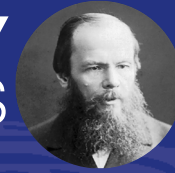




DOSTOEVSKY STUDIES



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THE **JOURNAL** OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
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DOSTOEVSKY STUDIES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS § **СОДЕРЖАНИЕ**

FOREWORD § **ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНОЕ СЛОВО**

Katalin KROÓ

*Recurring Encounters with Dostoevsky's Creative Spirit:
Beginnings and Ends as Continuation* 5

Каталин КРОО

*Повторяющиеся встречи с творческим духом Достоевского:
Начало и конец как продолжение* 13

ARTICLES § **СТАТЬИ**

From the End to the Beginning* ♦ *С конца до начала

Urs HEFTRICH

*Logos Sent into a Headspin: Notes on the Conversation
with the Devil in Dostoevsky's The Brothers Karamazov*25

Erica DRENNAN

The Other Trial in The Brothers Karamazov 41

Андрей ФАУСТОВ

*Фигура "ближнего" в рассказе Ф. М. Достоевского Сон смешного
человека: ближние и дальние контексты понимания* 57

Eva FARAGHI

*Social Death or Social Resurrection?
Dostoevsky's The Double through the Looking Glass* 75

Cultural and Textual Contexts* ♦ *Культурные и текстуальные контексты

Марко КАРАТОЦЦОЛО

*О Николае Угоднике и Касьяне Угоднике у Достоевского
(На материале Преступления и наказания)* 99

Розанна КАЗАРИ	
<i>Отклики “Чистилища” Данте в “Эпиллоге”</i>	
Преступления и наказания	119
Стефано АЛОЭ	
<i>По поводу смеха у Достоевского: новые исследования</i>	131
<i>Dostoevsky in Greece: Reception and Translations ♦ Достоевский в Греции: рецензия и переводы</i>	
Zorka ŠLJIVANČANIN	
<i>Dostoevsky in Greece. A Brief History of Reception (1877-1929)</i>	145
Christina КАРАКЕПЕЛИ	
<i>Ares Alexandrou: The Balancing Act of Translating</i>	
<i>Dostoevsky into Greek</i>	159
Markos GALOUNIS, Zorka ŠLJIVANČANIN	
<i>Books on Dostoevsky in Greece: an Overview</i>	181

BOOK REVIEWS & РЕЦЕНЗИИ

Daniel SCHÜMANN	
Thomas Gaiton Marullo, <i>Fyodor Dostoevsky – The Gathering Storm (1846-1847): A Life in Letters, Memoirs, and Criticism</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2023)	205
Kåre Johan MJØR	
Tine Roesen, <i>Dostojevskij: En introduktion</i> (Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 2021)	211

NEWS & НОВОСТИ

<i>Call for papers: XIX Symposium of the International Dostoevsky Society (Buenos Aires, June 2026)</i>	215
<i>Call for papers: Humanness, Godness, and the Universe in Dostoevsky’s Work. International Conference (Athens, October 2025)</i>	219
Katherine BOWERS	
<i>News from the North American Dostoevsky Society</i>	221
William MILLS TODD III	
<i>Horst-Jürgen Gerigk</i>	223
Christoph GARSTKA	
<i>In memoriam Horst-Jürgen Gerigk (1937-2024)</i>	229

FOREWORD



ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНОЕ СЛОВО

**RECURRING ENCOUNTERS
WITH DOSTOEVSKY'S CREATIVE SPIRIT:
BEGINNINGS AND ENDS AS CONTINUATION**

Let me begin this reflection by returning to the concluding words of the foreword to the last volume of *Dostoevsky Studies* (New Series, vol. 26, 2023) by Stefano Aloe, the President of the International Dostoevsky Society. He announced a necessary rearrangement of functions in the editorial management of our journal by his accepting, with Ljudmil Dimitrov, the position of Assistant Editor, after four years of productive and enthusiastic activity creating a rich online forum on Dostoevsky's extensive and wide-ranging oeuvre. I would like to express sincere gratitude to Stefano Aloe on behalf of the whole International Dostoevsky Society and the external readers for all his tireless inventive work and unwavering scholarly energy that he invested into his engagement as Managing Editor (2020-2023) to maintain high-level scholarship in our beloved *Dostoevsky Studies*. The adjective "beloved" might seem out of context in a scientific-oriented foreword, but it is nonetheless precise. For us, the members of the International Dostoevsky Society, this publication means not just creating and conveying knowledge on Dostoevsky, keeping up with new trends in research and scholarly ideas, as well as following projects, conferences, meetings concerning our shared professional life, but it is also an *emotional* matter contributing to our cohesion as a community. Through this journal, we can assess the value of *the cultural traditions* that the International Dostoevsky Society has developed and cherished for many years, linking the past academic achievements, through the works of the present, to the future, opening up new perspectives. We participate in recurring challenging encounters with our interpretation of Dostoevsky, being motivated to achieve a better understanding of his works on grounds of reading into his complex *creative cultural spirit*. I feel honoured to begin working, as Managing Editor, to contribute to keeping alive our common scholarly efforts and maintaining our *cultural memory* linked to research and professional human relationships through *Dostoevsky Studies*, supported by so many specialists from many countries and continents.

Tracing the continuity of Dostoevsky scholarship, looking back to earlier starting points, surely encourages us to remember with even greater esteem our respected colleague Professor Horst-Jürgen Gerigk, who died on 9 February, 2024. He was known not simply as a prominent President of the IDS (1998-2004), but also as an outstanding Managing Editor of *Dostoevsky Studies* in the fruitful period of 1998-2018. He was a person already present at the

founding symposium of the IDS in Bad Ems in Germany (September 1-5, 1971, with the organisation of Professors Nadine Natov, Dmitry S. Grishin, Rudolf Neuhäuser, and Reinhard Lauth). Throughout his life, he excelled with an intellect and human attitude inspiring the spirit of collectivity, attracting new persons and younger generations to the field of literary research within the scope of international scholarly communication. What Professor Gerigk began and pursued in many fields of research proves to be timeless, his ideas are referenced in new interpretations. Therefore, in this 2024 volume, our excellent colleague is commemorated not only in two remarkable obituaries written by William Mills Todd III and Christoph Garstka, both radiating reverence towards his oeuvre and personality. Beside these commemorative texts closing the volume, we can find Urs Heftrich's paper at the head of the first section: "Logos Sent Into a Headspin: Notes on the Conversation with the Devil in Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*". In this paper, on the basis of philosophical theory (Kant, Schopenhauer, Jaspers), in the poetic strategies of unmasking the nature of hallucination as related to reasoning and sensory impressions, the author examines the literary presentation of Ivan's dialogue with his devil (the encounter of a new Ivan figure with his past). For the discovery and explication of Dostoevsky's artistic conceptualisation of morality and the conditions for the coming about of evil, one component of the article's argument relies on a "discussion on the ideological intention behind Dostoevsky's design, with reference to Horst-Jürgen Gerigk's groundbreaking insights into the interaction between structure and ideology in *The Brothers Karamazov*". Heftrich enters both a supportive and polemical dialogue in relation to the interpretation elaborated by Gerigk (the paper is dedicated to his memory), brought to the fore as a really challenging set of ideas. It is developed further in the paper in a discussion of the shift from the *grandiose* "ways of behaving towards evil" to the idea of its *banality*. This transformation is inseparable from the reinterpretation of the devil in terms of the diabolical nature of evil, while providing the figure of Smerdyakov, in the context of the collective figure of the four Karamazov brothers, with a renewed sense.

The same novel remains the focus of Erica Drennan's paper "The Other Trial in *The Brothers Karamazov*", which presents a very interesting reading of the trial problematics, also included in Heftrich's interpretation – there within the question of the rightfulness of judicial punishment for the murder at the end of the novel. Drennan, on her part, calls our attention to the contrast between this trial, extensively analysed in critical literature, and another one, Miusov's "frivolous civil suit" over the monastery's boundaries, with significance at the very beginning of the plot. Based on Al Katz's boundary theory, the author sets

up a system of oppositions characterising two types of boundary evoked and semantically inherent within the relationship between the two – different but essentially analogous – trials and Zosima's conceptualisation of boundaries. The contrast is defined in such characteristic features as a boundary between sharp binaries and a porous boundary (boundary-breaking; with reference to Katz, see vacuum vs alive boundaries). These spatial concepts are projected upon the interpretation of the possibility of finding one's (and later the reader's) way to truth. In the analytical process porous boundaries are related to Bakhtin's dialogue theory. The paper explores the semantic system of the interpretability of boundary concepts through several plot elements and various main and side characters. As a result, Drennan grasps the complexity of a semantic invariant in its system-constructing mode, which leads to a kind of interrogation concerning the reader's reception attitude, including questioning the possibilities of separating interpretation suggestions arising from Dostoevsky the journalist from those emerging from Dostoevsky the writer.

