I look at the group photo of participants at the IDS symposium at Cerisy-la-Salle posing against a backdrop of ancient trees with trunks covered with ivy. The image is featured in the Appendices (*see ill. 12*). I continued being in contact with some of these 'Dostoevskovedy', as far as one's busy life and circumstances allowed. I particularly remember Robert L. Belknap of Columbia University, the tallest figure in the back row towards the right.⁶³ Also in the back row more towards the centre is

62 Slobodanka VLADIV-GLOVER, "21 Years of the *Dostoevsky Journal: A Comparative Literature Review*. 2000-2021. 71 years of Dostoevsky studies in Australia. 200 Years since the Birth of Dostoevsky. 1821-1881", *Dostoevsky Journal: A Comparative Literature Review*, vol. 22, 2021.

63 I would always look forward to meeting Bob Belknap whenever I was in New York (sometimes together with my then husband). Bob would take us for a tour of the city and its sights, pointing out its architectural distinctiveness and entertain us at his Club. I stayed at the Belknaps's apartment in Riverside Drive, near 116th street at the invitation of his then wife. The last time I met him was in 2013 in the penthouse apartment where he resided with his second wife. Later in the evening we went out to dinner at a near-by restaurant and passed through the courtyard of their high-rise building that had ivy climbing up its enclosing walls seemingly right towards the sky. I was startled to see this as just before leav-

William M. Todd III with shoulder length hair like a rock star and second to his left is Erik Egeberg. Far left standing next to each other are Neuhäuser, Kjetsaa, Kaucisvili, Natov, Gyula Király, and Árpád Kovács. To the right standing are Cateau, Charles A Moser, and Sven Linnér (in dark shirt) behind me, as well as Carl Stief and his wife Grethe in front, next to Nicholas V. Pervushin. Centre right sitting down is Robert L. Jackson, with Liza Knapp kneeling, also Michel Cadot, while kneeling from the left are Irina Kirk and Robin Feuer-Miller. There are other familiar faces, too many to mention.

The VIth Dostoevsky Symposium took place at the University of Nottingham, UK from 9-16 August, in 1986. The papers were grouped around themes that covered “Historical Context”, “Language and Style”, “Philosophical Ideas”. “The Creative Process and Literary Characters”, “Structure and Genre”. G.M. Fridlender (USSR), the editor of the *Complete Works* of Dostoevsky (*PSS*) and its companion series *Dostoevsky. Materialy i issledovaniia* attended the Symposium. He had been elected in absentia in 1983 as an Honorary President of IDS. I had met Fridlender earlier, the last time at the IXth Slavists Congress in Kiev in 1983 and he had invited me to contribute to *Dostoevsky. Materialy i issledovaniia*. In early 1984 I sent him three possible articles to choose from and he accepted my article on Dostoevsky and Ostrovsky that included references to reviews of Ostrovsky’s plays published in *Grazhdanin* during Dostoevsky’s editorship.⁶⁴ In a letter of 9 December 1984 Fridlender reminded me that one had to keep in mind that some attributions made by the celebrated Soviet academics V.V. Vinogradov, L.P. Grossman and B.V. Tomashevsky of articles in *Grazhdanin* had turned out to be unsubstantiated.⁶⁵ Regarding the Nottingham symposium I shall leave it to the organiser, Malcolm V. Jones (Nottingham) to provide details in his own overview, only to add that most of the papers were video recorded and the video-cassettes could be purchased. I bought a couple of videos including one of myself reading my paper on “Dostoevsky and Her-

ing New Zealand I had a dream in which I was wandering through a courtyard of a building enclosed by ivy climbing along its walls and almost joining together like a canopy as it reached the skyline, blocking out the light.

64 The other two articles were on Turgenev and Dostoevsky, and on the column in *Grazhdanin* “Kritika i bibliografiia”.

65 G.M. Fridlender in a letter of 9 December 1984 to Irene Zohrab: “На всякий случай обращаю Ваше внимание на то, что заметка «Желание» – Мещерского, а не Достоевского. Как понял еще Виноградов, Томашевский ошибочно связал ее с программой «дневника литератора» [...]. Надо учесть, что большая часть атрибуций Виноградова и Гроссмана по *Гражданину* оказалась на проверку также необоснованной” (see Ill. 20).

bert Spencer” (subsequently published with some other Symposium papers in *Dostoevsky Studies*). However, my own video-cassette later disappeared from the book shelf in my university office where it was stored.⁶⁶

The VIIIth IDS Symposium in 1992 was held in Oslo, Norway at Blinders University Campus and the Pan Conference Centre from 29 July to 2 August. It took place some seven months after the USSR had legally ceased to exist with the creation of a new state: the Russian Federation and 15 new countries. There was a promise in the air that former ideological tensions that had obstructed true interactions between Dostoevsky scholars in the East and West would be loosening. Participants from North America still dominated at the Oslo Symposium, their number being almost three times that of the delegation from the Russia Federation comprised of Dmitry Dostoevsky, great-grand-son of the writer, Georgy Fridlender, Ludmila Saraskina, Vladimir Tunimanov, Valentina Vetlovskaya, Igor Volgin and Vladimir Zakharov. The latter read a paper on “Symbolism of the Christian Calendar in the works of Dostoevsky”, which was to give expression to the character and drift of Russia research in the future.

It was interesting to meet again the Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Geir Kjetsaa (Norway), as we had kept in touch since Bergamo in 1980 in connection with his work by means of computers and quantitative methods on the attribution of unsigned articles to Dostoevsky in *Vremia* and *Epokha*. Of course today computational methods that include quantitative philology are widely used in Dostoevsky research in a number of countries.⁶⁷ Kjetsaa was a pioneer in a number of areas, including his landmark publication of *Dostoevsky and His New Testament* (1984). He spoke at the Opening session, as did Egeberg and Neuhäuser of the organizing committee. Kjetsaa read a paper on “The forbidden chapter of *The Devils*”. The main emphasis of the theme at Oslo was

66 Incidentally, for some years my university office was connected to the studies of lecturers in Modern Languages and the History Department, and located in the sunporch part of a house some distance from central University buildings. Once we found by accident a listening device that was clipped to the back of a picture. I didn't give it much thought at the time, but it was symptomatic of that era, when one's interest in Russian and Soviet studies and attendance of Symposia in foreign lands could be misinterpreted both in the West and the Soviet Union, each suspecting one to be a “secret agent” of the other! The video-cassette disappeared from my later study in the central buildings, where a number of other mystifying happenings took place.

67 Such as Russia (Petrozavodsk, Smolensk etc), Japan, Spain etc. See also: <https://bloggers-karamazov.com/2021/07/29/introducing-digital-dostoevsky/>

on Poetics. There was also a session on “Dostoevsky and Norway” and G. Fridlander (Russia) opened it with a talk on “Dostoevskij and Ibsen”, and Nils-Åke Nilsson (Sweden) followed with “Dostoevskij and Hamsun”. Martin Nag read a paper on “Dostoevskij and Edvard Munch”, the Norwegian painter, whose iconic painting of “The Scream” (or “The Cry”) (which exists in four versions and several lithographs) was viewed by participants during a tour of the Munch Museum. A neurologist, Dr Halfdan Kierulf spoke on “Dostoevsky’s epilepsy: Status praesens” and the relationship between illness and creativity at a session that I chaired on “Dostoevsky’s Poetics”. A photo of Kjetsaa together with his colleague Jostein Børtnes, who gave a paper in Oslo on “Dostoevskij’s *Idiot* or the Poetics of Emptiness” is featured in the Appendices (*see ill. 13*). Kjetsaa was to attend his last IDS Symposium in 2004 when he was already in poor health.⁶⁸

The IXth IDS took place in 1995 at a renovated 14th Century Charterhouse (Monastery) in Gaming, province of Lower Austria, approximately halfway between Salzburg and Vienna, in the foothills of the Alps. It extended over the first week of August, (just prior to the Vth ICEES World Congress in Warsaw). The accommodation was in rooms that were converted monks’ cells, each one with a baroque-type window. 14 different sessions were set down with three special sessions comprised of: *The Brothers Karamazov*; New Approaches to Dostoevsky (intertextuality, post-structural approaches etc.); and Dostoevsky in the Ideological Discussions in Russia Today (“uses and abuses of Dostoevsky”). Further themes in additional sessions covered virtually all possible topics that could be covered by the 140 or so delegates attending (being more than twice as many as in Oslo) with a large contingent of Russians, comprising not only delegates from the Federation itself, but also recent Russian émigrés from the US, Israel, Germany etc. In many ways the papers of the latter did not seem significantly different in thrust and tone than the ones offered by delegates from Russia (*see ill. 14*).⁶⁹ A late addition

68 I wish to thank Erik Egeberg for supplying this photo. Egeberg recalled in an e-mail to me of 28 September, 2021 regarding Kjetsaa: “As far as I know, symptoms of his dementia (not Alzheimer) became obvious to his colleagues some one or two years before that (2004 – I.Z.), and the disease progressed steadily, so that in his last years he was almost constantly in need of assistance”.

69 Earlier I had met some delegates from the Russian Federation under what were embarrassing circumstances for me: I had arrived early, been allocated my room, had unpacked and changed into my Polynesian flip-flops and a T-shirt and begun working on my unfinished paper, when a group arrived at my door and asked me to move to another room, as they all

to the list and to the programme's "Addenda" was the paper by Viktorovich on *Grazhdanin*.

During the 1990s when the journal *Dostoevsky Studies* was almost never being published, I was fortunate enough to be able to publish on Dostoevsky in the *NZSJ*. Authors of articles in the *NZSJ* have included members of the IDS such as Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover, Robert L. Jackson, Malcolm Jones, Horst-Jürgen Gerigk and others (*see ill. 15 and 16*). In addition, the *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies (ASEES)* (formerly *Melbourne Slavonic Studies*) published many of my articles. Later *The Dostoevsky Journal. A Comparative Literature Review* became an outlet, where I was fortunate to have had six of my contributions on Dostoevsky published in the context of the journal's avowed editorial promotion of comparative studies.⁷⁰ Throughout this time interest in Dostoevsky in New Zealand manifested itself sporadically amongst various organizations in Christian studies, adult or continuing education, NZ-USSR relations (later renamed Russia and Sovereign States), women's groups and so on, which entailed talks on "Dostoevsky's relevance to life to-day". Despite the changes to the political situation that initially simplified one's trips to the Russia Federation, visits to Russia would not become easier to organise. The security screenings at all international airports were just as intrusive as earlier. Now I would be held up trying to board my flights *out* of Russia, and worried that the delay would make me miss my flight and all subsequent connections.⁷¹

I was not able to attend the Xth IDS Symposium in 1998 in New York due to inability to find adequate replacements for my teaching. The next XIth IDS Symposium took place in Baden-Baden in 2001 and I was scheduled to attend, with the Abstract of my paper on the Symposium's main theme "Dostoevsky and Germany" included in the book of abstracts and the programme.⁷²

wanted to stay together in one block. They helped me repack and I was led to the other end of the building flip-flopping along the long corridor with a procession behind me helping me carry my luggage and papers etc.

⁷⁰ These were on topics relating to Meshchersky, *Grazhdanin*, Kierkegaard, Censorship, Darwin, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, and Pogodin's challenge to Dostoevsky's image of Belinsky. See also ДЖОНС, с. 157-158; 164-165.

⁷¹ At one time I remember being 'rescued', because a friend, who accompanied me to the airport had brought another friend of his, who was high up in the Russian military or whatever, and proceeded to speak to the airport authorities, who then let me board my plane.

⁷² <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/12247343/dostojewskij-und-deutschland-international-dostoevsky-society>.

Three volumes of *Dostoevsky Studies*. New Series were devoted to papers delivered at that symposium: vols. VI to VIII, 2002-2004. The introductory vol. VI was reserved for papers by those who were at the founding symposium in Bad Ems.⁷³

The XIIth IDS Symposium in Geneva, Switzerland from 1-5 September, 2004 was very full and hectic, which was reflected in its extensive programme summarised in a 271-page booklet of *Abstracts and Activities*, with a Preface signed by Ulrich Schmid and Jean-Philippe Jaccard.⁷⁴ There were around 180 participants presenting papers that were subdivided into narrow topics, and crammed into five (sometimes even six) parallel sessions that took place from Thursday to Saturday evening (2-4 September) at the University of Geneva. Each session contained mostly three speakers (though there were some with just two speakers and a few with four), while one of the speakers also acted as chairperson. There were almost no Plenary Sessions apart from the official Opening. Accommodation was dispersed across several venues that made inter-communication complicated. Nevertheless, opportunities arose for meeting in person many *Dostoevskovedy* whose publications I was familiar with, and putting a face to a name. I remember meeting K.A. Barsht, whose 2-volume anthology on Russian literary criticism of the XX century (1997) I had been using in my classes. My room was not far from that of Diane Oenning Thompson (Cambridge, ex USA), whose paper on “Dostoevsky and Music”, both secular and sacred, was the outcome of the research she was engaged in while editing the CUP volume *Dostoevsky and the Christian Tradition* (2001). Sunday was set aside to church services, including the tradition *panikhida*, theatre performances, and an excursion to Basel. The famous painting by Hans Holbein the Younger, of “The Body of the Dead Christ in the Tomb” (1521) was viewed at the Kunstmuseum, Basel. The painter had modelled his representation on the corpse of a recently deceased young man. Everyone recalled Dostoevsky’s reference to the painting in the *Idiot* and his comment when he first saw it in 1867: “One could lose one’s faith from that picture”. Many of the Russian delegates spent a long time gazing at it. Conjointly, three sessions at the conference were devoted to “New Approaches to

73 However, due to my non-appearance at the Baden-Baden, I published my paper elsewhere. I had to cancel at the last minute, not least due to the high cost of travel from New Zealand, that on balance outweighed the benefits.

74 The book of Abstracts and programme were beautifully printed, but contained some misprints with dates that caused confusion. <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/read/12247266/thursday-sept-3-international->

Idiot”, although there were also individual sessions on “New Approaches” to Dostoevsky’s *The House of the Dead*, *Notes from the Underground*, *Crime and Punishment*, *Demons* and the “Grand Inquisitor”. Some papers were appropriately devoted to the *Gambler* (since it was in Geneva that Dostoevsky’s addiction to gambling compelled him to make trips to the Saxon-Les-Bains Casino to play at the roulette wheel).

A new departure were papers on aspects of language and style in Dostoevsky’s works with one presented by Marina Korobova (Russia) on the work of the Vinogradov Russian Language Institute, RAS and its work on the *Dictionary of Dostoevsky’s Language* under the leadership of Yu.N. Karaulov and E.L. Ginzburg. From Japan, Atsushi Ando reported on and applied some of the findings of the *Annotated Concordance to F.M. Dostoevsky’s novel “Idiot”* published in Sapporo in 2003. But the topic with the most sessions assigned to it (five) was “Dostoevsky and the Russian Emigration” and covered the reception of Dostoevsky by several generations of émigrés, in addition to sessions on “Dostoevsky and Russian Religious Philosophers”. Speakers comprised not only Dostoevsky scholars, but also specialists on Russian emigration, like Olga Kaznina, who gave a paper on “F.M. Dostoevsky i evraziiskaya ideya v russkom Zarubezh’e” which embodied the latest guidelines for Dostoevsky and Eurasian studies in Russia instituted in the 1990s. A similar type of overview was the report of V.N. Zakharov on “Dostoevsky as a component of global knowledge”, who introduced the Internet Lab based at the Faculty of Russian Literature of Petrozavodsk University on its site <http://www.philolog.ru>. Initially it made available all the works of Dostoevsky, including marginalia, concordances, and the *New Testament of Dostoevsky (Evangeliye Dostoevskogo)* (1823). Then the Internet Lab staff worked on all of Dostoevsky’s Notebooks, preparatory notes and letters based on original manuscripts, rereading these and making many corrections. They began publishing the contents of the journals *Vremia* and *Epokha*, and the weekly newspaper *Grazhdanin*. Many of the papers delivered were later published in Russian-based journals of which there were now a substantial number. Nine contributions appeared in vol. IX of *Dostoevsky Studies*. New Series, 2005. A discussion on “Teaching Dostoevsky” chaired by William M. Todd III (USA) set the precedent for Roundtables at future symposia, mainly conducted by American members of IDS. From my personal ‘New Zealand’ perspective I enjoyed meeting some of the early participants of IDS, whom I had met in Bad Ems: Gerigk, Jackson, Jones, Neuhäuser and W. Schmid. A photo that was taken of us six by Schmid’s wife is featured in the Appendix (*see ill. 17*).

The XIIIth Symposium in 2007 at Eötvös Loránd University ELTE in central Budapest, Hungary was very well organised and obviously much thought had gone into shaping the programme coherently, with compelling introductions to it by the two main organisers Katalin Kroó and Géza S. Horváth. It seemed to me that the direction of the Symposium branched out towards two targets, that the organisers attempted to reconcile. Horváth referred to Dostoevsky as a “discourse founder”, who constantly demands a return to the “primary and unadorned text” of his writing (à la Foucault), which leads to the “continuous reinterpretation of the *stirringly new* aesthetic and linguistic experience”. Hence, the presentations on Dostoevsky’s poetics and its structural and narratological aspects (that have always been the outstanding strength of the Hungarian members of the IDS). Kroó assumed the challenging task of positioning the above approach in relation to the symposium’s theme “Dostoevsky in the context of cultural dialogues” and encasing it within the discourse in *The Diary of a Writer* of 1876-77 and 1880 (*ИСС* 20; 29. 23; 30-31. 26; 145). The point of departure was Dostoevsky’s pronouncement in his chapter on George Sand about “universality” being “the most important personal characteristic and purpose of the Russian”. However, Dostoevsky’s caveat that “all this needs to be explained much more clearly” was developed to emphasise “responsibility” and a scholar’s “individual, personal scientific (*nauchny*) view”. There were many outstanding papers presented at the symposium and participants from Russia and Eastern Europe seemed to dominate. The organisers and editors are to be congratulated on the coverage and quality of its publication of two volumes of papers: *F.M. Dostoevsky in the Context of Cultural Dialogue* and *Aspekty poetiki Dostoevskogo v kontexte literaturno-kulturnykh dialogov*.⁷⁵ A significant American contribution consisted of a Round Table under the chairmanship of William M. Todd III (Harvard, USA) with some excellent summaries of the latest approaches to Dostoevsky by US scholars presented by Robin Feuer Miller “On recent Dostoevsky Scholarship”, also Nancy Ruttenburg, Susan McReynolds and Seamas O’Driscoll. In a later article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, a correspondent asked Igor Volgin: “which papers at the Symposium had aroused interest?”⁷⁶ Volgin listed at least 14 Russian speakers, adding that “of

75 Katalin KROÓ and Tünde SZABÓ (Eds.), *F.M. Dostoevsky in the Context of Cultural Dialogues* (Budapest: ELTE Russian Literature and Literary Studies, 2009), 565 pp.; Каталин КРОО, Тünde САВО, Геза С. ХОРВАТ (под ред.), *Аспекты поэтики Достоевского в контексте литературно-культурных диалогов* (“Dostoevsky Monographs: A Series of the International Dostoevsky Society”; Vol. 2) (Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2011), 320 с.

76 “Литература. Достоевский за Дунаем. Поверх Барьеров”, *Литературная газета*, № 26,

foreign reports I would note the presentations by the Americans D. Thompson, R. Belknap, W. Todd, D. Martinsen (by the way, she has been elected as the new president of IDS), and also I. Zohrab (New Zealand), J. Catteau (France), A. Kovács (Romania).” Asked whether there had been any ‘battles’ at the Symposium on certain issues, Volgin, referring parodically to the well-known saying that life is “*the way of existence of protein bodies*” (see F. Engels, “Dialectics of Nature” – *I.Z.*), noted that “passions raged around the interesting paper of I. Esaulov, who having rejected” and in Volgin’s view “completely reasonably” “the dubious term religious literary criticism (yet) insisted on the “*sobornost*” and “*paskhal’nost*” of Russian literature”. He continued that “with the same success one could rank among philological categories also Orthodoxy, Autocracy, nationality, not to mention Party-mindedness (*partiinost*)”.⁷⁷

The XIVth IDS Symposium took place in Naples on 13-20 June, 2010 at the University of Naples “L’Orientale” and the Italian Institute for Philosophical Studies. The presentations focused on the theme of “Dostoevsky – Philosophical Mind, Writer’s Eye”. It was distinguished by its Plenary Sessions and five Roundtables, the second of which was assigned to the presentation of new books and to publishing news. Some outstanding books were presented that deserve separate reviews. The director of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) in St.Petersburg, Vs. Bagno reported on the plans for the publication of a new edition of the *Complete Collected Works and Letters* of Dostoevsky in 35 volumes.⁷⁸ It will include for the first time all the drawings of Dostoevsky and an enlarged component on ‘Dubia’. It is proceeding with its textological work on Dostoevsky’s texts that will ensure that the use throughout the world of the results of the work of textual experts at Pushkin house will continue.

I shall refer you to the detailed report on the Symposium by Irina Akhundova on a Russian website that includes interviews with the chief organisers Michaela Böhmig (Naples) and Stefano Aloe (Verona).⁷⁹ According to this report the Symposium received financial support from a variety of sponsors, including the *Russky Mir* Foundation. Michaela Böhmig, in reply to the question from the interviewer “What is the peculiarity of the current forum?” responded:

20/07/2007.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ <https://russian-literature.org/author/Dostoyevsky>

⁷⁹ Ирина АХУНДОВА, “Достоевский в Неаполе”, *Православие и мир*, 5 июля 2010, <https://www.pravmir.ru/dostoevskij-v-neapole/>

The current symposium is devoted to how the writer's thought is refracted in his work. The writer's reflections are mainly focused on religious issues and are primarily associated with Orthodoxy and the figure of Christ. Central to Dostoevsky are questions about Christ and Truth, about the conflict between faith and atheism, which turns into nihilism, about the relationship between metaphysics, ethics and aesthetics. Researchers talked about these and other problems for five days. A feature of this Symposium was the 'Italian round table', which was attended by the most famous Italian researchers of Dostoevsky's 'continent'. This meeting was held in Italian.⁸⁰

The General Assembly Meeting that included the proposal to make changes to the Constitution had been circulated electronically earlier by the President, D. Martinsen inviting discussion. I was not able to attend that meeting.⁸¹ A couple from the vibrant local Russian community in Naples (who had an interest in NZ rugby) kindly helped me with transport to the post office to post cartons of books to NZ. At every symposium I was extremely fortunate to receive books from colleagues and I cannot thank them enough. Regarding Naples I shall mention also that in addition to my own paper, I was asked by James L. Rice (US) to read his paper in his absence. I also remember that for the first time a Chinese representative was present at the symposium and Deborah Martinsen asked me to look after him for a time. Co-incidentally, the following year, I would be a member of a panel to represent the IDS, the other panellists being Sergey S. Shaulov (Russia) and Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover (Australia), who chaired and organised this presentation in Beijing at the First Congress of the World Literature Association at the Institute of World Literature at Peking University, 30 June-3 July, 2011. My Abstract on "Dostoevsky and Asia" was formally approved.⁸² It dealt with oriental motifs and patterns in Chinese philosophy discernible in *Brothers Karamazov*, and also extracts from articles dealing with China in *Grazhdanin* during Dostoevsky's editorship. One was a reprint from a British paper in China at the time (1873) (that I displayed in an overhead) that described a fierce rebellion followed by a massacre that took place in the Sin Chen (Xinjiang) region.⁸³ I was not fully aware of its associations with

80 *Ibid.*

81 My hotel accommodation was located some distance away from where the meeting took place, and I was avoiding long-distance walks, having been involved earlier in a car accident (as a passenger) and later having had major surgery on my leg.

82 Irene ZOHRAB, "Dostoevsky and Asia", *The Rise of World Literatures. Abstracts, Dostoevsky as a World Writer*. First Congress of the World Literature Association, Beijing, 2011, p. 119.

83 [Ф.М. ДОСТОЕВСКИЙ?], "Из текущей жизни. Казни в Китае", *Гражданин*, № 19, 1873,

the mainly ethnic Mahomedan (Muslim) Uygurs that are being 're-educated'. I had verified that report, which was also cited in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 12 April, 1873, where the same information was featured as in *Grazhdanin*, but in greater and more lurid detail. As I was delivering my paper, I noticed a change in the atmosphere in the audience. Again, I had overstepped the mark, transgressing into territory characterised by the saying "Fools rush in where Angels fear to tread". Perhaps that too is a result of the influence of my Oceanic environment.

The next XVth Symposium of IDS took place in Moscow on 8-14 July, 2013. It was a truly unforgettable landmark event, its theme being "Dostoevsky and Journalism",⁸⁴ and has received coverage in Russia.⁸⁵ It was conducted at the Solzhenitsyn Centre of Russian Emigré Studies (SCRES). There were over 140 participants of whom 67 were from Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 39 from Europe and 35 from the US and Asia. Everything was extremely well organised with all sessions taking place at that one central venue, with a nourishing three-course midday dinner included, plus well-catered lengthy tea-brakes.⁸⁶ The papers were video-taped and I met over lunch a nice gentleman from the recording studio, who had been helping video-tape, as he was a sound engineer. He had worked on submarines and had a genuine interest in NZ.⁸⁷ A memorable event was the reception in Pashkov house with a viewing of Dostoevsky's manuscripts, including his notes over the body of his first wife "Masha is lying on the table". Saturday was devoted to a trip to Darovoe (*see ill. 19*). As customary at recent conferences after the presentation of new publications the latest books could be purchased on site. There was a massive amount of new books, including the 1230-page long *Khronika*

c. 575.

84 See footnote 28.

85 Александра ТОИЧКИНА, "Симпозиум Международного Общества Достоевского впервые прошел в России", *Учительская Газета*, 31 июля 2013, <https://ug.ru/simpozium-mezhdunarodnogo-obshhestva-dostoevskogo-vpervyye-proshel-v-rossii/>

86 Its programme can be viewed on: <https://philologist.livejournal.com/4440558.html>

87 However, not everyone was as welcoming and I remember an encounter with one officially honoured former Soviet academic accusing me for having the temerity to work in New Zealand on topics such as censorship in Imperial Russia and Dostoevsky's journalism. In my defence I could only mutter that I had my own means of accessing sources and to go easy on me. Someone said that some of the research on Dostoevsky most admired inside Russia had been carried out by researchers working outside it, including that of the esteemed *pleiade* of Russian émigré writers (not that I would count myself amongst them).-

roda Dostoevskogo based on the earlier version by M.V. Volotskoy, and edited by Igor Volgin, who also wrote the sections on *Rodnye i blizkie: Istoriko-biograficheskie ocherki*. I ended up being heavily laden (as usually) with extra luggage comprising books, and was grateful for the help I received with travel to the airport.

The next XVIth IDS Symposium took place in 2016 in Granada, Spain,⁸⁸ but at the last minute I had to cancel my trip (though my paper on the censored *Crime and Punishment* emerging out of *Winter Notes* had been included into the book of Abstracts). I was intending to attend the Symposium in Boston in 2019 and sent an Abstract, but was not able to get there. However, I felt I was there ‘in spirit’, as Vladiv-Glover generously kept me informed of the proceedings with cell-phone messages and video-clips.

Originally, I was intending to conclude this account with some wide-ranging observations on the reception of Dostoevsky in New Zealand, especially in the Nineteenth century, that has set a pattern ever since, but feel that I have monopolized the reader enough (assuming that the reader is still with me). I have written in the past on the reception of Dostoevsky in NZ in the Twentieth century, focusing on writers such as Katherine Mansfield, Frank Sargeson, Dan Davin, Maurice Shadbolt, H.W. Williams and a few others.⁸⁹ New Zealand’s outstanding Maori writer Witi Ihimaera-Smiler informed me recently that only after he had become a writer was he able “to reach across time and distance” and, while he would not go as far as to say he was affected or influenced by Dostoevsky, he did “recognise the common humanitarian impulse and political urgency and then! ah! the master!”. Janet Frame, one of New Zealand’s most famous writers drew inspiration from the works of Dostoevsky (amongst other European writers in translation), breathing them in and surviving on ‘shadow oxygen’: “The oxygen may lack its original distinctive flavour but if one is desperate to go on living one cannot wait to take part in the full tragedy of ‘smelling the air’ – or of tasting it: it is enough that it is pure, perfect O”.⁹⁰

So in conclusion, I’d like to mention that probably the earliest reference to Dostoevsky found in NZ newspapers refers to the first publication of an English translation of *Notes from the House of the Dead* (*Zapiski iz mertvogo doma*)

88 I assumed that the theme would include Dostoevsky’s representations of Spain, and was surprised to learn that the symposium would be centering wholly on *Crime and Punishment*.

89 ЗОХРАБ, “Восприятие”, с. 420-438.

90 Janet FRAME, “Memory and a Pocketful of Words”, *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 June, 1964, pp. 12-13.

translated as *Buried Alive* in 1881. It's a long and very favourable review, unusual in the sense that it considers that imprisonment in Siberia the way Dostoevsky depicted it is not as terrible as it is usually perceived to be.⁹¹ But in complete contrast to this view were the majority of other articles, such as one in 1885: "The Czar's Ile. Horrors of A Great Russian Prison. Dying Slowly in Solitude. Graphic Picture of the Miserables in the Fortress of St Peter and St. Paul".⁹² A NZ critic from Hawke's Bay writing on "Russian Novels" in September 1887 observes that there is suddenly "quite a rage" for the Russian novel that is distinguished by its "tender interest for its personages" with "Dostoïevsky" being "perhaps the most exciting" of the great Russian novelists: "his works are but one long wail. He resembles a traveller who has been everywhere and describes everything accurately, but who has only travelled by night. No sun shines, no smile in his works, nothing but sadness, tears and sobs! The titles alone are most suggestive. 'Poor People', 'Humbled and Offended', 'Crime and Punishment', 'The Possessed', 'The Idiot', 'Reminiscences from the House of the Dead' – his experiences in Siberia – sound by no means lively or amusing".⁹³ A lengthy review *Crime and Punishment* also appeared in 1887 by the same author, who signed it "Asor".⁹⁴

Some references to Dostoevsky appeared in connection with the lectures of Baron Mollwo, an émigré from Russia, who settled in Wellington, New Zealand. Mollwo alleged that he had met Tolstoy and Turgenev, and also Marx and Mazzini. He counted himself amongst those in whose hearts had been planted "the seed of a vague longing for freedom" and included Dostoevsky amongst those who had done a great deal to foster a "feeling of discontent, and fan into the flame the sparks smouldering in the breasts of the students."⁹⁵ He implied that his own fate was similar to that of Dostoevsky's, since he too was punished for his radicalism. Mollwo knew several languages and said he had worked at

91 "Convict Life in Siberia", *Timaru Herald*, vol. XXXIV, Issue 2535, March 1881, p. 3. I wish to thank Dr Hilary Chapman for her help with accessing NZ newspapers.

92 "The Czar's Ile. Horrors of A Great Russian Prison. Dying Slowly in Solitude. Graphic Picture of the Miserable in the Fortress of St Peter and St. Paul", *Colonist*, vol. XXVIII, issue 4100, 30 March, 1885, p. 3.

93 "ASOR.", "Russian Novels", *Hawke's Bay Herald*, vol. XXII, issue 7838, 3 September 1887, p. 2.

94 "Dostoevsky's 'Crime and Punishment", *Hawke's Bay Herald*, vol. XXIII, issue 7955, 20 January 1888, p. 3.

95 "Saved by A Woman", *Evening Post*, vol. LVIII, issue 151, 23 December 1899, (Supplement), p. 3.

the Crystal Palace in 1851 at the Russian exhibition court.⁹⁶ Mollwo is likely to have been a distant descendant of the merchant and sugar manufacturer in St. Petersburg, Yakov Nikolaevich Molvo (1766-1826) (of German descent), founder and owner of the Molvo & Son Co., who had the well-known Molvo Garden laid out for his workers. During the Soviet period it was known as the Garden of Equality. There is also a Molvo bridge built across the Tarakanovka river in St Petersburg. Baron Mollwo in New Zealand appears to have admired the radical Dostoevsky, rather than the author of “Pushkin Speech”. St Petersburg featured regularly in NZ Nineteenth century newspapers, including in a report of the murder of Dostoevsky’s sister Varvara in 1893.⁹⁷

I guess the moral of “Dostoevsky in NZ” is that everything is somehow connected beyond time and space, as Alyosha in *Brothers Karamazov* sensed it in the chapter “Cana of Galilee”. I identified with the view of Dostoevsky as presented by R.L. Jackson in his opening address at the last IDS symposium at Boston. He has given me permission to cite his speech in the Appendix and I would like to end with Jackson’s thoughts on what Dostoevsky’s life “has to ‘say’, as it were, to these times, OUR times, of destruction and destitution, and one of the thoughts that came to mind was the will to STRUGGLE”. Jackson cites the work of another IDS member James L. Rice, author of *Dostoevsky and the Healing Art. An Essay in Literary and Medical History*, who “argues persuasively in this connection that Dostoevsky’s basic *physiological* conflict was a struggle (*bor’ba*) against his own moribund being”. Jackson concludes that “the idea of the permanent quest for the ideal, an esthetic-spiritual ideal, remains central and, finally, ecumenical, in Dostoevsky’s work and outlook. Perhaps this is too optimistic. But perhaps Dostoevsky, as we come to know more about him, is overcoming himself”.

96 Geoffrey W. RICE, *Wellington’s mysterious ‘Baron’ Mollwo, the thalio-histrionic elocutionary lecturer*, 2020. My interpretation of the NZ newspaper articles about Mollwo differs to that of G.W. Rice, who did not use any Russian sources.

97 “General News. A Russian Crime”, *New Zealand Herald*, vol. XXX, issue 9211, 27 May 1893, p. 2. (Supplement).

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hind her; she is next to Nicholas V. Pervushin (Canada). Sitting down towards the centre is Robert Louis Jackson (USA), with Liza Knapp (USA) kneeling, also Michel Cadot (France). To the left kneeling Irina Kirk (USA) and Robin Feuer Miller (USA). Towards the middle at the back is Rev. Grigoriev (USA) with Erik Egeberg (Norway) in front, and Malcolm Jones (Great Britain) further to the back left, next to Victor Terras (USA). At the back to the right the tallest figure is Robert Belknap (USA) and further along Bill Todd (USA).