On the track of the meaning of the porous boundary, opening up the perspective of inclusion and brotherhood, and at the same time burdened with complex thematic ramifications, we arrive at Andrey Faustov's article "The Figure of the 'Neighbour' in Fyodor Dostoevsky's short story *The Dream of a Ridiculous Man*". The two papers have one more common aspect, the inquiry into the methods and pertinence of reading Dostoevsky's fiction and non-fiction side by side – linking or differentiating certain semantic fields. In Faustov's article, this means researching the sense of poetic and geopolitical conceptualisations in Dostoevsky's fictional and non-fictional writings in *A Writer's Diary* (1877). The explanation of the subject begins through *The Brothers Karamazov*, positioning there the problem of the capability of loving close or distant persons. This implies the notion of (non-)neighbours, encompassing even aliens on a double of the globe as a result of the transplanetary journey made by the ridiculous man, the hero of the examined pivotal work in the paper. Apart from the vectors considered as semantic "clusters" of the dichotomies of 'close' vs 'distant', 'vertical' vs 'horizontal' (connoting 'equality' vs 'subordination'; 'inclusion in a multitude' vs 'excelling by a criterion of higher experience or status', etc.; 'mutuality in the initiation and acceptance of the offer of brotherhood' vs 'its one-sidedness'), the challenging approach interestingly brings together the poetic notions of brotherhood and childhood, integrating the whole range of issues into a complex of features characterising the possibility of living a life in mutual love with our fellow human beings. Shedding light on Dostoevsky's artistic and intellectual solution cannot be separated from his interpretation of the relationship between the concepts of the "one" (the individual, the "I" sub-

ject) and the “others” (plurality taken as a collective singularity), the means of their integration and separation both horizontally (with or without love, being at one hierarchical level) and vertically (supposedly problematically). The intimate sphere of love and brotherhood experience (or its lack or insufficiency) emerging in the fictitious works is projected onto an ideological explanation elaborated by Dostoevsky as linked to geopolitical issues and Russia’s (self-) definition that is oriented towards approaching nations as collective individuals in their singularity and interpreting the possibility of their inclusion into Russian collectivity.

It is not simply the motif of the globe double, but also the semantic strategy of establishing double-aspectual definitions and doubled characterisations based on convergences and divergences at various levels in a complex semantic universe which gives inspiration to the reader to turn, in the next paper (Eva Faraghi), to Dostoevsky’s early novella, *The Double*. Approaching *The Double* from the perspective of *The Brothers Karamazov*, the novel that the three papers of the first thematic section all interpret, addressing different research tasks, offers a lot alongside the logic of progressing from the endpoint of Dostoevsky’s oeuvre to the understanding of the beginnings. Eva Faraghi’s interpretation sharpens the dilemma suggested by the title of her paper “Social Death or Social Resurrection? Dostoevsky’s *The Double* through the Looking Glass”. The author elaborates her interesting interpretation in a field of investigation that has significant critical pre-history and literature. The “psychologically sophisticated portrait” that Faraghi conveys to the reader is based on the examination of the relationship between the two Golyadkins in terms of identity-construction from two perspectives. One is linked to the interpretation of the characteristic features shared by the two figures as inherent in Golyadkin himself. In this way, “alternate identities” can be defined. In this light, from another perspective, the coherence of the seemingly incoherent differences can be explained as resulting in identity transformation. Deconstruction is reinterpreted in terms of personality redefinition and growth. The novelty of the interpretational process lies in linking processes in Dostoevsky’s novella to the cultural heritage of German *Naturphilosophie*: “While similar to notions such as the *ego* and the *id*, the Apollonian and the Dionysian, the conscious and the unconscious, the psychological binary that underlies *Naturphilosophie* is best summed up as the internal struggle between an individual and a collective orientation: the nervous system drives one towards material well-being, stability, status, and self-preservation, while the ganglionic aims at union with the cosmic cycles of creation and destruction, through dreams, hallucinations, intoxication, sexual indulgence, but also religious experience – a union which sur-

passes and may even destroy individual identity". With the opposition of the individual and the collective, we arrive back at the problematics mentioned by Faustov and engaging Dostoevsky throughout his whole life, from the beginning to the end: the possible modes of the harmonisation of the self as a single entity, an individual (dual or plural) personality aspiring to reach, at the same time, a collective personality to be included and attempting to include others into a wider whole.

The second thematic section in the volume is dedicated to the examination of various aspects of *Cultural and Textual Contexts*. The first approach is represented by Marco Caratozzolo's paper "About Nikolay Ugodnik and Kasyan Ugodnik by Dostoevsky (Based on materials from *Crime and Punishment*)". St. Nicholas, whose figure, as poetically referenced in Dostoevsky's oeuvre, has already been discovered and interpreted in several critical works, receives special attention in Caratozzolo's paper as linked to the two Mikolka figures in *Crime and Punishment*. The two Mikolkas make up another form of Dostoevskian doubles and character pairs, out of which some have already been addressed in earlier papers in the volume. All the more so as the author calls our attention to a legend in which St. Nicholas is portrayed against the background of his opponent, Kasyan, and it is convincingly shown how the adversaries become linked to Dostoevsky's two Mikolka figures. The source of the legend is "Николай угодник и Касьян угодник" published in *Летописи русской литературы и древности (Chronicles of Russian Literature and Antiquity, 1859)*. However, Caratozzolo presents a wider corpus of folklore variants and the kind of research he carries out explains the relationship between the two literary persons on the basis of the redistribution of semantic features arising from folklore pretextual materials.

Caratozzolo's presentation also makes us reflect further upon the poetics of spreading pretextual signals from various sources across a particular text, and think about cases when without direct reference only "allusions, echoes, and hints are recognizable" – quotes the author from Rosanna Casari (the statement concerns a mode of turning to myth). With Casari's paper "Echoes of Dante's 'Purgatory' in the 'Epilogue' of *Crime and Punishment*", we stay with the same novel by Dostoevsky in the privileged position when we can go on thinking about the nature of direct and covert intertextual references. This time the range of references concerns neither folklore nor myth elements which are systematically incorporated and dispersed in the novel. The author's intention is to show intertextual correlation between the Epilogue of *Crime and Punishment* and the Canti XVIII, XXX, XXXI in Dante's "Purgatorio". Casari's research orientation implies the differentiation of explicit intertextu-

al hints leading to Dante as the author of a literary oeuvre, which are not so frequent but nevertheless conspicuous in Dostoevsky in overt, thematised forms, and implicit poetic practice. The paper offers concrete details of space and time motifs, semantic attributes, leading the reader to discover their complex functionalisation in the literary text based on cultural tradition.

Stefano Aloe's work, closing the second thematic section in this volume, offers a special means and a new genre for explicating his object of study. It provides insights into an important topic, putting questions to several aspects of a many-sided poetic discourse mode related to the phenomenon of laughter as represented in Dostoevsky's oeuvre. At the same time, the exposition of conveying information and developing ideas is incorporated in an extensive overview of new research evaluated from an interpretative point of view. In this way, the paper "About Laughter in Dostoevsky: New Studies" emerges, in which the reader is offered a detailed description of writings published as the proceedings of the conference "Beyond Carnival: Funny Dostoevsky" (14-15 May, 2021, organised by Lynn Patyk [Dartmouth College] and Irina Erman [College of Charleston]). The subtitle of the book is *New Perspectives on the Dostoevskian Light Side* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2024).

In the third section, book reviews, in an alternative manner, constitute a significant part of the presentation of particular research directions that outline some chapters (milestones) in the history of the development of Dostoevsky scholarship in its broadest sense. This unit of the volume focuses on *Dostoevsky in Greece: Reception and Translations*, where Markos Galounis and Zorka Šljivančanin's paper "Books on Dostoevsky in Greece: an Overview" scrupulously delivers on the promise of its title, supplying the reader with an extensive overview. This is just the third element of the body of scholarship, the first paper of which is Zorka Šljivančanin's writing "Dostoevsky in Greece. A Brief History of Reception (1877-1929)". It gives a really rich overall picture of the Greek reception of Dostoevsky in a broad cultural context, over more than half a century. The second writing of the Greek block, Christina Karakepeli's paper "Ares Alexandrou: The Balancing Act of Translating Dostoevsky in Greek" provides a focus on translation, which can be considered to be a specific sphere of cultural reception. This triple division in the very informative characterisation of the Greek interiorisation of Dostoevsky brings to the fore the significance of the versatility of approaches both in the various forms of Dostoevsky's cultural reception in works of art and science and also in the multi-faceted discourse on them, attempting to draw a general picture of artistic and scientific practices.

After this successful and qualitative orientation towards national cultural reception in the Greek papers, the following review section presents two remark-

able pieces (coming from other cultural backgrounds and opening up new research viewpoints). We can turn with pleasure to Daniel Schümann's review on Thomas Gaiton Marullo's book *Fyodor Dostoevsky – The Gathering Storm (1846-1847): A Life in Letters, Memoirs, and Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2023) and Kåre Johan Mjør's writing on Tine Roesen's *Dostojevskij: En introduktion* (Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 2021).

And finally, when we read Katherine Bowers' "News from the North American Dostoevsky Society", we are fascinated not only by seeing and experiencing the vivid and dense scholarly life around the figure of Fyodor Dostoevsky, but we can also experience in what sense he proves to be a major figure in world culture. Dostoevsky's power has the capacity to link past and future generations, the young to elderly professionals and readers, harmonising time, artistic and critical traditions, and forms of discourse.

The calls for conference participation give us an invitation to the future, with all of our beginnings, interpretive traditions initiated in the past and metamorphosing in continuous development. This journal volume again shows today's Dostoevsky scholarship as far transcending the mere study of Dostoevsky. We cannot do without immersing in cultural contexts, doing poetological research, taking various comparative perspectives, interpreting not only works but also discourses in them and about them, listening to philosophical debates, showing Dostoevsky's prominent cultural activity from many angles and approaches, even entering interdisciplinary studies and theories.

Let us then end by making a general call for future papers to be published in *Dostoevsky Studies*, adding a complementary perspective to the journal's content and structure also to be preserved and continued as a most valuable tradition. The editors wish to motivate the emergence of a new section entitled *ECHOES* that gives feedback and reflection upon topics, interpretations, theoretical issues, research orientations, any minor and major details published in previous numbers so as to inspire living dialogues, polilogues in subsequent journal issues. In this way, *Dostoevsky Studies* might enhance its intellectual vitalising force in the creative spirit of Dostoevsky. This call does not aim for the evaluation of any previous paper or its part from the position of a reviewer or a critic. The call aims to attract the variants of follow-up, to foster the continuation of the elaboration of the same topics (or part topics) by other scholars, opening, for the contents of the publications, new paths and ramifications, fresh associations, further theory-building capacity, adding supplementary approaches in any issues treated in the papers. Whether it is a reflection of a few lines or a few pages, or another paper on the same topic with a dialogical stance represented by complementary viewpoints (or ex-

tending critical literature on a topic), will depend on the choice of the author of the echo.

Echoes are meant to be voices emanating from the many continents where we are involved in our common Dostoevsky project. Echoes are expected to react with a preserving gesture towards past and present achievements to convey information richly, to compensate for possibly missed data, to make further progress on initiated and well-developed ideas, conceptualisations and interpretations, integrating them to the broader field of humanities (cultural history, literary studies, interdisciplinary methodologies, etc.). *ECHOES* can be us, an expanded forum to develop collective wisdom through individual voices – with constants and variables, convergences and divergences.¹

Katalin KROÓ
Managing Editor

1 Thanks to Eva Faraghi for assuming the task of native speaker's revision.

**ПОВТОРЯЮЩИЕСЯ ВСТРЕЧИ С ТВОРЧЕСКИМ
ДУХОМ ДОСТОЕВСКОГО:
НАЧАЛО И КОНЕЦ КАК ПРОДОЛЖЕНИЕ**

Начну с конца и возвращусь к заключительным словам предисловия, написанного к последнему номеру *Dostoevsky Studies* (Новая серия, т. 26, 2023) Стефано Алоэ, президентом Международного Общества Достоевского. После четырех лет продуктивной деятельности по превращению нашего ежегодного журнала в насыщенный форум онлайн-публикаций, посвященных обширному и многогранному творчеству Достоевского, Стефано Алоэ объявил о необходимой перестановке функций в редакционном руководстве *Dostoevsky Studies*. Он принял должность ассистента главного редактора вместе с Людмилом Димитровым. Я хотела бы выразить искреннюю благодарность Стефано Алоэ от имени всего сообщества МОД и читателей нашего журнала за всю его неустанную изобретательскую активность и за научную энергию, которую он вложил в свою работу в качестве главного редактора (2020-2023) для поддержания высокого уровня нашего любимого журнала *Dostoevsky Studies*. Определение “любимый” может показаться слишком субъективным и таким образом неадекватным для научно-ориентированного контекста настоящей статьи, тем не менее оно точно. Для нас, членов Международного Общества Достоевского, *Dostoevsky Studies* означает не только распространение и получение знаний о Достоевском, пристальное внимание за новыми направлениями исследований и научными идеями, а также за проектами, конференциями, встречами, касающимися нашей общей профессиональной жизни, но и эмоциональное дело, духовную активность, обеспечивающие отчасти сплоченность нашего существования как сообщества ученых, отчасти – даже в периоды тяжелых исторических и связанных с ними личных кризисов – возможность осмыслить настоящее в более широком контексте нашего профессионального прошлого. Через этот журнал мы можем судить о ценности культурных традиций, которые наше Международное Общество Достоевского развивало и берегло на протяжении многих лет, связывая прошлые научные достижения через настоящее с будущим, открывая почву для новых перспектив. Мы можем идти дальше и дальше, находясь в поиске и участвуя в повторяющихся встречах с нашей интерпретацией Достоевского, будучи мотивированными для достижения его лучшего понимания на основе вчитывания в его сложный творческий культурный дух. Для меня большая честь приступить к работе в качестве главного ре-

дактора, чтобы внести свой вклад в сохранение наших общих научных усилий и способствовать сохранению и укреплению нашей культурной памяти, связанной с исследованиями и профессиональными человеческими отношениями через *Dostoevsky Studies*, поддерживаемый столь многими специалистами из разных стран на разных континентах.

Потребность видеть настоящее, проследить продолжение и будущие возможности, возвращаясь к более ранним отправным точкам, побуждает нас с еще большим почтением вспоминать нашего уважаемого коллегу профессора Хорста-Юргена Геригка, который скончался 9 февраля 2024 года. Он был известен не только как выдающийся президент IDS (1998-2004), но и как замечательный главный редактор журнала *Dostoevsky Studies* в плодотворный период 1998-2018 годов. Он уже присутствовал на учредительном симпозиуме МОД в Бад-Эмсе в Германии (1-5 сентября 1971 года, организованном профессорами Надин Натов, Дмитрием С. Гришиным, Рудольфом Нойхойзером и Райнхардом Лаутом). Всю свою жизнь он блистал интеллектом и человечностью, вселяя дух совместности, привлекая новых специалистов и молодые поколения в сферу литературных исследований в рамках международного научного общения. То, чему профессор Геригк дал начало и продолжение во многих областях исследований, оказывается вне времени благодаря интерпретационной преемственности. Поэтому в этом томе за 2024 год мы чтим память о нашем коллеге не только в двух некрологах, написанных Уильямом Миллсом Тоддом III и Христофом Гарсткой и проникнутых благоговением перед его творчеством и человеческой личностью. Помимо этих памятных текстов, закрывающих том, в начале первого раздела мы можем найти статью Урса Хефтриха: «Логос, отправленный в круговорот [Logos Sent Into a Headspin]: Заметки о разговоре с чертом в *Братьях Карамазовых* Достоевского». В статье, с привлечением философской интерпретации (Кант, Шопенгауэр, Ясперс), в ходе глубокого толкования поэтических стратегий разоблачения природы галлюцинации как соотношения рационального рассуждения и чувственных впечатлений автор рассматривает литературную презентацию диалога Ивана с чертом (встречу Ивана с его прошлым). Для выявления и раскрытия художественной концептуализации Достоевским нравственности и условий возникновения зла одно из направлений значимых аргументативных стратегий работы опирается на «обсуждение идеологического замысла Достоевского со ссылкой на новаторские идеи Хорста-Юргена Геригка о взаимодействии структуры и идеологии в *Братьях Карамазовых*». Хефтрих вступает как в поддерживающий, так и в полемический диалог с интерпретацией, разработанной Геригком (ста-

тья посвящена его памяти) и выдвинувшей на первый план действительно сложный набор идей. В статье она получает дальнейшее развитие: так, указывается на переход от грандиозных «способов поведения по отношению к злу» к идее его банальности. Эта трансформация неотделима от переосмысления образа черта с точки зрения дьявольской природы зла, что придает Смердякову в контексте коллективной фигуры четырех братьев Карамазовых новый смысл.

На этом же романе мы останавливаемся в первом разделе в работе Эрики Дреннан “Другой суд в *Братьях Карамазовых*”, в которой представлено очень интересное прочтение проблематики суда, также задействованной в интерпретации Хефтриха в рамках вопроса о правомерности юрисдикции, определяющей в конце романа законное наказание за убийство. Дреннан, со своей стороны, обращает внимание на контраст между этим критически широко проанализированным процессом и другим, «легкомысленным гражданским иском» Миусова о границах монастыря, имеющим значение в самом начале действия романа. Опираясь на теорию границ Ала Каца, автор устанавливает систему оппозиций, характеризующих два типа границ, семантически присущих отношениям между двумя – разными, но, по сути своей, аналогичными – судебными процессами и концептуализацией границ Зосимой. Противопоставление задается такими признаками (семантическими атрибутами), как *граница между резкими бинарами vs пористая граница (разрушение границ)*, со ссылкой на Каца, см.: вакуум против живых границ.

Эти пространственные понятия проецируются на интерпретацию возможности поиска своего (а затем и читательского) пути к истине. В аналитическом процессе пористые границы соотносятся с теорией диалога Бахтина. В работе исследуется целая семантическая система интерпретируемости понятий границы и предела через несколько сюжетных элементов и различных главных и побочных персонажей. В результате Дреннан постигает сложность семантического инварианта в его системообразующем режиме, что приводит к своеобразному допросу относительно рецептивного отношения читателя, в том числе возможности разделения интерпретационных предложений, исходящих от Достоевского-журналиста и от Достоевского-писателя.