13. Photo of Geir Kjetsaa & Jostein Børtnes, Oslo, 1992 (courtesy Erik Egeberg).
14. From left to right: Vladimir Tunimanov (IRLI RAN, Russia), Ludmila Saraskina (Moscow, Russia) and Irene Zohrab (Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand) in Klagenfurt, Austria, at the time of the IXth International Dostoevsky Society's Symposium, 1995.
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Credits:

All photos and documents from Irene Zohrab's personal Archive.

Appendix C and Photo 2 – courtesy Robert Louis Jackson;

Photo 13 – courtesy Erik Egeberg

APPENDIX A

Opening Speech by Dmitry V. Grishin at Bad Ems, 1 September 1971

Source: *Epokha*, 10 April 1972 (typed out in Russian)

Эпоха, 10 апреля 1972 г.

МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СИМПОЗИУМ ДОСТОЕВСКОГО

Речь председателя организационного комитета исследователей жизни и творческой деятельности Ф.М. Достоевского, Д-ра Д.В. Гришина на первом международном симпозиуме, посвящённом 150-летию со дня рождения гениального русского писателя 1 сентября 1971 года

Дорогие коллеги! Я буду говорить о целях и задачах, стоящих перед нами, но прежде чем перейти к теме, разрешите мне от имени Организационного комитета приветствовать Вас, ведущих исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского, собравшихся сюда из разных стран мира, чтобы отметить на международном симпозиуме 150-летие со дня рождения гениального писателя, русского по происхождению, но принадлежащего всему человечеству, Фёдора Михайловича Достоевского.

Я сказал, на «международном симпозиуме». Эти слова имеют огромное значение. Правда ли это? Завтра я буду делать отчётный доклад о работе Оргкомитета и тогда остановлюсь на всём подробно, а пока скажу только, что в Оргкомитет входят представители от 16 стран мира, включая СССР, Америку, Францию, Индию, Австралию и Канаду.

В работе симпозиума принимают участие исследователи жизни и творчества Достоевского из 14 стран мира, так что мы можем с полным правом сказать не только, что наш симпозиум международный, но и то, что ничего подобного до настоящего времени в области достоевсковедения ещё не было. Скажу больше. Наш симпозиум является знаменем времени.

Достоевский был писателем огромного, космического размаха. В своём творчестве он поставил на разрешение не только национальные, но и мировые проблемы, в свой «жестокий век» он мечтал о «единении всечеловеческом», о создании рая на земле. Оставаясь всегда русским и даже будучи самым русским из всех русских, он перешагнул рубежи национальной ограниченности и стал гражданином мира.

Как-то Достоевский заметил, что «для повествователя, для поэта могут быть и другие задачи, кроме бытовой стороны: есть общие, вечные и, кажется, вовеки неисследимые глубины духа и характера человеческого». Исследователем этих сторон и был Достоевский.

В лице Достоевского мы имеем дело не с обычным писателем. Он был гигантом, открывателем новых измерений, Колумбом человеческой души, он открыл нам великие тайны душевного мира, открыл нам нас самих, но не открыл самого себя, многое не успел объяснить и досказать. Образ Достоевского противоречив и неотчётлив, он двоится, черты меняются вместо одного лица мы, как бы видим, много лиц и пытаемся, каждый в отдельности, в изолированности друг от друга, понять и объяснить этого загадочного писателя. Эти задачи не по плечу одному человеку. Нам нужно координировать нашу работу, нужна дружеская критика, нужен широкий обмен мнениями, нужны дискуссии, нужны личные встречи.

Да, личные встречи необходимы. Часто они важнее и дают больше, чем статьи и книги. Иногда при кратком обмене мнениями и идеями, мы получаем массу нового и полезного, и на этом симпозиуме мы имеем исключительную почти невероятную возможность встречаться всем в одном месте. Ведь это не общий конгресс литературоведов представляющий из себя смешение языков, а симпозиум специалистов по Достоевскому, где возможно говорить о любых проблемах связанных с жизнью и творчеством Достоевского, не опасаясь, что тебя не поймут.

Личное общение необходимо и потому, что мы не алхимики средних веков и должны быть тесно связаны друг с другом.

Короче говоря, идея необходимости создания международного объединения исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского носилась в воздухе. Дальше так продолжаться не могло. Нужно было сделать первый шаг и мы его сделали.

Фёдору Михайловичу Достоевскому не везло. У него была трудная жизнь, трудная деятельность, трудные и сложные отношения с людьми. Часть его трудностей, как бы по наследству, перешла и к нам, но об этом я расскажу Вам завтра, а сейчас перехожу к нашим целям и задачам.

Одной из главных целей созыва нашего симпозиума является создание Международного общества исследователей жизни и творчества Ф.М. Достоевского, но об этом также я буду говорить подробно завтра в моём отчётном докладе, а теперь перехожу к проблемам, на которых я хотел бы остановить ваше внимание и которые требуют своего разрешения.

Если мы намереваемся создать Международное общество, и я уверен, что мы его создадим, так нужно подумать о связи между нами. Встречи только

на конгрессах недостаточны. Вопрос встаёт об издании своего журнала. Но как издавать, где взять денег, кто будет редактором? Обо всём этом нужно подумать и всё это решить. Я лично не думаю, что мы сможем издавать журнал. Но что-то издавать необходимо. Может быть, мы сможем издавать раз в три-четыре месяца, информационный бюллетень? Конечно, в нём нельзя будет помещать статей, но из него можно будет знать, кто над чем работает, кто куда намеревается ехать, кто кого из коллег сможет посетить. Мне кажется, что последний вопрос о взаимопосещениях имеет особую важность. Я полагаю, что в любой стране, в любом городе каждый из нас будет рад и счастлив встретиться с коллегами, и – при случае – быть полезным им. Я не только буду рад встретиться с коллегами в Австралии, но и приютить их у себя. Бюллетень должен помочь организовать подобные встречи. Люди одиноки, нашим идеалом будет – в каждой стране иметь близких.

В бюллетене необходимо помещать информацию о приглашениях в те или иные университеты специалистов для чтения лекций на темы, связанные с жизнью и творчеством Достоевского. Мы должны всячески развивать и поощрять изучение творчества Достоевского и давать возможность членам нашего общества посещать различные страны.

Может быть, я смотрю слишком пессимистически на возможность издания журнала, и мы сможем издавать не бюллетень, а журнал, что было бы великолепно. Нужно подумать и о том, кто взял бы на себя дело издания бюллетеня или журнала. Если кто сможет великодушно предложить свою помощь, то я просил бы заранее сообщить мне.

Необходимо будет обсудить вопрос о возможности издания нашим обществом сборников статей, а может быть и монографий. Кто смог бы взять на себя исследование этих возможностей?

Кроме того, мне кажется, что нам следовало бы создать при каком-нибудь университете информационный центр и библиотеку, куда каждый из нас посылал бы свои труды. Нужен ли подобный центр? При каком университете создать его? Все эти вопросы нужно обсудить.

Теперь поговорим об издании материалов симпозиума. Нужно решить, что и как мы будем издавать. Международное объединение славистов обычно требует от всех желающих читать доклады за два года до конгресса сообщения тем и присылки конспектов. Но в этом году они потребовали, чтобы были высланы также напечатанные полные тексты докладов для конгресса, который состоится в 1973 году в Варшаве. Сами они издают только резюме докладов. Всё это неплохо. В будущем мы последуем их примеру, но в настоящем нужно как-то постараться издать материалы симпозиума самим.

Наш симпозиум уже привлёк внимание международной общественности. Из Ленинграда, Праги, Варшавы и других городов и стран я получил много писем с просьбой сделать всё возможное, чтобы опубликовать все материалы симпозиума, включая дискуссии. Легко сказать «опубликовать», но как это сделать? У нас нет средств. Я прошу каждого участника симпозиума подумать, как найти выход из положения, чтобы и волки были сыты, и овцы целы. Разрешить эту проблему мы должны, иначе вся деятельность симпозиума останется во мраке неизвестности.

И последнее о наших целях. Я буду краток. Наши цели чётко и ясно изложены в «Проекте устава», и в «Обращении» ко всем исследователям жизни и творчества Достоевского. «Обращение» было опубликовано во многих журналах мира. «Проект устава» и «Обращение» были опубликованы целиком в ведущем журнале Чехословакии «Чехословацкая русистика», номер 5, 1970 год.

При составлении этих документов я много думал и стремился к тому, чтобы каждый исследователь творчества Достоевского мог войти в наше общество для дружной работы. Об «Уставе» мы будем говорить подробно, когда будем его принимать, а на «Обращении» я останавлиюсь сейчас. Вот что писали мы исследователям творчества Достоевского всего мира:

«В 1971 году всё человечество будет отмечать 150 лет со дня рождения гениального русского писателя и мыслителя Фёдора Михайловича Достоевского. Интерес к жизни и творчеству Достоевского растёт с каждым днём и к юбилею писателя достигает небывалой высоты. С каждым годом увеличивается количество научных работ, посвящённых Достоевскому, который давно уже стал не только русским писателем, но и писателем мира.»

Думается, что пришла пора исследователям жизни и творчества Достоевского из разных стран объединиться в одно общество, целью которого будет: помощь в установлении и развитии дружеских связей и сотрудничества между членами общества, осуществление обмена информацией, издание бюллетеня, справочников и отдельных монографий, организация встреч с коллегами, приезжающими в другие страны, Общество будет информировать своих членов о возможностях взаимопосещений, проводить международные съезды, конференции и семинары, издаст библиографический справочник с именами, адресами и перечислением трудов исследователей творчества Достоевского всего мира.»

Организационный комитет призывает всех исследователей творчества Достоевского принять самое активное участие в деятельности общества.

Когда-то, Достоевский мечтал о «всечеловеческом единении». Прошли десятилетия, но до «единения» всё так же далеко, как было при Достоев-

ском. Пусть же мы, исследователи его творчества, своим объединением положим начало исполнению мечты великого человека».

Мы это писали и теперь на нашем симпозиуме должны подумать, как всё это осуществить.

Работы впереди много. У нас ничего нет, мы ни от кого не зависим и никто не стоит за нашей спиной, но у нас есть энергия, воля и желание иметь своё общество, а это много значит.

Я обращаюсь к вам с призывом почувствовать себя на этом симпозиуме не только участниками, но и создателями нашего общества. Пусть каждый решит, что и в какой области он может сделать полезного для развития наших идей. Может быть нам целесообразно создать маленькие комиссии из двух-трёх человек, чтобы каждая занималась какой-нибудь одной проблемой.

Нужно помнить, что своей деятельностью в настоящем, мы закладываем основы для работы исследователей творчества Достоевского будущих поколений. Ведь сам Достоевский показал нам, как нужно преодолевать узкие рамки национальной ограниченности. Будучи русским и, может быть, самым русским из русских, он преодолел свой национализм, преодолел всё временное и случайное.

Это спасло его от смерти. Да, Достоевский не умер. Он будет жить вечно до тех пор, пока не воплотятся в жизнь его великие мечты.

Подпись под фотографией:

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APPENDIX B**Opening Speech by Dmitry V. Grishin at Bad Ems,
(in English, translated by David Foreman), 1 September 1971****INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON DOSTOEVSKY**

THE SPEECH MADE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF RESEARCHERS INTO THE LIFE AND CREATIVE WORK OF FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY, DR. D. V. GRISHIN, AT THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM DEVOTED TO THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THIS RUSSIAN WRITER OF GENIUS, SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1971.

Dear colleagues! I will be speaking about the aims and objectives which confront us but, before addressing that topic, allow me, on behalf of the Organizing Committee to welcome you as leading researchers into the life and works of Dostoevsky who have gathered here from various countries of the world to mark at this international symposium the 150th anniversary of the birth of this writer of genius, who was Russian by birth but belongs to the whole of humanity – Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky.

I did say “international symposium”. These words are of huge significance. Is that not so? Tomorrow I will be making a report on the operations of the Organizing Committee and dwelling on everything in detail but, in the meantime, I just wish to say that the Organizing Committee comprises representatives of 16 countries of the world, including the USSR, America, France, India, Australia and Canada.

Taking part in this symposium are researchers into Dostoevsky’s life and works from 14 countries of the world, so we are fully entitled to say that not only is it international in character, but also that, in the realm of Dostoevsky studies, nothing like it has ever taken place before. More than that, our symposium is a landmark of our era.

Dostoevsky was a writer of huge cosmic sway. In his works he posed not just national but world problems; in his ‘harsh epoch’ he dreamt of a “union of all humanity”, of world-wide harmony, of creating heaven on earth. He investigated man’s spiritual life. While always remaining Russian and even the most Russian of all Russians, he crossed the bounds of national limitation and became a citizen of the world.

Dostoevsky once observed that “for the narrator, for the poet, there may be other objectives than the mere chronicling of daily life: there are the general,

eternal and, it would appear, eternally unexplorable depths of the human soul and character". Dostoevsky was just such an explorer of these aspects.

In the person of Dostoevsky, we are dealing with no ordinary writer. He was a giant, an explorer of new dimensions, a Columbus of the human soul; he revealed to us the great mysteries of the human soul, revealed us to ourselves, but he did not reveal himself, and there is much that he did not succeed in explaining and proving. Dostoevsky's image is both contradictory and indistinct: he assumes alter egos, his character varies; instead of one face we see many, as it were, and we try, each of us individually, in isolation from one another, to comprehend and explain this enigmatic writer. These tasks are beyond the powers of a single person. We need to coordinate our work; we need collaborative criticism, we need a broad exchange of opinion, we need discussion, we need personal contact.

Yes, personal contact is essential. Often it is more important and furnishes more than articles and books. Sometimes brief exchanges of opinions and ideas provide us with a mass of new and useful information, and at this symposium we have an exclusive, almost unbelievable, opportunity to meet all together in one place. For it is not a general congress of literary scholars representing a medley of languages, but a symposium of Dostoevsky specialists, where it is possible to talk about any issues related to Dostoevsky's life and works, without the fear of not being understood.

Personal relations are also essential because we are not medieval alchemists and ought to enjoy close links with one another.

To put it succinctly, the need to set up an international union for researchers into Dostoevsky's life and works is an idea that has been floating in the air for some time. Things could not continue the way they were. A first step needed to be taken and we have taken it.

Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky was not blessed with good fortune. He had a difficult life, difficulties in pursuing his occupation, and his relations with people were difficult and complex. Some of his difficulties have been passed down to us like a legacy; however, I will talk about this tomorrow and now move on to deal with our aims and objectives.

One of the principal aims of convoking our symposium is the establishment of the International Society of Researchers into the Life and Works of Dostoevsky, but this too I will discuss in detail tomorrow in my report; now, however, I will proceed to the problems on which I would like to focus your attention on and which demand a solution.

If we intend to establish an international society, and I am sure that we will, we need to think about liaison between us. Meetings at congresses alone are

not enough. There is the question of issuing a journal of our own. But how is it to be issued, where is the money to come from and who will be the editor? We need to think about and resolve all this. Personally, I do not believe that we shall be able to put out a journal. But we have to put something out. Perhaps we shall be able to issue an information bulletin every three or four months. Of course, it will not be possible to include articles in it, but we shall be able to learn who is working on what, who intends travelling where, who will be able to visit a colleague. It appears to me that this last question of reciprocal visits is of particular importance. I imagine that in any country, in any city, each of us would be pleased and happy to meet with colleagues and – on the odd occasion – to be useful to them. I would be not only glad to meet with colleagues in Australia, but also to offer them hospitality at home. A bulletin should be helpful in organizing such meetings. People are isolated and it is our ideal to have associates in every country.

The bulletin must contain information about the invitation of specialists to various universities to give lectures on topics related to Dostoevsky's life and works. We must in every way develop and encourage the study of Dostoevsky's work and give members of our society the opportunity to visit different countries.

Perhaps I am too pessimistic regarding the possibility of publishing a journal and we shall be able to put out a journal rather than a bulletin – which would be wonderful. We need to give some thought as to who would take responsibility for issuing a bulletin or journal. If anyone is magnanimously able to offer assistance, I would request him or her to let me know as soon as possible.

It will be essential to discuss the possibility of our society putting out a collection of articles or even perhaps monographs. Who would take upon himself the task of investigating these possibilities?

Other than that, it seems to me that we ought to establish at some university an information centre and library where each of us could send his work. Is such a centre needed? All these issues need to be discussed.

Now let us discuss the publication of the symposium's findings. We need to decide what to issue and how. The International Union of Slavists usually demands that all those wishing to read papers give notice two years before a congress and send in abstracts. But this year they have demanded that full printed versions of the papers be sent out for the Congress, which will take place in Warsaw in 1973. They are providing only resumes of the papers. This is not a bad idea. In future we shall follow their example but, in the meantime, we shall have to try to put out the symposium information ourselves.

Our symposium has already drawn the attention of the international community. From Leningrad, Prague, Warsaw and other cities and countries I have received numerous letters requesting that everything be done to publish all the proceedings of the symposium, including the discussion. It is easy to say they should be published, but how is this to be done? We do not have the wherewithal. I ask every participant in the symposium to give some thought to finding a way out of this situation, so the wolves can be fed and the sheep remain safe. We must solve this problem, or else the symposium's activities will remain in obscurity.

And now for the last of our aims. I shall be brief. Our aims are clearly and distinctly set out in the "Draft Constitution" and in the "Address" to all researchers into Dostoevsky's life and works. The "Address" has been published in many world journals. The "Draft Constitution" and the "Address" have been published in full in the leading Czechoslovakian journal *Československá rusistika* (No. 5, 1970).

In the compilation of these documents, I have devoted much thought and effort to ensuring that every researcher into Dostoevsky's works is able to join our society for the sake of cooperative work. The "Constitution" we shall discuss in detail when we adopt it and I shall deal with the "Address" now. This is what we have written to researchers worldwide into Dostoevsky's works.

"In 1971 the whole of humanity will be marking the 150th anniversary of this Russian writer and thinker of genius, Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky. Interest in Dostoevsky's life and works is growing day by day and reaching unparalleled heights for the jubilee. Every passing year sees an increase in the number of scholarly works devoted to Dostoevsky, who has long become not just a Russian writer but a world writer as well.

It seems to me that the time has come for those investigating Dostoevsky's life and works in various countries to unite in a single society with the aim of: assisting in the establishment of and development of cooperative ties and collaboration among members of the society, facilitating the exchange of information, publishing a bulletin, reference works and individual monographs, and organizing meetings with colleagues who are visiting other countries. The society will inform its members of opportunities for exchange visits, conduct international congresses, conferences and seminars, and issue a bibliographical guide which includes the names, addresses and publications of those world-wide who are researching Dostoevsky's works. The organizing committee calls on all those researching Dostoevsky's works to take an active part in the society's activities.

There was a time when Dostoevsky dreamt of a "union of all humanity". Decades have gone by, but we are still as far from such "union" as we were in Dosto-

evsky's day. May we researchers of his works through our own union bring about the fulfilment of the great man's dream".

This is what we wrote and now at our symposium we must think how we are to translate all this into reality.

We have a lot of work ahead of us. We have nothing, we are not dependent on anyone, and nobody backs us, but we have energy, determination and the desire for our own association, and this means a lot.

I appeal to you to consider yourselves at this symposium not just participants in but creators of our association. Let each of us decide what and in what area he or she is able to do something useful for the development of our ideas. Maybe it would be expedient for us to set up small commissions of two or three people, each of which would deal with a particular problem.

We must remember that by our present activity we are laying the foundations for future generations of researchers into Dostoevsky's works. For Dostoevsky himself showed us how necessary it was to overcome the narrow confines of national limitations. As a Russian and perhaps the most Russian of all Russians, he overcame his own nationalism, overcame everything that was ephemeral and fortuitous.

This saved him from death. For yes, Dostoevsky did not die. He will live eternally until his great dreams are incarnated in our lives.

APPENDIX C

**Short Opening Speech by Robert Louis Jackson at the XVIIth
IDS Symposium in Boston, August 2019
(accompanied by a letter of the Author to Irene Zohrab)**

A few thoughts. I had been thinking earlier – when I first received the invitation to say a few words here about Dostoevsky – about what his *life* – specifically his ten years of life, if you can call it that, in the Gulag and Siberian exile – has to ‘say’, as it were, to these times, our times, of destruction and destitution, and one of the thoughts that came to mind was the will to struggle. That reminded me of a book I had twenty years or so ago: James L. Rice’s *Dostoevsky and the Healing Art. An Essay in Literary and Medical History* where he cites L. Simonova, a woman who knew Dostoevsky in the mid 1870s, as remembering telling Dostoevsky, on her meetings with him, to avoid climbing stairs. Dostoevsky flew into rage, she recalls: “I don’t want to [avoid stairs], no! no! no! I struggle on purpose – against old age”. Rice himself argues persuasively in this connection that Dostoevsky’s basic *physiological* conflict was “a struggle (*bor’ba*) against his own moribund being”. Now Tolstoy famously noted that Dostoevsky was “all struggle” (*chelovek ves’ borba*) – his words, of course, extended far beyond physiology into the world of psychology and philosophy, to be sure, but there was the stubborn word “*bor’ba*” – at its center. I remember Dr. Dorn in Chekhov’s *Seagull* saying about Konstantin’s play with in a play – “*chto-to est*” – “there’s something in it”. And so say in memory of the book by Rice – “*chto-to-est*”.

But Dostoevsky’s “struggle” – his struggle to survive in Siberia, his will to survive, whatever his involvement with physiology and exercise per se, was motivated and marked by deep and immense *reappraisals* involving social, philosophical, literary, and above all esthetic-religious questions. Romantic ideals and idealism, as he had known them were transmuted (though never entirely) into a *tragic Christian idealism*. Above all, his concerns, though always engaging him personally, extended to all of humanity and human destiny. And the idealism of the past found a new and darker formulation: “*Chelovek na zemle stremitsia k idealu protivopolozhnoy ego nature*”. “Man on the earth strives for an ideal that is contrary to his nature”. Here is statement that Dostoevsky’s heroes and heroines live out with uncertain results. But the idea of the permanent quest for the ideal, an esthetic-spiritual ideal, remains central and, finally, ecumenical, in Dostoevsky’s work and outlook. Perhaps this is too optimistic.

But perhaps Dostoevsky, as we come to know more about him, is overcoming himself.

Robert Louis Jackson
Guilford, CT, July 8, 2019

Dear Irene,

I find in my files this account (above) of my talk at the Boston XVII IDS conference. I worked on this piece a lot prior to the conference constantly making changes, but this is the core of my talk.

I'm going to look for the account, in Russian (around 1990), of my talk with Dolinin – published earlier, too, in the Soviet period, but outside the Soviet Union.

Yours,

Robert

ILLUSTRATIONS



*Исполнительный комитет Международного Общества Исследователей Жизни и Творчества Ф.М.Достоевского. (Международный Симпозиум. Бад Эмс. Сентябрь, 1971 г.)
 Сидят слева направо: профессор А.Н.Гедройи (Бельгия), профессор Р.-Л.Джексон (США)
 д-р Д.В.Гришин (Австралия), профессор Н.А.Нилссон (Швеция), профессор Н.А.Натова (США),
 о.Георгий Флоровский (США), профессор Н.С.Вахрос (Финляндия), профессор В.И.Седуро
 (США), профессор Н.В.Первушин (Канада).
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 профессор М.Новиков (Румыния), д-р Г.М.Докс (Австрия), д-р И.И.Доллар (Италия), д-р М.В.
 Джонс (Англия).*

III. 1



III. 2

ПЯТИГОДНИЙ СИМПОЗИУМ ДОСТОЕВСКОГО

РЕЧЬ ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИОННОГО КОМИТЕТА ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЕЙ ЖИЗНИ И ТВОРЧЕСКОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ Ф.М. ДОСТОЕВСКОГО, Д-ра Д.В. ГРИШИНА НА ПЕРВОМ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОМ СИМПОЗИУМЕ, ПОСВЯЩЕННОМ 150-ЛЕТИЮ СО ДНЯ РОЖДЕНИЯ ГЕНИАЛЬНОГО РУССКОГО ПИСАТЕЛЯ 1 СЕНТЯБРЯ 1971 ГОДА

Дорогие коллеги! Я буду говорить о делах и запяч, стоящих перед нами, но прежде чем перейти к теме, разрешите мне от имени Организационного комитета приветствовать Вас, выдучи исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского, собравшихся сюда из разных стран мира, чтобы отметить на международном симпозиуме 150-летие со дня рождения гениального писателя, русского по происхождению, но принадлежавшего всему человечеству, Федора Михайловича Достоевского.

Я сказал, на "международном симпозиуме". Эти слова имеют огромное значение. Провал ли это? Завтра я буду делать отчетный доклад в работе Оргкомитета и тогда останусь на всем подробное, а пока скажу только, что в Оргкомитет входят писатели из 16 стран мира, включая СССР, Америку, Францию, Индию, Австралию и Канаду.

В работе симпозиума принимают участие исследователи жизни и творчества Достоевского из 14 стран мира, так что мы можем с полным правом сказать не только, что наш симпозиум международный, но и то, что ничего подобного до настоящего времени в области достоевствоведения еще не было. Скажу больше. Наш симпозиум является знаменем времени.

Достоевский был писателем, огромного космического размаха. В своем творчестве он поставил на разрешение не только национальное, но и мировые проблемы, в своем "векстотый век" он мечтал о "единении всечеловеческом", о всемирной гармонии, о создании рая на земле. Оставался всегда русским и даже будучи самым русским из всех русских, он перепахивал рубежи национальной ограниченности и стал гражданином мира.

Как-то Достоевский заметил, что "для повествователя, для поэта могут быть и другие заветы, кроме беговой стороны: есть обилие, вечные и кажутся, вояны несоладимые глубины духа и характера человеческого". Исследователем этих сторон и был Достоевский.

В лице Достоевского мы имеем дело не с обычным писателем. Он был гигантом, открывателем новых измерений. Колумбом творческой души, он открыл нам великие тайны душевного мира, открыл нам нас самих, но не открыл самого себя, многое не успел объяснить и доказать. Образ Достоевского противоречив и неограничен, он движется, черты меняются вместо одного лица мы, как бы видим много лиц и пытаемся, каждый в отдельности, в изолированности друг от друга, понять и объяснить этого загадочного писателя. Эти сведения не по плечу одному человеку. Нам нужно координировать нашу работу, нужна дружеская критика, нужен широкий обмен мнениями, нужны дискуссии, нужны личные

встречи. Да, личные встречи необходимы. Часто они важнее и дают больше, чем статьи и книги. Иногда при кратком обмене мнениями и идеями, мы получаем мысленного и познавательного, и на этом симпозиуме мы имеем исключительную почти невероятную возможность встретиться всем в одном месте. Ведь это не обычный конгресс лектураторов-представителей из себя смешения языков, а симпозиум специалистов по Достоевскому, где возможно говорить о любых проблемах связанных с жизнью и творчеством Достоевского, но опасаясь, что себя не забудут. Личное общение необходимо и потому, что мы не какими-то средними и не должны быть тесно связаны друг с другом.

Короче говоря, идея необходимости создания международного объединения исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского неслась в воздухе. Дальше так продолжаться не могло. Нужно было сделать первый шаг и мы его сделали.

Федору Михайловичу Достоевскому не везло. У него была трудная жизнь, трудная деятельность, трудные и сложные отношения с людьми. Часть его трагедией, как бы по наследству, перешла и к нам, но об этом я расскажу Вам завтра, а сейчас переключу к нашей цели и задачам.

Одной из главных целей создания этого симпозиума является создание Международного общества исследователей жизни и творчества Ф.М. Достоевского, но об этом также я буду говорить подробно завтра в моем отчетном докладе, а теперь переключу к проблемам, на которые я хотел бы остановить ваше внимание "и которые требуют своего разрешения.

Если мы намерены создать Международное общество, и я уверен, что мы его создадим, так нужно получить о связи между нами. Встречи только на конгрессных недостаточны. Вопрос стоит об издании своего журнала. Но как издавать, где взять денег, кто будет редактором? Обо всем этом нужно подумать и все это решить. Я лично не думаю, что мы сможем издавать журнал.

Но что-то издавать необходимо. Может быть, мы сможем издавать раз в три-четыре месяца, информационный бюллетень? Конечно, в нем нельзя будет помещать статей, но из него можно будет знать, кто над чем работает, кто куда намерен ехать, кто какой из коллег собирается посетить. Мы хотим, что последний вопрос о взаимопомощи имеет особую важность. Я полагаю, что в любой стране, в любой городе каждый из нас будет рад и охотно встретиться с коллегами, и в три случае — быть позванными им. Я не только буду рад встретиться с коллегами из Австралии, но и пригласить их у себя. Бла-

гоприятель должен помочь организовать подобные встречи. Люди одиноки, ведь идеалом будет — в каждой стране иметь близких.

В бюллетене необходимо помещать информацию о приглашениях в те или иные университеты специалистов для чтения лекций на темы, связанные с жизнью и творчеством Достоевского. Мы должны привлечь и развить и поощрить изучение творчества Достоевского и давать возможность членам нашего общества посетить различные страны.

Может быть, я смотрю слишком пессимистически на возможность издания журнала, и мы сможем издавать не бюллетень, а журнал, что было бы великолепно. Нужно подумать и о том, кто взял бы на себя дело издания бюллетеня или журнала. Если кто сможет великодушно предложить свою помощь, то я прошу бы заранее сообщить мне.

Необходимо будет обсудить вопрос о возможности издания наших общественно-научных статей, а может быть и монографий. Кто смог бы взять на себя организацию этих возможностей?

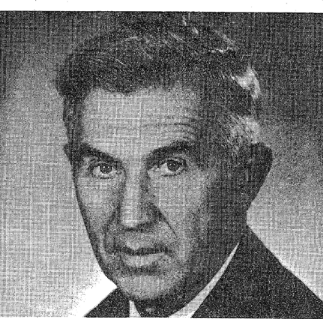
Кроме того, мне кажется, что нам следует бы создать при каком-нибудь университете информационный центр — информационную службу, куда каждый из нас послал бы свои труды. Нужен ли подобный центр? При каком университете создать его? Все эти вопросы нужно обсудить.

Теперь поговорим об издании международного симпозиума. Нужно решить что и как мы будем издавать. Международное объединение симпозиумов обычно требует от всех желающих читать доклады за два года до конгресса сообщения тем и присылать комплекты. Но в этом году они потребованы, чтобы были высланы также иллюстрированные полные тексты докладов для конгресса, который состоится в 1973 году в Варшаве. Если мы сможем только решить проблему, то в будущем мы сможем их пригласить, но в настоящее время нужно как-то постараться издать материалы симпозиума самим. Куда мы сможем выслать материалы международной общественности. Из Ленинграда, Праги, Берлина и других городов и стран я получил много писем с просьбой сделать все возможное, чтобы опубликовать все материалы симпозиума, включая дискуссии. Легко сказать "опубликовать" — но как это сделать? У нас нет средств. Я прошу каждого участника симпозиума подумать, как найти выход из положения, чтобы и воли были сыты, и овцы целы. Разрешить эту проблему из положения, чтобы и воли были сыты, и овцы целы. Разрешить эту проблему из положения, чтобы и воли были сыты, и овцы целы.

И последнее о наших целях. Я буду краток. Наши цели четко и ясно изложены в "Проекте устава", и в "Обращении" ко всем исследователям жизни и творчества Достоевского, опубликовано во многих журналах мира. "Проект устава" и "Обращение" были опубликованы целиком в ведущем журнале Хельсинки "Неологическая русистика", номер 5, 1970 год.

При составлении этих документов я много думал и стремился к тому, чтобы каждый исследователь творчества Достоевского мог войти в наше общество для лучшей работы. Об "Уставе" мы будем говорить подробно, когда будем его принимать, а на "Обращении" я остановлюсь сейчас. Вот что писали мы исследователям творчества Достоевского всего мира:

"В 1971 году мы чествовали бы отмечать 150-летие со дня рождения гениального русского писателя и мыслителя Федора Михайловича Достоевского. Нам очень важно и интересно изучать жизнь и творчество Достоевского, и мы хотим, чтобы вы могли участвовать в этом процессе. Мы хотим, чтобы вы могли участвовать в этом процессе. Мы хотим, чтобы вы могли участвовать в этом процессе."



Д-р Д. В. Гришин. Председатель Организационного Комитета Международного Общества Исследователей Жизни и Творчества Ф. М. Достоевского.

«В 1971 году мы чествовали бы отмечать 150-летие со дня рождения гениального русского писателя и мыслителя Федора Михайловича Достоевского. Нам очень важно и интересно изучать жизнь и творчество Достоевского, и мы хотим, чтобы вы могли участвовать в этом процессе. Мы хотим, чтобы вы могли участвовать в этом процессе. Мы хотим, чтобы вы могли участвовать в этом процессе.»