На пути к проницаемой границе, открывающей перспективу инклюзии и братства, и в то же время обремененной сложными тематическими разветвлениями, мы приходим к статье Андрея Фаустова “Фигура ‘ближнего’ в рассказе Ф. М. Достоевского *Сон смешного человека*”. У этих двух работ есть еще одна общая полоса интереса – исследование способов и

адекватности прочтения рядом (по сходству или по контрасту семантических полей) художественных произведений и публицистики Достоевского. В статье Фаустова речь идет об исследовании смысла поэтических и геополитических концептуализаций в художественных произведениях и публицистических записях в *Дневнике писателя* (1877). Раскрытие темы начинается через *Братьев Карамазовых*, через рассматриваемую там проблему способности любить близких или далеких людей. Отсюда вытекает понятие (не)ближних, доходящее даже до чужих на Земле-двойнике в результате транспланетного путешествия, которое совершает смешной человек, герой центрального произведения статьи. Помимо векторов, рассматриваемых как семантические кластеры дихотомий *близкий – далекий, вертикальный – горизонтальный* (коннотирующих *равенство – подчинение*; или *включенность во множество – превосходство по критерию более высокого опыта или статуса* и т.д.; *взаимность в инициации и принятии предложения братства – его односторонность*), такой интереснейший подход объединяет поэтические понятия братства и детства, интегрируя весь спектр вопросов в комплекс аспектов, характеризующих возможность жить в любви к ближним. Проливая свет на художественное и интеллектуальное решение Достоевского, нельзя не опираться на его трактовку соотношения понятий “один” (индивид, субъект, “я”) и “другие” (множественность, взятая как коллективная единичность), способов их интеграции и разделения как по горизонтали (с любовью или без любви, находясь на одном иерархическом уровне), так и по вертикали (проблематичной). Возникающая в фикциональных произведениях интимная сфера переживания любви и братства (или их отсутствия и ущерба) проецируется на идеологическое объяснение, разработанное Достоевским в связи с геополитическими проблемами и самоопределением России и ориентированное на подход к народам как коллективным индивидам в их единственности и интерпретацию возможности их включения в российскую коллективность.

Не только мотив двойника Земли, но и семантическая стратегия создания двойных определений и двойных характеристик, основанных на схождениях и расхождениях на разных уровнях сложного смыслового универсума, побуждает читателя вернуться в следующей работе к ранней повести Достоевского *Двойник*. Подход к *Двойнику* с точки зрения *Братьев Карамазовых*, романа, который во всех трех работах первого раздела тома глубоко читается, хотя, в соответствии с исследовательской задачей, в разной степени и с разным тематическим охватом, предлагает многое по линии логики продвижения от конечной точки творчества Достоевского

к осмыслению начальной. Интерпретация Евы Фараги заостряет дилемму, поднятую уже в названии ее работы “Социальная смерть или социальное воскресение? *Двойник* Достоевского через зазеркало”, и при этом прокладывает путь в исследовательском пространстве, имеющем значительную критическую предысторию и литературу. «Психологически сложный портрет», который Фараги представляет читателю, основан на рассмотрении отношений между двумя Голядкиными в аспекте конструирования идентичности с двух точек зрения. Одна из них связана с интерпретацией характерных черт, общих для двух фигур, как строго присущих самому Голядкину. Таким образом, можно выявить «альтернативные идентичности». В этом свете, с другой точки зрения, согласованность кажущихся бессвязными различий может быть объяснена трансформацией идентичности. Деконструкция по-новому интерпретируется в русле переопределения и роста личности. Новизна интерпретационного процесса заключается в том, что смысловые линии в повести Достоевского связываются с культурным наследием немецкой натурфилософии: «При всей схожести таких понятий, как *эго* и *ид*, аполлоническое и дионисийское, сознательное и бессознательное, психологическая бинарность, лежащая в основе натурфилософии, лучше всего сводится к внутренней борьбе между индивидуальной и коллективной ориентацией: нервная система побуждает человека к материальному благополучию, стабильности, статусу и самосохранению, в то время как ганглиоз стремится к единению с космическими циклами созидания и разрушения, через сны, галлюцинации, опьянение, сексуальное наслаждение, но также и религиозный опыт – единение, которое превосходит и может даже разрушить индивидуальную идентичность». С противопоставлением индивидуального и коллективного мы возвращаемся к проблематике, затронутой Фаустовым и занимавшей Достоевского на протяжении всей его жизни, от начала до конца, – это проблема возможных способов гармонизации человеком себя как единого целого, индивидуальной (двойной или множественной) личности, которая в то же время стремится к достижению коллективной личности, включаясь и пытаясь включить и других в более широкое целое.

Второй раздел тома посвящен рассмотрению различных аспектов культурных и текстовых контекстов. Первый подход представлен работой Марко Каратоццо “О Николае Угоднике и Касьяне Угоднике у Достоевского (На материале *Преступления и наказания*)”. Святой Николай, чья фигура как поэтическая референция в творчестве Достоевского уже была обнаружена и интерпретирована в нескольких критических работах, в статье Каратоццо получает особое освещение в связи с двумя фигура-

ми Миколки в *Преступлении и наказании*. С двумя Миколками мы в новой форме сталкиваемся с Достоевскими двойниками и парами персонажей, некоторые из которых уже были рассмотрены в предыдущих работах тома; тем более что автор обращает наше внимание на легенду, в которой святой Николай изображен на фоне своего противника Касьяна, и убедительно показывает, как эти противники оказываются связанными с двумя Миколками Достоевского. Источником легенды является история “Николай угодник и Касьян угодник”, опубликованная в *Летописях русской литературы и древности* (1859). Однако Каратоццола представляет более широкий корпус фольклорных вариантов, и проведенное им исследование позволяет осознать перспективы интерпретации отношений между двумя персонажами на основе перераспределения семантических признаков, возникающих в фольклорном претекстуальном материале. Статья Каратоццола также способствует дальнейшему осмыслению поэтики пространства претекстуальных сигналов из различных источников по конкретному тексту, а также тех случаев, когда без прямой ссылки можно распознать лишь «аллюзии, отголоски и намеки», – цитирует автор слова Розанны Казари (речь идет о способе обращения к мифу).

В работе Казари “Отклики ‘Чистилища’ Данте в ‘Эпилоге’ *Преступления и наказания*” мы продолжаем читать тот же роман Достоевского, размышляя о природе прямых и скрытых интертекстуальных отсылок. На этот раз диапазон отсылок не касается ни фольклорных, ни мифологических элементов, которые систематически актуализируются и рассеиваются в романе. Замысел автора – показать интертекстуальную связь между “Эпилогом” *Преступления и наказания* и Песнями XVIII, XXX, XXXI “Чистилища” Данте. Исследовательская направленность Казари предполагает разграничение, с одной стороны, эксплицитных интертекстуальных намеков, указывающих на Данте как автора литературного творчества, не столько частотных, сколько бросающихся в глаза у Достоевского в явных, тематизированных формах, а с другой стороны – неявной поэтической практики. Статья представляет конкретные детали мотивов пространства и времени, семантические атрибуты, внушающие читателю перспективу поиска их комплексной функционализации в художественном тексте на основе культурной традиции.

Работа Стефано Алоэ, замыкающая второй раздел данного тома, представляет собой интересный жанр. Она привлекает внимание к важной теме, задавая вопросы по различным аспектам многогранного режима поэтического дискурса, связанного с феноменом смеха в творчестве Достоевского. В то же время передача информации и развитие идей

включены в обширный обзор новых исследований, оцениваемых с интерпретационной точки зрения. Таким образом, в статье “По поводу смеха у Достоевского: новые исследования” читатель получает подробное описание работ, опубликованных в качестве материалов конференции “За пределами карнавала: смешной Достоевский” (14-15 мая 2021 года, организаторы: Линн Патик [Дартмутский колледж] и Ирина Эрман [Чарльстонский колледж]). Подзаголовок книги – *New Perspectives on the Dostoevskian Light Side* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2024).

В третьем разделе рецензии на книги, в альтернативном варианте, составляют значительную часть в представлении конкретных направлений исследований, которые очерчивают некоторые вехи в истории развития определенной академической области, в нашем случае – науки о Достоевском в самом широком смысле. Данный раздел тома посвящен теме “Достоевский в Греции: Рецепция и переводы”, где статья Маркоса Галуниса и Зорки Шливанчанин “Книги о Достоевском в Греции: обзор” скрупулезно выполняет обещание своего названия, предоставляя читателю ценный обзор. Это лишь третий элемент комплекса, первой работой которого является статья Зорки Шливанчанин “Достоевский в Греции. Краткая история приема (1877-1929)”. Она предлагает действительно богатую общую картину греческой рецепции Достоевского в большом культурном контексте, на протяжении более чем полувека. Вторая работа греческого блока, статья Христины Каракепели “Арес Александру: балансирующий акт перевода Достоевского на греческий язык”, дает целенаправленные знания о переводе, который можно рассматривать как специфическую сферу культурной рецепции. В перспективе этого тройного деления в содержательной характеристике греческой интериоризации Достоевского на первый план выходит значение разносторонности подходов как в различных формах культурной рецепции Достоевского в произведениях искусства и науки, так и в многогранном дискурсе о них, пытающемся нарисовать общую картину художественных и научных практик.

После успешного и качественного знакомства с национальной культурной рецепцией в греческих работах в следующем обзорном разделе мы встречаемся с двумя интересными статьями (принадлежащими к другим культурам и открывающими новые исследовательские точки зрения). Мы можем с удовольствием обратиться к рецензиям Даниэля Шюманна на книгу Томаса Гейтон Марулло *Fyodor Dostoevsky – The Gathering Storm (1846-1847): A Life in Letters, Memoirs, and Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2023) и Копе Юхана Мьёра на книгу Тине Рёнен *Dostojevskij: En introduktion* (Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 2021).

И, наконец, читая “Новости Североамериканского Общества Достоевского” Кэтрин Бауэрс, мы видим и ощущаем яркую и насыщенную научную жизнь вокруг фигуры Федора Достоевского, свидетельствующую о том, что писатель действительно считается крупной фигурой мировой культуры. Сила Достоевского способна связать прошлые поколения с будущими, молодых исследователей – со зрелыми профессионалами и читателями, гармонизировать время, художественные и критические традиции и формы дискурса.

Призывы к участию в конференции дают нам приглашение в будущее, со всеми нашими началами, интерпретационными традициями, заложенными в прошлом и претерпевающими метаморфозы в непрерывном развитии. Этот том журнала еще раз показывает, что современное достоевскоеведение выходит далеко за рамки изучения только Достоевского. Мы не можем обойтись без погружения в культурные контексты, без поэтологических исследований, различных сравнительных перспектив, интерпретации не только произведений, но и дискурсов в них и о них, философских дискуссий, показа выдающейся культурной деятельности Достоевского с разных сторон, вплоть до выхода на междисциплинарные исследования и теории.

Закончу общим призывом к публикации будущих статей в *Dostoevsky Studies*, добавляя дополнительную перспективу к традиционному содержанию и структуре журнала, которые также будут сохранены и продолжены как ценнейшая традиция. Редакторы намерены мотивировать появление нового раздела в композиции журнала под названием ЭХО, в рамках которого ожидается получить обратную связь и размышления по темам, интерпретациям, теоретическим вопросам, исследовательским ориентациям, любым мелким и крупным деталям, опубликованным в предыдущих номерах, чтобы вдохновить на живые диалоги, полилоги авторов в последующих выпусках журнала. *Dostoevsky Studies* может стать энергичной силой и в этом смысле, в творческом духе Достоевского. Целью научного материала в ЭХО не является оценка какой-либо предыдущей статьи или ее части с позиции рецензента или критика. Ожидаются продолжения разработки тех же тем (или части тем) другими учеными, выработки альтернативных изложений, открытие для содержания публикаций новых путей и ответвлений, свежих ассоциаций, дальнейшего потенциала построения теории исходя из любой детали, рассматриваемой в статьях. Будет ли появляться размышление в нескольких строках или страницах или в целостной статье на ту же тему с диалогической позицией, представляемой с дополнительных точек зрения (или с расширением критической литературы по данной

теме), будет определяться характером эха.

ЭХО – это возможные голоса со всех континентов, где мы участвуем в нашем общем проекте Достоевского. Ожидается, что ЭХО будет одушевлено намерением сохранения прошлых и настоящих достижений, чтобы обогатить их, передать новую информацию, компенсировать пропущенные данные, добиться дальнейшего прогресса в выдвинутых и хорошо разработанных идеях, концептуализациях и интерпретациях, интегрируя их в более широкую область гуманитарных наук (история культуры, литературоведение, междисциплинарные методологии и т. д.). ЭХО может представлять нас, формируя еще один форум для развития коллективной мудрости за счет индивидуальных голосов – за счет создания смыслового звукоряда с константами и переменными, схождениями и расхождениями.

Каталин Кроо
Главный редактор

ARTICLES



СТАТЪИ

From the End to the Beginning



С конца до начала

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***Logos Sent into a Headspin:
Notes on the Conversation with the Devil
in Dostoevsky's The Brothers Karamazov***¹

Dedicated to the memory of Horst-Jürgen Gerigk

Ivan Karamazov avowedly believes neither in immortality nor in God and the devil (*IICC* 14; 123).² Nevertheless, he has a long and wide-ranging conversation with a devil in a felt hat and plaid trousers (*IICC* 15; 69-85). This need not worry us at this point. What would be an imposition on the mind in our everyday experience, in a work of art we either accept as typical of the genre, or we expect the author to rationally resolve what irritates us. In the case of Ivan Karamazov, the most obvious explanation for the presence of the plaid gentleman is that Ivan is hallucinating him. And indeed, Dostoevsky's narrator seems to make precisely this diagnosis, albeit with the caveat "I am not a doctor" (*IICC* 15; 69). He quotes a doctor's verdict that hallucinations are "very possible" in Ivan's condition (*ibid.*; 70). The reader is thus given a medical prescription, as it were, for further reading. His trust in the narrator's authority is soon shaken, however, when he realizes that the narrator does not really distance himself from the delusional perception of his protagonist.³ This narrator is obviously

- 1 This paper is an extended und updated version of the author's essay: Urs HEFTRICH, "Vom Kreisen des Logos. Anmerkungen zum Teufelsgespräch in Dostoevskijs *Brüdern Karamazov*", in Thomas BRUNS und Henrieke STAHL (Hrsg.), *Sprache – Literatur – Kultur. Studien zur slavischen Philologie und Geistesgeschichte. Festschrift für Gerhard Ressel zum 60. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt/M. et al.: Peter Lang, 2005), S. 301-310.
- 2 *The Brothers Karamazov* is cited below according to the *IICC* edition in my own English translation. A bibliography of literature on the novel is provided in Horst-Jürgen GERIGK (Hrsg.), "*Die Brüder Karamasow*". *Dostojevskijs letzter Roman in heutiger Sicht* (Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1997), S. 245-268.
- 3 It is not the narrator who proves that the damp towel with which Ivan cools his forehead during the devil's conversation is a delusion, but Alyosha (cf. *IICC* 15; 72 with 86). Anyone who, like Kevin Corrigan, considers Ivan's devil to be an internal fictional "reality" will find this passage difficult to explain (Kevin CORRIGAN, "Ivan's Devil in *The Brothers Karamazov* in the Light of a Traditional Platonic View of Evil", *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, vol. 22, № 1, 1986, pp. 1-9; p. 5). The procedure of leaving the reader in the dark about

not to be relied upon when it comes to deciding what is inner-fictional imagination and what is “reality”. Dostoevsky thus perfidiously puts his audience in the same position as his protagonist: rational thinking suffers massive uncertainty through the confrontation with a figment of the imagination.

What is the purpose of this construction? An answer is attempted here in three steps. First, the chances of the logically reasoning mind to unmask a hallucination as such are examined. The results of this general reflection are then applied to the specifics of the devil’s conversation with Ivan Karamazov and their significance for the novel. Finally, there is a brief discussion on the ideological intention behind Dostoevsky’s design, with reference to Horst-Jürgen Gerigk’s groundbreaking insights into the interaction between structure and ideology in *The Brothers Karamazov*.

I

In his *General Psychopathology*, Karl Jaspers defines “hallucinations proper” as

...actual false perceptions which are not in any way distortions of real perceptions but spring up on their own as something quite new and occur simultaneously with and alongside real perceptions. [...] In actual sense-perception we deal ultimately not with one single sense, but with an object. This object seems to us as one and the same through the operation of several senses. So with hallucination, one sense supplements the other.⁴

Hallucinations obviously unfold their illusion to the same phenomenal fullness as real perception. What makes the illusion an illusion is precisely that it is not inferior to our normal sensory perception. Abnormal and normal perception provide the mind with one and the same material; the mind has to deal with sensuality, here and there. All “thought must”, according to Kant, “directly, or indirectly, by means of certain signs, relate ultimately to intuitions; consequently, with us, to sensibility”. In other words: “Understanding cannot intuit, and the sensuous faculty cannot think. In no other way than from the united

the reality status of the events is not new in Dostoevsky; it has already been tried out in *The Double*.