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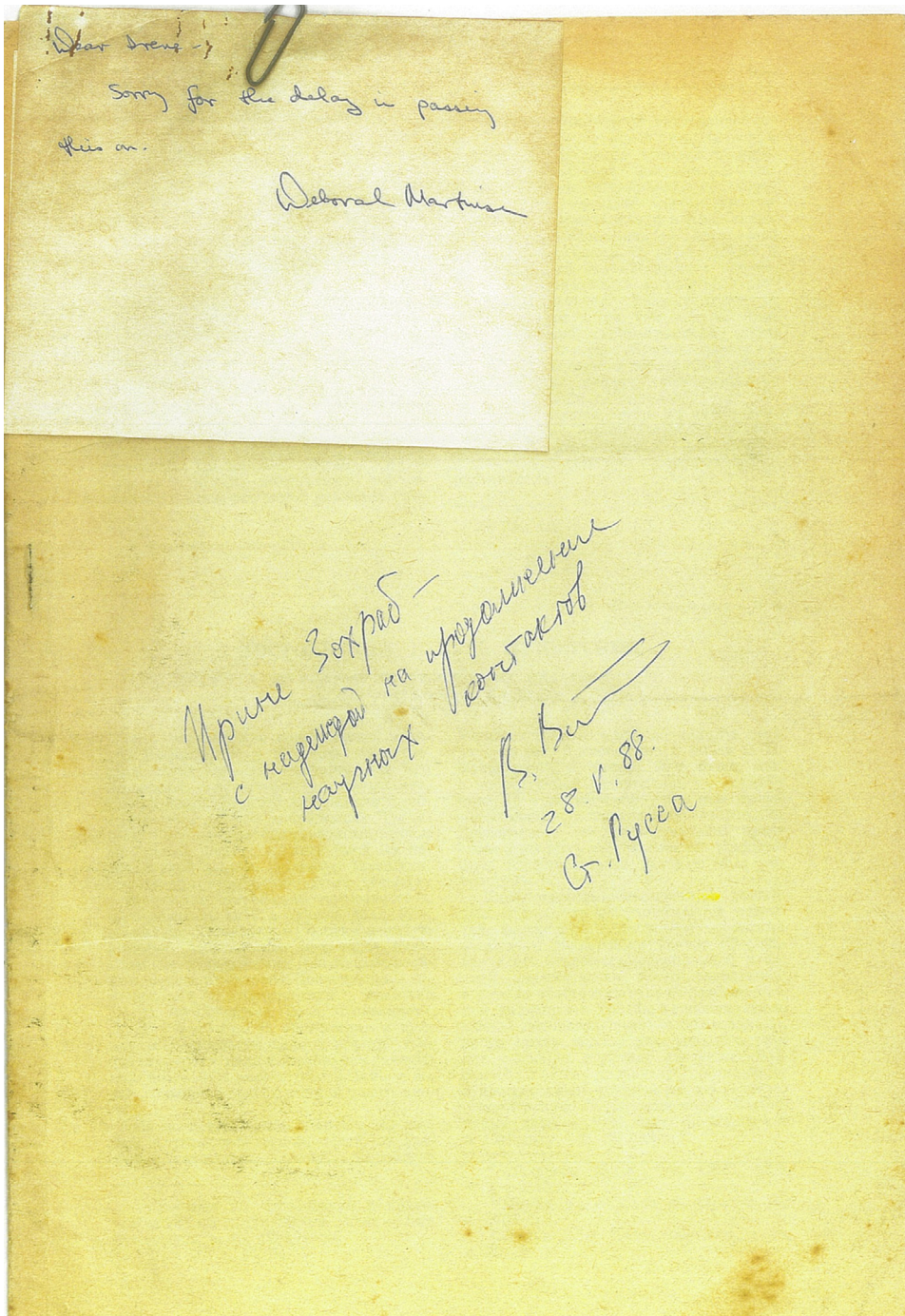
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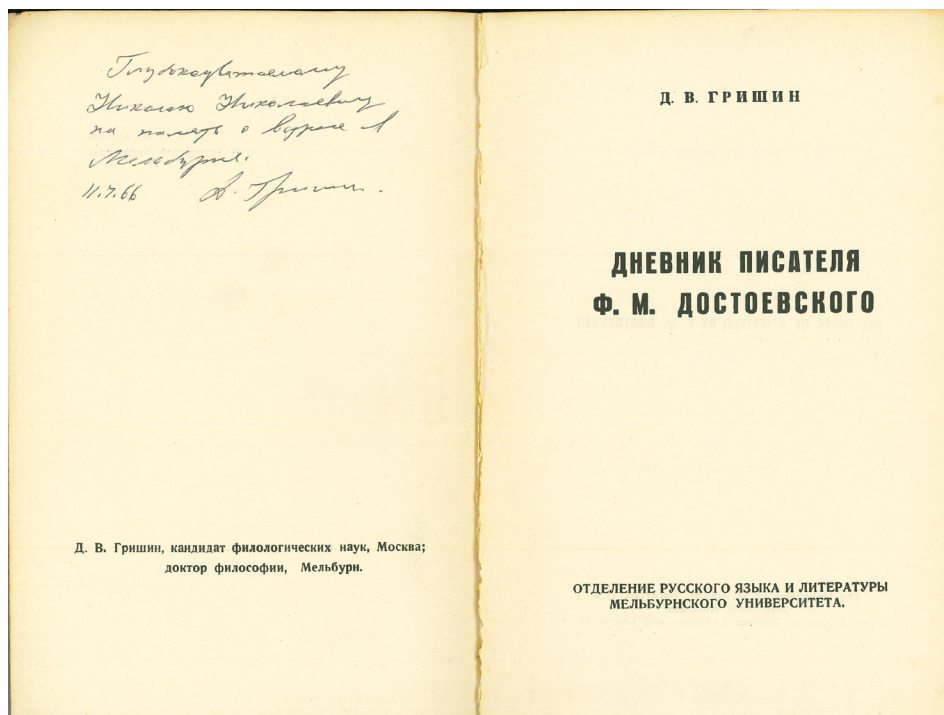


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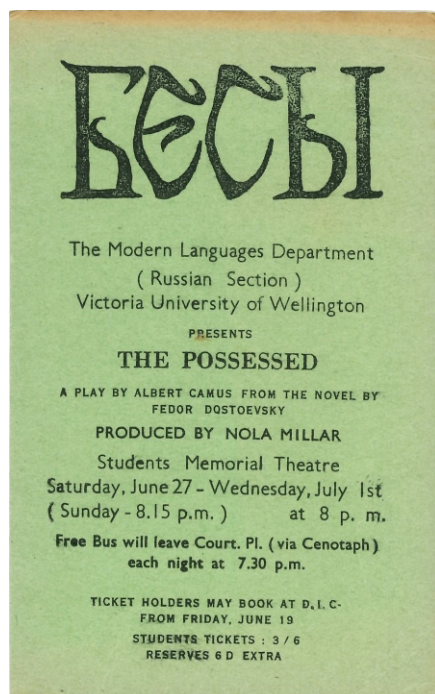
Дорогому Николаю Николаевичу
 на память о встрече в
 Москве 22/6/64.
 И. Зохрав

АФОРИЗМЫ И ВЫСКАЗЫВАНИЯ
 Ф. М. ДОСТОЕВСКОГО

III. 6



III. 7



III. 8

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No. 8

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON F. DOSTOEVSKY

Sept. 1 - 5, 1971.

To commemorate the sesquicentennial anniversary of the birth of F. Dostoevsky an International Symposium was held at Bad Ems, West Germany, from September 1 - 5, 1971, at which an international association for Dostoevsky studies to be known as the International Dostoevsky Society, was formed. Its membership now includes distinguished scholars from Western Europe, North America, Scandinavia, parts of Eastern Europe and Australasia. It is hoped that symposia under the Society's auspices may be held every 3 or 4 years, normally in some part of Europe.

The guiding spirit behind the Symposium and its initiator was Dr. Dmitry Grishin of the University of Melbourne, who acted as President of the Organising Committee. Several years ago Dr. Grishin began to pioneer the idea to form such an International Society and has since then persistently and with determination worked to make it a reality. Dr. Grishin read the Inaugural Address, entitled "Aims and Purposes of the Symposium" and also a paper on "Dostoevsky - Man, Writer and Myth".

Professor Nadine Natov of the George Washington University, U.S.A., assisted Dr. Grishin with the organisation of the Symposium, as did Professor R. Neuhäuser, of the University of Western Ontario, Canada.

Dostoevsky specialists from 13 countries took part in the Symposium and read some 36 papers. The Inaugural Session opened with Dr. Grishin's address, which was followed by Professor Robert Louis Jackson (Yale University, U.S.A.) on "Dostoevsky: A Vision in Motion". Then came three reports: Mihai Novicov (University of Bucarest, Romania) "The Modern Perception of Dostoevsky's Work: Dialectics of Affirmation and Negation"; George Florovsky (Princeton University, U.S.A.) "A Re-study of The Brothers Karamazov"; and Horst-Jurgen Gerigk (University of Heidelberg, Germany) "Dostojewskijs Selbstverständnis als hermeneutisches Problem".

The other papers were subdivided into three sections under the following headings:

1. Dostoevsky in Social, Religious and Philosophical Perspectives.

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МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СИМПОЗИУМ ДОСТОЕВСКОГО

БАД ЭМС / 1-5 СЕНТЯБРЯ 1971/

В честь 150-летия со дня рождения Ф.М.Достоевского, в Бад Эмсе (Западная Германия), был проведен Международный Симпозиум Исследователей Жизни и Творчества Ф.М.Достоевского. На этом Симпозиуме было организовано Международное Общество, членами которого в настоящее время являются известные ученые из разных стран мира: Америки, СССР, Чехословакии, Канады, Бельгии, Новой Зеландии, Финляндии, Франции и других стран.

Вдохновителем и инициатором этого симпозиума, а также и основателем Общества исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского является д-р Дмитрий Владимирович Гринин, из Мельбурнского университета. Несколько лет назад, д-р Гринин решил начать работу по созданию Общества. Настоянию и упорно, преодолевая многочисленные препятствия, д-р Гринин добился выполнения поставленной цели.

Профессор Н.А.Напова из Джорджтаунского университета, принимала самое активное участие в подготовке и проведении симпозиума, оказав д-р Гринину огромную помощь. Активное участие в подготовке симпозиума принимал также профессор Р. Нохаузер из Канады.

В симпозиуме приняли участие исследователи Достоевского из 14 стран. Было прочитано 36 научных докладов и статей, связанных с жизнью и творчеством Достоевского. Открыв преемство творческому заседанию, приветствуя делегатов и участников симпозиума, председательствовавший Комитетом, Д.В.Гринин прочитал вступительный доклад. Д-р Гринин говорил о целях и задачах симпозиума, а также, прочитал доклад на тему: "Достоевский — человек, писатель и мир".

После приветственной речи д-ра Гринина выступил с докладом профессор Р.Л.Джонсон (Иельский ун-т, США) на тему: "Достоевский: образ в движении". Затем выступил с докладом профессор М.Никонов (Бухарестский ун-т, Румыния), на тему: "Современное восприятие творчества Достоевского: диалектика утверждения и отрицания". Затем последовали доклады: о.Г.Горький Флоровского (Принстонский ун-т, США), "Перспектива Братства Карамазовых" и западногерманского литературоведа, д-ра Х.-И.Гермина (Гейдельбергский ун-т), "Самознание Достоевского".

- Остальные доклады были распределены на три тематические группы:
1. Достоевский: социальные, религиозные и философские аспекты.
 2. Творчество Достоевского с точки зрения сравнительной перспективы.
 3. Достоевский как художник.
- В первом разделе с интересными сообщениями и сообщениями о семье Достоевского выступила отдаленная родственница Достоевского Ольга Фабья-Фейн.

Последующими докладами в этом разделе были: д-р Малкольм Льюис (Ноттингемский ун-т, Англия), "Помехи и плетва в творчестве Достоевского", профессор Д.Фрэнк (Принстонский ун-т, США), "История и мир Достоевского", профессор Д.Григорин (ун-т Георгтаун, США), "Достоевский и русское религиозное возрождение", профессор Майкл Эр (Индорага), "Достоевский и русский реализм", профессор Р.Нохаузер (ун-т Западной Канады), "Сотворившая реальность и герои в раннем творчестве Достоевского", Лотескинский и психология Фурье", д-р Н.Полторский (Санктпетербургский ун-т, США), "Легенда о великом инквизиторе в истолковании Николая Бердяева", профессор Леон Сикомс (Госуда. ун-т штата Флорида, США), "Утопиям у Достоевского и Хаксли".

Во втором разделе Симпозиума были прочитаны следующие доклады: "Д-р И.Керр (Контекстуальный ун-т, США), "Концепция красоты у Достоевского и Митшны", профессор Р.Лаут (Мичиганский ун-т, Германия), "Могучество" Ф.Львова и "Бесы" Достоевского", профессор А.Вайсбергер (Брюссельский ун-т, Бельгия), "Визуальность Фальстера у Достоевского", д-р М.Ханкс (ун-т Зап. Техаса, США), "Метафоризация Достоевского в сети интеллектуальной Нитше", д-р Мария Виднас (ун-т Хельсинки, Финляндия), "Преддествиями Двойная Достоевского", профессор Темира Нахумес (ун-т Иллинойс, США), "Визуальное тематическое исследование на современную литературу", профессор Т.Николюк (Бухарестский ун-т, Румыния), "Достоевский и романская литература в период между двумя войнами", д-р Ирвин Доллар (Падуйский ун-т, Италия), "Изучение творчества Достоевского в Италии", профессор И.И.Седур (Нью-Йоркский Институт, США), "Достоевский в русской критике заграничной", профессор Виктор Крупицкий (Пенсильванский ун-т, США), "Достоевский и Аполлон Григорьев".

В третьем разделе Симпозиума были прочитаны доклады: профессора Ни ван дер Зита (Амстердамский ун-т, Нидерланды), "Отрешенность в первой части "Преступления и наказания", профессор И.Вихарос (ун-т Хельсинки, Финляндия), "Концепция фантастического у Достоевского", профессор И.Перуашиня (Монреальский ун-т, Канада), "Восприятие мира у Достоевского", профессора И.Горький (Бруклинский ун-т, Бельгия), "Достоевский в театре: новые аспекты критики", М.М. Д. Арбан (Париж, Франция), "Le Zerkow", профессор Р.-Л.Джексон (Иельский ун-т, США), "Новые сообщения по вопросу идентификации мотива души в "Кроткой", д-ра В.Шмидта (Мюнхенский ун-т, Германия), "Генетическая опистология и разгортывание жанра, как ведущий фактор "Двойника", профессор Н.А.Напова (Ильский ун-т, США), "Джордж Вашингтонский ун-т, США".



Исполнительный комитет Международного Общества Исследователей Жизни и Творчества Ф.М.Достоевского, (Международный Симпозиум, Бад Эмс, Септември, 1971 г.): профессор Р.-Л.Джексон (США), д-р Д.В.Гринин (Австралия), профессор И.А.Вихарос (Венгрия), профессор И.А.Напова (США), о.Г.Горький Флоровский (США), профессор И.С.Вихарос (Финляндия), профессор В.И.Седур (США), профессор И.В.Леруашиня (Канада), профессор Р.Нохаузер (Канада), профессор Р.Лаут (Зап. Германия), профессор М.Никонов (Румыния), д-р И.М.Доллар (Австрия), д-р И.И.Доллар (Италия), д-р М.В.Джонсон (Англия).

США), "Единство образа и этического замысла в творчестве Достоевского", профессора Н.О.Иванссона (Стокгольмский ун-т, Швеция), "Антилитература, как стилистический прием в "Преступлении и наказании", профессор Л.Р.Жежеского (Нью-Йоркский ун-т, США), "Некоторые особенности языка Достоевского в "Бесах", профессор Ф.Сали (Нью-Йоркский ун-т, США), "К вопросу о типологии персонажей Достоевского".

Доклады подчеркивали особый характер гения Достоевского, его обширное значение и его отношение к современному миру.

Участники симпозиума пришли к выводу, что хотя Достоевский был типично русским, и может быть, самым русским из всех русских, он в то же время был и гражданином мира. Поэтому, исследование его жизни и творчества является весьма важной деятельностью во всех странах мира.

Симпозиум одобрял мнение, что взаимодействие между исследователями Достоевского послужит интересам мировой общечеловеческой.

На Симпозиуме был принят устав Общества и избран Исполнительный Комитет, в состав которого вошли представители от 14 стран. Профессор Илья Иванссон был избран президентом, д-р Д.Гринин — первым заместителем, профессор Н.А.Напова — ученым секретарем, профессор Нохаузер — редактором бюллетеня Общества.

От Новой Зеландии, представителем Исполнительного Комитета была назначена д-р Персерман из ун-та Отаго.

На Симпозиуме также было принято официальное решение, способствовать дальнейшим

исследованиям Достоевского, принимать активное участие в работе Общества и развивать тесную связь между учеными разных стран.

Общество намеревается издавать бюллетень, создавать тесные связи, симпозиумы, конференции, организовывать визиты-исследования, издавать сборники и отдельные монографии.

Решение провести первый международный симпозиум в Бад Эмсе, оказалось весьма удачным. Бад Эмс, маленький оживленный городок, расположенный на берегу Рейна, в конце прошлого столетия это был очень популярный курорт, куда приезжали представители высшего русского общества. Гостиница "Русский Двор" и великолепная русская православная церковь, до сих пор сохранились как напоминания этого периода.

В Бад Эмсе часто бывала и Достоевский с семьей. Участники симпозиума посетили те гостиницы, в которых останавливался Достоевский. К сожалению и удивлению участников Симпозиума, ни одна из этих гостиниц не была обозначена мемориальной доской, напоминающей о пребывании великого писателя, и, только в результате настоятельных просьб со стороны Организационного Комитета, городское управление мемориальную доску на доме где Достоевский жил в течение трех сезонов и где он продолжал работать над своими произведениями.

В русской православной терминологии торжественное богослужение с участием Владыки Иоанна Шаховского, Архиепископа Самаринского и Западных Соед. Штатов, о.Горький Флоровский и профессор Дмитрий Гринин.

В один из последующих дней

была отслужена панихида по Достоевскому. Эта служба проводилась неформальным инициативным инициативным инициативным панихида по великому писателю, отслуженная в хоромы ему знакомой церкви, расположенной в городке, где он часто бывал, и присутствии исследователей его жизни и творчества и при участии современной семьи Достоевского, как например, Ольга де Фабья-Фейн.

Совсем того, что это событие неопозорит, еще более углубило произведенное впечатление.

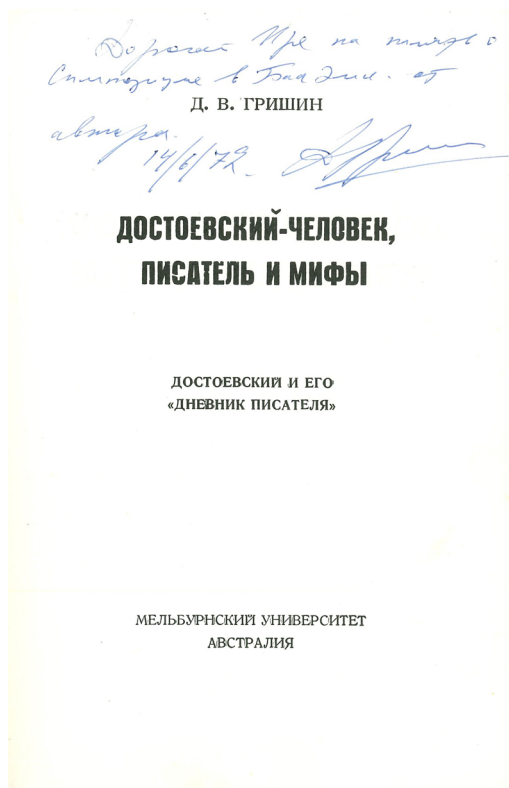
Как часто случается на конгрессах, самые плодотворные дискуссии происходили вне официальных заседаний, во время прогулок вдоль реки Лан или по лесистым холмам по направлению к старинному замку Штольценфельде, расположенному на Рейне во время обедов и ужинов, которые часто бывали в ресторанах, на открытом воздухе, в горах, окружающих Бад Эмс.

Даже нетерпеливые международные съезды безоговорочно признали, что это был Симпозиум с особым характером и который останется навсегда особенно памятным.

ИРИНА ЭСМ

(Участница Симпозиума из Новой Зеландии)





III. 11



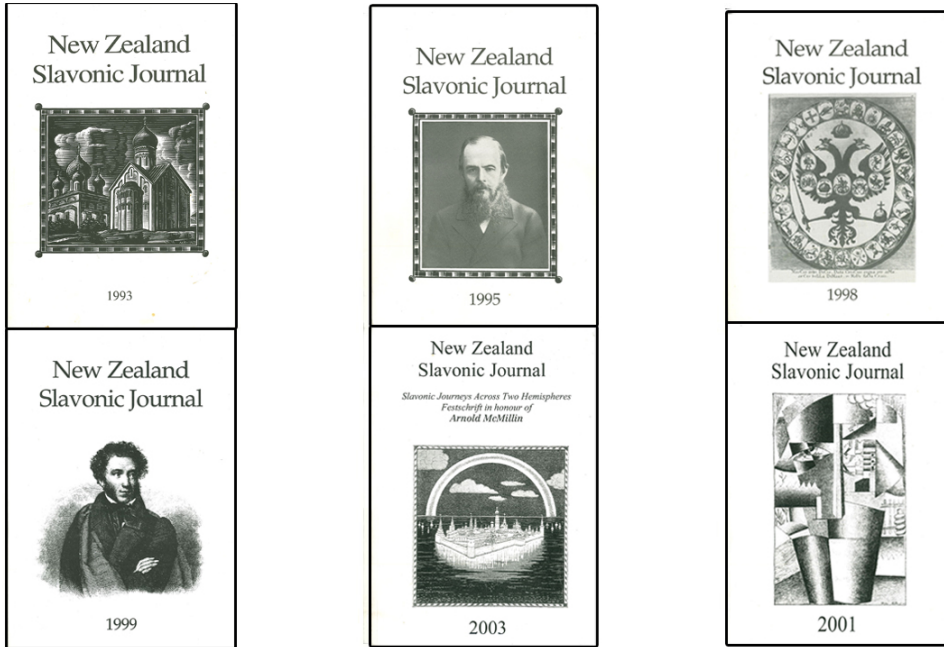
III. 12



III. 13



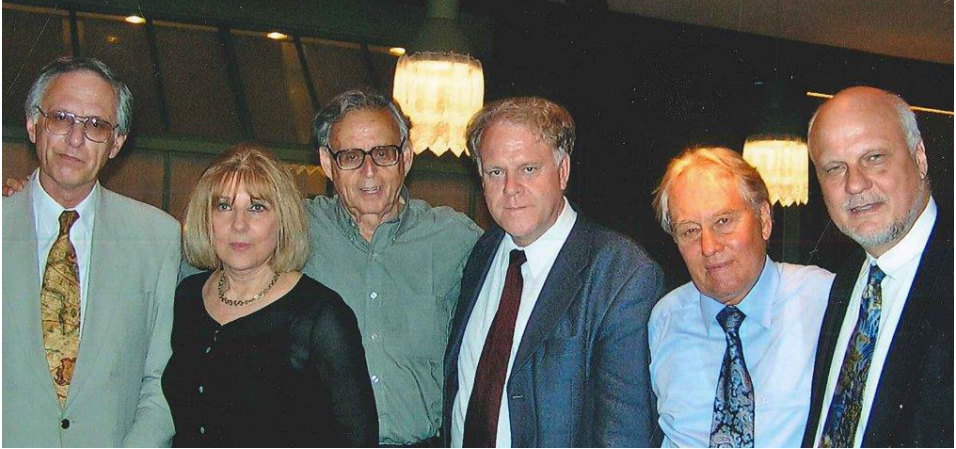
III. 14



III. 15



III. 16



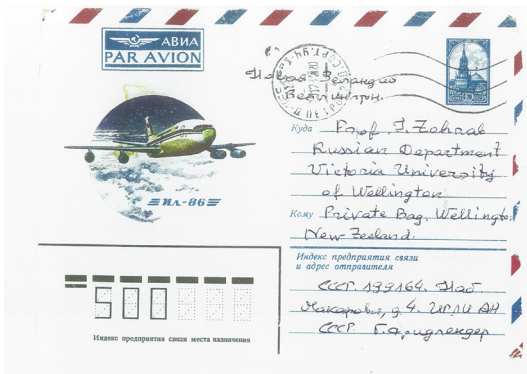
III. 17



III. 18



III. 19



...
 На всякий случай обращая Ваше
 внимание на то, что записка «Желание»-Мажар-
 ского, а не Досифеевского. Как помню еще вице-
 Андрей, троцкистский ошибочке связан ее
 с троцкисткой «Дневнике» литературы «Досифеевский»
 вовсе не ставил своей задачей записка в нем
 только «положительные» факты, и Ко Дневнике
 ...
 Надо учесть, что большая часть атрибуции
 Виноградской Грехованки по «Грехованки» связа-
 нась на поварку также не обоснованной.
 Со...

III. 20

Slobodanka VLADIV-GLOVER
Monash University

Memories of Dostoevsky in Australia

It never ceases to amaze me that the International Dostoevsky Society – the most important Dostoevsky scholarly platform of my career – came into being as an idea at my *alma mater*, the University of Melbourne, at the time I entered postgraduate studies in Russian Literature. It is even more astounding that my own mentor, Dr Dmitry Vladimirovich Grishin, turned out to be the prime mover of this international forum. That Dr Grishin had reached Australia after World War Two as a refugee was a well-known fact among his students but as young people, we were hardly aware of the significance of his arrival in its ambience for Russian literature studies and Dostoevsky studies in particular. Dr Grishin came with his *kandidat nauk* from Moscow University (1940) and soon completed his doctorate on *Dostoevsky's Diary of a Writer* (1957). By the time I became a student, he was a Senior Lecturer (1962) and then Reader (1970) – the penultimate grade in the Australian professorial system. The rank of Reader was awarded primarily for exceptional achievements in research. In retrospect, I can evaluate that Dr Grishin had a brief but stellar career at the University of Melbourne. His untimely death in 1975 coincided with my own PhD completion – a generational change but one which left the younger scholars, like me, bereft of leadership, like a country being left without its elder statesmen.

I recall that in 1968, while I was writing my MA on “Образ дворянского интеллигента в русской литературе первой половины девятнадцатого века” [“The Aristocratic Hero in Russian 19th Century Literature”] and mulling over the structure and political significance of the love triangles and failed romances of the ‘superfluous men’ in the Russian novel, Dr Grishin gave me a document in Russian to translate into English. He said he was taking this draft constitution to the International Conference of Slavists in Prague, where an international Dostoevsky association would be inaugurated. I don’t know whether my humble translation made it to Prague and the conference table of the future IDS. The archives of Dr Grishin, kept by his son, Emeritus Professor Alexander Grishin (ANU) have undergone several culls after the death of Dmitry Vladimirovich and, in 1985, the death of his wife, Natalia Dmitrievna Grishina.

I did not attend the First Symposium in Bad Ems in September 1971 (*see Ill. 1/6*) because I had just returned from Moscow, where I completed an ANU Exchange to Moscow State University, to take up my new position as Senior Tutor in the newly established Russian Department at Monash University – an Australian red-brick university which opened in the early 1960s. However, as Dr Grishin’s PhD candidate at Melbourne University, where I was now enrolled part-time, I was privy to Dr Grishin’s IDS network and got an invitation to the Second Symposium in St Wolfgang in 1974 (*see Ill. 7*). Although Dr Grishin attended this symposium with his wife, on his return to Melbourne he was obliged to take leave of absence from work at various intervals. The Head of Russian at Melbourne advised me “to go easy on DM” and not tire him out with supervision meetings which then became just friendly ‘встречи’. I did not mind because Dmitry Vladimirovich had already given me some of the best lessons in my thesis writing at the MA stage. When as a novice I became too crudely critical of the authors I was reviewing, he would ask me to tone it down because “*Quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi*”. I still find this the most apt lesson in academic etiquette and humility, which I have often repeated to my students, with the benign condescending humour with which it was originally delivered.

The St Wolfgang Symposium was the most significant event in my early graduate research career. I can frankly say that it made me. It was an intellectual feast, a carnival, a boon in my intellectual life. For a start, I met Wolf Schmid from Bochum and his then wife Herta. They showed me great kindness and included me in their activities. Most importantly, I took back with me Schmid’s book *Der Textaufbau in den Erzählungen Dostojevskijs* (München: Fink, 1973) which became the basis of my methodological apparatus in my PhD thesis. I also met Rudolph Neuhäuser (*Ill. 8*), who had read an early draft of my thesis, after which he wrote frankly: “If you write this thesis, you will have written to book of books on Dostoevsky”. He suggested drastic culling and focusing. I also met for the first time Horst-Jürgen Gerigk, who with his hermeneutic approach and the seminal study on *The Adolescent* (1964) became a lasting inspiration. At one point, I found myself sitting down for a drink with the Schmidts and the legendary Dmitry Tschizewski, whose book on *Hegel in Russland* I am reading right now, to illuminate Dostoevsky’s view of history (*Ill. 9*). The after-shocks of the St Wolfgang Symposium are ongoing. Over the years and thanks to the IDS symposiums, I found myself in the midst of a community of first class scholars, united by a shared love for the cultural legacy of Dostoevsky, whose life and works were studied in earnest across a spectrum of different perspectives, all aimed at the truth about the Russian writer. The IDS brought together scholars of many nations, from East and West in terms of the Cold War

years, all open to Dostoevsky's world vision and ethics. To name just a few who remain vivid in my memory: the gentlemanly Robert Belknap, the fiery Gyula Király, the polite Richard Peace, my own compatriot from Serbia, Milivoje Jovanović, the unforgettable Nathan Rosen, the Dutch scholars, Jan M. Meijer and Jan van der Eng, Dostoevsky's Norwegian biographer, Geir Kjetsaa, the kind Zsuzsanna Bjørn Andersen from Copenhagen, and not to be forgotten, the beautiful Elena Loghinovskaia and her husband Albert Kovács, from Bucharest. I have learned much from all of them. I must also mention the support I received over more than twenty years from the IDS Academic Secretary, Nadine Natov. I remember her hand-written notes, inserted into the photocopied invitations to the symposiums, adding a personalised touch which made me feel important and included.

In our various conversations during supervision meetings, I remember Dmitry Vladimirovich telling me about his experiences as a young scholar in Stalinist Russia. When he told his научный руководитель that he wanted to write his thesis on Dostoevsky, the man advised against such a topic which could lead to trouble. Dmitry Vladimirovich persisted and brought with him to Australia many ideas he had formed about Dostoevsky on the basis of studying *Diary of a Writer*. His first thesis on *Early Dostoevsky* also brought him to the insight – which I have appropriated and confirmed through research – that there was no break in Dostoevsky's creative development and that he was the same before and after exile, in his aesthetic and political views (as far as the latter could be stated *ex cathedra*) (see Ill. 10/11).

More than sixty years since Grishin's appointment to the Russian Department at the University of Melbourne in 1954, Dostoevsky studies still continue in Australia as the legacy of its 'founding father'. Out of national representations on the IDS grew a local organisation, the Australian Dostoevsky Society, which despite the drastic reduction in the teaching of Russian Literature in Australian high schools and universities, still commands a following. The recent bequest to the Matheson Library at Monash University of a large sum to establish the Ada Booth Slavic Library Collection has given a boost to Dostoevsky research at Monash, whose latest PhD student has submitted his thesis in the Jubilee Year. Australia is also home to the chief editor of *The Dostoevsky Journal: A Comparative Literature Review*, which has been going since 2000. The Jubilee Issue is out in electronic format at <https://brill.com/view/journals/djir/djir-overview.xml>

As a far-flung outpost of European civilization, Australia is still a hub of Dostoevsky research and to paraphrase a famous popular patriotic song by Peter Allen, Dostoevsky "can still call Australia home".

APPENDICES
from Dr Grishin's and Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover's archives

List of Illustrations:

- Ill. 1/3* Photocopies of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, December 6th, 1970 (Владимир СЕДУРО, “Международное общество Достоевсковедов”, *Новое Русское Слово*, 6 декабря 1970 г., с. 1).
- Ill. 4/5* Photocopies of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, September 20th, 1971 (Надин НАТОВА, “Ф.М. Достоевский: 1821-1971. Юбилейный Симпозиум”, *Новое Русское Слово*, 26 сентября 1971 г., с. 3).
- Ill. 6* Photocopy of Irene ESAM's [ЗОГРАВ] communication “Symposium on Dostoevsky”, *University of Melbourne Gazette*, vol. XXVIII, N. 3, July 1972, p. 2.
- Ill. 7* Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover's presentation in Sankt Wolfgang am See, 1974.
- Ill. 8* Rudolf Neuhäuser's presentation in Sankt Wolfgang am See, 1974.
- Ill. 9* From left to right: Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover, Herta Schmid, Horst-Jürgen Gerigk and Dmitry Tschizewski in Sankt Wolfgang am See, 1974.
- Ill. 10* Dmitry Grishin's monographies.
- Ill. 11* Photocopy of autograph of Grishin in his book presented to S. Vladiv-Glover, 1972.
- Ill. 12* Dmitry Grishin in his study, 1975.
- Ill. 13* Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover at her PhD graduation with her mother, Nada Vladiv, 1976.
- Ill. 14* Attending the IVth IDS Symposium in Bergamo, 1980: from left to right Lubomir Radoyce, Vladimir Sajković, Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover, Milivoje Jovanović, Nada Vladiv and Ivan Verč.
- Ill. 15* Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover in New York with Bob Belknap, 1998.
- Ill. 16* Richard Peace and Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover in New York, 1998.

Credits:

All photos and documents from

Alexander Grishin's and Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover's personal Archives.

Ф. М. Достоевский: 1821-1971

Юбилейный Симпозиум

С 1 по 5 сентября в Бад Эмсе происходит Международный Симпозиум, посвященный 150-летию со дня рождения Федора Михайловича Достоевского.

В Симпозиуме приняли участие 58 исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского, приехавшие из четырнадцати стран. Было прослушано 35 научных докладов и сообщений на темы, касающиеся изучения литературного наследия великого писателя, познавательного, философского и эстетического существа его произведений. Доклады и последующие за ними дискуссии еще раз подчеркнули мировую значимость творчества Достоевского, неувядаемость его тем и острую актуальность для наших дней многих проблем, в свое время им поставленных.

Будучи глубоко русским, Достоевский тем не менее внес неоспоримый вклад в мировую сокровищницу человеческого духа; именно поэтому в издании его творчества заинтересовано сегодня все человечество и координирование исследовательской работы в области достоевствоведения не может не содействовать укреплению культурного сотрудничества на родом и содружества ученых различных стран.

Исходя из этого, участники Симпозиума постановили учредить «Международное общество по изучению жизни и творчества Ф. М. Достоевского»; на специальном заседании был разработан и принят устав общества и избран исполнительный комитет в составе:

Н. О. Нильсон — председатель комитета (Стокгольмский университет);
Д. В. Гришнин — первый заместитель председателя (Мельбурнский университет);
Заместитель председателя: Р. Л. Джексон — (Ейльский университет), Р. Лаут — (Мюнхенский университет) и М. М. Новиков (Бухарестский у-т).

Н. А. Натова — ученый секретарь Общества (Джордж-таунский университет).