4 Karl JASPERS, *Allgemeine Psychopathologie* (Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Springer, 8th ed., 1965), S. 57, 63. Engl. transl.: Karl JASPERS, *General Psychopathology*, transl. by J. Hoenig and Marian W. Hamilton, with a New Foreword by Paul R. McHugh (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 66 and 74.

operation of both, can knowledge arise”.⁵ According to Kant’s definition, questioning sensuality through the intellect – and what else would an attempt to get to grips with a hallucination with the help of logic be? – would be an absurd undertaking. For logic “contains only forms and rules for thinking operations [...]. In reflecting, Reason is absolutely forced to take its material contents from outside, *i.e.*, from the intuitive representations” (Schopenhauer).⁶ Whether one calls the ability to draw conclusions “understanding” or “reason” is irrelevant at this point; Kant and Schopenhauer agree on the essentials. And it lies in the consequence of their thought that logic not only cannot refute a deceptive perception of the senses by its own power, but that it must even *confirm* it. This is precisely what Jaspers has in mind when he says that “logical reasoning [...] serves the delusion and can never turn and refute it”, and emphasizes that “thinking is in order in delusion and even used ingeniously to serve it”.⁷ For the psychiatrist Silvano Arieti, the delusion work, which ultimately leads to the “*delusional system*”,⁸ is a fixed feature of schizophrenia: “the patient will try to demonstrate logically what seems evident to him”.⁹ And not only for the patient himself, but also for his environment: “There is no point in trying to convince him that he is wrong”.¹⁰

The literary realization of this insight can already be found in E.T.A. Hoffmann, whose Serapion Brother Cyprian wants to cure the insane Serapion with rational arguments. Serapion replies: “You are obviously the most impotent of all the adversaries who have appeared to me, and I will beat you with your own weapons, that is, with the weapons of reason”. He succeeds in doing so – “with gruesome acumen”, as Hoffmann remarks.¹¹

5 Immanuel KANT, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975), S. 69, 98 (= *Critique of Pure Reason*, §4.1.1 § I. and §4.2.1.1 I., transl. by J. M. D. Meiklejohn).

6 Arthur SCHOPENHAUER, *Zürcher Ausgabe. Werke in zehn Bänden* (Zürich: Diogenes, 1977), B. 5, S. 132 (= *On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason*, § 34, transl. by Karl Hillebrand).

7 JASPERS 1965, S. 342 and 164 (Engl. transl. JASPERS 1997, pp. 411 and 195, see also p. 97: “The critical faculty is not obliterated but *put into the service of the delusion*”).

8 JASPERS 1965, S. 89 (Engl. transl. JASPERS 1997, p. 106).

9 Silvano ARIETI, *Understanding and Helping the Schizophrenic. A Guide for Family and Friends* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), p. 44.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

11 E.T.A. HOFFMANN, *Die Serapions-Brüder* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), S. 23, 54. Here and wherever not otherwise indicated, translations from German are by the author of this article.

II

But it is Dostoevsky, well familiar with Hoffmann's work, who pulls out all the stops of rhetorical virtuosity that the subject has to offer: on the one hand by transferring the dialogue to a single person, and on the other by consistently unfolding all conceivable arguments. A note on the *Demons* – later partly blended into Ivan Karamazov's nightmare – reflects the insight that the hallucination has already won the very moment its victim enters into conversation with it: "I was upset that my own devil could appear in such a vile mask... By the way, I kept silent – on purpose; but I was not only silent, I was motionless. He was terribly upset by this..."¹² All intellectual resistance notwithstanding, it is only the readiness to see hallucinations that creates them in the first place. Dostoevsky is just as aware of this as he is of the uselessness of logic in the face of a deceptive perception; indeed, he compares it to the futility of proofs of God:

"Don't believe it", the gentleman laughed amiably, "what kind of faith would that be to force? Besides, proofs never help in matters of faith, especially not material evidence. Thomas did not believe because he saw the risen Christ, but because he wanted to believe beforehand [...]. The hereafter and material evidence – hushabye baby!" (*ICC* 15; 71).

The devil is right: the hope of attaining ultimate certainty about the validity of perception by means of pure reason is just as futile as trusting in a proof of God. In both cases, thinking attempts to transcend the world of the senses. Dostoevsky shows how the hallucination gains an unassailable superiority over thinking through its sheer presence. Every argument turns, for the very reason that it is only an argument, in favor of the hallucination. The *aporia* comes to a head when the hallucination begins to refute itself. Dostoevsky makes use of this extreme possibility twice:

The devil: "I deliberately told you your own anecdote, which you had already forgotten, so that you would lose all faith in me". Ivan: "You're lying!" (*ICC* 15; 80).

The devil: "I'm just your nightmare and nothing more". Ivan: "You're lying!" (*ICC* 15; 74).

Ultimately, if the hallucination does not disappear of its own accord, there

12 Quoted from Natalie REBER, *Studien zum Motiv des Doppelgängers bei Dostojewskij und E.T.A. Hoffmann* (Gießen: Schmitz, 1964), S. 83.

is only one way to dispel it: the startling intrusion of the outside world. As if he had been aware of the psychiatric recommendation that one who hears voices should above all be torn from his “listening attitude”,¹³ Dostoevsky ends Ivan’s nightmare by Alyosha’s insistent knocking on the window (*IICC* 15; 84). The illusion is not dispelled by argument, it gives way to a stronger sensory impression. Our theoretical assumption thus seems to be confirmed by the literary example: the mind does not know how to help itself in the face of a hallucination.

But is it not possible to deal with a hallucination in the same way as with an optical illusion? Is it not possible to test it against other data provided by the senses and make a judgment based on this comparison, all the more so because hallucinations, by definition, “occur simultaneously with and alongside real perceptions”?¹⁴ The argument is, to use Thomas Mann’s words, “resounding, but too facile”.¹⁵ On the one hand, the mind is no longer left to its own devices as soon as it assesses the illusory perception with the help of a real one. On the other hand, such an operation of the mind will not eliminate what is undeniably present. A hallucination does not disappear through its intellectual unmasking. Dostoevsky knows this and uses it for his own purposes. Ivan believes he has found an objective touchstone for the unreality of his visitor. A hallucination, he believes, cannot express anything that is not already known to the mind from which it springs. Only if the devil proved to have a lead in knowledge over his counterpart would he have an independent existence. Ivan tries out this supposedly reliable means twice. Once he thinks he has uncovered the devil’s deception: the anecdote about the quadrillion years, which Ivan initially follows with “unexpected interest” (*IICC* 15; 78), turns out to be his own brainchild. Just how little Ivan gains from this victory over his adversary has already been quoted (*IICC* 15; 80). The other time, the devil manages to baffle Ivan with an ingenious variation on Terence’s phrase “Nothing human is alien to me”:

[Ivan:] “How, how? *Satanas sum et nihil humanum...* that’s not stupid for a devil! [...] But you didn’t get that from me!” – Ivan stopped in his tracks. [...] “*C’est du nouveau, n’est-ce pas?* This time I’ll be honest and explain it to you. Pay attention: in dreams [...] a person sometimes sees such a [...] real reality, [...] with such [...] unexpected details [...] that, I swear to you, even Lev Tolstoy couldn’t make something like that up” (*IICC* 15; 74).

13 ARIETI, p. 110f.

14 JASPERS 1965, S. 57 (Engl. transl.: JASPERS 1997, p. 66).

15 THOMAS MANN, *Gesammelte Werke in dreizehn Bänden* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990), B. VII, S. 190 (= *Der Erwählte*, Chap. “Die Buße”).

The devil, seemingly confirmed in his incarnate existence in the most convincing fashion, destroys this confirmation himself. There is no method of proof that could provide the victim of a hallucination with the certainty he seeks. Logical thinking, otherwise the guardian of common sense, turns into the accelerator of madness by engaging in the delusions of the senses. Once the mind has torn itself away from its anchoring in the outside world, it can no longer find its way back there on its own. On the contrary, it is its very strength that keeps it spinning in circles. “From what does the most penetrating folly spring”, asks Montaigne,¹⁶ “but from the most penetrating spirit”? The failure of the Logos is therefore no accident, but an immanent necessity.¹⁷ Conversations with the vile one are vicious circles.

But why does Dostoevsky expose the most enlightened of the Karamazov brothers to a conversation with the messenger from hell? In order to understand this paradox, we must take a look at the person in whom it is rooted. There are many more contradictions there. Let us single out the most important one. If there is no immortality, Ivan concludes, then the basis of all morality and thus the question of good and evil no longer exists; ergo “everything is permitted” (*IICC* 14; 65). For Ivan, the moral sense of human beings arises solely from the idea of the hereafter. But it is precisely this moral sense that forbids him to believe in paradise. Ivan rejects the kingdom of heaven because it promises retribution for all the deeds and misdeeds of this world. He revolts against this by pointing to worldly atrocities that make a mockery of any heavenly compensation (*IICC* 14; 223).

16 Michel de MONTAIGNE, *Essais*. Auswahl und Übersetzung v. Herbert Lüthy (Zürich: Manesse, 6th ed. 1985), S. 442 (= Book 2, Chapter XII).