В состав комитета вошли также представители следующих стран: Австралии, Австрии, Бельгии, Великобритании, Германии, Голландии, Италии, Канады, Новой Зеландии, Румынии, США, Финляндии, Фран-

ции, М. Ханак, Ф. Силли, Дж. Саймонс, И. Керк, Н. Натова и В. Крутиван.
Вечером, в первый день Симпозиума, с лекцией-воспоминаниями выступила Ольга Александровна Фальц-Фейн, последняя из семьи Достоевских, лично знавшая Анну Григорьевну Достоевскую и детей писателя. В пятницу, 3 сентября, архиепископ Сан-Франциско и Западноамериканский Иоанн (Шаховской), совместно с о.о. Георгием Флоровским и Дмитрием Григорьевым, отслужил панихиду по Федору Достоевскому в русской церкви, построенной в Эмсе в 1876 году, при содействии императора Александра Второго, в память его матери императрицы Александры Феодоровны. В этой церкви, в год ее освящения, молился и Федор Михайлович Достоевский во время своего третьего пребывания в Эмсе. Торжественная служба с участием брессельского хора прилекла не только участников Симпозиума, в церкви присутствовало много немцев, как постоянных жителей Эмса, так и летавших его минеральными водами, как когда-то лечился и Достоевский.
После панихиды, участники Симпозиума совершили поездку в замок Штолценфельд, находящийся в 18 км от Бад Эмса, на берегу Рейна. В этот замок, в котором часть комнат была специально отведена для императрицы Марии Феодоровны, проживавшей там некоторое время, возила Достоевского, в 1874 году, княжна Н. Шапкова, сестра жены Каткова. Достоевский был восхищен изумительным видом, открываю-

щимся из замка на Рейн. 5 сентября, в воскресенье, в русской церкви, при большом стечении народа, была отслужена обедня, после которой участники Симпозиума собрались в последний раз в зале с большим солнцем концертном зале для дискуссионной и обсуждения работы новой международной организации.

В немецкой печати было помещено несколько статей, посвященных Симпозиуму и были сделаны две передачи по телевидению. Особенно полной была вторая программа, передававшаяся 10 сентября. Юго-западным телевизионным центром. Во время чтения отрывка из писем Достоевского жене с описанием Эмса, была показана долина Лана с городом, засыпанная с подымающегося фуникулера, вал заседаний во время чтения докладов, выставка работ участников Симпозиума, часть церковной службы, а также проведены интервью с профессором Р. Ньюхейзером, избранным в состав исполнительного комитета в качестве редактора и издателя Бюллетеня Международного общества, с ученым секретарем общества и с директором курортного управления. Была показана также мемориальная доска, установленная по просьбе организационного комитета по предложению Симпозиума на доме, бывшем ранее отелем «Альгар», в котором Достоевский жил во время своего пребывания в Эмсе в 1874, 1876 и 1879 годах.

Ученый секретарь Международного общества по изучению творчества Достоевского Н. Натова

пийнтонский университет). В состав комитета вошли также представители следующих стран: Австралии, Австрии, Бельгии, Великобритании, Германии, Голландии, Италии, Канады, Новой Зеландии, Румынии, США, Финляндии, Франции, Чехословакии, Швейцарии и Швеции.

Общество ставит целью: всемерно способствовать расширению и углублению исследовательской работы в области достоевсковедения, а также содействовать развитию плодотворных контактов между достоевковедами различных стран путем организации научных встреч, творческих дискуссий и симпозиумов, издания информационного бюллетеня и прочими доступными в условиях работы Общества средствами.

Общество обращается ко всем достоевковедам с призывом примкнуть к его работе и помочь осуществлению поставленных им научно-исследовательских и организационных задач.

Следующую научную сессию Общества предполагается провести в августе-сентябре 1973 года.

Исполнительный комитет

К этому официальному коммюнике, выработанному по окончании Симпозиума, следует добавить, что одна из целей, которую имели в виду организаторы новой международной организации, а именно — содействие непосредственному общению достоевсковедов разных стран и обмен мнениями — была достигнута уже при первой встрече в Бад Эмсе.

Для проведения Симпозиума директор курортного управления Бад Эмса, г. Вадепул, предоставил малый концертный зал Кургауза, расположенного в парке на берегу реки Лан. Открытию Симпозиума предшествовал прием, на котором присутствовал также директор курортного управления, приветствовавший участников Симпозиума, прибывших из 14 стран. В их честь западная часть здания была украшена всеми флагами, имевшимися в распоряжении инспектора Кургауза — среди флагов были и такие редкие для Эмса флаги как австралийский и финский.

1 сентября, в 9 часов утра, Юбилейный Симпозиум открылся двумя речами — инициато-

ратора, сравнительного анализа особенности понятия реализма у Достоевского и Фолкнера, и доклад профессора Бухарестского университета Т. Николеску, говорившей о малоизвестных для большинства фактах влияния Достоевского на румынскую литературу в период между двумя войнами.

Послеобеденное заседание 3 сентября и оба заседания 4 сентября были посвящены анализу художественного мастерства Достоевского, его понятия фантастического, выявлению философского и эстетического значения его образности и особенностей его авторского слова. Здесь следует особо отметить чрезвычайно интересный доклад проф. А. Н. Гедройца, адаптировавшего и поставившего на сцене Брюссельского театра «Записки из подполья», «Идиота» и «Преступление и наказание» и занятого теперь постановкой «Братьев Карамазовых». Проф. Гедройц рассматривает сценические варианты произведений Достоевского как особый творческий вид художественно-литературной критики.

Наряду с крупными учеными, работы которых о Достоевском широко известны не только специалистам, как профессор Г. Флоровский, проф. Н. Нильсон, голландские ученые Я. ван дер Энг и Я. Мейер, г-жа Доминика Арбан, профессора Принстонского и Ейльского университетов Дж. Франк и Р. Джэксон, проф. Хельсинкского университета И. Вахрос, проф. Мэктильского университета в Монреале Н. Первушин и многие другие, в Симпозиуме с успехом выступали молодые ученые, среди которых прежде всего следует назвать проф. Ноттингемского университета М. Джонса, канадского профессора Р. Ньюхойзера и бывшего ученика профессора Лаута В. Шмидта из Мюнхенского университета.


Активное участие в Симпозиуме приняли американские ученые. Помимо названных выше лиц, с докладами выступили: американский представитель организационного комитета В. И. Седуро, и в дальнейшем согласившийся представлять США в Международном обществе по изучению творчества Достоевского, профессора: Т. Пахтус, Н. Полторацкий, Д. Григорьев, Л. Ржев-

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University Gazette, July, 1972

Symposium on Dostoevsky

To commemorate the sesquicentennial anniversary of the birth of F. Dostoevsky an international symposium was organized by Dr. Dmitry Grishin, Reader in Russian Literature at the University of Melbourne, at Bad Ems, West Germany. Several years ago, Dr. Grishin put forward an idea to form an International Dostoevsky Society and has since worked to make it a reality. Dr. Grishin acted as president of the organizing committee of the symposium, read the inaugural address entitled 'Aims and Purposes of the Symposium' and presented a paper: 'Dostoevsky—Man, Writer and Myth'.



F. Dostoevsky

Dr. Grishin's inaugural address was followed by Professor Robert Louis Jackson of Yale University on 'Dostoevsky: a Vision in Motion' and three reports by Mikhail Novikov of the University of Barchart, George Florovsky, Princeton University and Horst-Jürgen Gerwig, University of Heidelberg.

Dostoevsky specialists from 14 countries took part and read 36 other papers, divided under three sections:

1. Dostoevsky in Social, Religious and Philosophical Perspectives.
2. Dostoevsky's Work in a Comparative Perspective.
3. Dostoevsky's Art.

Reports and subsequent discussions stressed the special character of Dostoevsky's genius, his universal significance and relevance to the contemporary world. Those present believed that Dostoevsky, though in many ways a distinctively Russian writer, contributed to the spiritual heritage of all mankind. Research into his life and work was therefore a matter of importance in all countries and the symposium was firmly of the opinion that the coordination of such research was in the interest of international understanding.


The International Dostoevsky Society was formed to achieve this purpose. A constitution was approved and an executive committee elected. Dr. Grishin was elected as one of the five vice-presidents.

It was a fortunate decision to hold the symposium at Bad Ems, a small and lovely place on the river Lahn, a tributary of the Rhine. It was very popular as a health resort with the Russian upper classes in the last century and evidence of this still remains in an imposing hotel called 'Russischer Hof' and a beautiful Russian Orthodox church. The location afforded one's understanding of the writer. Several walks were taken to look at the apartments Dostoevsky occupied when he was living at Bad Ems.

A special Sunday service was held at the local Russian Orthodox church, as well as a special memorial service. This was a unique experience: a memorial service for a great Russian writer held in a church he was familiar with, situated in a town he frequently stayed in, attended by people dedicated to the study of his works, and various old people like Olga de Falz-Fein who remembered his family: a very moving experience because it could never be repeated.

As is often the case at conferences, the most fruitful discussions took place outside the official symposium hours; during walks along the Lahn river or up in the wooded hills, during the excursion to the castle of Stoltenfels, during mealtimes, often taken in outdoor restaurants up in the hills bordering Bad Ems or in the late evenings at the night cafes. It was a symposium with a very special character and one to remember—as even veterans of international conferences admitted.

IRENE ESAM



An illustration by D. A. Shmarov to Dostoevsky's novel *Crime and Punishment*.

III. 6



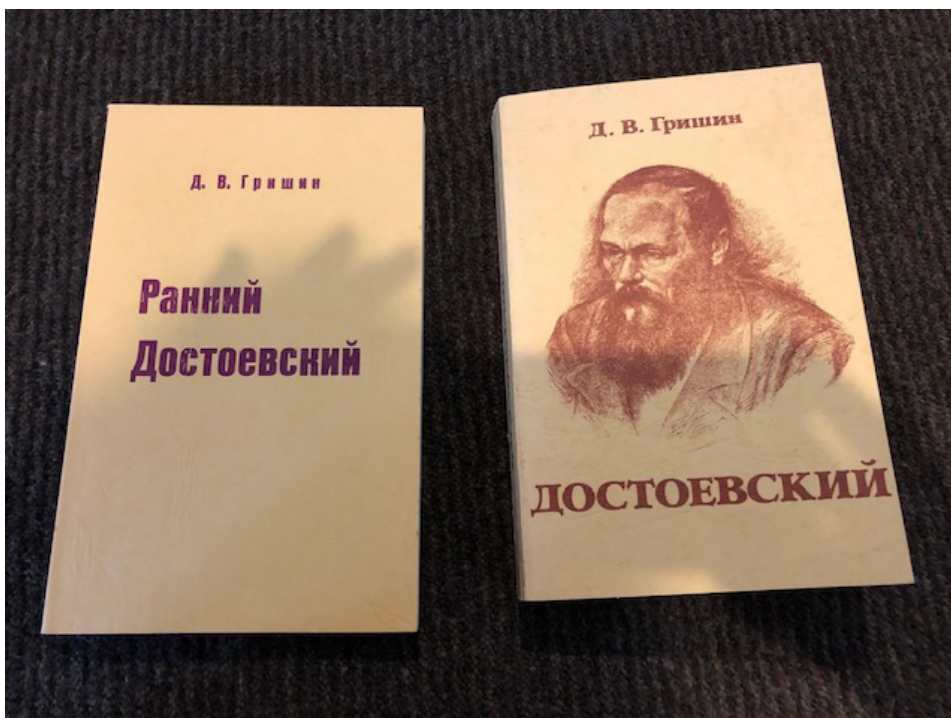
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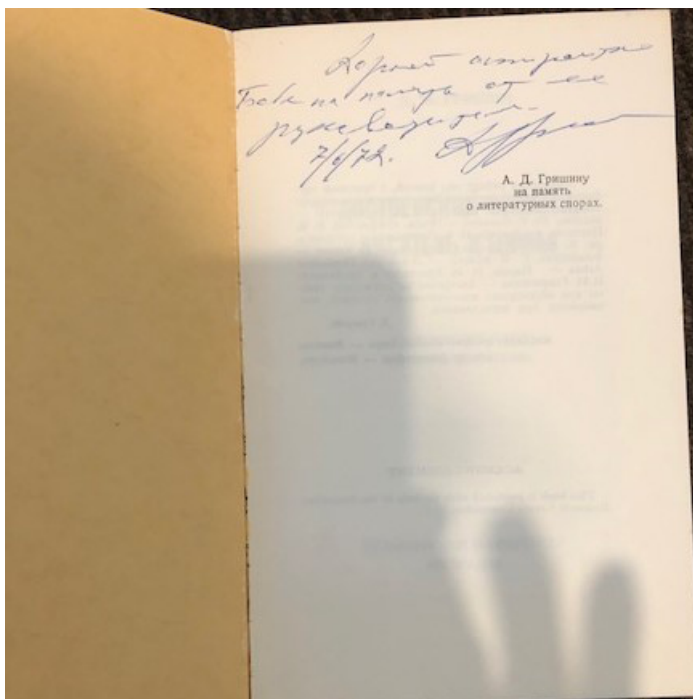
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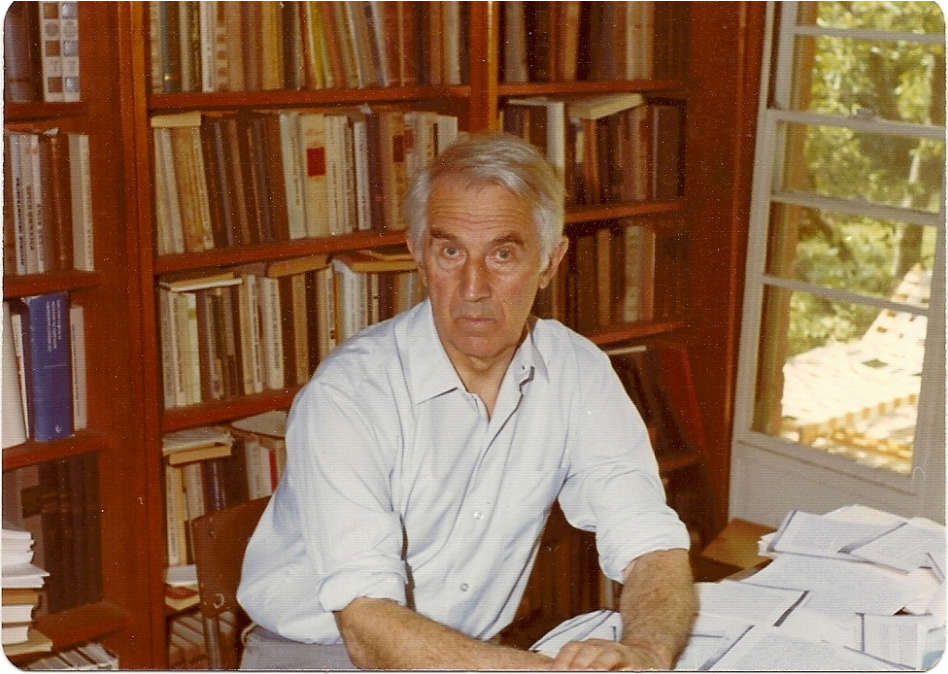
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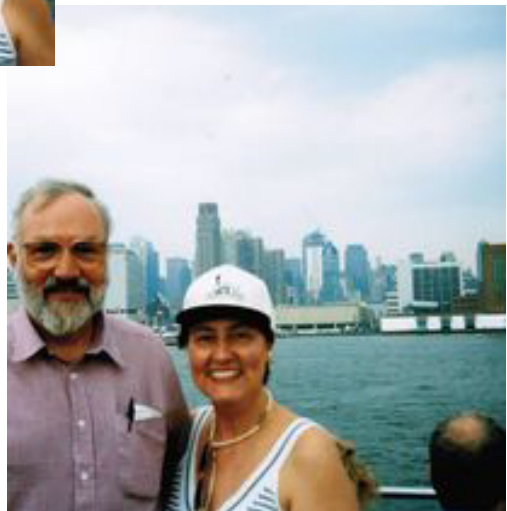


III. 13

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III. 15



III. 16

Тоёфуса Киносита
Университет Чибэ

История Японского общества Достоевского и сотрудничество с Международным обществом Достоевского в течение 45 лет

История Японского общества Достоевского

Японское общество Достоевского (ЯОД) было создано раньше МОД, в феврале 1969 года. Поводом создания общества стала политико-общественная ситуация того времени: академический мир, система университетского образования были потрясены студенческим движением, протестовавшим против старого социального режима.

Подобное протестное движение молодёжи было распространённым явлением во всём мире в 1960-е годы: в Америке – против Вьетнамской войны, во Франции – за реформы народного образования, в Японии – против изменения условий японо-американского договора безопасности и т.д. Кроме того, серьёзное влияние оказывал радикальный китайский маоизм; в конце 1960-х и в начале 1970-х гг. радикальные сектанты студенческого движения Японии оккупировали здания нескольких университетов и с применением силы блокировали их. Работа университетов была полностью парализована. Потерявшие своё место работы профессора и студенты собирались на улице, в кафе или в каком-нибудь другом общедоступном культурном заведении и продолжали семинары.

В такой ситуации (в то время я работал в корпункте АПН в Токио переводчиком новостей) у меня появилась идея создания кружка, в котором можно было бы свободно размышлять и дискутировать о Достоевском не только на узко академической основе, но и на общегражданской, и который включал бы как специалистов-русистов, так и любителей Достоевского.

Особо отмечу, что предпосылкой реализации этой мечты стало издание в 1969-1971-х гг. последнего варианта перевода на японский язык полного собрания сочинений Достоевского (на основе текста под редакцией Томашевского и Харабасва), выполненного великим переводчиком Масао Ионэкава (1891-1965), профессором университета Васэда и моим университетским руководителем. Перевод был выполнен на основе трех

предшествующих вариантов его переводов собрания сочинений Достоевского. При подготовке этого посмертного издания великого переводчика текст перевода сопоставлялся с русским; к этой работе были приглашены ученики покойного проф. Ионэкавы (в том числе и я). Издание этого последнего варианта перевода полного собрания сочинений Достоевского стало большим подарком японским читателям. Благодаря этому изданию рядовые читатели получили возможность вчитаться в Достоевского без знания русского языка.

С идеей создания общества я сначала обратился к старшему другу, профессору университета Васэда Кэйисабуро Арая (1922-1995), переводчику первого издания на японском языке работы М. Бахтина *Проблемы поэтики Достоевского* (1968), и сыну покойного профессора, переводчика Тэцуо Ионэкава, специалисту по русской истории, профессору Токийского университета. Они безоговорочно поддержали мою идею и содействовали претворению её в жизнь. Я написал призыв к общественности о создании общества, представляя себе мир Достоевского в бахтинском осмыслении, напоминающем собор, где собираются праведники и грешники.

Итак, 12 февраля 1969 г. в Токио собралось более 30 человек, и деятельность общества стартовала. С самого начала мы отказались в принципе от составления формального списка должностей участников и отдали инициативу самостоятельности членов общества и его секретариату. По опыту мы знали, что традиционная формальная система с иерархией должностей не всегда способствует плодотворной работе, даже наоборот, часто парализует её. С тех пор и по сей день я являюсь ответственным секретарём и продолжаю работать.

Теперь познакомлю с данными о деятельности ЯОД: в течение 52 лет с первого собрания с докладчиком (9 апреля 1969) до последнего (в сентябре 2021 г.) у нас состоялось 258 заседаний. По поводу публикаций с февраля 1969 г. по июнь 1990 г. вышло 113 номеров *Вестника Общества ЯОД* объёмом 4 – 8 с. С 1991 г. до 2021 г. 30 номеров альманаха и 159 выпусков “News Letter” с объявлениями о собраниях и резюме докладов. В разное время число членов составляло 70 – 100 человек.

Связи Японского общества с Международным обществом Достоевского

Контакт японского общества (ЯОД) с МОД состоялся в начале 1975 г. В ответ на наше обращение о вступлении в МОД мы получили материалы,

вестник МОД и личное письмо ответственного секретаря проф. Н. Натовой с просьбой прислать информацию о ЯОД и основную библиографию японской литературы о Достоевском последнего времени. Составленная и отправленная нами профессору Н. Натовой информация была опубликована в бюллетене МОД (*Bulletin* № 6, November 1976, pp. 12-19) с предисловием профессора Н. Натовой.¹

Ранее я получил письмо от профессора Йельского университета Р. Л. Джексона, председателя организационного комитета 3-го Международного Симпозиума в 1977 г. в Дании, с приглашением японских ученых на участие в работе Симпозиума. В ответ на это приглашение впервые из Японии в Симпозиуме в Копенгагене принял участие аспирант университета Васэда С. Игэта. Четвёртый Симпозиум, посвящённый 100-летию со дня смерти Достоевского, проходил в августе 1980 г. в Бергамо (Италия). В нем участвовали три японских докладчика: С. Игэта, Т. Симидазу и я, Т. Киносита.²

Со времени первого контакта ЯОД с МОД прошло более 45 лет; в течение этого времени почти все поколение первых членов МОД и участников симпозиумов покинуло этот мир, другие уже не участвуют в работе симпозиумов. Напомню имена уважаемых коллег, ныне покойных, (тех, кого я знал лично): Nadine Natov, Nina Kaucisvili, Victor Terras, Robert Belknap, Richard Peace, Geir Kjetsaa, Gyula Király, Albert Kovács, Георгий Фридендер, Владимир Туниманов, Гурий Щенников, а среди младших

1 В предисловии проф. Натов написано:

“They expressed the willingness of the Japanese Dostoevsky Society to join the International Dostoyevsky Society. In this issue of the *IDS Bulletin* the IDS and NADS welcome their new member – the Japanese Dostoevsky Society. We are looking forward to a successful cooperation with our new colleagues.

Nadine Natov

Executive Secretary of the IDS and
Vice-President of the NADS”

2 В дальнейшем японские достоевковеды не пропускали ни одного симпозиума, о чем сообщалось в вестнике или альманахе ЯОД: в 5-ом (1983) в Нормандии (Франция) был 1 участник; в 6-ом (1986) в Ноттингеме (Англия) – 2; в 7-ом (1989) в Любляне (Югославия) – 1; в 8-ом (1992) в Осло (Норвегия) – 2; в 9-ом (1995) в Гаминге (Австрия) – 7; в 10-ом (1998) в Нью-Йорке (США) – 9; в 11-ом (2001) в Баден-Бадене (Германия) – 7; в 12-ом (2004) в Женеве (Швейцария) – 8; в 13-ом (2007) в Будапеште (Венгрия) – 3; в 14-ом (2010) в Неаполе (Италия) – 3; в 15-ом (2013) в Москве (Россия) – 4; в 16-ом (2016) в Гранаде (Испания) – 8.

коллег: Рита Клейман, Наталья Живолупова, Карен Степанян. С большинством моих коллег старшего поколения я в последний раз встречался в Неаполе в 2010 г.

Напомню некоторые эпизоды и незабываемые впечатления о четвертом Симпозиуме в Бергамо в Италии в августе 1980 г., в котором я впервые участвовал. Программа включала 71 доклад, разделения на секции не было – в течение 6 дней все доклады читались в общей секции. Среди докладчиков выступали известный американский компаративист Рене Уэллек и сын Вячеслава Иванова Дмитрий Вячеславович, живший тогда в Риме. Вели заседание американские ученые профессора Р. Л. Джексон, В. Террас, Р. Белкнап.

Гостеприимство итальянских коллег было великолепным: каждый день нас угощали полным обедом со вкусным итальянским вином. Даже после обеда до самого вечера продолжались заседания, во время которых все старались преодолеть дремоту. Культурная программа включала прекрасный спектакль 'Комедии дель арте' во дворе старого замка. Мы безусловно признали, что это был настоящий симпозиум в изначальном древне-греческом смысле.

Среди 71 докладчика, включенного в программу был ожидаемый всеми ученый из России Георгий Михайлович Фридендер, однако он не смог приехать по причине, о которой профессор Н. Натова сообщила в перерыве сессии: советская сторона не разрешила поездку Г.М. Фридендеру, поскольку на Симпозиум не был приглашен М.Б. Храпченко, академик и президент МАПРЯЛ.³ Мы очень жалели русского ученого, жившего в несвободе советского режима.

Через 6 лет во время 6-го Международного симпозиума в Ноттингеме в Англии я стал свидетелем того, в какой тяжелой ситуации находились советские интеллигенты во время поездки за границу, они были лишены самостоятельности, буквально мучились. Я неожиданно стал спутником Георгия Михайловича Фридендера во время поездки из Ленинграда в Ноттингем. С воспоминаниями об этом путешествии с ним вдвоем я поделился на международной конференции, посвященной 100-летию со дня

3 Как явствует из других статей и мемуаров, включенных в настоящем выпуске журнала (см. в частности работы Р. Казари и Б.Н. Тихомирова), в Бергамо ожидалась из СССР целая делегация, включая и академика М.Б. Храпченко. Но в последнюю минуту, по невыясненным причинам, «академик Храпченко, который должен был возглавлять делегацию, неожиданно отменил поездку советских ученых в Бергамо» (Б.Н. Тихомиров, «История IDS и советские ученые», см. в настоящем номере журнала). – *Примечание редакции.*

рождения Г.М. Фридлендера в июне 2015 г. в Пушкинском доме, а позже опубликовал их в своей книге.

Вот отрывок из моих воспоминаний:

Теперь – о нашем путешествии в Англию в августе 1986 г. До отъезда в Ноттингем на Международный симпозиум Общества Достоевского я занимался несколько дней в библиотеке Пушкинского Дома. При первой встрече со мной в институте Георгий Михайлович сказал, что, хотя он и собирается на Симпозиум, пока у него нет официального разрешения от руководства Академии наук.

Во время второй нашей встречи, в мой последний день в Петербурге, он сказал, что наконец получил разрешение руководства Академии на заграничную поездку и завтра отправляется в Москву, но кто еще из русских коллег едет – ему неизвестно.

Таким образом, утром в день вылета из Москвы в Лондон мы с Георгием Михайловичем встретились на завтрак в гостинице Академии наук на Октябрьской площади. Он сказал, что вчера получил паспорт, визу и билет в управлении Академии, но по-прежнему не знает, кто еще из русских едет. Мы договорились вместе поехать на такси в Шереметьево.

До и после регистрации в аэропорту Георгий Михайлович все время ждал появления русских коллег. Но до последнего момента никто так и не появился.

Мы пришли на посадку последними и заняли места рядом в самолете. Так началось наше путешествие. В аэропорту Хитроу в Лондоне Георгия Михайловича должны были встречать представители какого-то английского фонда. Однако никто не явился, и мы отправились на автобусе на железнодорожный вокзал «Виктория», где могли получить информацию о гостинице. У меня уже был опыт поиска гостиницы в Лондоне. Оставив чемоданы под охраной Георгия Михайловича, я встал в небольшую очередь к окну информации и нашел два номера в маленькой недорогой гостинице, которая находилась в 200-300 метрах от вокзала.

Я попросил Георгия Михайловича подождать, пока я схожу в гостиницу со своим багажом. Уточнив адрес гостиницы и оставив там свои вещи, я возвращался к вокзалу и на полпути встретил Георгия Михайловича с вещами. Дотащив чемодан, он стоял на тротуаре и, увидев меня, сказал: «Дальше не могу». Я помог ему, и мы благополучно устроились в гостинице.

Номер оказался совсем маленьким, но чистым, тихим и со всеми удобствами. Он всем понравился Георгию Михайловичу. После недолгого отдыха

мы вышли на улицу. Не успев пообедать, мы заторопились на автовокзал, чтобы узнать расписание автобусов в Ноттингем на завтра.

По пути заглянули в два-три маленьких кафе и, взглянув на цены, выбрали итальянский ресторанчик. Фридендера весьма беспокоили цены, хотя он получил от администрации Академии некоторую (вероятно, минимальную) сумму в валюте. Но тогда он, по-видимому, еще не мог ориентироваться в западных ценах. Однако его устроили и блюдо, и цена, и он успокоился.

Получив информацию на автовокзале, который находился рядом с вокзалом «Виктория», мы сразу сели в туристический экскурсионный автобус. С высоты второго этажа мы наслаждались видами Лондона. По пути маршрута Георгий Михайлович вдруг захотел выйти и прогуляться по городу. На одной из остановок он сошел и куда-то отправился, помахав мне рукой. Я остался один в автобусе, беспокоясь, что Георгий Михайлович заблудится. Однако когда, закончив туристический маршрут, автобус возвратился на вокзал, Фридендер уже ждал меня там.

Так благополучно закончился наш длинный день перелета из Москвы в Лондон. На следующий день после простого, но приятного континентального завтрака мы отправились с автовокзала в Ноттингем. Проехав 175 километров, благополучно дошли до места проведения Международного симпозиума Общества Достоевского.

Гостиница в Лондоне очень понравилась Георгию Михайловичу, и он выразил желание остановиться в ней также и на обратном пути. Но я планировал съездить в Эдинбург в Шотландию и не мог составить ему компанию. Впрочем, случайно оказавшись рядом, я услышал, как Георгий Михайлович обращается к молодому коллеге из Канады с просьбой поехать обратно в Лондон вместе и предлагает переночевать в выбранной нами гостинице. Я как его спутник не мог не оценить сложную для семидесятилетнего человека житейскую ситуацию, в которую попал великий ученый, оказавшийся в неловком положении из-за стесненных условий советского «командировочного», глубоко жалел его и сочувствовал его смущению. Я знал, что в то время подобная ситуация не являлась исключением в общественной системе Советского Союза. Не случайно как раз в этом же 1986 г. развернулось демократическое движение, проходившее под лозунгами «гласности» и «перестройки», провозглашенными Михаилом Горбачевым.⁴

4 Тоёфуса Киносита, *Творчество Ф.М. Достоевского. Проблема авторской позиции* (Санкт-Петербург: Серебряный Век, 2017), с. 140-142.

8-ый Международный симпозиум, состоявшийся в Осло в Норвегии в июле-августе 1992 г., запомнился тем, что русские достоевковеды, освободившиеся от запретов на поездки за границу, впервые целой группой выступали на Симпозиуме: во главе с Г.М. Фридендером приехали В. Туниманов, В. Ветловская, Л. Сараскина, И. Волгин, В. Захаров и Дмитрий Достоевский. Благодаря их участию дискуссии на заседаниях заметно активизировались и были научно плодотворными.

На 10-ый симпозиум в Нью-Йорке 1998 г. русские достоевковеды уже приехали большой командой из 26 участников. Кроме участников симпозиума в Осло приехали Т. Касаткина, К. Степанян, Н. Ашимбаева, Б. Тихомиров, А. Гачева, Н. Чернова, В. Дудкин, В. Викторovich, Н. Живолупова, П. Фокин, Г. Щенников и др.

Теперь расскажу о внеочередном собрании МОД, иначе говоря, о конференции 2000 г. в Японии в университете Чиба. На общем собрании Симпозиума в Колумбийском университете в Нью-Йорке 1998 г. проходила дискуссия по поводу места следующего симпозиума 2001 г., среди кандидатов – Германия (Баден-Баден), Венгрия (Будапешт) и Япония (Чиба).

На свою ответственность я предложил Японию (тогда я работал профессором в Государственном университете Чиба). Почему? Объяснение в том, что через три года в 2002 г. меня ожидала отставка по возрасту (в 65 лет), и после этого у меня фактически не было бы никакой возможности инициировать подобный проект, я даже не смог бы подать заявление на финансирование.

В Нью-Йорке, что само собой разумеется, Баден-Баден был поддержан большинством голосов как следующий город симпозиума благодаря надёжной перспективе своего предложения. Тем не менее я решился попробовать осуществить свой план. Как раз в то время ситуация в университете и в стране способствовала осуществлению моего проекта: в Японии на фоне экономического подъёма страны общественность осознавала важность международного культурного и научного обмена. Японский фонд и программа субсидий Министерства народного образования активно призывали к разработке проектов международных конференций. К тому же как раз в это время в нашем университете Чиба был открыт новый конференц-зал. Коллеги-профессора уже провели международную конференцию по гуманитарным наукам. Переняв их опыт, я подал заявление с документами в Японский фонд и Общество поощрения наук при Министерстве народного образования. В результате все мои попытки

увенчались успехом, и я смог подготовиться к проведению небольшой конференции в духе симпозиума в год миллениума 2000 г.

Конференция «XXI век глазами Достоевского. Перспектива человечества» (“The Twenty-first Century through Dostoevsky’s Eyes: The Prospect for Humanity”) состоялась с 22 по 25 августа 2000 г. в новом конференц-зале в университете Чиба. Читатель может ознакомиться с программой на сайте: <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/dost/jds/dost008.htm>. Программа и доклады напечатаны в книге *XXI век глазами Достоевского: перспективы человечества* (Москва: “Грааль”, 2002).

В Конференции участвовали 26 зарубежных ученых: из России – 16, Венгрии – 2, Польши – 2, по одному из следующих стран: Молдовы, Америки, Германии, Англии, Норвегии, Австралии и 14 из Японии. В конференции участвовали профессор Надин Натова, почетный президент МОД, и профессор Х.-Ю. Геригк, действующий президент МОД. В приветствии профессора Н. Натовой конференция была объявлена специальной программой МОД.

Все зарубежные гости были обеспечены проживанием, обедами, экскурсией и были приглашены на банкет. Большинству коллег из России, которая была в тяжелой экономической ситуации после крушения страны, купили даже авиабилеты.

Мы унаследовали дух традиционного гостеприимства буквально в первоначальном его значении ‘симпозиума’, которым я наслаждался в Бергамо в Италии, когда Симпозиумом руководила профессор Нина Каухчишвили. Эта традиция была унаследована и Московским симпозиумом 2013 г. В течение 13 лет в начале XXI в. состоялись симпозиумы в 4-х городах: Баден-Бадене (2001), Женеве (2004), Будапеште (2007), Неаполе (2010), Москве (2013). На каждом симпозиуме вспоминали наших коллег, ушедших из жизни.

Мне кажется, что цикл симпозиума поколения конца XIX в. – начала XX в. закончился в Москве, и после Гранады (2016) уже начался новый период МОД. Приметами нового цикла являются регистрация новых членов МОД и взносы за участие в очередном симпозиуме.

Как ни странно, до Московского симпозиума почти никогда не брали взнос за участие и устраивали кофе-брейк, банкет и экскурсию за счет бюджета оргкомитета. И следующие симпозиумы проводились в том же стиле: в Баден-Бадене, Будапеште, Неаполе (в Италии 2 раза) и Москве.

С завершением работы или уходом из старшего поколения был исчерпан потенциал духа симпозиума в традиционном стиле, и мне кажется, что уже сформировался новый стиль конференции (не симпозиума в

классическом смысле), модернизированный на основе чёткого правила: установлении членства и взноса за участие в конференции. Это поможет нормальному функционированию и укреплению руководства секретариата МОД.

В результате описанной тенденции в Японии появилась другая организация DCJ, целью которой является проведение конференции IDS в Нагое в 2022 г. Деятельность и характер нашей традиционной организации (ЯОД) отличается от новой (DCJ), тем не менее мы готовы содействовать успеху конференции (18 Международному симпозиуму) в Нагое в Японии в 2022 г.



III. 1

Prof. Toyofusa Kinoshita in Granada, 2016.