17 See also Deborah Martinsen’s poignant observation, that “the Devil reminds Ivan of the divine Logos” (Deborah A. MARTINSEN, “The Devil Incarnate”, in Predrag CICOVACKI and Maria GRANIK (eds.), *Dostoevsky’s “Brothers Karamazov”. Art, Creativity, and Spirituality* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), pp. 45-71: p. 70). Jens Herlth also deals with the problem of logos in Ivan Karamazov’s conversation with the Devil, but from a different angle. Herlth emphasizes the parallels to Goethe’s *Faust*, and in particular to Faust’s high-handed translation of the concept of logos. Herlth’s interpretation is based on Ivan’s report of atrocities against children, which are explicitly presented as mere “facts”, which Ivan ostentatiously refrains from commenting on: “I don’t understand anything [...] and I don’t want to understand anything now. I want to stick to the facts” (*IICC* 14; 222). Alluding to a famous dictum by Goya, Herlth explains: “The renunciation of interpretation produces monsters” (Jens HERLTH, “Böse Lektüre: Anmerkungen zum Kapitel ‘Čert. Košmar Ivana Fedoroviča’ aus Dostoevskijs *Brat’ja Karamazovy*”, in Bodo ZELINSKY [Hrsg.], *Das Böse in der russischen Kultur* [Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2008], S. 146-169: S. 149). However, one must ask oneself whether he himself is not here dispensing with the most obvious interpretation of Ivan’s gesture: Ivan does judge the atrocities mentioned – by phrasing his verdict as a variant of the so-called unspeakability topos.

Both the one and the other are proclaimed by “our dear eccentric and paradoxical Ivan Fedorovich” (*IICC* 15; 65), who can truly “grasp abysses of belief and unbelief in one and the same moment” (*IICC* 15; 80). Who is this Ivan: an overly squeamish man who is broken by general injustice – or a hardened cynic? He is probably both at the same time. Alyosha sees “a deep conscience” at work in him (*IICC* 15; 89). Ivan, a man of reason, has only one way out of his heart’s inability to come to terms with the evil in the world: he places himself beyond good and evil. According to Dostoevsky, this is an aberration. None other than Starets Zosima is chosen to reveal what lies behind the mask of intellectual immoralism: “For the time being, you are playing out of despair [...] without believing in your own dialectic, which you laugh at with a soft heart...” (*IICC* 14; 65). Dostoevsky has arranged everything in such a way that this “dialectic”, for Ivan a makeshift means of coming to terms with the evil of the world, turns into an instrument of murder in the hands of a third party. “Everything is permitted” (*IICC* 15; 67), Smerdyakov tells Ivan after he has killed their father, “And you are the true legal murderer” (*IICC* 15; 63).

Through the exercise of abstract reason, devised to eradicate guilt from the world, Ivan only becomes entangled in guilt; pure reason makes him a murderer. To further emphasize Ivan’s responsibility, Dostoevsky, as we know, portrayed the eager disciple Smerdyakov as a negative double of his master:¹⁸

There was the lackey Smerdyakov sitting on the bench at the gate [...], and Ivan Fedorovich [...] realized that the lackey Smerdyakov was sitting in his soul, too, and that his soul could not bear this particular person. Everything suddenly became bright and clear¹⁹ (*IICC* 14; 242).

If we add to this the fact that Ivan persistently insults the lackey in Chapter VI of Book 5 as a “devil” (черт), but the devil in turn as a “lackey” (*IICC* 15; 83), that Smerdyakov is Ivan’s half-brother, and that the appearance of the devil occurs at the very time when Smerdyakov hangs himself, the intentionality of the interlinking of all these elements becomes unquestionable. The picture of a highly unholy trinity emerges, with Ivan taking the place of the father. What

18 Olga Meerson points to the biblical subtexts of the teacher-disciple relationship between Ivan and Smerdyakov. See: Olga MEERSON, *Dostoevsky’s Taboos*, with an Introductory Note by Horst-Jürgen Gerigk and a Preface by Robert L. Belknap (Dresden, München: Dresden University Press and Studies of the Harriman Institute, 1998), pp. 186-207.

19 Cf. also Dmitrij TSCHIŽEWSKIJ, “Zum Doppelgängerproblem bei Dostojevskij. Versuch einer philosophischen Interpretation”, in Dmitrij TSCHIŽEWSKIJ (Hrsg.), *Dostojevskij-Studien* (Reichenberg: Stiepel, 1931), S. 19-51.

holds them together is the evil born of cold logical thinking.²⁰ This way of thinking has already been devastatingly defeated in the field of morality. Now it is being challenged in its own field: that of proving and disproving.

Ivan's encounter with the devil is characterized by fierce resistance from the very beginning. There is no room for metaphysical guests in his realm of thought. In the first phase of the conversation (*ИСС* 15; 71-79), he attempts to defeat the devil with the weapons of dialectics. The means he uses to do so have already been shown by way of example. Any further evidence could only confirm what is *a priori* certain: the devil has sensuality on his side and is therefore unbeatable. He can allow himself any kind of weakness, right up to the verbal obliteration of his own existence; as long as he is sitting on the sofa, he retains the upper hand. This relationship also characterizes the atmosphere of the conversation: impotent rage on Ivan's side; mockery, irony and maliciously emphasized comfort on the devil's side.

His attacks are decidedly aimed at *reason*. The devil's first reply deals with the limitations of logical thinking. The passage has already been quoted (*ИСС* 15; 71): "Besides, proofs never help in matters of faith..." This statement is programmatic, it names the premise under which the entire discussion will stand and which it is precisely trying to deny. Reason has thus been shown its limits once and for all: limits that Kant had already set for it in order to allow it to develop all the more generously in a narrower space. Such generosity is alien to Dostoevsky.

The devil's next blow is not directed against reason in general, it takes direct aim at Ivan – a tactic that will characterize the second phase of the fight in particular. "Зато ты-то как умен" says the devil, meaning: "That's why you're so clever" (*ИСС* 15; 74). The Russian adjective contains the concept that matters: 'um' (ум), the mind, is directly targeted for the first time at this point. The 'um' is now being systematically demolished. "Unfortunately, the truth almost always tends to be less witty" (*ИСС* 15; 75). This sentence must also be read in the original: "к сожалению, правда почти всегда бывает неостро-ум-на" (my segmentation and italics – *U. H.*). Can such wisdom be believed, or is it, again in the words of Thomas Mann, a "mere devil's fart"?²¹ Absolutely not: it can already be found in the 5th book of *The Brothers Karamazov*, and it is bitterly serious when Ivan confesses to his brother there: "The more stupid, the clearer. Stupidity is short and not smart, but the mind [ум] keeps making excuses and

20 Cf. on this: Яков Е. ГОЛОСОВКЕР, *Достоевский и Кант. Размышления читателя над романом «Братья Карамазовы» и трактатом Канта «Критика чистого разума»* (Москва: Изд. АН СССР, 1963), с. 5-24 and с. 85-101.

21 MANN, Bd. 6, S. 321 (= *Doktor Faustus*, Chap. XXV).

hiding. The mind [ум] is a scoundrel, but stupidity is honest and straightforward” (ITCC 15; 215).

Against this background, it is easier to decide which of the devil’s words can be taken at face value and which cannot. Where the devil criticizes reason, Ivan’s later admission obviously applies: “By the way, he told me a lot of true things about myself” (ITCC 15; 87).²² On the other hand, caution is required when the devil turns to the problem of theodicy:

If everything in the world were reasonable [благоразумно!], nothing would happen [...]. And so I bite off my anger and serve, so that there are events, and create unreasonable things on command [неразумное!]. People take all this comedy for something serious, even with all their indisputable sense [ум] (ITCC 15; 77; segmentations and italics in the Russian quotes – U. H.).

It would be foolhardy to assume that Dostoevsky entrusts Satan, of all creatures, with the proclamation of his religious convictions. On the contrary, by choosing this speaker he wants to discredit a common theodicy. He is neither defending unreason (like the devil) nor justifying divine wisdom in the face of evil (like Leibniz’s “sagesse divine”); rather, Dostoevsky wants to show that the yardstick of human reason does not measure up to creation *per se*. The theological digression is followed by a philosophical one. By mocking Descartes, the devil takes an axe to the roots of rationalism: “*Je pense, donc je suis*, that I know for sure, but as for the rest around me, all these worlds, God, and even Satan himself, – all this is not proven to me...” (ITCC 15; 77). The Descartes quote in the devil’s mouth harbors a deeper meaning beneath its comical surface. Firstly, if a hallucination is able to claim the only certain proof of existence for itself, then this proof cannot be of much use. Secondly, thinking that is based on such evidence, i.e. that regards man first and foremost as a *res cogitans*, is also not at its best. Reason can be considered dead after this prank; with a sense of resignation, Ivan asks for an anecdote (ITCC 15; 78).

This leads to the second phase of the discussion. There is a shift in focus: Ivan hardly tries to deny the *existence* of his counterpart anymore; it is his *views* that he does not want to acknowledge. The hallucination is no longer of interest as such; its *diabolical* nature comes into focus. Correspondingly, the devil changes his target: after shattering rational thought, he sets about shattering Ivan. Where does this turn come about? The point can be determined exactly. Ivan, who until now has stubbornly refused to believe in his hallucination, says

22 Cf. also the devil’s words: “Друг мой, не в одном уме дело!” (ITCC 15; 76).

“suddenly strangely”: “By the way, I wish I could believe in you!” (*IICC* 15; 79). From now on, this wish becomes more and more urgent, until Ivan cries out: “That wasn’t a dream!” (*IICC* 15; 85) and his confession to Alyosha: “I wish very much that he was really *him* and not me!” (*IICC* 15; 87). Words spoken long after the hallucination has disappeared and is recognized as such!