Photo Graf Aloysky (from the Archive of Stefano Aloe)

Rosanna CASARI
Università di Bergamo

Достоевский. Памятная веха: Бергамо, 1980 год

В 1977 в Дании, в окрестностях Копенгагена, прошел 3-й Международный симпозиум, посвященный Ф.М. Достоевскому, организованный Международным Обществом Достоевского (МОД). Во время очередной генеральной ассамблеи членов Общества, профессор Нина Михайловна Каухчишвили из бергамского Университета предложила, в качестве места проведения следующего, 4-го Симпозиума, частный итальянский вуз, в котором она преподавала, расположенный в небольшом историческом городе Северной Италии, в то время вероятно неизвестном почти всем собравшимся.

Бергамский Университет был основан в 1968 г., всего лишь за девять лет до этой научной конференции, и состоял из двух факультетов: факультета иностранных языков и литератур и факультета экономики. Несмотря на это, среди славистов-преподавателей русского языка он пользовался уже некоторой известностью благодаря Международному семинару по русскому языку, на который каждый год приезжала группа преподавателей из СССР. Семинар также был детищем Нины Михайловны Каухчишвили.

Благодаря прочному авторитету Нины Михайловны, которая уже участвовала в предыдущей конференции МОД в 1974, предложение было принято. Во время заседания 1977 года Исполнительным комитетом был также сформирован Организационный комитет будущего бергамского симпозиума, в который вошли профессора Надежда Натова (США) и Рудольф Нейхойзер (Австрия), и Программный Комитет в составе профессоров Роберта Л. Джексона (Председателя МОД), Эридано Баццарелли (Италия), Нилса Оке Нилсона (Швеция), Михаила Новикова (Румыния), Карла Стифа (Дания) и Уильяма М. Тодда (США).

В следующем, 1978 году, Надежда Натова провела несколько дней в Бергамо и связалась для налаживания контактов с местным организационным комитетом, возглавляемым Ниной Каухчишвили и состоящим из молодых ученых и преподавателей бергамского Университета Розанны Казари, Джан-Пьеро Пиретто, Джеммы Галло.

Конференция, которая при содействии самой Н. Каухчишвили, добилась патроната Министерства Образования и Министерства иностранных дел Италии, а так же администрации Провинции и Муниципалитета города Бергамо, была посвящена столетию со дня кончины Ф.М. Достоевского (1881), а центральной темой симпозиума была «Роль Достоевского в современном мировоззрении и художественном творчестве».

Симпозиум состоялся с 17 по 24 августа в формате нескольких сессий. Было представлено 77 докладов на различные темы: философское мышление Достоевского, произведения Достоевского в театре и кино, структура и стиль произведений Достоевского и их роль в современной литературе.

Симпозиум прошел с огромным успехом. Можно сказать, что он явился знаковым событием для кафедры славистики бергамского университета, для всего университета и для города.

В Бергамо приехали из наиболее престижных университетов со всего мира самые известные специалисты по Достоевскому: более ста ученых из Европы, США, Японии, Австралии, Новой Зеландии и Индии. В течение целой недели к ним был прикован интерес в самом университете и за его пределами, эти заметные личности были легко узнаваемы в небольшом пространстве старинного Верхнего города, в особенности на красивой Пьяцца Веккиа, на которую выходили окна кафедры славистики.

Две главные местные газеты, *Eco di Bergamo* и *Giornale di Bergamo*, публиковали ежедневные статьи о работе симпозиума. Им давали интервью Нина Михайловна, Надежда Натова, Ирене Кирк (США), профессор Йельского Университета и председатель МОД Роберт Л. Джексон.

По правде сказать, больше чем научные доклады, интерес журналистов вызывало волнующее известие о долгожданном прибытии советских специалистов. Дело в том, что три очень известных русских исследователя – академик Михаил Б. Храпченко, Георгий М. Фридендер, Василий И. Кулешов – записались для участия в конференции и прислали резюме своих докладов. Все их ждали ещё и потому, что их присутствие должно было стать первой ласточкой активного участия советских литературоведов в симпозиумах МОД. На предыдущей конференции в Копенгагене советские специалисты присутствовали только в качестве наблюдателей. Кроме того, ректор Бергамского университета профессор Г. Гзего должен был вручить диплом “ad honorem” академику В. Храпченко. Но советские ученые не приехали и тем самым вызвали разочарование не только коллег, но и всего города.

Но повторяюсь, что, невзирая на эту неприятность, симпозиум стал огромным успехом, и с организационной, и с научной точки зрения.

Столь блестящий успех конференции был результатом напряженной работы коллектива студентов, бывших студентов и научных сотрудников профессора Нины Каухчишвили, которые преданно и неутомимо отдавали свои силы приему гостей и проведению многочисленных мероприятий на полях научной части заседаний. Были также организованы концерты, осмотр достопримечательностей и посещение музеев в городе и провинции, торжественный прощальный ужин в саду ресторана "Sole".

Долгие годы участники бергамского симпозиума вспоминали посещение замка Мальпага, ужин при свете факелов и свечей в прекрасном дворе этого замка, органьный концерт в грандиозной церкви Santa Maria Maggiore, концерт русской музыки, прекрасные фрески Лоренцо Лотто, увиденные на вилле Суарди в Трескоре Бальнеарио.

В группу молодых помощников входили Джан-Пьеро Пиретто, Розанна Казари,

Эльда Гаретто, Уго Перси, Мария-Кьяра Пезенти, впоследствии все они стали руководителями престижных кафедр в различных итальянских университетах.

В частности, Джан-Пьеро Пиретто и Розанна Казари продолжили своё исследование творчества Достоевского и каждые три года принимали участие в симпозиумах МОД. Для всех молодых помощников-русистов те дни полного погружения в мир Достоевского, прямые связи с самыми известными достоевскооведами стали новой отправной точкой для расширения области исследований русской литературы.

В более широком смысле можно утверждать, что успешные научные результаты симпозиума повлияли на дальнейшее развитие изучения наследия Достоевского, об этом свидетельствует подробный и исчерпывающий отчет Нины Михайловны Каухчишвили о конференции, опубликованный в журнале миланского Католического университета *Vita e pensiero* (10 / 1980, с. 62-67). В нем она утверждает, что в Бергамо «вскрылись новые пути к толкованию творчества непростого русского писателя» (с. 62).

Незабываемое впечатление оставило самый ожидаемый на симпозиуме доклад всемирно известного литературоведа-компаративиста Рене Уэллека. Он прислал очень короткое и весьма полемическое резюме, которое, казалось, уже предвещало пост-бахтинскую эпоху: «I am arguing that the concept of a "polyphonic novel" is both old and inapplicable. It neutralizes the unmistakable voice of Dostoevsky. The attempt to put Dostoevsky into the tradition of the Menippian satire and the "carnevalesque" overemphasizes a passing phase in Dostoevsky's work or exaggerates elements which are undoubtedly present».

Конференция 1980 года последовала вскоре за разразившимися в Европе и в Италии спорами о Бахтине, где в семидесятые годы его представления о полифонии и карнавале в романах Достоевского были повсеместным объектом дискуссий. Проф. Каухчишвили также посвятила много лекционных курсов этим вопросам. Понятно, что все ждали доклада Уэллека, который и вправду вызвал обширные прения и горячую полемику. Нина Каухчишвили в своей статье писала, что он был: «сильно полемическим, так как Уэллек хотел вызвать спор вокруг состоятельности теорий Бахтина, поскольку не принимал понятий “полифония” и “карнавал” в качестве композиционных основ творчества Достоевского. По мнению Уэллека, они были просто модными» (с. 65).

Кроме выступления Уэллека, очень важной стала сессия, посвященная структурным и стилистическим элементам в произведениях Достоевского. Большой интерес на ней вызвал доклад Жака Катто из Сорбонны «Возвратные и повторные структуры в композиции романов Достоевского».

И, наконец, нельзя не упомянуть о сообщениях группы молодых исследователей из Бергамского университета Джан-Пьеро Пиретто, Эльды Гаретто, Эвелины Паскуччи, Кьяры Пезенти и Марии-Луизы Додеро Коста, Розанны Казари. Они представили работу о структуре портретов персонажей в творчестве Достоевского, которой занимались целый год под руководством Нины Каухчишвили. Сама Нина Михайловна предварила эти доклады теоретическим вступлением, в котором она впервые сформулировала возможность применения понятия П. Флоренского об обратной перспективе к исследованию творчества Достоевского. Идея была в то время совершенно новой и, разумеется, обещала дальнейшее плодотворное развитие.

Со своей стороны, председатель МОД Роберт Джексон в интервью, данном газете *Eco di Bergamo*, сказал, что симпозиум стал самым важным из четырех конгрессов МОД, так как на нем было со всей очевидностью подчеркнуто *универсальное* значение творчества Достоевского.

Бергамская конференция не только пробудила новый интерес к фигуре великого русского писателя, но и способствовала развитию *систематического* изучения его творчества.

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ К / APPENDICES TO:

Достоевский. Памятная вежа: Бергамо, 1980 год

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Credits:

All photos and documents from Rosanna Casari's and Gian Piero Piretto's personal Archives.

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Illustration 1: courtesy Francesca Kaucishvili

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III. 1



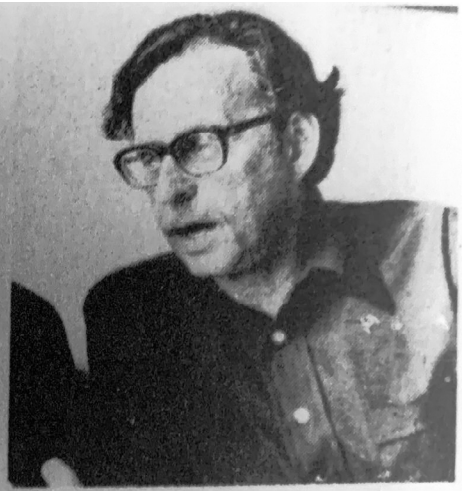
III. 2



III. 3



Nadine Natov



Robert Jackson

III. 4



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May 4, 1981

Professor
Gian Piero PIRETTO
Istituto Universitario
di Bergamo
Piazza Vecchia
24100 BERGAMO, ITALY

Dear Gian Piero, Salvatore mio!

Enclosed please find my article for your Collection of Essays dedicated to Fedor Dostoevsky and our wonderful Symposium in Bergamo.

Nina Mikhailovna was just here as our dear guest and she told me to send one copy of my article to you. I hope that the mail service will be accurate and my article will reach you on time.

I heard, you have moved out of your nice apartment. What is your new permanent address and home telephone nr? I hope to see you the coming fall when, at the beginning of September, I plan to participate at the Blok Symposium organized by Prof. Bazzarelli.

With the best wishes

Always yours

Nadine Natov



III. 7



III. 8



III. 9



III. 10



III. 11



III. 12

Tatiana NICOLESCU

Дела давно минувших дней...

Дела давно минувших дней. Как бы читать *Повесть временных лет*. Или рассказывать детям: «Жили были». Был Международный Конгресс компаративистов во Франции, в городе Бордо, вызвавший большой интерес среди литературоведов, писателей, литераторов разных стран мира. Прибыли участники из Австралии и Америки, Японии, Новой Зеландии, из всех стран Европы, из некоторых, как Румыния, большие академические делегации. На съезде работали отдельные секции (на пример «Тема Италии в русской литературе») и пленарные заседания; было много выступлений 'с места' (вопросов к докладчикам, критических замечаний к докладам), непредвиденных в программе. И еще больше 'вольных' споров и бесед в перерывах.

После блестящего доклада русского академика Михаила Павловича Алексеева в перерыве за чашкой кофе к нашей группе русскоязычных участников конгресса подошла коллега, которая представилась профессором русской литературы в Вашингтонском Университете и назвала себя Надин Натов или как она сказала на прекрасном русском языке Надежда Анатольевна Натова. В возникшей живой беседе об услышанном докладе, и косвенно о проблемах компаративизма как метода исследования в литературоведении, она высказала мнение, что одна из задач, стоящих в этом плане перед современными исследователями русскими и иностранными – это обратиться к творчеству Достоевского. И конкретно выдвинула идею создания научного общества имени Достоевского регулярными встречами, симпозиумами, на небольшом расстоянии времени (три или четыре года) и издании соответствующего бюллетеня. Идея создания общества Достоевского была принята в этой беседе с интересом, но в ответ не последовали практические выводы или обещания.

Но проф. Натова оказалась человеком энергичным и целеустремленным в поисках возможных и необходимых членов общества Достоевского, не меньших энтузиастов чем она сама. Так она обратилась к Алексею Николаевичу Гедройцу, известному переводчику и профессору университета в Брюсселе, затем к проф. Первушину, уехавшему давно из Петербурга и проживавшему теперь в Америке. Они согласились быть казначеями бу-

дущего Общества. Надо было установить день открытия Общества и программу первого симпозиума. Симпозиум состоялся в Германии в городке Бад Эмсе и приветственное слово при открытии произнес известный литературовед компаративист проф. Baldensperger. Руководителем Общества был избран американский ученый, исследователь творчества Достоевского Роберт Джэксон.¹ Участников на этом симпозиуме было не очень много. Кроме уже названных лиц присутствовали и выступили Наталья Ребер из Мюнхенского Университета, Татьяна Николеску и Михаил Новиков (Румыния). Среди присутствующих было также несколько немецких студентов, изучающих русскую литературу.

Через три года состоялся второй симпозиум. Место – Австрия, Санкт Вольфганг ам Зее. Между тем проф. Натава побывала в Румынии и пригласила участвовать и выступать проф. акад. Замфиреску и Дима. Участвовал также доцент А. Ковач из бухарестского университета.

Местом третьего симпозиума была избрана Дания. Тут в составе присутствующих появились не как участники, а как ‘наблюдатели’ из Москвы акад. Храпченко и проф. Палиевский. Миссия последнего была между прочим и переводить Храпченко выступления на иностранных языках. Блестящим был доклад проф. Ивана Верча (унив. Триесте) высоко оцененный и таким критиком как Глеб Струве.

В заключительном слове, перед тем как разойтись, выступила Нина Михайловна Каучишвили, пригласив всех на следующий четвертый симпозиум в университет итальянского города Бергамо. За эти годы своих хлопот и поездок проф. Натава подружилась с Ниной Михайловной и ее сотрудниками на кафедре, особенно с Джан-Пьеро Пиретто и любила поболтать в кафэ за чашкой капучино. Она сразу поняла, что в Бергамо ей не нужно прилагать усилия, поскольку Нина Михайловна взяла все под свое руководство и сделает все наилучшим образом. И так было! Симпозиум в Бергамо удался на славу! Во-первых было много докладов. Выступили все молодые исследователи, представляющие центр русистики всем известный, каким являлся бергамский университет. К сожалению такой специалист как Фридендер не смог приехать из Москвы но послал свой доклад.

Во-вторых в Бергамо приехало много участников. Некоторые хотели познакомиться лично со своими коллегами, знакомыми только по рабо-

1 На самом деле, Р.Л. Джэксон был первым президентом Северо-Американского Общества Достоевского, а в Бад-Эмсе был избран одним из трех вице-президентов МОД вместе с Рихардом Лаутом и Михаилом Новиковым. Первым президентом МОД был избран шведский ученый Нилс Оке Нилссон – *Примечание Редакции.*

там, другие увидеть им незнакомый итальянский город. Так как территориально симпозиум проходил в небольшой Читта Алта [‘Верхний город’], то массивное присутствие иностранцев не могло пройти незамеченным. Уплотнение почувствовали немногие небольшие гостиницы и особенно бары и рестораны. Царила в те дни на Пиацца Веккия какая-то особая атмосфера дружбы, непринужденности, заинтересованности во всем, обмен адресами, книгами, статьями. Хочется перефразировать слова Пушкина: «Достоевсковеды шумною толпой по Читта Алта кочуют».

Борис Тихомиров
Музей-Квартира Ф.М. Достоевского, Санкт-Петербург

История IDS и советские ученые

Пятьдесят лет назад, с 1 по 5 сентября 1971 г., в преддверии 150-й годовщины со дня рождения Ф.М. Достоевского, в курортном немецком городе Бад-Эмс, столице земли Рейнланд-Пфальц, состоялся учредительный симпозиум Международного общества Достоевского (International Dostoevsky Society). В эти дни в концертном зале Курхауса собралось около шестидесяти ученых, исследователей творчества великого русского писателя, из четырнадцати стран. Произносились приветственные речи, читались научные доклады, велись горячие дискуссии. Но главное событие произошло вечером 2 сентября. На Общем собрании всех участников симпозиума (получившем в дальнейшем статус Генеральной ассамблеи), которое проходило под председательством Рудольфа Нойхойзера, была принята Конституция и избрано руководство IDS. Международное общество Достоевского было учреждено! Среди организаторов и участников I Симпозиума International Dostoevsky Society было немало число русских эмигрантов. Родственников Достоевского представляла жившая в Париже 80-летняя баронесса Ольга Александровна Фальц-Фейн, двоюродная сестра внука писателя – Андрея Федоровича. Мероприятие освещало немецкое телевидение (канал ZDF-TV). Информация о создании Общества была опубликована в периодических изданиях Германии, Франции, Канады и США.¹ Однако ученых из СССР не было на этом внушительном научном форуме, и советские средства массовой информации никак не откликнулись на это событие, происходившее за ‘железным занавесом’.

Созданию IDS предшествовали следующие события. За три года до Симпозиума в Бад-Эмсе, в августе 1968 г., в Праге, в чрезвычайно накаленной политической атмосфере, проходил VI съезд славистов (он закончил работу 13-го числа, за неделю до ввода войск Организации Варшавского Договора в Чехословакию). В один из дней работы съезда в гостиничном номере частным образом собралась небольшая группа славистов из

1 *Bulletin of the International Dostoevsky Society*, February 1972, vol. 1, № 1, p. 3 и след.

нескольких стран с целью обсудить предложение ученого из Австралии, профессора мельбурнского университета Дмитрия Гришина, о создании всемирной организации исследователей творчества Достоевского. Сам Д.В. Гришин, эмигрант 'второй волны', еще в предвоенные годы в СССР защитил кандидатскую диссертацию по творчеству раннего Достоевского, а в 1957 г., уже в Мельбурне получил докторскую степень за диссертацию о *Дневнике писателя*.

В работе VI съезда славистов принимала участие внушительная делегация ученых из СССР. В частности, с докладом "О закономерностях развития жанров в эпоху реализма" выступал ведущий научный сотрудник Пушкинского Дома Георгий Михайлович Фридендер – автор монографии *Реализм Достоевского*, инициатор издания *Полного собрания сочинений писателя*, в то время уже приступивший к созданию академической рабочей группы Достоевского в Институте русской литературы АН СССР. Однако Г.М. Фридендер не участвовал в означенной встрече в пражской гостинице: либо не получил приглашения, либо избегал частного общения с организаторами будущего общества Достоевского, среди которых первую скрипку играли русские эмигранты: кроме Д.В. Гришина активное участие в собрании принимала Надежда Анатольевна Натова, профессор университета Джорджа Вашингтона из США, эмигрировавшая на Запад в конце Второй мировой войны. Времена были такие, что контакты с эмиграцией могли осложнить карьеру...

В результате переговоров инициативной группы, собравшейся в августовские дни 1968 г. в Праге, было решено создать Организационный комитет по подготовке учредительного Симпозиума будущего Общества Достоевского. Секретарем Оргкомитета согласилась стать Надин Натова. В течение последующих трех лет она неоднократно приезжала из США в Европу для переговоров с видными исследователями Достоевского. Натова подключила к мероприятиям по организации Общества французскую достоевистку Доминик Арбан (родившуюся в Москве с именем Наталья Хаттнер), князя Алексея Гедройца из Бельгии (сына офицера Белой армии), немецкого философа Райнхарда Лаута и др. По свидетельству Н.А. Натовой, «с самого начала создания в Бад-Эмсе МОД (Международного общества Достоевского. – Б.Т.) [...] советским ученым были посланы приглашения принять участие в деятельности общества. Но ответа получено не было».²

2. *Pro memoria: Памяти академика Георгия Михайловича Фридендера (1915-1995)* (Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 2003), с. 339.

Как следствие, что уже было отмечено выше, ни одного специалиста по Достоевскому из СССР не присутствовало на учредительном Симпозиуме IDS в Бад-Эмсе. Хотя российская диаспора из Европы, США и Канады была представлена на этом научном форуме весьма широко. Можно назвать известного богослова Георгия Флоровского, священника Дмитрия Григорьева, профессоров Николая Первушина, Владимира Седуро, Леонида Ржевского, Нину Каухчишвили... И это кроме уже упомянутых Н. Натовой, А. Гедройца, Д. Гришина. Показательно, что 1-м вице-президентом с прибавлением статуса «Основатель» на Общем собрании 2 сентября 1971 г. был избран Дмитрий Гришин (первым президентом IDS стал шведский ученый Нильс О. Нильсон).

Нельзя, однако, не коснуться одного обстоятельства. В первом выпуске *Bulletin IDS*, вышедшем в феврале 1972 г., где опубликована информация об учредительном Симпозиуме и названы избранные 2 сентября 1971 г. руководящие органы Общества, затем перечислены Национальные представители (National Representatives) IDS от двадцати стран. И в этом перечне фигурирует национальный представитель от СССР – *Сергей Белов*. Все другие национальные представители были делегированы в руководство IDS от обществ Достоевского своих стран. Будучи утвержденными Исполнительным советом IDS, они, согласно Конституции, принимали участие в его обсуждениях и решениях. Но кого мог представить С.В. Белов, если в СССР не существовало в те годы Общества Достоевского и советские ученые не участвовали в деятельности IDS? Сам Сергей Владимирович в своих мемуарах лишь сетует, что, являясь членом Международного общества Достоевского, он был лишен возможности принимать участие в его симпозиумах из-за происков КГБ.³ Имя С.В. Белова фигурирует и в списках национальных представителей, опубликованных в № 2 и 3 *Bulletin IDS* (1972-1973), а затем пропадает.

Заслуживает также упоминания тот факт, что на II Симпозиуме IDS, который проходил с 24 по 30 августа 1974 г. в Сант-Вольфганге близ Зальцбурга (Австрия), был зачитан присланный из СССР доклад старейшего отечественного исследователя творчества Достоевского Моисея Семеновича Альтмана (1896-1986) “Пушкинские наименования в произведениях Достоевского”. В № 5 *Bulletin IDS*, вышедшем в свет в ноябре 1975 г., этот доклад был полностью опубликован, сопровождаемый библиографией трудов М.С. Альтмана о Достоевском. В № 7 *Bulletin IDS*, вышедшем в

3 См.: Сергей В. БЕЛОВ, *О Достоевском, о русских издателях и о себе* (Санкт-Петербург: Союз писателей СПб., 2019), с. 322 и след.

ноябре 1977 г., также была опубликована статья М.С. Альтмана «Читая Достоевского».⁴

В 1973 г. в дни работы VII съезда славистов в Варшаве в неформальной обстановке, за ужином член советской делегации Г.М. Фридендер был проинформирован небольшой группой активистов IDS о подготовке II Симпозиума Общества. «Члены МОД выразили надежду увидеть Георгия Михайловича на этом симпозиуме. Однако никто из приглашенных советских специалистов по творчеству Достоевского не получил разрешения приехать на II симпозиум в Австрию».⁵

Первая попытка со стороны академических кругов СССР наладить контакты с Международным обществом Достоевского должна быть датирована 1977 г., когда в работе III Симпозиума IDS, проходившего с 14 по 20 августа в Рунгстедгорде неподалеку от Копенгагена (Дания), приняли участие академик-секретарь Отделения языка и литературы АН СССР М.Б. Храпченко, Г.М. Фридендер и П.В. Палиевский. О том, насколько настороженно академическое начальство относилось к Международному обществу Достоевского, свидетельствует тот факт, что трое названных ученых приехали на Симпозиум IDS в самозванном статусе «наблюдателей».⁶ Те, кто знает, какая неформальная, дружеская атмосфера царит на форумах Общества, это обстоятельство не может быть расценено иначе, как исторический курьез. Тем не менее М.Б. Храпченко и Г.М. Фридендер выступили на заседаниях Симпозиума с докладами: первый провел сопоставление творчества Достоевского и Толстого, заострив внимание на важности выявления общих тем в их произведениях, второй рассказал о текущей работе над очередными томами академического *Полного собрания сочинений* писателя.

Любопытно отметить, что по традиции, установившейся в Бад-Эмсе и Сант-Вольфганге, в Копенгагене, в православном храме Александра Невского в центре города, организаторами Симпозиума была заказана панихида по Федору Достоевскому. Панихиду служили члены IDS – архиепископ Сан-Францисский и Западно-Американский Иоанн (в миру князь

4 Отмечу, что эти публикации М.С. Альтмана не зарегистрированы в обширной публикации С.В. Белова «Материалы для библиографии русской зарубежной литературы о Достоевском (1920-1992)», где учтены (они отмечены звездочками) и публикации советских ученых на русском языке в иностранных изданиях – см.: *Русские эмигранты о Достоевском*, вступ. статья, подгот. текста и примеч. С.В. Белова (Санкт-Петербург: Андреев и сыновья, 1994), с. 422-423.

5 *Pro memoria: Памяти академика Георгия Михайловича Фридендера*, с. 339-340.

6 Там же, с. 340.

Дмитрий Шаховской) и о. Дмитрий Григорьев. Академик Храпченко наотрез отказался участвовать в богослужении, а Г.М. Фридендер, напротив, вышел к автобусу, на котором участники Симпозиума отправлялись на панихиду, со словами: «Я еду в церковь».⁷

Какой отчет о работе Симпозиума IDS представили ‘наблюдатели’ по возвращении в СССР, не известно (возможно, его можно найти где-то в архивах Академии наук). Но в двух следующих симпозиумах советские ученые вновь не принимали участия. Больше того, в предварительную программу IV Симпозиума, проходившего в августе 1980 г. в Бергамо (Италия), были включены доклады пятерых исследователей из СССР – Г.М. Фридендера, П.В. Палиевского, В.Я. Кирпотина, В.И. Кулешова и В.А. Туниманова. В сборнике, подготовленном к открытию Симпозиума, были опубликованы тезисы трех из них: “Речь Достоевского о Пушкине как выражение его эстетического самосознания” (Г.М. Фридендера), “Проба или сюжет” (В.Я. Кирпотина) и “Чехов и Достоевский” (В.И. Кулешова). Однако академик Храпченко, который должен был возглавлять делегацию, неожиданно отменил поездку советских ученых в Бергамо.

В работе V Симпозиума IDS, проходившего в 1983 г. в Серизи-ля-Саль (французская Нормандия), отечественные специалисты не участвовали. Дело в том, что по традиции IDS для каждого Симпозиума избиралось какое-либо произведение Достоевского, доклады по которому выносились на пленарное заседание, а также образовывали одну или несколько секций. Для Симпозиума 1983 г. таким произведением был избран роман *Бесы*. В СССР он был полузапретным: достаточно указать, что это единственное крупное произведение Достоевского, которое за годы советской власти публиковалось только трижды в составе собраний сочинений, но ни разу не издавалось отдельной книгой. Казалось бы, официально роман был реабилитирован в 1971 г. в докладе директора ИМЛИ члена-корреспондента АН СССР Б.Л. Сучкова на торжественном заседании по случаю 150 годовщины со дня рождения Достоевского, но инерция политического недоверия к роману продолжилась до конца советской власти.

На Генеральной ассамблее Симпозиума в Серизи-ля-Саль было принято решение избрать двух почетных президентов IDS. Профессор Р.-Л. Джексон, крупнейший славист западного полушария, бывший с 1977 по 1983 гг. президентом Общества, предложил кандидатуры двух выдающихся ученых: Рене Уэллека из Йельского университета (США) и Г.М. Фридендера из Пушкинского Дома. Хотя Георгий Михайлович Фридендер не

7 Там же, с. 341.

присутствовал на Симпозиуме, Генеральная ассамблея единодушно поддержала его кандидатуру. Так мировая научная общественность отметила титаническую работу ученого по руководству изданием академического *Полного собрания сочинений* Ф.М. Достоевского. Занятно, однако, что руководство IDS не было уверено, может ли советский исследователь принять этот почетный титул, и после закрытия Симпозиума Г.М. Фридендеру был направлен соответствующий письменный запрос.⁸ По информации В.Н. Захарова, Георгий Михайлович выразил свое согласие с условием, чтобы сначала был избран академик Д.С. Лихачев. Предложение было принято.

На VI Симпозиуме IDS, проходившем в августе 1986 г. в Ноттингеме (Великобритания), Г.М. Фридендер был единственным участником из СССР. Оргкомитет также пригласил доцента факультета журналистики МГУ Игоря Леонидовича Волгина, но факультетское начальство вынудило его отказаться от поездки. Г.М. Фридендер выступил с докладом “От *Подростка к Братьям Карамазовым*”. Этот доклад явился фактом официального участия советских ученых в деятельности Международного общества Достоевского. На Генеральной ассамблее впервые был утвержден действительный национальный представитель в IDS от СССР, им заочно был избран Владимир Артемович Туниманов, ведущий научный сотрудник Пушкинского Дома. Кроме того, участники Симпозиума приняли решение просить академика Дмитрия Сергеевича Лихачева стать третьим почетным президентом IDS. Д.С. Лихачеву также был направлен письменный запрос.

Постоянное участие советских ученых (а позднее России и стран СНГ) в работе симпозиумов IDS началось только в 1989 г., на волне Перестройки. На VII Симпозиуме в Любляне (тогда Югославия) присутствовала уже весьма представительная делегация из СССР. В ее состав, кроме Г.М. Фридендера, входили директор Пушкинского Дома Николай Скатов, Владимир Туниманов, Игорь Волгин, Владимир Захаров, Юрий Карякин, Людмила Сараскина, а также директора музеев Достоевского в Ленинграде и Старой Руссе – Б.Н. Рыбалко и В.И. Богданова. На открытии Симпозиума в актовом зале “Старого Университета” наряду с президентом IDS Мишелем Кадо с приветственным словом выступил и почетный президент Г.М. Фридендер. Г.М. Фридендер и Н.Н. Скатов также руководили двумя секционными заседаниями. Б.Н. Рыбалко и В.И. Богданова проинформировали участников Симпозиума о научных конференциях,

8 См.: там же, с. 342-343.

посвященных великому русскому писателю, которые ежегодно проходят в музеях писателя в Ленинграде и Старой Руссе. Используя известную идиому, можно сказать по этому поводу: *лед тронулся...*

В августе 1992 г. очередной, VIII-й Симпозиум IDS проходил в Осло (Норвегия). Значительную спонсорскую помощь организаторам норвежского форума оказала августейшая чета – король Харальд V с супругой. Благодаря этой поддержке оказался возможным приезд на Симпозиум еще большей, нежели в Любляну, делегации отечественных исследователей жизни и творчества Достоевского. Но они представляли уже не СССР, распавшийся в декабре 1991 г., а Российскую Федерацию. И это уже другая история...⁹

9 При написании этой заметки автор пользовался консультациями почетного президента IDS профессора В.Н. Захарова, за что выражает ему сердечную благодарность.

BOOK REVIEWS



РЕЦЕНЗИИ

А.В. ПИГИН / И.С. АНДРИАНОВА (Отв. ред.):

Филология как призвание: Сборник статей к юбилею профессора Владимира Николаевича Захарова (Петрозаводск: Изд-во ПетрГУ, 2019), 664 с.

Праздник понимания и признания

Книгу, о которой пойдет речь в этой рецензии, действительно можно назвать праздником в прямом значении этого слова – ведь авторы под ее обложкой собрались как гости на юбилей своего друга, собеседника, учителя, чтобы не только выразить добрые благодарные чувства к имениннику, но и продолжить начатые с ним разговоры о волнующих темах, проблемах, идеях, вопросах, проектах и т. п.

Едва ли не в каждой статье сборника есть обращения к работам В.Н. Захарова, как к общим мировоззренчески-концептуальным и теоретико-литературным, так и к собственно достоевсковедческим. Например, В.А. Кошелев развивает и уточняет мысль Захарова о “поэтике парадокса” в *Дневнике писателя* Ф.М. Достоевского: если юбиляр предложил искать ее истоки в Библии и лучших образцах русской классики (у А.С. Пушкина, Н.В. Гоголя и др.), то автор статьи “Еще о поэтике парадокса: Барон Брамбеус как ‘предтеча Достоевского’” приходит к выводу о том, «что наиболее ярким “парадоксальным образцом” для Достоевского стал в данном случае не классик первого ряда, а публицист и “парадоксалист” рангом пониже» (с. 24), О.И. Сенковский. Н.В. Пращерук вступает в диалог с Захаровым при обсуждении романа современной писательницы Е.Р. Домбровской *Путь открылся... Чехов. Духовные странствия Тимофея диакона* (2018): именно труд петрозаводского ученого о жанровой природе *Братьев Карамазовых* Достоевского «как романа романов и христианского метаромана»¹ (с. 242) помог исследовательнице установить жанровые особенности современного произведения и включить его в славную традицию. Т.В. Федосеева в своих размышлениях о поэтологии и аксиологии Я.П. Полонского 1860-1880-х гг. обращается за методологической поддержкой к книге Захарова *Проблемы исторической поэтики: этнологические аспекты* (2012). А.М. Грачева, обосновывая принципы

1 Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, “Братья Карамазовы: метафизика текста”, in Horst-Jürgen GERIGK (Hrsg.), *Die Brüder Karamasow: Dostojewskis letzter roman in heutiger sicht*, IX Symposium der Internationalen Dostojewskij-Gesellschaft (Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1997), с. 213-227 (226).

издания наследия А.М. Ремизова с его «теорией русского лада», опирается на захаровский опыт научной публикации Достоевского, в частности на такой постулат ученого: «необходимость издания, чтения и изучения русской классики в авторской орфографии и пунктуации не осознана в должной мере нашим филологическим сообществом».² Итальянский славист С. Алоэ, анализируя «трактовку Достоевским повествовательной и дидактической природы жанра “поэмы”» (с. 159) в письме к А.Н. Майкову от 15 (29) мая 1869 г., пользуется наблюдениями Захарова о вставных жанрах как «характерном явлении в поэтике Достоевского» и о его романах как «энциклопедии жанров»,³ при этом дополняя российского коллегу утверждением, что, помимо освоения уже существовавших в романной традиции повествовательных структур, писатель активно практиковал «экфрастическое воспроизведение творческого замысла» (с. 170). А ведущий сотрудник научной группы по изданию нового *Полного собрания сочинений* Достоевского в 35 тт. в Пушкинском Доме Н.А. Тарасова, обсуждая на страницах сборника «проблемы подготовки реального комментария» на материале романа *Идиот*, апеллирует, помимо других ученых, к практике Захарова по изданию романа *Бесы*.⁴ Такие переключки можно перечислять долго. Как видим, в основе рецензируемой книги – продуктивный диалог выдающегося ученого-юбиляра со своими коллегами и учениками. И в этом – неоспоримое свидетельство важности и актуальности сделанного им за несколько десятилетий научной и научно-издательской деятельности.

Книга состоит из нескольких разделов: предисловия, написанного коллегами, учениками и друзьями; двух тематических блоков их научных статей: «Достоевский и вокруг него» (13 авторов) и «Русская литература XII-XX веков: опыты интерпретации» (17 авторов); хронологического списка трудов Захарова; приложения с письмами к нему от В.Н. Топорова, Н.А. Натовой, А.В. Михайлова. Такая структура, удачно найденная составителями издания А.В. Пигиным и И.С. Андриановой, позволяет дать голос как самому виновнику торжества (в обширных цитатах из его интер-

2 Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, “Буква и дух русской классики”, in Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, *Проблемы исторической поэтики: этнологические аспекты* (Москва: Индрик, 2012), с. 222-229 (222).

3 См.: Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, “Вставные жанры”, in Г.К. Щенников (под ред.), *Достоевский: эстетика и поэтика: Словарь-справочник* (Челябинск: Металл, 1997), с. 145-146.

4 См.: Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, “*Бесы*: два романа, как издавать”, in Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, *Имя автора – Достоевский: очерк творчества* (Москва: Индрик, 2013), с. 317-352.

вью и книг), так и его коллегам из разных стран мира и многих регионов России (в 28 аналитических статьях), представляет материал в различных стилистических регистрах и интонациях (от сухого реестра публикаций с библиографическими данными до эго-документов с неповторимыми личными нюансами), способствует созданию одновременно целостной и многоликой картины динамичного научного сообщества, сложившегося вокруг Владимира Николаевича в течение десятилетий его деятельности. Кратко охарактеризуем каждый из разделов.

В предисловии, озаглавленном словами самого юбиляра: «Для меня нет лучшего образования, чем филологическое!», – читатель может познакомиться с этапами человеческой и научной биографии Захарова в хронологической последовательности; соприкоснуться с такими гранями его личности, как ученый-исследователь, преподаватель и наставник, текстолог и редактор, издатель и знаток информационных технологий, общественный деятель и организатор науки, наконец, любящий и ответственный семьянин – муж, отец, дед; удивиться широте его интересов и множественности реальных достижений, имеющих поистине мировой резонанс.

Первый тематический блок состоит из статей 13 авторов, посвященных личности и творчеству Достоевского – главного предмета исследовательской любви Захарова (Президента Международного общества Достоевского в 2013-2019 гг.) на протяжении всей жизни. Раздел объединяет как зрелых коллег, среди которых Б.Н. Тихомиров, В.В. Борисова, В.А. Викторovich, Б.Н. Тарасов, так и молодых ученых-достоевсковедов: О.В. Захарову, С.С. Шаулова, И.С. Андрианову. Разнообразна и география участников – статьи раздела присланы из Италии и 8 городов России: Арзамаса, Петрозаводска, Санкт-Петербурга, Москвы, Уфы, Барнаула, Коломны, Екатеринбурга. Каждый из авторов вплел в юбилейный венок свой заветный сюжет: о произведениях и биографическом контексте 1840-х гг. (О.В. Захарова, Б.Н. Тихомиров), о проблематике, поэтике и комментировании романа *Идиот* (Н.А. Тарасова, В.В. Борисова, С.С. Шаулов, В.И. Габуллина), о поэтике и сюжетах *Дневника писателя* (В.А. Кошелев, А. Кавацца), об эпистолярии Достоевского (С. Алоэ), о пушкинском влиянии на “петербургский текст” писателя (В.А. Викторovich), о мировом значении историософской мысли автора *Братьев Карамазовых* (Б.Н. Тарасов), о современном драматическом прочтении “текста жизни” А.Г. Достоевской после смерти ее великого мужа (И.С. Андрианова), о развитии созданного Достоевским жанра христианского метаромана в современной русской литературе (Н.В. Пращерук).

Второй тематический блок сборника состоит из статей 17 авторов, связанных между собой не столько общим предметом рассмотрения, как в первом разделе, сколько сходством мировоззрения и научного подхода к произведениям русской литературы в ее тысячелетнем временном диапазоне, в соответствии с основными идеями Захарова: это «христианская словесность», она «пасхальна, соборна и спасительна», Достоевский – «великий христианский писатель», выразитель идеи «христианского реализма», его «творчество обладает жанровой системностью», а поэтика «парадоксальна», «фантастическое – [...] выражение сущности искусства», этно-поэтика «должна дать ответ, что делает [...] русскую литературу *русской*», «развитие современных информационных технологий» открывает «новые возможности в филологических исследованиях» и т. д. (см.: с. 11-13). Авторы статей рассматриваемого раздела – известные, признанные ученые, откликнувшиеся на юбилей единомышленника из Санкт-Петербурга, Сыктывкара, Москвы, Калининграда, Йошкар-Олы, Рязани, Вологды, Воронежа, Петрозаводска, Великого Новгорода. Первые 3 статьи посвящены памятникам древнерусской литературы XII-XVII вв. – *Слову о полку Игореве* (Л.В. Соколова), *Казанской истории* (Т.Ф. Волкова), *Повести о Христовом крестнике* (А.В. Пигин); в 4-й статье – И.А. Есаулова – литература XVIII в. трактуется как переход от Средневековья к дальнейшим эпохам развития путем парафразы, т. е. «перевода» существующей православной культурной модели [...] на «язык» Нового времени, а также параллельный ему «перевод» новоевропейских культурных форм на складывающуюся русскую литературу» (с. 331); в следующих 5 статьях говорится о русской классике XIX в. – произведениях К.Ф. Рыльева (Н.П. Жилина), Н.В. Гоголя (И.А. Виноградов), М.Ю. Лермонтова (И.А. Киселева), Н.С. Лескова (Н.Н. Старыгина), Я.П. Полонского (Т.В. Федосеева); еще 5 статей рассматривают литературу эпохи модернизма – творчество А.М. Ремизова (А.М. Грачева), В.В. Хлебникова (Ю.В. Розанов), И.А. Бунина (О.А. Бердникова), В.Н. Муравьева (А.Г. Гачева), А.П. Платонова (И.А. Спиридонова); в 2 статьях освещается проза писателей русской эмиграции первой волны – И.С. Шмелева (Л.Г. Дорофеева, Т.В. Ларионова) и Г. Газданова (Д.Б. Терешкина).

Обобщая, можно сказать, что все 28 статей сборника объединены духовной проблематикой в евангельском ключе и вниманием к способам ее воплощения в художественном слове, что на материале отечественной литературы XII-XXI вв. становится изучением своеобразия русской этно-поэтики.

В качестве немногочисленных замечаний отметим следующее: в статье А. Кавацци о Достоевском и А.С. Хомякове хотелось бы прояснения раз-

личий между «народностью» и «национальностью» в воззрениях обоих мыслителей, а также раскрытия тех славянофильских взглядов, от которых автор *Бесов* отказался в 1870-е гг. (с. 218-219); в статье Н.П. Жилиной вызывает сомнение возможность для М.М. Хераскова одновременно “точно” следовать летописному изложению, как известно, чуждому какого-либо психологизма, и сосредоточиваться «на преображении и возрождении души» персонажа (с. 370-371); О.А. Бердникова говорит о «живой жизни» как одной из универсалий Серебряного века, не обозначая связи этого концепта с творчеством Достоевского, безусловно эксплицированной для эпохи рубежа XIX-XX вв. (с. 513); И.А. Спиридонова, рассуждая о внешнем и внутреннем мотивных уровнях в рассказе А.П. Платонова *Одухотворенные люди*, называет последний экзистенциальным, хотя по смыслу он является онтологическим (с. 598); Д.В. Терешкина в связи с рассказом Г. Газданова *Панихида* приходит к странному с точки зрения христианства выводу о том, что «конечна жизнь лишь одного человека – жизнь рода во Христе вечна» (с. 613).

В конце издания размещен хронологический список трудов Захарова, насчитывающий 365 позиций и включающий в себя несколько авторских научных монографий, сотни аналитических научных статей, редактирование и концептуальный комментарий к изданиям произведений Достоевского, редактирование индивидуальных научных монографий коллег и учеников, а также коллективных монографий и тематических сборников, составление и редактирование научного наследия забытых литературоведов (например, О. фон Шульца), словарно-энциклопедические труды, публикации архивных документов, тексты для научно-образовательных электронных ресурсов и т. д. Немало работ опубликовано на английском языке и в зарубежных изданиях. Таким образом, можно воочию убедиться в незаурядной масштабности научной деятельности юбиляра, разнообразии ее видов, идейно-методологической цельности при широте и богатстве рассматриваемого литературного материала.

Завершает книгу *Приложение* – публикация писем к Захарову выдающихся ученых-филологов XX в., с которыми пересекся его творческий путь в науке и, к сожалению, уже ушедших из земной жизни. В.Н. Топоров – один из основателей знаменитой тартуско-московской семиотической школы – в 1986 г. высоко оценил первую монографию Захарова *Система жанров Достоевского: типология и поэтика* (1985) и статью с опровержением стойкой сплетни о «кайме» при напечатании *Бедных людей* в 1846 г., добавив: «Они мне близки по своему духу» (с. 657). Один из организаторов и активнейших деятелей Международного общества Достоевского

Н.А. Натова, способствовавшая развитию контактов между достоевско-ведами Запада и России, в 1988 г. благодарил Захарова, наряду с Д.С. Лихачевым, В.И. Богдановой и Л.И. Сараскиной, за решающую помощь в организации первого приезда американских ученых в город *Братьев Карамазовых* Старую Руссу, который во времена СССР был “закрытым”. Блестящий филолог-германист А.В. Михайлов отметил теплым письмом и благожелательной рецензией в журнале *Наш современник* (1991, № 3, с. 177-179) выход подготовленного Захаровым издания романа Достоевского *Бесы* (Петрозаводск, 1990), которые вдохновили молодого тогда ученого на реализацию еще более масштабного проекта – *Полного собрания сочинений* Достоевского в авторской орфографии и пунктуации (1995-).

Итак, книга *Филология как призвание* предлагает читателю не только человеческий и научный портрет замечательного юбиляра – Владимира Николаевича Захарова, – но и представляет, пусть частично, один из важнейших результатов его деятельности – сложившееся вокруг его заветных идей профессиональное научное сообщество. И, конечно же, рецензируемое издание отнюдь не окончательный итог, но осмысление промежуточных результатов по завершении большого этапа и в первую очередь – открытие новых горизонтов.

Ольга А. Богданова

PAUL J. CONTINO,

Dostoevsky's Incarnational Realism: Finding Christ among the Karamazovs
(Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2020). Paperback, 322 pp.

ISBN: 978-1-7252-5074-1.

In Dostoevsky's notebooks for *Demons*, Stavrogin (referred to throughout as "the Prince") distinguishes between Christ's moral teaching and belief in his divine incarnation. "Many people think it is enough to believe in Christ's moral teaching to be a Christian. It's not Christ's morality, or his teaching, that will save the world, but faith in the fact that the word was made flesh. [. . .] What one must believe is precisely the notion that this is the ultimate ideal of man, that the word is incarnate, that God has become incarnate" (*Исц 11*; 187-188). For Paul Contino, the idea of the incarnation is crucial not only to the Christological themes of Dostoevsky's final novel, but to its methodology, which he labels as "incarnational realism".

To understand what he means by incarnational realism, we have to start with the idea of "analogical imagination": the ability to discern both likeness and unlikeness, but to do so from both an 'either/or' and a 'both/and' perspective. Reality rarely presents itself as either wholly evil or wholly good (thus, 'both/and') but at the same time people are free to choose to do good or to do evil ('either/or'). The incarnation affirms humankind's divinity (its likeness to God) but God incarnate as Christ is also a constant reminder of our own sinfulness and imperfections, that is, our distance from God (our unlikeness). This, Contino asserts, is what is at the heart of Dostoevsky's messy realism: "Dostoevsky's novel represents reality as *both* graced gift *and* arduous task; the world as *both* sacramentally charged *and* sinfully fallen; paradise as *both* here *and* yet to come; persons as *both* open in their freedom to change *and* closed given the realities of time, interpersonal commitment, consequences of past actions, and even genetic inheritance". (p. 8). Dostoevsky's incarnational realism recognizes that "quotidian life" offers both "limits and graces" and the ability to "discern glimpses of transcendent beauty" by practicing prudence and active love (p. 15). The habits of humility, prudence and self-emptying (*kenosis*) are developed in real life and "small time" to prepare us for eternal life in "great time" (pp. 60, 64). These concepts are essential parts of Dostoevsky's incarnational realism and are explicated at length by Contino in the first of two theoretical chapters, both drawing from a wide range of mostly Western Christian thinkers, from Augustine, Aquinas and Dante to Rowan Williams and Hans Urs von Balthasar.

Chapter two connects the novel's concept of beauty with icons, which provide the means for persons to "recover their divine likeness" by following Christ (p. 29). Like God, Dostoevsky grants his characters internal freedom: they are unfinalizable, "finite yet always free to receive this infinite freedom of divine grace". This balance between "the open" and "the closed" is integral to Dostoevsky's incarnational realism and is "especially embodied" in "dramatic scenes of confessional dialogue" (pp. 36-37), which help characters move "from willful assertion to willing receptivity" and fully realize their personhood, dying to themselves to emerge more fully as their true selves (p. 45). Zosima, of course, is the novel's model of the confessional life and chapter three explicates the poetics of confession that he exemplifies. His journey of confession and conversion prefigures that of the central characters in the novel, each of whom "recovers his own voice only after he has passed through a crucible of transgression, remorse, and – with the necessary mediation of another – confession and atonement" (p. 52).

The remaining chapters of the book are devoted to Alyosha, Dmitrii and Ivan. Alyosha figures in chapters four and seven, each addressing three of the six days over which the events of the novel transpire. Alyosha's first three days (chapter 4 of Contino's study) depict Alyosha's movement from fragmentation to wholeness, during which his attempts at practicing active love and confessional dialogue initially backfire in the face of *nadryv* or laceration in his encounters with Captain Snegiryov, Katerina and even Ivan (p. 139). When Alyosha himself, however, engages in *nadryv* in his encounter with Grushenka – hurting himself "so that he can hurt God" (p. 105) – he is transformed by "the incarnational pattern of descent and ascent" (p. 103). His attempt at a self-inflicted fall is countered by Grushenka's raising of his soul "from the depths", as Alyosha puts it. He returns to the monastery and repeats this descent and ascent pattern after his vision of Zosima and Christ at the heavenly wedding at Cana, when Alyosha falls to the earth in ecstatic embrace and rises a new man. This vision and its aftermath is Alyosha's ultimate "both/and" moment, "marked by both joy and pain, wholeness and self-emptying" (p. 114). It is also a highpoint of the novel's incarnational realism.

But Dostoevsky's incarnational realism is more than just a literary method. It also enables the practice of active love in readers by exemplifying and enacting it textually. It thus shows how a work of literature can make one a "better" person, which is the departing point of Contino's study (p. 1). The focus of the second chapter on Alyosha – chapter seven, arguably the best in the book – explicates this property of the novel by providing close readings of Alyosha's "generative" and "parental" engagement with two "troubled youths, each about

fourteen years old" (p. 177): Kolya Krasotkin and Lise Khokhlakova. Each embodies different kinds of "demonic possession" brought on by the secular rationalism practiced by the novel's chief tempters of unbelief, Ivan (Lise's demon) and Rakitin (Kolya's). Contino carefully lays out how Alyosha's "available and attentive" (p. 155) confessant relationship with both of them counters the "unsuitable" reading that has caused "self-division and destruction" in Lise (p. 180) and "willful atheism" in Kolya (p. 160), ultimately producing a conversion in Kolya and the beginnings of confession and atonement in Lise.

Contino explicates Alyosha's role as confessant in the lives of his two brothers Dmitrii and Ivan as well, in chapters five and six respectively. Indeed, confession is central to understanding Mitya, who has other confessants, too: the peasant coachman Andrei, who drives him to Mokroe the night of the murder and with whom Mitya conducts a theological conversation; Grushenka, who becomes "a Christ-bearing image (*obraz*) that reflects and mediates divine love and, like the Orthodox icon, is vital to the re-formation of Mitya's own image as a person" (p. 135); and, of course, his police interrogators – the least effective confessants as "their strictly empirical realism leaves no room for spiritual reality" (p. 123). It is Alyosha, however, who is Mitya's most important confessant, both at the beginning of the novel as he listens to his brother's three confessions (in verse, in anecdote, heels up) and at the end, when he blesses Mitya's plan to escape to America instead of serving a sentence of hard labor in Siberia: an ending Contino defends as in keeping with the novel's incarnational realism, which does not demand heroic virtue but rather the practicing of active love. "You are innocent," Alyosha tells Mitya, "and such a cross is not for you".

Contino's examination of Ivan in chapter six focuses on the latter's difficulty in perceiving his own part in the murder of his father. Ivan would rather, as Contino perceptively argues, "hold up the bold, dialectical extremities of 'either/or' than discern within more messy 'both/and' territory" (p. 143). Ivan's thinking is Euclidean: one is either guilty or not guilty. One cannot be both innocent and guilty at the same time. Moreover, Ivan is vain: he "would rather go to court and be perceived by the spectators as a daring nihilist father-slayer, than admit the more 'modest' degree of his guilt in all its shabbiness" (p. 144) and thus, by extension, acknowledge his likeness to the shabby demon who visits him in his delirium. Alyosha's "It was not you who killed father" serves "as an invitation to Ivan to discern and humbly accept his *partial* guilt" (p. 149) but Ivan suffers from an inability to accept his "non-self-sufficiency" (p. 146); in turning away from Alyosha as confessant, he shuns the humility incarnational realism reveals to be at the heart of the redemptive movement of Dostoevsky's novel.

In his study's closing pages, Contino marvels at how the novel's final chapter so "symphonically" "recapitulates every tone in the novel: grief, anger, rebellion, yearning, acceptance, hope, humor, joy, love" – "all of the novel's major themes and events" (p. 184). It is the great accomplishment of Contino's close reading of the novel that we better understand this dense network of associations and their basis in the author's Christian poetics, his "incarnational realism". Contino has created a practical handbook of sorts for those of us wishing to understand how, indeed, the novel makes us better human beings for having read it.

John Givens

MICHEL NIQUEUX,
Dictionnaire Dostoïevski (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 2021), 316 pp.
 ISBN 978-2-7204-0662-1

Объем и внутреннее богатство макротекста Ф.М. Достоевского, с одной стороны, а с другой, – его огромное значение для культур и литератур всего мира, часто побуждают группы исследователей, и даже самостоятельных ученых к созданию масштабных систематизирующих трудов: тематических словарей, энциклопедий, 'Companions' о его жизни, окружении и творчестве. Излишне говорить, что ценность подобных работ состоит в первую очередь в том, что с их помощью огромное количество накопленных данных о писателе, – как фактических, так и концептуальных и исследовательских, – приходит в некоторый логический порядок. Так резюмируются результаты бурной коллективной достоевсковедческой деятельности, что делает эти издания полезным базовым орудием для дальнейших исследований.

А поскольку каждая масштабная работа (включая иногда учебники и критические хрестоматии, как например серия «Pro et Contra») требует внятных критериев отбора и обработки материала, то получается, что в подобных книгах сильно отражается культурная среда авторов и дух времени. Если, например, энциклопедические словари под ред. Г.К. Щенникова,¹ являющиеся огромным коллективным трудом российских достоевсковедов послесоветского периода, резюмируют знания о писателе и направления интерпретаций его творчества, характерные для России 1970-х – 2000-х гг., то англоязычные Companions отражают, как правило, совершенно иные исследовательские традиции. Короче говоря, от каждого труда подобного типа мы получаем информацию не только о Достоевском, но и о культурах, в рамках которых им занимаются авторы-составители.

Не представляется исключением новейшая работа французского рурсиста Мишеля Нико с незатейливым названием *Dictionnaire Dostoïevski* («Словарь Достоевского»), изданная парижским Институтом славянских исследований. Эта книга – введение к творчеству и личности великого писателя – в то же время дает возможность многое понять в истории и основных тенденциях его восприятия во Франции.

1 См. Г.К. Щенников, А.А. Алексеев (под ред.), *Достоевский: эстетика и поэтика. Словарь-справочник* (Челябинск: Металл, 1997); Г.К. Щенников, Б.Н. Тихомиров (под ред.), *Достоевский: Сочинения, письма, документы. Словарь-справочник* (Санкт-Петербург: Изд. «Пушкинский Дом», 2008).

Книга выглядит компактным (316 страниц небольшого формата) путеводителем для студентов и аспирантов, а также для любителей творчества Достоевского. Для такой цели она и придумана, по утверждению самого автора. «С чего начать? – часто спрашивают студенты, а без сомнений они не единственные, кто колеблется перед тем, как войти в сложный романный и интеллектуальный мир, способный пугать и путать», – читаем в Предисловии (с. 7). Скажем сразу, что благодаря научной скрупулезности автора, книга ценна и для профессиональных читателей, так как в синтетически сжатом виде описывает основные темы, классические интерпретации и базовую библиографию, необходимую для более глубокого самостоятельного изучения отдельных аспектов творчества Достоевского.

По своей структуре книга следует модели энциклопедического словаря. Список своих предшественников автор называет в Предисловии – в нем указаны основные русско- и англоязычные Достоевские энциклопедии: помимо уже упомянутых работ Щенникова (правда, автором упомянут только первый словарь, изданный Щенниковым в 1997 г. вместе с А.А. Алексеевым, а не второй, им же подготовленным в 2008 г. вместе с Б.Н. Тихомировым), фигурируют не менее известные работы Николая Наседкина и японского исследователя Накамуры Кэнноскэ и два англоязычных труда – давний *Словарь Достоевского* Ричарда Чаппла и совсем недавний 'Companion' под редакцией Кэтрин Бауерс, Коннора Док и Кэйт Холланд.²

Словарь составлен из 118 словарных статей, представленных в алфавитном порядке без подразделений: автор решил не распределять по отдельным разделам статьи-путеводители по главным произведениям Достоевского, статьи о ключевых концептах писателя и его художественного мира и, наконец, статьи об интертексте Достоевского (последние, кстати, касаются не только писателей, оказывавших влияние на него, но и тех, в чьем творчестве очевидно его собственное влияние).

Как правило, первый вид словарных статей наименее интересен для исследователей: здесь резюмируются сюжеты романов и повестей писателя, система персонажей и главные мотивы; даются краткие отсылки на классические интерпретации.

2 Николай НАСЕДКИН, *Достоевский. Энциклопедия* (Москва: Алгоритм, 2003); Накамура КЭННОСКЭ, *Словарь персонажей произведений Ф.М. Достоевского* (Санкт-Петербург: Гиперион, 2011); Richard CHAPPLE, *A Dostoevsky Dictionary* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1983); Katherine BOWERS, Connor DOAK and Kate HOLLAND (Ed.), *A Dostoevskii Companion: Texts and Contexts* (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2018).

Мало оригинального исследование найдёт и во второй категории статей, которая, однако, представляет собой отличный инструмент для начинающих ученых и студентов.

Третья же категория, действуя в пространстве компаративистики, акцентирует соотношения французской культуры с Достоевским. В этом и есть особая ценность книги: оптика автора приближает нас к не всегда очевидным деталям французского достоевсковедения и рецепции русского писателя во Франции. Таким образом, рядом с ожидаемыми именами Бальзака, Камю, Фурье, Жида, Гюго, Наполеона читатель встречает относительно новые в контексте достоевсковедения имена Поля Клоделя и Андре Мальро. Много французского материала обобщено в еще двух статьях: “Dostoïevski dans les lettres françaises” («Достоевский в французской словесности») и “Traduire Dostoïevski” («Переводить Достоевского»). Некоторые из помещенных в книгу статей (например, статья о Блезе Паскале) демонстрируют высокие достижения французского литературоведения, часто малоизвестные вне страны.

Первое призвание книги – быть полезным руководством к творчеству Достоевского для молодого поколения – обеспечивается большим изобилием иллюстраций и тщательно подготовленным списком имен и сюжетов.

Подобные работы, в которых, на первый взгляд, повторяются общеизвестные факты достоевсковедения, скрывают в себе немало хороших сюрпризов для компаративистов и, в общем, для специалистов по творчеству русского писателя. В идеальном мире можно было бы мечтать о наличии хотя бы одного подобного словаря в каждой стране; это позволило бы собирать следы особых созвучий с гением Федора Михайловича в различных культурах и традициях. Франция с работой Мишеля Нико получила завидный подарок к юбилею русского классика. Не будет лишним добавить напоследок, что книга посвящена памяти одного из великанов французского достоевсковедения – Жаку Катто.

Stefano Aloe

ANDREA OPPO,

Lev Shestov: The Philosophy and Works of a Tragic Thinker

(Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2020). Hardback, xvi + 329 pp.

ISBN: 9781644694671.

Having settled in France after leaving Russia in 1920, Shestov became one of the most important thinkers of Russian origin in terms of impact and readership. In comparison to other émigrés, he was probably rivalled by Berdiaev only, but in contrast to Berdiaev, Shestov was not an equally central figure of the Russian *émigré* community. Although he did publish in their venues, he was, as noted in the book under review here (p. 157), not particularly concerned with maintaining his lost homeland Russia in exile. To this reviewer, he seems to have more in common with thinkers such as Alexandre Koyré and Alexandre Kojève, who integrated into French academic life. Similarly, while belonging today to the canon of Russian religious philosophy, Shestov has nevertheless been considered some kind of ‘lonely figure’, and rightfully so, not least because it is debatable to what extent he was a “religious” thinker. Moreover, his ideas did not develop within the idealist paradigm that was so widely shared, from the Slavophiles via Solov’ev to the post-Solov’evian generation, to which Shestov otherwise belonged. ‘Idealism’, meaning a firm ground from which you can develop your reasoning and even system, was one of many targets of Shestov’s writings. Shestov’s thinking was, in his own words, an “apotheosis of groundlessness”.

Andrea Oppo’s new monograph on Lev Shestov is a remarkable achievement. The author has managed to write a clear, coherent and focused narrative of Shestov’s development, readable and comprehensible to those who are interested in familiarizing themselves with this paradoxical figure. Meanwhile, the book is also heavily footnoted, for which Oppo reserves discussions about issues that are mainly for the specialists, which means that both groups will find this book rewarding. Oppo’s book is a combination of philosophy, that is a discussion of philosophical claims and arguments, and intellectual history, that is the broader contexts in which they were put forward. The book is broadly researched – Oppo has not only studied Shestov’s major works, but also his minor ones as well as texts and thinkers that make up Shestov’s contexts.

When I characterize the book as ‘coherent’, I mean that Oppo has a keen eye for the main continuities and discontinuities, and in the following I will outline some of these for the readers of *Dostoevsky Studies*. The book is chronologically organized, its first part being “Shestov in Russia” and the second “Shestov

in France". It also contains three appendices: "Shestov and Husserl", "Shestov and Berdyaev" and "Shestov and Fondane". Oppo's approach takes into consideration the philosopher's biography, but this is first and foremost a reading of Shestov's oeuvre. It is a through engagement with Shestov's primary texts, and involve other commentaries when necessary.

The first part, "Shestov in Russia", focuses on the philosopher's main works of the period 1898-1905: on Shakespeare (and his 'critic' Brandes), Tolstoy, Nietzsche and Dostoevsky, but Oppo also provides a separate chapter on Shestov's lesser known readings of literature, where he makes it clear that also Anton Chekhov had a profound significance for Shestov. Whereas Dostoevsky and Nietzsche exposed the "deceit of morals and philosophy", Shestov uses Chekhov to "unmask the deceit of art", portraying him as the "poet of hopelessness" (p. 87). Chekhov's characters experience the tragedy, but they do not die, they live on, rejecting and yet accepting their situation. They try to create a meaningful life "from nothing" but ultimately fails.

In Shestov's books on Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Nietzsche, the focus is on the "transformation of convictions" (p. 28), that is when the two latter completely rejected their former, "idealist" beliefs in the experience of tragedy. In his reading of Tolstoy, Oppo shows, Shestov works with the opposition of "God" (standing for the absurd) and "religion" (human, rationalist sense-making of the absurd). The paradoxical conclusion of Shestov's interpretation of Tolstoy versus Nietzsche, which involves not only their texts but also psychology – Shestov used biography as a "psychological method" (p. 52) – is that Tolstoy was in a sense an atheist; Nietzsche a "believer". For Shestov, God is the "other" of reason (p. 38). On the other hand, Oppo also shows that the opposition between the two thinkers is not as clear-cut. As for Nietzsche, neither he was free from preaching, for instance in the doctrine about the superhuman (p. 38). What mattered most to Shestov in Nietzsche was his struggle against Enlightenment ideals. As Oppo explains, Shestov's Nietzsche was not the Nietzsche of the symbolists (p. 40), though Shestov, too, had a huge influence on the reception of Nietzsche in Russia. Tolstoy, meanwhile, was also not merely a preacher, although this may be the first impression when reading Shestov's description of him. In *The Death of Ivan Ilich*, Shestov finds a true exposition of the tragic.

Dostoevsky was one of Shestov's main heroes. Famously, Shestov appreciated "dark characters" such as the Underground Man, Raskolnikov and Ivan Karamazov, all of whom recognized the tragedy of life. To focus on these figures as Dostoevsky's main heroes was not uncommon in the early reception of Dostoevsky: Rozanov had already done something similar, and he discovered

in Ivan Karamazov a positive ethics, despite his “rebellion”. Shestov, meanwhile, continues Nikolai Mikhailovsky appreciation of Dostoevsky’s “cruelty”. Like Tolstoy, Dostoevsky too could preach “idealism”, be it in his “positive” characters (Myshkin, Alyosha) or in his political essays and journalism, where he left tragedy out of sight altogether. Dostoevsky’s journalism was not the topic of Shestov’s *Dostoevsky and Nietzsche* of 1903, but Shestov did turn to them later, and, not surprisingly, was quite critical of the preaching encountered there. But also in his 1903 book, there is, Oppo argues, “an authentic, ‘cruel’ Dostoevskii, and the Underground Man speaks on his behalf, and there is a less authentic writer who expresses himself in all his humanitarian novels and characters and in his ‘prophetic speeches’ and writings” (p. 48). One point in Shestov’s Dostoevsky analysis that Oppo does not bring up, but which seems relevant in light of his subsequent discussion of the philosopher’s later engagement with the Bible, is the role of the Gospel in Dostoevsky, which Shestov opposed to that of Tolstoy: It is not about ethics and morality but a promise of a new life (*zalog novoi zhizni*) that rejects science, as exemplified by miracles such as the irrational resurrection of Lazarus that Sonia reads for Raskolnikov.¹

A remarkable feature of Shestov’s texts, as Oppo discusses several times with great clarity, is that despite his rebellion against science, rationalism and even religion his style was in fact very clear and in a sense ‘rational’. He did not write in the rhapsodic, paradoxical style of Nietzsche or Rozanov. Moreover, this was not only a question of ‘style’: Shestov is for Oppo a philosopher, despite his contempt for ‘philosophy’. An exception is perhaps the work that followed *Dostoevsky and Nietzsche*, the 1905 *Apotheosis of Groundlessness*, which consists of a series of aphorisms, and where Shestov explained in the foreword that it was impossible to treat his subject otherwise (p. 61). And yet he returned to his quite rational style later on. What Shestov found necessary to treat ‘aphoristically’ was above all the notion of the tragic. In a sense, the notion of tragedy in Shestov seems straightforward and simple: it refers to the tragic events in your life that you cannot prevent, that in reality is the truth of life, and against which *reason* has nothing to offer. As Oppo shows, however, the philosophy of tragedy comprises more – it was Shestov’s theory of knowledge. Shestov’s idea of tragedy is “an active impossibility of logos set by logos itself” (p. 64). Drawing on Schelling and Nietzsche, Shestov saw tragedy not as grounded in an “error” (cf. Aristotle) but in necessity and yet as intolerable to reason. It is therefore characterized by contradiction or *aporia*, for which there is no ra-

1 See Лев ШЕСТОВ, *Достоевский и Ницше (философия трагедии)* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография М.М. Стасюлевича, 1903), с. 125.

tional solution, only revolt. In Oppo's interpretation, "The only way to achieve this overturning and to really rebel against the tyranny of necessity is to *remain* in the contradiction – to live in the aporetic nature of truth and never detach oneself from it" (p. 67). As Oppo goes on to observe, this places Shestov alongside Nietzsche and Heidegger in the history of Western thought, but one of his merits was to bring in Russian thinkers and writers in this regard, most notably Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. Dostoevsky was inscribed in his canon of those of "rebel against the logical, 'binding' power of reason" (p. 123), together with St Paul, Plotinus, Luther (cf. his *Sola fide*), Pascal, Kierkegaard and others.

In turn, this leads to a key question in Oppo's discussion: whether the anti-philosophical Shestov is nevertheless a philosopher. Rejecting the foundational principles of philosophy – necessity and noncontradiction – Shestov found his definitive place and his role as a philosopher opposing 'official' philosophy, not but nonetheless a philosopher", Oppo writes (p. 128). The thinkers of Shestov's canon, and this was also what Shestov tried to do himself, "used logos to question logos itself" (p. 133), which leads to the philosophy of tragedy for many of them. The recognition of the tragic was first and foremost characteristic of the modern thinkers he appreciated, but Oppo also shows that one of main heroes, Plotinus, accomplished a "revolt of philosophy against itself" (p. 151).

The preoccupation with the limits of reason represents the continuity of Shestov's thought, from his prerevolutionary to his *émigré* writings. But what were his shifts and developments? On significant change that Oppo reveals is that from "morality" (Tolstoy versus Dostoevsky and Nietzsche) to theory of knowledge and to *faith* as the alternative to knowledge. It is in this context that the Bible, that is the Jewish Bible (or Old Testament), became so important to him. Abraham and Job were faced with situations where reason had nothing to offer, they encountered the absurd, but nevertheless demonstrated "unconditioned faith" (p. 194). Their God was for Shestov firmly opposed to the God of Spinoza. The influence of Kierkegaard here is obvious, but Dostoevsky remained essential to Shestov in his later thought as well, as can be seen in *émigré* texts from 1922 ("Overcoming Self-Evidences") and 1937 ("On the 'Regeneration of Convictions' in Dostoevsky"). In the former Shestov plays Dostoevsky out against not Tolstoy but Aristotle and Husserl, in a "fight against self-evidences of science" (p. 138). Crucial in this respect is the "absurd logic" of the Underground Man ($2+2=5$). The 1937 article, Oppo notes, is very much in line with his 1903 book on Dostoevsky and Nietzsche, where "regeneration of convictions" played a key role. Now, however, Nietzsche is replaced by Pascal, whereby Dostoevsky rebellion is portrayed as a "fight against science" (p.

140). To the end of his life, Shestov claimed that the “essential” Dostoevsky is to be found in Ivan Karamazov and the Underground Man, not in his positive heroes. However, also Christ of the Grand Inquisitor story counts among Dostoevsky’s representatives of the absurd, due to his rejection of the inquisitor’s ‘logic’.

And yet Shestov does not abandon the very concept of knowledge as such. He operates, Oppo maintains, with a distinction between a “theory of knowledge” (the “Western logos”) and a “metaphysics of knowledge”. And Shestov committed to the latter, looking for “an alternative domain of knowledge itself – a domain that may possibly include the ‘principle of contradiction’ and the lack of foundation (*bespochvennost*)” (p. 160). In Oppo’s apt characterization, Shestov’s looks for the “exit door” from the paradigm of rationalism, which was nevertheless the “ultimate door of logos” (p. 162). By implication, as Oppo argues, Shestov’s thought did evolve from despising metaphysics to acknowledging it, though always in opposition to rationalism and necessity. His metaphysics was the philosophy of tragedy, “which is, ultimately, a biblical religious philosophy” (p. 204). But not a religious philosophy, this reviewer would add, in an idealist sense. Reason, meanwhile, is not wrong, but it cannot claim to be absolute. Shestov was concerned with “the logical limit of reason”, which is “a necessary limit because it is not placed on the same level as reason but instead placed before it, as it were” (p. 237).

This brings us finally to Shestov’s well-known opposition between “Athens and Jerusalem” (reason versus faith), and one of the merits of Oppo’s book is his detailed explanation that this is not a mere opposition; Shestov’s “originality lies in the fact that Athens and Jerusalem do not stand on the same level, there is a discontinuous relationship between them: Athens is the truth in opposition to the truth behind it – Jerusalem” (p. 238). That both are true may illustrate also, I think, the very issue of contradiction, which was so crucial for Shestov and which is brilliantly explained by Andrea Oppo.

Kåre Johan Mjør

SLOBODANKA M. VLADIV-GLOVER:

Dostoevsky and the Realists: Dickens, Flaubert, Tolstoy (New York: Peter Lang, 2019). (Monographs). Hardcover, XIII-216 pp.

ISBN 9781433152238.

Studies of the Russian novel often operate under the paradigm of a one-way influence: Russian novelists of the ‘realist’ tradition (Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy) read their West-European counterparts (Dickens, Flaubert, Zola, Eliot, and others) and then, influenced by their methods, turned to the specificities of the Russian context. This has been especially seen in discussions of the realist novel: scholars have shown how Russian novelists, inspired by the West, then responded to the special social, cultural, and theological situation of Russia in the 19th century. In this recent book, Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover offers a revision of this paradigm. Through the readings of several novels in the context of Dostoevsky’s work, Vladiv-Glover demonstrates that Russian experiments in realist technique were not entirely the result of this one-way influence of the West-European novel on the Russian tradition. Nor did novelists merely respond to the special ‘Russian’ condition in their novels. Rather, the realist paradigm of Dostoevsky (and of Tolstoy as well) emerged as a result of a common philosophical tradition grounded in the West-European phenomenology of Kant and Hegel: realist concepts were derived from the phenomenological understanding of perception and knowledge, and that these shared origins may unite discussions of Russian and West-European realist modes. What is important about this argument is twofold: it shows that Russian novelists contributed on an even-footing with their West-European counterparts, and that Russian realist modes may be read not as a side aberration of a West-European paradigm but rather as a product of similar secular intellectual roots. In the end, Vladiv-Glover links these phenomenological origins of realism to an emergence of proto-psychoanalytic modes of the unconscious, a broad phenomenon across national boundaries leading far beyond the 19th century.

Vladiv-Glover’s analysis begins with the classic manifestoes of realism from the 1830s and 1840s – *The Heads of the People, or Portraits of the English* (1838), *Les français peints par eux-mêmes* (1840) and *Наши, списанные с натуры русскими* (1840-41) – which help to frame the concepts of realism not, as she calls a “general” term that may be applied broadly but as one emerging as a “historical” phenomenon from novelists’ response to the philosophical tradition of German romanticism. The study proceeds through the close reading of Dostoevsky’s novels that follow this phenomenological trajectory (or as

she calls it, “genealogy”) for analyzing realist techniques and uncovering the shared philosophical origins of Russian and Western writers alike. Of special note is the treatment Dostoevsky’s novel *The Possessed*, in particular her reading of the concept of *pochvenichestvo*, or “return to the native soil”. While scholars have tended to focus on *pochvenichestvo* through the lens of Russian specificity, Vladiv-Glover re-reads this concept as, in her words, a “doctrine of *identity* and *difference* or, speaking through Hegel’s phenomenology, a doctrine of identity *as* difference” (p. 57). Importantly, Dostoevsky’s realist paradigm and especially his focus on the idea of *pochvenichestvo* had as its basis the same philosophical tradition that gave way to realism in the West: a concept close to ‘Russianness’ (*pochvenichestvo*) may be seen as originating in the phenomenology of Kant and Hegel and a philosophical approach to identity and difference.

From these chapters Vladiv-Glover then turns to other examples, notably Dickens’s *David Copperfield*, Flaubert’s *Bouvard et Pécuchet* and *Madame Bovary*, and finally Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina*. In the case of Dickens, she demonstrates in a psychoanalytic reading how the novel is at once dislocated from historical events of the time and yet remarkable for its portrayal of the psychological depths of the characters. She reads this as a reflection of Dickens’s understanding of identity in his portrayal of characters, which is founded in phenomenology and prefigures Freud’s concept of the unconscious. A similar issue is seen in Flaubert. Turning to *Bouvard et Pécuchet* and *Madame Bovary*, Vladiv-Glover argues that the French novelist’s realist mode is focused not on the “positivistic portraiture of types of the nation,” but rather how the novel “probes the ‘unconscious’ physiognomy of the times” (p. 138). Finally, in the case of *Anna Karenina*, Vladiv-Glover reads this novel through Tolstoy’s later treatise, *What Is Art*. She demonstrates how Tolstoy stages different versions of perception and the gaze, where aesthetic (rather than positivistic) vision offers a totally separate epistemological plane from observation in the positivistic sciences.

In the end, Vladiv-Glover’s study brings Russian realism closer to West-European novelists, showing how a study of Dostoevsky may shed light on Flaubert, Dickens, Tolstoy, and others. This is an often-ignored direction in comparative studies of Russian and European novelists: what may Dostoevsky and Tolstoy reveal about the West-European novel? In the end, it is Dostoevsky who may shed light on the origins of realism and, importantly, on the long shadow these novelists cast, far beyond their age.

Brian Egdorf

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НОВОСТИ

Bicentenary events in North America

The North American Dostoevsky Society has facilitated many bicentenary events through a virtual speaker series, a virtual outreach program, and a blog series. The 2020 online pivot caused by the Covid-19 pandemic created an opportunity for collaboration and discussion using video conferencing software. In the 2020-21 academic year, we launched our Bicentennial Speaker Series, a series of virtual talks co-hosted with academic units at universities. The events are held online, feature Dostoevsky scholars speaking about their research, and are promoted both by the hosting unit and across NADS's social media and blog. In the first year, we co-hosted talks with Harvard University, the University of British Columbia, the University of Toronto, and Fordham University featuring talks by Jonathan Paine, Barbara Henry, Katherine Bowers, and Paul J. Contino, respectively. The Bicentennial Speaker Series continues in 2021-22 with virtual talks by Chloë Kitzinger, Andrew D. Kaufman, Kate Holland, and Vadim Shneyder, co-hosted by the University of Toronto, Brandeis University, the University of Bristol, and the University of British Columbia, respectively. Registration links for all upcoming talks are available on the Society's blog, *Bloggers Karamazov* (<https://bloggers-karamazov.com/>) and all the past talks are recorded and available on the NADS YouTube channel.

A major NADS-sponsored bicentennial outreach program, "Dostoevsky at 200", was organized by Bowers and Holland in collaboration with Sarah Hudspith, Katya Jordan, and Sarah J. Young, with support from a Connection Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. "Dostoevsky at 200" includes public roundtables where scholars share contemporary research on Dostoevsky, one focused on the recent book *Dostoevsky at 200: The Novel in Modernity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021), co-edited by Bowers and Holland, and a second on *Dostoevsky and Nationalism in the Global Era* coming up in late November as well as two student research panels focusing on graduate and undergraduate research, respectively. In addition to these scholarly events, "Dostoevsky at 200" includes an open call for blog posts on the topic "Global Dostoevskys: Influences and Receptions". Posts in the series will be published on *Bloggers Karamazov* later this year and continuing into 2022. A major event in the bicentenary program is a virtual birthday party for Fyodor Mikhailovich, taking place on Zoom on 11 November 2021. The birthday party will include fan art, fan poetry, readings of favorite passages from Dostoevsky's works, video tributes, testimonials, and a

celebratory toast. The full schedule with all of the NADS bicentennial events can be found on *Bloggers Karamazov*.

Beyond the NADS-sponsored events, there are a number of other events organized across North America to mark the bicentenary in 2021. The conference *Funny Dostoevsky*, co-organized by Irina Erman and Lynn Ellen Patyk and held virtually at Dartmouth College in May 2021, brought scholars to come together to focus on humor in Dostoevsky's works. Throughout 2021, Anton Fedyashin at the Carmel Institute of American University has hosted a series of virtual book talks to mark the bicentenary, featuring talks by Thomas Gaiton Marullo, John Givens, Susanne Fusso, Kitzinger, and Holland.

Katherine Bowers
University of British Columbia
&
Kate Holland
University of Toronto

The Dostoevsky Bicentenary in the UK

The bicentenary of the birth of Dostoevsky was marked in the UK by a number of public events and media broadcasts. Here are some of the highlights.

Public events

In February the Russian cultural centre Pushkin House in London hosted Alex Christofi in conversation online with Sophy Roberts (author of *The Lost Pianos of Siberia*) about his new book *Dostoevsky in Love*.

May saw two online events: On 6 May, Sarah Hudspith and Olivia Santovetti gave a presentation for the Ilkley Literature Festival on the resonances between Dostoevsky and contemporary Italian author Elena Ferrante, entitled “Illuminating the Chaos and Obscurity: Dostoevsky and Ferrante in Dialogue”. The presentation is [available to watch on YouTube](#).

Then on 24 May St Antony’s College, Oxford hosted an online roundtable on the theme “Dostoevsky at 200”, with speakers Yuri Corrigan, Lynn Ellen Patyk and Alex Christofi, with Caryl Emerson as discussant and Oliver Ready as chair.

Several public online events took place at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London (UCL-SSEES). The first of these was a graduate student panel, co-hosted with the University of Toronto, on 28 October, and co-chaired by Kate Holland and Sarah Young. The speakers were Kristina Polakova, presenting her research into the pathetic aesthetics of rain in Dostoevsky’s works, Rachel Sims analysing spiderly forms and the panopticon in *Notes from a Dead House*, Christina Karakepeli discussing domestication as re-creation in Greek translations of Dostoevsky, and Dmytro Memari Fard speaking on aspects of politicization in the first full translation into German of Dostoevsky’s complete works. It is [available to watch on YouTube](#).

This event was followed by a roundtable on 29 November devoted to “Dostoevsky, Russia and nationalism in the global era”, co-hosted with the University of Leeds and featuring panellists Ani Kokobobo, Lynn Ellen Patyk, Vlad Strukov, Vera Tolz and Jennifer Wilson. The co-chairs were Sarah Hudspith and Sarah Young. A week later the UCL-SSEES graduate student Saffy Mirghani presented her research on Dostoevsky’s influence on 20th Century African American writers.

On 9 November the British Library hosted an online panel on the subject “The Living Dostoevsky: Adaptation and Translation”, with Alex Christofi, Viv Groskop, Elizabeth Newman and Oliver Ready.

Finally, the University of Bristol hosted Kate Holland in a public lecture on “Temporality in Dostoevsky’s Imperial Imagination”. This talk is [available to watch on YouTube](#).

Dostoevsky on the radio

The BBC featured three radio programmes on Dostoevsky in November, which are all available to listen online. The first was an edition of the BBC World Service programme [The Forum](#), discussing *The Devils*, with guests Carol Apollonio, Sarah Hudspith and Tatyana Kowalewska. Next, BBC Radio 4’s flagship arts programme [Front Row](#) examined *Crime and Punishment* with guests Kevin Birmingham and Sarah Hudspith. On the day of the bicentenary itself, BBC Radio 4 broadcast a programme entitled “[Dostoevsky and the Russian Soul](#)”, presented by former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams and featuring a number of British scholars including Sarah Young.

Sarah Hudspith
University of Leeds

*Достоевский и Италия*¹

В проекте «Достоевский и Италия» приняли активное участие правнук Фёдора Михайловича – Дмитрий Андреевич и праправнук писателя Алексей Дмитриевич. Изучение истории семьи -и шире – истории рода Достоевских – семейная традиция потомков. Современные Достоевские – продолжатели прямой мужской линии, идущей от великого русского писателя, что не такое уж частое явление в генеалогии, поэтому хотелось бы это подчеркнуть особенно. Систематически и обстоятельно изучать творчество и жизненный путь не только Фёдора Михайловича Достоевского, но и членов его семьи стал первым Андрей Фёдорович (1908-1968) – внук писателя и его жены Анны Григорьевны. В Центральном государственном архиве литературы и искусства Санкт-Петербурга хранится архив Андрея Фёдоровича – фонд 85, опись 1. В связи с темой нашего проекта обратимся к письму “Министерству иностранных дел СССР (по Архиву Министерства за XIX век)”, в котором выражена следующая просьба:

В связи с изысканиями новых биографических сведений из раннего периода жизни 1840-1843 г.г. в Петербурге Фёдора Михайловича Достоевского – в будущем великого русского писателя, ведущимися А.Ф. Достоевским и А.С. Бурмистровым, появилась необходимость достоверного знания адресов проживания в Петербурге (за 1840 – 1843 г.г. или близкого к ним) следующих лиц дипломатической принадлежности...²

Среди интересующих Андрея Фёдоровича дипломатов – Консул Неаполитанский Карл Ланц. Очевидно, что интерес молодого Достоевского к Неаполитанскому консулу был вызван его давнишней и страстной мечтой о поездке в Италию. Много прежде путешествия в эту страну, в 1846 году, когда уже состоялся его успешный дебют – восторженный отзыв о романе *Бедные люди*, когда он пережил холодность критики и читателей, с какою была встречена его повесть *Двойник*, когда задумывались и строились новые планы, Фёдор Михайлович пишет брату Михаилу: «А я в Италии, на досуге, на свободе хочу писать роман для себя...» (ПСС 28₂; 19).

1 Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке РФФИ в рамках научного проекта № 18-012-90034 Достоевский «Достоевский и Италия».

2 ЦГАЛИ СПб., фонд 85, оп. 1, д. 64 л. 1.

Разнообразные материалы из семейного архива А.Ф. Достоевского сегодня находятся не только в ЦГАЛИ СПб., они бережно и с огромной благодарностью хранятся в Музеях Достоевского в Москве, Петербурге, Старой Руссе. В 1960-е годы Андрей Фёдорович активно участвовал в заседаниях рабочей группы Института русской литературы (“Пушкинский дом”) по подготовке академического *Полного собрания сочинений* Достоевского. В этом издании впервые были опубликованы наиболее полно художественные тексты, черновики, письма писателя. До сих пор это издание является авторитетным, и в нашей работе мы не раз к нему обращались. Невозможно переоценить роль, которую сыграл Андрей Фёдорович для создания Музея Достоевского в Ленинграде (Петербурге). Но самым главным делом жизни он считал исполнение завещания своей бабушки Анны Григорьевны Достоевской – быть похороненной рядом с мужем. В 1968 году состоялось перенесение её праха с Аутского кладбища в Ялте на Тихвинское кладбище Александро-Невской лавры в Ленинграде.

Анна Григорьевна Достоевская – вторая жена Фёдора Михайловича. Они венчались в Петербурге 15 февраля 1867 года в соборе Святой Живоначальной Троицы Лейб-Гвардии Измайловского полка. Неоспоримым свидетельством любви писателя к своей жене является посвящение ей его главного романа – *Братья Карамазовы*. После смерти Достоевского Анна Григорьевна прожила ещё 37 лет, в течение которых издавала его произведения, была его библиографом, мемуаристом, создателем первого музея Достоевского – в Москве в Историческом музее. В своих *Воспоминаниях* она пишет, подводя итог их пребыванию за границей. Время, проведённое в разных странах Европы и особенно в Италии, она считает благословенным, плодотворным и счастливым:

Заканчивая заграничный период нашей жизни, скажу, что вспоминаю его с глубочайшей благодарностью судьбе. Правда, в течение четырех с лишком лет, проведенных нами в добровольной ссылке, нас постигли тяжкие испытания: смерть нашей старшей дочери, болезнь Федора Михайловича, наша постоянная денежная нужда и необеспеченность в работе, несчастная страсть Федора Михайловича к игре на рулетке и невозможность вернуться на родину, но испытания эти послужили нам на пользу: они сближали нас, заставляли лучше понимать и ценить друг друга и создали ту прочную взаимную привязанность, благодаря которой мы были так счастливы в нашем супружестве. Для меня же лично воспоминание о тех годах представляется яркою, красивою картиною. Мы жили и посетили много прелестных городов и местностей (Дрезден, Баден-Баден, Женева, Милан, Флоренция, Ве-

неция, Прага), и пред моими восхищенными глазами открылся целый, мне неведомый доселе мир, и моя юная любознательность была вполне удовлетворена посещением соборов, музеев, картинных галерей, особенно когда приходилось осматривать их в обществе любимого человека, каждый разговор с которым открывал для меня что-либо новое в искусстве или в жизни. Для Федора Михайловича все эти посещаемые нами местности не представляли новизны, но он, обладая глубоко развитым художественным вкусом, с истинным наслаждением посещал Дрезденскую и Флорентийскую картинные галереи и часами осматривал собор св. Марка и дворцы Венеции.³

Правнук Анны Григорьевны и Фёдора Михайловича – Дмитрий Андреевич Достоевский (род. 1945) в публикациях, докладах на научных конференциях, экскурсиях и встречах с читателями Достоевского увлекательно рассказывает о Фёдоре Михайловиче, Анне Григорьевне и их детях. Его рассказы основываются на глубоком знании, которое он приобрёл, работая в рукописном фонде Института русской литературы (“Пушкинский дом”). Наиболее ценной частью фонда Достоевского является архив Анны Григорьевны – фонд 100, переданный в 1921 году Областным отделом по делам музеев и охране памятников искусства и старины. Помимо автографов Достоевского, в фонде хранятся документы и материалы, имеющие отношение к самой Анне Григорьевне и членам её семьи. Наиболее значимые для нашего проекта – письма дочери Любове Фёдоровне и сыну Фёдору Фёдоровичу.

В статье, написанной для коллективной монографии проекта «Достоевский и Италия», Дмитрий Андреевич вновь возвращается к Анне Григорьевне, но уже с другой, на первый взгляд, неожиданной стороны:

Если когда-нибудь соберутся снять фильм о поездке Федора Михайловича с молодой женой Анной в Европу, то мне представляется, что надо начинать со Швейцарии, где они потеряли от “этой проклятой бизы” своего первенца – милую Сонечку, уже узнававшую своего отца и улыбавшуюся ему. Впервые Анна Григорьевна видит слёзы и скорбь мужа. Обнимая и утешая его, она предлагает на зиму перебраться в Италию, в эту теплую и цветущую страну, где, она уверена, он сможет пережить утрату, и обретет вновь творческую силу.⁴

3 Анна Г. ДОСТОЕВСКАЯ, *Воспоминания. 1846-1917* (Москва: Бослен, 2015), с. 251.

4 Ирина В. ДЕРГАЧЕВА и др. (под ред.), *Достоевский и Италия*. Коллективная моногра-

Именно в кино видит правнук великого писателя возможность передать трагедию и последующее за ней возрождение души Достоевского. Безусловно, это впечатления детства – впечатления от итальянского кинематографа:

Мой интерес к Италии проявился ещё в школьные годы, когда на экранах наших кинотеатров появились фильмы так называемого итальянского неореализма [...]. Конечно, я не мог глубоко воспринимать эти “взрослые” фильмы, но цепкая детская память и непосредственная реакция на происходящее на экране исподволь формировали во мне некую подготовку к восприятию произведений Достоевского. Трагедия героя, его жизнь, полная драматических коллизий, конфликт между интересами частного лица и общественной жизни присутствует и в романах писателя, и в фильмах итальянских режиссеров, таких, как Роберто Росселини, Лукино Висконти, Витторио де Сика. Антифашистский фильм “Рим – открытый город” заставил меня прекратить играть в “войнушку” со своими сверстниками во дворе.⁵

И дальше – любопытное заключение:

Жаль, что, к сожалению, во времена Достоевского ещё не изобрели кинематограф, так как, по наблюдениям Николая Страхова, взгляд Достоевского в их совместной поездке за границу «был устремлен на людей, и он схватывал только их природу и характеры, да разве общее впечатление уличной жизни» – вот вам готовый сценарист и даже режиссер неореализма.⁶

Особенно внимательно Достоевский вглядывался в людей, которые поражали его оригинальностью мышления, необыкновенными поступками, выдающимися способностями. Таким, безусловно, был Джузеппе Гарибальди – лидер Рисорджименто, национальный герой Италии, о котором в 1860-х годах, знала вся Европа. Возможно, спорную, неожиданную, но небезынтересную версию того, как отразился образ итальянского революционера в романе *Идиот*, представила Н.В. Шварц. Внимательное чтение рассказа генерала Ардалиона Александровича Иволгина о том, что его ранение лечили два выдающихся врача – француз Огюст Нелатон

фия (Санкт-Петербург: Алетейя, 2021), с. 11.

⁵ *Ibidem*, с. 8.

⁶ *Ibidem*, с. 9.

и русский Николай Пирогов, и изучение реалий ранения Гарибальди в битве под Аспромонте 29 августа 1862 г., где отряды волонтеров под его командованием потерпели поражение от правительственных войск, а сам полководец был взят в плен, а также обстоятельств его излечения. дают неожиданный эффект – эффект понимания того, что исторический сюжет, переработанный творческой фантазией писателя, превратился в литературный сюжет! Примерно с этих же позиций рассмотрена во второй части статьи загадка, которую пока не представляется возможным разгадать. В письме Достоевского племяннице Софье Александровне Ивановой вымарано слово, которое, как считает исследовательница, является чьим-то именем. Но чьё это имя и почему оно густо зачёркнуто – вопрос? Какие ещё вопросы возникают при чтении очевидно шутливой фразы Фёдора Михайловича? Их много. Ответы на них, несомненно, могли бы объяснить взгляды Достоевского на происходящее в Италии: в письме упоминаются исторические персонажи – Гарибальди, кардинал Антонелли. Семейные отношения, подробности общения Достоевского с детьми сестры Веры Михайловны тоже бы стали бы более понятными.

Небольшое эссе Алексея Дмитриевича Достоевского, открывающее коллективную монографию, на первый взгляд не имеет прямого отношения к теме нашего исследования. Но это только на первый взгляд...

2019 год. Пандемия. Неслыханная и невиданная моровая язва. Слово в слово – страшный сон Раскольникова. [...] Тут и источник болезни – она идёт “из глубины Азии”, а уж что древнее и глубже Китая? И идёт “на Европу” – а вот и европейское начало эпидемии, страшная трагедия Италии, этого средоточия прекрасного, источника культуры, исторического сердца современной Европы.⁷

Сегодня в опасности Красота – Красота духа, красота веры, красота мечты... Порой кажется, что образовалось

...нагромождение разрушительных помыслов, смешение добра и зла, родина человеческой гибели, о чём мечтают духи злобы поднебесной не первое тысячелетие, о чём хлопчут и многочисленные трихины, посланные “на Европу” истребить в человеке всё доброе, всё нравственное и чистое.⁸

7 ДЕРГАЧЕВА и др. (под ред.), с. 6.

8 *Ibidem*, с. 7.

Но это только кажется, потому что Красота, по слову Достоевского, спасёт себя и мир...

В последние десятилетия в филологической науке стало популярным изучение текстов с точки зрения их принадлежности к определенному локусу.⁹ Так и участники проекта «Достоевский и Италия» поставили своей целью комплексный анализ итальянского текста Достоевского с учетом достижений отечественного и итальянского достоевствоведения XIX-XXI вв.¹⁰

Для успешного решения задач, поставленных выбором темы исследования, потребовалось изучение трех ее фундаментальных аспектов: – «Достоевский в Италии», «Образы Италии в творчестве Достоевского», «Рецепция художественного наследия Достоевского в Италии».

Впервые Достоевский посетил Италию в 1862 г. во время своего первого заграничного путешествия. Вместе с Н.Н. Страховым они побывали в Турине, Флоренции, Милан, Венецию. Второй раз писатель приехал в Италию с А.П. Сусловой. С сентября по октябрь 1863 г. они посетили Турин, Рим, Неаполь и Ливорно. Третье, самое длительное пребывание в Италии с супругой Анной Григорьевной, длилось около года – с сентября 1868 по август 1869 г. Два месяца они прожили в Милане, затем полгода во Флоренции, где Достоевский завершил работу над романом *Идиот* и обдумывал план несостоявшегося романа *Атеизм*. На обратном пути Достоевские посетили Венецию и Болонью.

В числе основных источников о путешествиях писателя по Италии можно перечислить письма и воспоминания самого Достоевского, членов его семьи и друзей: Ф.М. ДОСТОЕВСКИЙ, *Полное собрание сочинений*, в 30 т. (Ленинград: Наука, 1972-1990), тт. 28-30; Анна Г. ДОСТОЕВСКАЯ, *Воспоминания* (Москва, 1987); Анна Г. ДОСТОЕВСКАЯ, *Солнце моей жизни – Федор Достоевский. Воспоминания. 1846-1917* (Москва: Бослен, 2015); Бьянка Марабини-Цеггелер, Михаил Талалай (под ред.), *Любовь Ф. Достоевская* (Санкт-Петербург-Болцано: Изд. Музея Достоевского (Петербург), Ассоциация «Русь», 1999); Любовь Ф. ДОСТОЕВСКАЯ, *Мой отец Федор Достоевский* [перевод с фр. Н.Д. Шаховской] (Москва: Бослен, 2017); Ни-

9 См.: Ирина В. ДЕРГАЧЕВА, Елена К. СОЗИНА, «Юбилейные сборники – pro et contra», *Quaestio Rossica*, Екатеринбург, № 8 (3), 2020, с. 1070-1086, doi [10.15826/qr.2020.3.514](https://doi.org/10.15826/qr.2020.3.514)

10 В проекте участвовали Ирина В. Дергачева (руководитель проекта), Алексей Д. Достоевский, Елена А. Литвин, Светлана М. Махмудова, Мария В. Михайлова, Наталья В. Шварц. Участники коллектива выражают глубокую благодарность Д.А. Достоевскому и М.Г. Талалаю, украсившим монографию *Достоевский в Италии* своими ценными источниковедческими текстами.

колай Н. СТРАХОВ, “Воспоминания о Ф.М. Достоевском (Биография)”, в: *Биография, письма и заметки из записной книжки Ф.М. Достоевского* (Санкт-Петербург, 1883), с. 179-329; Аполлинария П. СУСЛОВА, *Годы близости с Достоевским: Дневник-повесть-письма* (Москва: Изд. М. и С. Сабашниковых, 1928).

Новые данные о пребывании Ф.М. Достоевского во Флоренции в 1868-1869 гг., основанные на изучении архивных материалов, представила в своих работах Валентина Супино: Valentina SUPINO, *I soggiorni di Dostoevskij in Europa e la loro influenza sulla sua opera* (Firenze: LoGisma, 2017), 134 pp.; V. SUPINO, “Nuove scoperte sulle dimore fiorentine di Dostoevskij”, *Antologia Vieusseux*, nuova serie, vol. 22, № 66, 2016, pp. 21-31, doi: 10.1400/250179; В. СУПИНО, “Флорентийские адреса Достоевского”, *Неизвестный Достоевский*, 1 (2019), с. 10-27, http://unknown-dostoevsky.ru/files/redaktor_pdf/1554207056.pdf; В. СУПИНО, “Когда светит солнце, это почти рай”, *Язык и текст*, т. 8. № 1, 2021, с. 69-75, doi:10.17759/langt.2021080108.

Исследования о путешествиях Достоевского по Италии посвящены отдельным итальянским городам в творчестве русских писателей и поэтов и “итальянскому мифу” в русской культуре в целом: Нина Е. МЕДНИС, *Венеция в русской литературе* (Новосибирск: НГУ, 1999); Алексей А. КАРА-МУРЗА, *Знаменитые русские о Риме* (Москва: Независимая Газета, 2001); А.А. КАРА-МУРЗА, *Знаменитые русские о Неаполе* (Москва: Независимая Газета, 2002); Марина П. ГРЕБНЕВА, *Концептосфера флорентийского мифа в русской словесности* (Томск: Томский университет, 2009).

Другие работы анализируют отдельные эпизоды из жизни Достоевского: Мария И. БРУСОВАНИ, “Заграничные путешествия Ф.М. Достоевского 1862 и 1863 гг.”, *Достоевский: Материалы и исследования*, т. 8, (Ленинград: Наука, Ленинградское отделение, 1988), с. 272-292; Клаудиа ОЛИВЬЕРИ, “Достоевский в Италии. Столетие критической мысли”, *Достоевский и XX век* (Москва: ИМЛИ РАН, 2007), с. 553-556; А.Н. ГЕДРОЙЦ, “Ф.М. Достоевский – абонент флорентийской читальни”, *Достоевский: Материалы и исследования*, т. 4 (Ленинград: Наука. Ленинградское отделение, 1980); Н.П. ПРОГОЖИН, “Достоевский во Флоренции в 1868-1869 гг.”, *Достоевский. Материалы и исследования*, т. 5 (Ленинград: Наука, Ленинградское отделение, 1983), с. 204-208; М. MARCOVITCH, “F.M. Dostoevski l'Italie et Florence”, *Rivista di letterature moderne e comparate*, nn. 3-4, 1958, pp. 245-259.

Участники проекта изучили архивные документы о биографических и творческих аспектах итальянских путешествий писателя (1862, 1863, 1868-1869 гг.). А.Д. Достоевский, праправнук писателя, совместно с Н.В. Шварц ввел в научный оборот документы из Центрального государствен-

ного исторического архива Санкт-Петербурга (именные книги, ведомости об успехах и поведении и др.), содержащие сведения об учебе детей Ф.М. Достоевского: Любы – в Литейной гимназии, Феде – в гимназии Ф.Ф. Бычкова (с 1883 г. Я.Г. Гуревича). Впервые опубликованы письма, связанные с обучением детей Достоевских: Любы и Феде к матери; учительницы В. Ивановой к А.Г. Достоевской. Найденные архивные документы позволили обнаружить преемственную связь между домашним воспитанием и образованием самого писателя и его детей и раскрыть роль А.Г. Достоевской в реализации мечты Федора Михайловича: дать им хорошее образование. Домашнее обучение, в котором важное место занимала сложившаяся традиция семейного чтения, которому Достоевские всегда уделяли большое внимание, позволило Любе в тринадцать лет поступить в гимназию, минуя два начальных класса, и успешно доучиться до второго, предвыпускного, класса. Ее одноклассницами были А.П. Остроумова (Лебедева) и Н.Я. Полонская (Елачич), игравшие впоследствии значительную роль в культурной истории России. Полученное в гимназии образование помогло дочери писателя в годы эмиграции стать русской писательницей в Италии, представлять наследие Достоевского в Европе, успешно вести просветительскую и культурную деятельность в Италии. Сын писателя Федя, проучившись в Санкт-Петербургской гимназии Ф.Ф. Бычкова с 1882 по 1889 г., в 1890 г. поступил на юридический факультет Санкт-Петербургского императорского университета, в последние годы жизни сыграл большую роль в деле сохранения рукописного наследия писателя.

Н.В. Шварц в статье “Представить список русских православных церквей за границей и священнослужителей при оных...” ввела в научный оборот документы Российского государственного исторического архива (РГИА) и Центрального Государственного исторического архива Санкт-Петербурга (ЦГИА СПб.) о священниках, служивших в русских православных церквях в Италии в 60-е годы XIX века. Именно тогда Неаполь, Флоренцию и Рим посещал Ф.М. Достоевский. Его путешествия совпали с периодом глубокого преобразования системы управления заграничными церквями и пересмотра штатного расписания причтов, при выборе которых особое внимание уделялось их образованию. На сегодняшний момент документальных доказательств личного общения писателя со священниками нет, но проанализировать положение и деятельность русских православных церквей за границей представляется целесообразным, поскольку интерес Достоевского ко всему, что происходило в Италии, был велик на протяжении всей его жизни.

Для того, чтобы раскрыть представление писателя о *genius loci* Флоренции, так глубоко имплицитно отраженной в тексте романа *Идиот*, И.В. Дергачева опубликовала архивные материалы об истории русского православного храма во Флоренции. Образы православного храма, где в литургических текстах священники истолковывают образы иного мира, являются *loci communes* в творчестве Достоевского: слова церковь, храм, собор являются частотными в его художественных текстах, а образы пространства храма связаны с темами судьбоносных встреч героев, отпевания (танатологический дискурс) или венчания.

По записи Ф.М. Достоевского в читальном зале библиотеки Вьессе член МОД А.Н. Гедройц (Брюссель) в 1974 г. установил адрес, по которому писатель проживал во Флоренции во время своего первого пребывания. Перевод этой записи опубликован: “Федор Достоевский. Заплачено за неделю. Адрес: Швейцарская гостиница. № 20”.¹¹ Запись также указывает на точную дату пребывания писателя с Н.Н. Страховым во Флоренции в 1862 г.: «с 15-16 по 21-22 августа (т.е. с 3-4 по 9-10 августа ст. стиля».¹² А.А. Кара-Мурза указал, что в современное время пансион Швейцария был переименован в отель Алберготто.

Во время пребывания во Флоренции в мае 2019 г. нам удалось установить, что настоящее время отель *Albergotto* реконструирован новым испанским владельцем и переименован в четырехзвездный отель *Isabella*. Адрес отеля остался прежним: *Via Tornabuoni, 135 – 0123 Firenze*. К сожалению, номер, в котором Достоевский и Н.Н. Страхов жили в пансионе, до нашего времени в первоизданном виде не сохранился. До сих пор на доме отсутствует какое-либо указание на проживание знаменитого русского писателя.

В Историческом Архиве Флоренции (*Archivio Storico di Firenze*) и Государственном Архиве Флоренции (*Archivio di Stato di Firenze*) в мае 2019 г. документы, касающиеся полицейского надзора за Ф.М. Достоевским, обнаружены не были. Изучение Фондов Квестуры (*Questura di Firenze*) и Префектуры (*Prefettura di Firenze*) дало отрицательный результат о возможном присутствии соответствующих документов в указанных Фондах, вероятно, потому, что в данных Фондах имеются лакуны. Так, например, в Государственный Архив не попали документы из Кабинета (*Gabinetto*) данных учреждений. После сокращения Архива в 1930-е годы сохранились лишь отдельные папки, Документы полиции (*Carte di Polizia*), касающи-

¹¹ ГЕДРОЙЦ, с. 175.

¹² *Ibidem*.

еся контроля полицией анархических и социалистических организаций и относящиеся к более позднему времени. В фонде Приказы (*Affari ordinari*) Префектуры, содержащем категорию Гражданская безопасность (*Sicurezza Pubblica*), располагаются в том числе и сведения о пребывании иностранцев, которые из-за своей деятельности привлекли внимание полиции. Архив не располагает Адресными Книгами (*Rubriche*) нужного периода – 1-ая из них относится к 1882 г. Исследование документов, содержащихся в папках Общего Протокола (*Protocollo Generale*), проведенное в Фонде Квестуры (*Questura*), показало, что в них отсутствуют какие-либо сведения о возможном негласном наблюдении за Достоевским.

Однако в Фонде Квестуры были обнаружены два документа, составленных по указанию префекта в ответ на ноту Временного поверенного г-на Глинки с просьбой о розыске Достоевского для вручения ему Исполнительного листа. В Фонде Квестуры Флоренции (*Fondi di Questura di Firenze e Prefettura (rappresentanza del territorio di autorità statale)* в каталоге Рубрик общих протоколов Квестуры (*Le Rubriche di protocollo generale della Questura*) под № 12757 была обнаружена запись: *Dostoevsky Teodoro consegna-piego*¹³ (№ протокола 12757, № дела 51; № категории 19).

В Общих Протоколах Квестуры приказа 12757 подразделения 3 под номером 51 категории 19 находится более подробная информация об Исполнительном листе: *Prega per consegna repiego al sig. Teodoro Dostoevsky da parte della Legazione Russa*.¹⁴

Эти документы корреспондируют с документами Судебного розыска, которые обнаружил В.Н. Захаров в Архиве внешней политики Российской Империи МИД и опубликовал.¹⁵

1-ый документ представляет собой письмо, посланное в Императорскую Российскую Миссию во Флоренцию Департаментом Внутренних Сношений МИД и содержащее пояснение к Исполнительному листу, выданному Санкт-Петербургским Окружным Судом по просьбе Лужского купца Бурковского, а также сам лист для вручения его Достоевскому, проживавшему по сведениям просителя во Флоренции.

2-ой документ написан через 2 недели и включает помимо данного Исполнительного листа пояснение, направленное Императорской Рос-

13 «Достоевский Федор доставка исполнительного листа».

14 «Просьба вручить исполнительный лист господину Федору Достоевскому со стороны Российского Представительства».

15 Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, «Судебный розыск Достоевского летом 1871 г.», *Достоевский и мировая культура*. Альманах № 29 (Санкт-Петербург: Серебряный век, 2012), с. 276-277.

сийской Миссии во Флоренции в Королевскую префектуру Флоренции с просьбой о вручении его адресату.

Найденные в Государственном Архиве Флоренции записи о необходимости вручения Исполнительного листа господину Феоодору Достоевскому и являются иллюстрацией последующей истории двух писем, найденных В.Н. Захаровым в Архиве Внешней политики Российской Империи МИД.

В том же Фонде «Посольство в Риме» Архива внешней политики Российской империи МИД РФ находится и Ответ итальянского чиновника на французском языке с известием о том, что в Королевской Префектуре установить адрес господина Теодоро Достоевского не удалось. Приводим текст в переводе автора статьи на русский язык:

[Перевод с французского]

*С 32. 492. Сообщения 1871 по [лист]
[лиловыми чернилами, иным почерком]*

Рим, 19 июля 1871.

Уважаемый господин Временный Поверенный в делах,

Согласно сообщению, которое я только что получил из Королевской Префектуры во Флоренции, я в состоянии известить Вас о том, что были проведены самые тщательные поиски с целью обнаружения жилья в указанном городе российского подданного Феодора Достоевского не увенчались успехом.

В связи с вышесказанным я должен Вам вернуть исполнительный лист, который был приложен к Вашей ноте от 21 июня 1871 г. и пользуюсь случаем, чтобы возобновить Вам, уважаемый господин господин Временный Поверенный в делах, уверения в моем самом высоком уважении.

Артони [подпись]

Господину Глинке

Временному Поверенному в делах.¹⁶

В 1871 г. Ф.М. Достоевский по-прежнему пребывал в тяжелом материальном положении, был вынужден скрываться от кредиторов и указывал своим респондентам адрес для писем «До востребования». Поиски в Историческом Архиве Коммуны Флоренции (*Archivio Storico del Comune di Firenze*) и Государственном Архиве (*Archivio di Stato*) показали, что супруги Достоевские не являлись резидентами столицы Итальянского

16 Архив внешней политики Российской империи МИД РФ. Фонд: Посольство в Риме. Год 1870-1871. Оп. 525, д. 1116, л. 110.

Королевства. Н.В. Шварц предположила, что факт поиска писателя во Флоренции сотрудниками Королевской префектуры в 1871 г., спустя почти два года после его отъезда из Италии, является свидетельством того, что надзор там за писателем установлен не был.

Следующим этапом исследования явилось описание тем, связанных с рецепцией образов Италии в творчестве Ф.М. Достоевского (в его художественных произведениях и публицистике); анализ своеобразия этнокультурной 'мозаичности', реализующейся в одновременном наличии в тексте вербальных и невербальных знаков русской и итальянской культур. Приведем работы, освещающие концепты, связанные с 'итальянскими' темами в творчестве Достоевского: Э.М. Жилякова, "Итальянская тема на страницах журнала *Отечественные записки* (1839-1847 гг.)", в: Ольга Б. ЛЕБЕДЕВА, Нина Е. МЕДНИС (под ред.), *Образы Италии в русской словесности XVIII-XX вв.* (Томск, 2009), с. 115-128; Елена В. КАШТАНОВА, *Русская художественная колония в Италии как феномен культурных связей России и Европы первой половины XIX века*, Автореф. дис. на соиск. учен. степ. канд. Культурологии (Москва, 2003); Людмила М. КОВАЛЬ, *Русско-итальянские общественные связи: Россия. Италия* (Москва: Наука, 1981); Нина Е. МЕДНИС, *Венеция в русской литературе* (Новосибирск: НГУ, 1999).

Проведен сопоставительный анализ представлений Достоевского и Данте о локусах иного мира и других концептах христианского мировоззрения: Татьяна А. КАСАТКИНА, "Рай и ад в произведениях Ф.М. Достоевского 1860-х гг.", в: Виктор В. ДУДКИН (под ред.), *Достоевский и современность*. Материалы XX Международных Старорусских чтений 2005 года (Великий Новгород, 2006), с. 191-213; Марина Г. КУРГАН, "Дантовская концепция ада в творческой перцепции Ф.М. Достоевского", *Имагология и компаративистика*, Томск, № 1, 2015, с. 160-176; Александра В. ТОИЧКИНА, "Поэтика символа в *Божественной комедии* Данте и в *Записках из Мертвого дома* Достоевского", *Достоевский и мировая культура*, Москва, № 30 (1), 2013, с. 83-108; Виктор В. ДУДКИН, "'Невыразимое' у Данте и Достоевского", в: Стефано АЛОЭ (под ред.), *Достоевский: философское мышление, взгляд писателя* (Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2012). Однако, за исключением сравнения "Данте – Достоевский", полный корпусный анализ итальянского текста Достоевского проведен не был. Это стало еще одной фундаментальной задачей нашего исследования.

Материал показал, что историко-культурный концепт 'Италия' в творчестве писателя представлен в двух основных аспектах: как выражение его отношения к итальянскому искусству, отраженному в художественных текстах, публицистике и письмах, особенно в романе *Идиот*, так и

в виде его историософских и политических взглядов на католицизм и вопрос политического объединения Италии. Содержание концепта выражает осуждение Достоевским римо-католицизма, которое он связывал с древнеримской идеей мирового господства. Кроме того, в содержании концепта выражены упреки писателя в адрес католиков, предавших, по его мнению, Христа «за царства земные» и следующих за антихристом в жажде стяжания земных благ. Содержащийся в концепте диссонанс между симпатией Достоевского к Дж. Гарибальди как национальному герою итальянского Рисорджименто и скепсисом по отношению к политическому объединению Италии объясняется сложными взглядами писателя на роль Италии как государства, призванного объединить народы мира на основе принципов красоты, традиционно воплощенных в ее искусстве. Особое место в содержании концепта 'Италия' принадлежит Флоренции, «жемчужине» эпохи Возрождения, которая ассоциировалась у Достоевского с образом рая и являла собой образ красоты, призванной объединить мир на принципах всеобщей любви к Христу и тем самым спасти мир.

Италия изображена в текстах Достоевского как символ красоты, некое прекрасное пространство, подчас альтернативное действительности. Аллюзии на рай в изображении прекрасного места, где «небо с землей встречается», соотнесенное в романе *Идиот* с образом Неаполя, повторяются в семантических ассоциациях в эпистолярном наследии писателя применительно к разным итальянским городам. Так как рай является священным пространством, он порождает идеальное *я*, к которому аксиологически причастен князь Мышкин, вступивший в далекой Швейцарии в евангельскую историю о спасении Мари (отсылка к Марии Магдалине).

Встречаются в итальянском тексте писателя и макабрические образы. Чудовище, поселившееся в душе Ипполита, не принявшей Христа, является аллюзией на макабрические образы западноевропейских *Ars Moriendi*, символическим воплощением сил зла, ведущих борьбу за душу человека в предсмертный час (*ПСС* 8; 340). Образ тарантула, увиденного Ипполитом во сне, заимствован писателем из случившегося с ним происшествия во флорентийской съемной квартире, произведшего на него исключительное впечатление (Достоевский пишет о нем в письме к С.А. Ивановой от 29 августа (10 сентября) 1869 г. (*ПСС* 29; 340) и в *Дневнике писателя* за 1876 г. (*ПСС* 23; 106-110). От смертельного укуса тарантула Ипполита спасает во сне собака, погибнув в борьбе и оставив его наедине с «темным, глухим и всесильным существом», олицетворяющим богоборческую идею героя, воплощенную в его новом кошмаре в образе Парфена Рогожина.

Концепт 'Итальянская страсть', как некая желаемая оппозиция душевной рефлексии влюбленных героев Достоевского, доходящая до пародии, или страсть к искусству, особенно к итальянской опере, связан с карнавализацией итальянской культуры, отсылающей, по М.М. Бахтину, к понятию пограничной ситуации, где все равны, низ становится верхом, а шут – королем.

Творческий процесс Достоевского изучен глубоко – в частности, его исследованию посвящен электронный научный журнал *Неизвестный Достоевский* под редакцией Владимира Н. Захарова, имеющий целью открытие новых перспектив в изучении биографии и творчества писателя, обеспечение доступа специалистов из разных стран к неопубликованным архивным материалам и малоизвестным источникам творчества Достоевского. Журнал был создан по инициативе Международного общества Достоевского (IDS), объединяющего исследователей разных стран в области достоевистики. В нем рассматриваются уникальные архивные материалы, переписка и рукописи Достоевского и его окружения, новые факты и гипотезы, биографические и текстологические исследования, забытые и неизвестные воспоминания о писателе, критические статьи из газет и журналов XIX – первой половины XX вв., атрибуции анонимных и псевдонимных статей в журналах *Время* (1861-1863) и *Эпоха* (1864-1865), в еженедельнике *Гражданин* (1873-1874).

Художественному своеобразию творчества Достоевского в значительной мере посвящен журнал *Проблемы исторической поэтики*, выходящий с 1990 года под редакцией В.Н. Захарова и имеющий целью содействие развитию гуманитарного образования и науки в России и за рубежом. Публикации новых исследований в области сравнительно-исторического изучения поэтики представляют новые интерпретации произведений русской и мировой литературы, созданные на основе оригинальных идей и концепций.

Необходимо отметить В.Н. Захарова как одного из крупнейших современных экспертов в области творчества Достоевского. Под его научной редакцией в 2003-2005 вышло *Полное собрание сочинений в 18 тт.* (в 20-х книгах).¹⁷ На основе разработанных им текстологических принципов выпускается *Полное собрание сочинений* Достоевского в авторской орфографии и пунктуации, в котором представлены аутентичные тексты писате-

17 Федор М. ДОСТОЕВСКИЙ, *Полное собрание сочинений*, в 18 тт., сост., подгот. текстов В.Н. Захаров (Москва: Воскресенье, 2003-2005).

ля.¹⁸ Также анализу творчества Достоевского посвящены его монографии: *Проблемы изучения Достоевского: Учебное пособие* (Петрозаводск: ПГУ, 1978); *Система жанров Достоевского: Типология и поэтика* (Ленинград: Изд. Ленинградского университета, 1985); *Имя автора – Достоевский. Очерк творчества* (Москва: Индрик, 2013).

Особо стоит отметить проекты Петрозаводского государственного университета, посвященные творчеству Ф.М. Достоевского и находящиеся в открытом доступе на портале *Philolog.ru: Полное собрание сочинений в прижизненных публикациях; Полное собрание сочинений: Канонические тексты; Евангелие Достоевского; Конкордансы Ф.М. Достоевского; Журналы М.М. и Ф.М. Достоевских: Время (1861-1863); Эпоха (1864-1865); Журнал Ф.М. Достоевского Гражданин (1873-1874); Эпистолярное наследие Ф.М. Достоевского и его корреспондентов; Достоевский в прижизненной критике (1845-1881); Достоевский в мемуаристике; Проблемы текстологии Ф.М. Достоевского.*

Указанные работы послужили источниковедческой и теоретическо-методологической базой для нашего исследования.

Творчество Ф.М. Достоевского играет важную роль в итальянской культуре. Это выражается в популярности его романов среди читателей, в его известности как величайшего представителя русской литературы, а также в восприятии, изучении и рецепции произведений и их мотивов писателями и учеными (литературоведами, философами, теологами, педагогами), которые анализируют различные аспекты его творчества. Через любовь и сострадание к его литературным героям итальянцы постигают «великую русскую душу», о которой с такой любовью писал Этторе Ло Гатто в своей последней книге *I miei incontri con la Russia*.¹⁹ Труды этого выдающегося итальянского слависта, посвятившего свою жизнь популяризации русской литературы в Италии, внесли особый вклад в популяризацию творчества Ф.М. Достоевского, игравшего в его жизни значительную роль. В журнале *Russia*, издаваемом под редакцией Ло Гатто с 1920 г. в Риме, имя Достоевского преобладало над прочими. С интересом к его публицистике связаны не только переводы, опубликованные в журнале, но и идея Ло Гатто о необходимости перевести и издать на итальянском языке весь *Дневник Писателя*. На выставке книг

18 Федор М. Достоевский, *Полное собрание сочинений: Канонические тексты*, Изд. в авторской орфографии и пунктуации под ред. проф. В.Н. Захарова (Петрозаводск: Изд-во ПетрГУ, 1995-2012), тт. I-IX (издание продолжается).

19 В переводе: Этторе Ло ГАТТО, *Мои встречи с Россией*, (Москва: Крузь, 1992).

и документов Итальянской Ассоциации Славистов, Министерства Иностранных Дел и Института Итальянской Культуры в Москве следующие его работы были выделены в ‘достоевскиану’: F. DOSTOJEVSKIJ, *Articoli critici di letteratura russa* [Критические статьи о русской литературе], traduzione di Ettore Lo Gatto (Roma: Anonima Romana Editoriale, 1925), 297 pp.; Fëdor DOSTOEVSKIJ, *Memorie del sottosuolo* [Записки из подполья], traduzione e nota di Ettore Lo Gatto (Firenze: Sansoni, 1943), 157 pp.; Fëdor DOSTOEVSKIJ, *Epistolario* [Письма], Scelta, traduzione e note a cura di Ettore Lo Gatto, 2 vv. (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche italiane, 1950), XXIII, 413, 624 pp.; Fëdor DOSTOEVSKIJ, *Romanzi e taccuini* [Романы и записные книжки], 5 vv., a cura di B.M. LUPORINI, Introduzioni di Ettore Lo Gatto (Firenze: Sansoni, 1958-1961); Fëdor DOSTOEVSKIJ, *Diario di uno scrittore* [Дневник писателя], traduzione e introduzione di Ettore Lo Gatto (Firenze: Sansoni, 1963), LX-1402 pp., и др.

Стефано Алоэ приводит подробную библиографию работ итальянских ученых о творчестве Достоевского, подразделяя их на литературоведческие и философские, отмечая, что именно последние оказываются для Италии наиболее значимыми во второй половине XX в.²⁰ В этом контексте изучение творчества Достоевского оказывается призмой, сквозь которую интеллектуалы-католики воспринимают русскую культуру. В годы холодной войны такой подход воспринимался как противодействие советскому атеизму. Католические организации, ставившие своей целью изучение, переводы и публикацию текстов, отражающих русское духовное наследие, стали одним из объектов изучения в настоящем проекте.

Профессор университета Урбино Джузеппе Гини исследовал творческое наследие трех великих русских писателей – Тургенева, Толстого и Достоевского: Giuseppe GHINI, *Anime russe: Turgenjev, Tolstoj, Dostoevskij. L'uomo nell'uomo* (Milano: Edizioni Ares, 2014), 278 pp.

Проблемам рецепции текстов Достоевского в итальянской культуре посвящены следующие труды сотрудников Института Мировой Литературы РАН: *Проблемы литературного развития Италии второй половины XIX – начала XX века*. АН СССР, Ин-т мировой лит. им. А.М. Горького (Москва: Наука, 1982); Елена Ю. САПРЫКИНА (под ред.), *История литературы Италии*, т. IV, кн. 1 (Москва: ИМЛИ РАН, 2016). Также среди основных исследований, посвященных рецепции творчества Достоевского в Италии, следует выделить следующие: Стефано Алоэ, “Достоевский в

20 Стефано Алоэ, “Достоевский в итальянской критике”, *Достоевский: Материалы и исследования*, № 20 (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История), 2013, с. 3-24.

итальянской критике”, *Достоевский: Материалы и исследования*, № 20; С. АЛОЭ “Некоторые заметки о приеме Достоевского в Италии во времена Муссолини”, *Язык и текст*, Москва, т. 8, № 1, 2021, с. 57-68, doi:10.17759/langt.2021080107; Клаудиа ОЛИВЬЕРИ, “Достоевский в Италии. Столетие критической мысли”, в: Татьяна А. КАСАКТИНА (под ред.), *Достоевский и XX век* (Москва: ИМЛИ РАН, 2007), т. 2, с. 553-566; Борис Г. РЕИЗОВ (под ред.), *Достоевский в зарубежных литературах* (Ленинград: Наука, Ленинградское отделение, 1978); Sergia ADAMO, *Dostoevskij in Italia: Il dibattito sulle riviste (1869 – 1945)* (Udine: Campanotto, 1998); Luigi DAL SANTO, “Saggio di bibliografia italiana su Dostoevskij”, в: Aristide DANI (a cura di), *Studi in onore di Federico M. Mistrorigo* (Vicenza, 1958), pp. 377-403; Eurialo DE MICHELIS, “Dostoevskij nella letteratura italiana”, *Lettere Italiane*, Vol. 24, n. 2, 1972, pp. 177-201; Anna Maria V. GUARNIERI ORTOLANI, *Saggio sulla fortuna di Dostoevskij in Italia* (Padova: Cedam, 1947); E. LO GATTO, *Saggi sulla cultura russa* (Roma: Anonima Romana Editoriale, 1925).

Перечисленные работы послужили теоретической основой нашего исследования. Особое внимание было сконцентрировано на переводах и рецепции творчества писателя во второй половине XIX – начале XXI века. Был проведен анализ репертуара итальянских художественных произведений данного периода, отразивших рецепцию идейно-художественного наследия Ф.М. Достоевского (художественные тексты, театральные постановки, их экранизация), а также интереса к творчеству и личности Ф.М. Достоевского в итальянской литературной критике и философско-религиозно-оведческих работах.

В январе 2020 г. в Центральном государственном архиве (*Archivio Centrale dello Stato*, Рим), в архиве итальянского телевидения (*Rai Teche*), а также в архиве римской киностудии (*Cinecittà*) Е.А. Литвин изучила материалы, касающиеся работы итальянских режиссеров над фильмами и телевизионными постановками 1910-х – 1970-х гг. по произведениям Ф.М. Достоевского, а также прессу, демонстрирующую восприятие этих фильмов итальянской публикой. Работа с рецензиями в прессе этих лет также велась в журнальном зале Государственной римской библиотеки (*Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma*), а научная и справочная литература, касающаяся фильмов по Достоевскому была изучена в результате работы в сентябре 2019 г. в библиотеке киноархива г. Болонья (*Biblioteca Renzo Renzi – Cineteca di Bologna*) и в библиотеке факультета искусств Болонского университета (*Università di Bologna, Dipartimento delle Arti*). Документы, касающиеся переводов произведений Достоевского на итальянский язык, и переписка на эту тему представителей итальянских издательств с сотруд-

никами Союза писателей СССР, были изучены в Российском архиве литературы и искусства (РГАЛИ, фонд 631).

Надеемся, что проект «Достоевский и Италия», направленный на сведение воедино сведений о путешествиях писателя по Италии, проведение сравнительного анализа его маршрутов и описание работы над текстами, поможет читателю расширить представление об Италии Достоевского.

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Московский государственный институт культуры

Nachruf auf Rudolf Neuhäuser

Rudolf Neuhäuser ist am 10. September 2020 in Villach (Österreich) im Alter von 88 Jahren verstorben. Zentrum seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit waren Leben und Werk Dostojewskijs sowie dessen internationale Verbreitung. Hier hat Rudolf Neuhäuser Bleibendes geschaffen, das den nachfolgenden Generationen Anregung und Vorbild sein wird.

Geboren 1933 in Wien und dort aufgewachsen, studierte Rudolf Neuhäuser an der Universität Wien Anglistik und Osteuropäische Geschichte mit Schwerpunkt Russische Geschichte und an der Universität Toronto Russische Literatur und Sprache, lehrte und forschte anschließend von 1961 bis 1975 an Universitäten in den USA und Kanada und erreichte an der University of Western Ontario in London/Ontario die Position eines Full Professor. Im Jahre 1975 wurde er zum ordentlichen Univ.-Prof für Slawische Literaturwissenschaft an das neu gegründete Klagenfurter Institut für Slawistik berufen und lehrte dort bis zu seiner Emeritierung im Jahre 2001.

Als erster Lehrstuhlinhaber für Slawistik an der Universität Klagenfurt hat er maßgeblich die Einrichtung der slawistischen Studien in den Fächern Russistik, Slowenistik und Serbokroastistik sowie die Zusammenarbeit mit der Partneruniversität Ljubljana geprägt.

Noch vor seiner Rückkehr nach Österreich hatte Rudolf Neuhäuser in den Jahren 1969/1970 den Posten eines Kulturattachés an der Österreichischen Botschaft in Zagreb inne und war Organisator des ersten gemeinsamen österreichisch-kroatischen Slawistentreffens der Nachkriegszeit. Als Initiator und Gründungsmitglied (1971) der *Internationalen Dostojewskij-Gesellschaft* war er von 1989 bis 1995 deren Präsident und Herausgeber der *Dostoevsky Studies*. Von den 1980er Jahren bis 1996 war er Vorsitzender des Österreichischen Slawistenverbandes und österreichischer Vertreter im Internationalen Slawistenkomitee. Als Gastprofessor war er an den Universitäten in Edmonton, Ljubljana, Köln und Salzburg tätig.

Im Jahre 1995 wurde Rudolf Neuhäuser als Korrespondierendes Mitglied in die Slowenische Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste aufgenommen. Zu seinem 75. Geburtstag im Jahre 2008 wurde ihm das Österreichische Ehrenkreuz für Wissenschaft und Kunst I. Klasse verliehen.

Neuhäusers Werke umfassen über 200 Veröffentlichungen, die neben Aufsätzen in Sammelbänden und Fachzeitschriften zahlreiche Bücher enthalten.

Bibliographie
(Auswahl)

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Deborah, or Ten Years Later...

I have a benefactor.

Deborah Martinsen, former president of the International Dostoevsky Society (IDS), is that person. Without her warm guidance, I would probably have remained depressed and still be suffering from a smoldering lack of self-esteem.

I met Deborah (as I like to call her) in the summer of 2011, in her office at Columbia University. About a month before that, I had just driven to the site of the Great East Japan Earthquake. I flew out of Narita, still reeling from the sad aftermath of the long trip of 1500 kilometers. My mind was made up early on. I would definitely visit New York in September 2011, ten years after the attacks, and I would definitely finish the translation of *Demons* before then. The reason was simple: I was in my early fifties, and the incident that led me to return to Dostoevsky was the 9/11 attacks, and it was the association with *Demons* that this 9/11 had created in me. However, circumstances forced me to leave a month earlier than planned, and in the end, I was unable to finish the translation of *Demons* by that date.

There was another major purpose for my visit to New York. It was to approach IDS. At the time, I had fallen into a state of neurosis due to criticism of my translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*, and I was stuck in the delusion that I was being looked down upon by Dostoevsky researchers around the world.

Of course, I had some confidence in myself. I was supported by tens of thousands of readers of *The Brothers Karamazov*. Among the many letters of gratitude I received, I was particularly encouraged by a letter from a woman in her late seventies living in Abashiri, Hokkaido, who wrote in pencil, "I am so happy that I could read through *The Brothers Karamazov* at the end of my life".

In her office at the university, Deborah listened to me warmly, calmly, and respectfully. She invited me to dinner with her friends at an Italian restaurant, and to a study group at a café near the university. My friendship with Deborah continued unabated, and in the summer of 2015, when I gave a presentation at an international conference (ICCEES) in Makuhari, Chiba, I even asked her to check my manuscript. The title of my presentation was "Hidden Quotations in *The Brothers Karamazov*". Although the title was somewhat pompous, I was confident about the content. However, when Deborah returned the manuscript to me, it was covered with red lines everywhere, reminding me once again how high the level, (or barrier) to Dostoevsky studies was.

The next day, I stood beside Ground Zero. When I left the Sheraton Hotel on 52nd Street near Times Square and got off the subway at Franklin Street,

the ground was filled with a refreshing light. It was the result of the torrential rain that had hit New York two days earlier. At that stage, however, I realized that since my arrival in New York, I had been under a constant paranoid vision. As I walked through the skyscrapers, I would look up at the sky almost every five minutes and picture a scene of two airliners crossing the blue sky between the valleys of the buildings.

I could not receive any feeling of shock from Ground Zero, which was still undergoing construction. I realized that I had consumed all the wonders and shocks of the past decade through *Youtube* videos. Of course, the Great East Japan Earthquake must have had something to do with it. In any case, Dostoevsky was right. Man is a being that gets used to everything.

On my way to the subway station, frustrated with my inability to feel anything in front of Ground Zero, I passed by the Tribute WTC Visitor Center. Hungry for stimulation, I was sucked in and walked through the doors to stand in front of the reception counter. Among the many exhibits, I was particularly struck by a set of spoons with holes in them and forks that were fully opened like five fingers. Who would have thought that terrorism could result in such artistic behavior? The delicacy of making a hole in the dent of the spoon is nothing short of devilish. On the other hand, there were some exhibits that gave me a faint sense of relief. It was a note left by a woman named Sandra Hernandez, who was living in the Bronx at the time of the incident.

“I wanted to jump into the TV screen, grab the plane and stop it”.

This is it, I thought. The proof of a human being’s humanity lies in the strength of the urge to jump into the TV screen. And there were several moments when I realized that I myself had a slight edge over others in this impulse. I am sure that such a linear nature must have been what turned me towards Dostoevsky’s literature.

I remember that Deborah, who saw my true nature, once said a bit sarcastically, “You are, in essence, a mover”.

(from my recent book *59 travels with Dostoevsky*)

Ikuo Kameyama

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Remembering Deborah
Deborah A. Martinsen, in Memoriam

Our beloved colleague and friend, Deborah Martinsen, passed away on Sunday, November 28, 2021.

Deborah served the International Dostoevsky Society for many years, including as our President and Executive Secretary, on the Dostoevsky Studies Editorial Board, as one of the organizers of the 1998 IDS Symposium in New York and an integral partner in subsequent Symposia. Her intelligence, lively sense of humor, and sociability won her the respect and friendship of our diverse membership, as did her tireless efforts and unfailing diplomacy. Few of us will forget how she spontaneously broke into a happy dance as she turned over the presidency at the Moscow Symposium. Deborah began attending our Symposia as a precocious graduate student in 1983 at Cerisy-la-Salle, and she figured in them regularly, contributing deeply insightful papers on the narrative structure, rhetoric, and pragmatics of Dostoevsky's work. Within a very short time she became an irreplaceable partner and aide for Bob Belknap and Nadine Natov in the North American and International Dostoevsky Societies. She always knew not only what had to be done, and how it was to be done, but also what should not be done; she was able to inspire everyone to work for the common goal. Her role in the life of the IDS is enormous.

Deborah was the author and editor of groundbreaking books on Dostoevsky, including *Dostoevsky in Context* and *Surprised by Shame*; and numerous seminal articles. She continued to work on two new books on Dostoevsky over this past year, and we look forward to seeing them in print. Deborah also edited *Teaching Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature* – the tribute to her teacher Robert Belknap; and *Literary Journals in Imperial Russia* – the best overview of Russian journalism from eighteenth to early twentieth century. It is rare that such an original scholar is also such an incisive and generous editor.

Deborah was a devoted teacher to her students at Columbia University, advising undergraduate and graduate students on senior theses and dissertations and teaching courses on Dostoevsky and Nabokov. For many years she taught Literature Humanities, one of the signature Columbia College Core courses. Hundreds of CC graduates remember her gratefully. And scores of Columbia graduate students have been influenced by her Core teaching. Generous scholar and teacher that she was, she shared her teaching notes liberally with graduate students and new teachers in the Core. She was always open for a

dialog about teaching any passage. While her lectures on teaching *Crime and Punishment* were legend, Deborah shared insights into any text in the Core and beyond. As Associate Dean of Alumni Education, Deborah continued to teach Literature Humanities to Columbia alumni around the world.

She supported the scholarship of others in so many quiet but invaluable ways over the years, not only as a gifted editor, but also as a caring, thorough, and candid peer reviewer of numerous book and journal manuscripts as well as Ph.D. theses. She had an extraordinary talent for making everyone's work better. She was happy to lend a helping hand to her colleagues both at home and abroad, inspiring them intellectually and emotionally, contributing significantly to their personal and professional development.

Deborah excelled in bringing people together, and forging connections between departments, institutions, and cultures was her great joy. She tirelessly organized panels, entire conferences, and academic programs, all in aid of enriching the work of Slavists worldwide. She brought junior scholars into conversation with senior ones, ensuring cross-fertilization between new work and classic studies. She understood from her earliest days as a Slavist that true scholarship is always inclusive.

Her power in every aspect of life came from her inexhaustible spiritual and practical energy and from the special talent she possessed, which allowed her to look in depth at both ideas and the people around her. Her psychological insight into the human soul became an inspirational source through which she could analyze literary characters in a highly sophisticated manner and create close, living human relationships. Deborah understood that "everything, like the ocean, flows and comes into contact with everything else. Touch it in one place and it reverberates at the other end of the world" (*The Brothers Karamazov*). She 'touched' the world in so many places and these reverberations will remain with us for ever.

Deborah Martinsen has left us. In this uniquely Dostoevskian year even this terrible loss takes on its own unique flavor, which does not comfort us, but inspires us to seek a higher symbolism, and together with it, a certain meaning. Otherwise, in the circumstances we find ourselves in, the meaning is invisible, and it seems bitter, harsh, and unjust. Deborah was the first woman to serve as IDS President, and she was a brilliant president; she created an entire new epoch, enriching our Society with new values and a positive, cooperative atmosphere. It was soothing to work with her: she was meticulous, wise, nimble and attentive. And she also knew how to be a kind, even passionate friend.

Deborah was respected and loved all around the world. She was not just a brilliant scholar, but she elevated friendship to an art form. We will miss her

bright spirit, her gentle humor, her powerful intellect, and the love she shared with everyone around her.

Eternal memory, dearest Deborah.

Stefano Aloe
Carol Apollonio
Karin Beck
Katalin Kroó
Robin Feuer Miller
Marcia Morris
Irina Reyfman
Amy Ronner
William Mills Todd III
Vladimir Zakharov

More tributes to Deborah A. Martinsen in the Memorial page:
<https://dostoevsky.org/about/in-memoriam/in-memoriam-deborah-a-martinsen/>



III. 1

*Deborah Martinsen with Tetsuo Mochizuki, Naples 2010
(Photo Graf Aloysky – From the Archive of Stefano Aloe)*



III. 2

Deborah in Moscow, 2013

(Photo Graf Aloysky – From the Archive of Stefano Aloe)



III. 3

*Deborah Martinsen with Benamí Barros, Granada 2016
(Photo Graf Aloysky – Archive of Stefano Aloe)*



III. 4

Deborah Martinsen in Granada, 2016

(Photo Graf Aloysky – Archive of Stefano Aloe)