Ivan’s change of heart is all the more surprising as he has the upper hand for the first time at that moment. The devil seems to have been caught: “That anecdote about the quadrillion years – I invented it myself!” (*IICC* 15; 79). On closer inspection, the astonishment evaporates. Ivan’s statement is highly ambiguous. It “proves” that the devil thinks nothing of his own, and therefore is not; but at the same time it also shows that the devil begins to confront Ivan with his *past*. The *old* Ivan, “our dear eccentric and paradoxalist Ivan Fedorovich”, the mastermind and doppelgänger of the murderer Smerdyakov, actually long since overcome by the *new* Ivan’s decision to face the judge – that Ivan rises from the dead once again. Ivan cannot withstand this sight. Even the reality of the irrational seems more bearable, he throws his tea glass at the ghost (*IICC* 15; 84). This is the final capitulation of a way of thinking that only recognizes what it has logically proven and for which morality exists only as a deduction from an idea of God.

III

It is now time to turn to the initially mentioned interpretation of Dostoevsky’s last novel by Horst-Jürgen Gerigk – all the more so as in recent works on evil in *The Brothers Karamazov* this interpretation has not received the attention it deserves.²³ Gerigk reads the construction of the novel as a finely tuned, systematically structured philosophical answer to the question: “How does evil come into the world?”²⁴ This answer is based on the theory of the human conscience as an inner court from Kant’s *Metaphysics of Morals*. According to Gerigk, the altogether four sons of the murdered father Karamazov, i.e. “the three Karamazov brothers and Smerdyakov form a single person”.²⁵ It is before the inner court of this one person that the trial is held over who is actually to blame for patricide:

23 Surprisingly, neither Harreß (Birgit HARREß, “Macht und Ohnmacht des Bösen in Dostoevskijs Roman *Brat’ja Karamazovy*”, in Bodo ZELINSKY [Hrsg.], *Das Böse in der russischen Kultur* [Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2008], S. 133-145) nor HERLTH (2008) address Gerigk’s theory of evil in *The Brothers Karamazov*.

24 GERIGK, “Die Architektonik...”, S. 49.

25 *Ibid.*, S. 52.

In search of the perpetrator, the three brothers find – themselves! Each of them contributed to Smerdyakov’s murder. Each of them could have prevented Smerdyakov from taking action. In this way, the collective of the Karamazov brothers emulates the symbolic movement of King Oedipus, who searched for his father’s murderer and found himself.²⁶

Gerigk explicitly opposes all attempts to “see Ivan as the main culprit” or Dmitry as the innocent victim of a miscarriage of justice.²⁷ “It is not the actual killer [Smerdyakov] who is the true murderer, but the collective of the three title characters who have provided the actual killer with the opportunity to take action – with Dmitry in the lead.”²⁸ Only *de jure* is Dmitry wrongly convicted, but from a moral point of view, he is rightly found guilty: “Only Dmitry’s decision to act releases the reality of evil.”²⁹ The path from homicidal thought to actual murder thus passes through four stages: Alyosha rejects the desire to kill as it briefly arises in him. Ivan affirms it in theory. Dmitry affirms it in practice by being hell-bent on the deed. Smerdyakov carries out this very decision. This is the overall ethical architecture of the novel as mapped by Gerigk:

Note the essence of Dostoevsky’s construction. In the monastery, Alexey misses the opportunity to become involved in the world, i.e. to dissuade his brother Dmitry from reckless behavior. Dostoevsky’s reproach is directed at the *monk*, who claims to have nothing to do with the world. Ivan preemptively removes himself from the scene of the crime so as not to stand in the way of the hoped-for murder. Dostoevsky’s accusation is directed at the *intellectual* who unscrupulously instigates the crime, but then disappears and pretends afterwards that he knew nothing about it. Dmitry unhesitatingly assumes the role of the perpetrator because he passionately indulges his righteous indignation. Dostoevsky’s reproach is directed at the *soldier* who openly admits to killing in the name of a good cause. Thus, *monk*, *intellectual* and *soldier*, as defined by Dostoevsky, bring forth the reality of evil. In this construction, Smerdyakov is the *lackey*, a mere tool provided by the *intellectual*, set in motion by the *soldier*.³⁰

26 *Ibid.*, S. 49.

27 *Ibid.*, S. 52.

28 *Ibid.*, S. 54.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, *Dostojewskijs Entwicklung als Schriftsteller. Vom “Toten Haus” zu den “Brüdern Karamasow”* (Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer, 2013), S. 245-246.

The extent to which Gerigk's structural analyses of Dostoevsky's great novels, from *The Adolescent*³¹ to *The Brothers Karamazov*, have revolutionized Dostoevsky research can hardly be overestimated. If anything can be added to his allegorical reading of Dostoevsky's final masterpiece, then at most this: it could actually be thought through even more consistently than Gerigk himself has done. The following considerations should be understood as an attempt in this direction.

Gerigk's approach to *The Brothers Karamazov* reveals the tectonics that holds the entire novel together: it rests on four pillars, each pillar carrying the face of one of the four brothers. A structure that rests on four supporting elements is most stable if all four elements are equally strong. It is therefore surprising that Gerigk himself, after uncovering the construction plan of Dostoevsky's most spacious edifice, sets about questioning the importance of one particular pillar: Smerdyakov.

If he sees "Dmitry in the lead" of the foursome of brothers, he naturally has good reason to do so. Gerigk rightly observes: "As long as Ivan's rebellion against God receives more attention than the events at the crime scene, an appropriate interpretation of *The Brothers Karamazov* is clearly a long way off".³² The entire plot of the novel revolves around the miscarriage of justice that the court commits against Dmitry and the question as to whether this verdict might represent a higher justice after all. Those who focus their attention primarily on Ivan as the guilty party ultimately agree with Smerdyakov, who calls his teacher the "true legal murderer" – which Ivan is clearly not.³³

Significantly, however, Gerigk seems to struggle with categorizing the one who is actually the only real murderer in *The Brothers Karamazov*: Smerdyakov.³⁴ On the one hand, he downgrades Smerdyakov to a "mere tool", even denies him the precarious privilege of being considered a "true murderer"³⁵ and points out that, as the "executor of evil desire, he is not there on his own, but only when he is called".³⁶ Gerigk states that "Smerdyakov, unlike his brothers,

31 Cf. Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, *Versuch über Dostoevskijs "Jüngling". Ein Beitrag zur Theorie des Romans* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1965).

32 GERIGK, "Die Architektonik...", S. 73.

33 Gerigk rightly refutes a common interpretation, represented by Golosovker: "It is therefore completely wrong when Jakov Golosovker in his essay *Dostoevsky i Kant* affirmatively repeats a common assumption of earlier Dostoevsky research, according to which the earthly court wrongly condemns Dmitry, but the court of God sees the guilty party in Ivan" (GERIGK, *Dostojewskijs Entwicklung*, S. 213).

34 GERIGK, "Die Architektonik...", S. 61.

35 *Ibid.*, S. 54.

36 *Ibid.*, S. 64.

is only ever presented to us from someone else's point of view. [...] Smerdyakov is not portrayed from the inside!"³⁷ On the other hand, he emphasizes "the autonomy of the individual Pavel Fyodorovich Smerdyakov", who certainly has the freedom of will to decide for or against killing his father.³⁸ As if that were not enough, he claims that even Smerdyakov's outward appearance is only composed of features "that can be freely chosen": "In a word, Smerdyakov's appearance is the objective correlative of an inner dynamic determined by the idea of morality".³⁹

As we can see, Gerigk's considerations lend Smerdyakov a somewhat shaky ontological and ethical status: something between a mere projection and a person with his own history, between a tool and a free-willed human being – as if he were among the Karamazov siblings Brother No. 3,5.⁴⁰ The murky circumstances of his origins further accentuate this impression; Gerigk concludes "that the executive of evil in man has no recognized relationship to the true nature of man".⁴¹ Indeed, the servant Grigory suspects that his de-facto stepson Smerdyakov is not human at all, but has sprouted from the wetness of a bathhouse – a kind of fungus, so to speak. Such semi-existence, of course, seems to correspond exactly to the role Smerdyakov plays in the plot of the novel, according to Gerigk:

To call Smerdyakov the devil's tool means that his own design of action is adjusted to the design of others. The design of others results in his desperate identity as invisible man. If it comes to looking for responsibility the devil's tool loses its substance and vanishes. [...] This means that the 'lackey' in one has no legitimate affinity to human nature.⁴²

But would we really say so of a character who grows up as the son of a homeless woman, of someone who as a child vents his anger by hanging cats and as

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*, S. 74.

39 Both quotes: Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, "Mikroanalyse eines Epilepsiekranken: Der Mörder Smerdjakow in den *Brüdern Karamasow*", in Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, *Ein Meister aus Russland. Beziehungsfelder der Wirkung Dostojewskijs. Vierzehn Essays* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), S. 145-159: 159.

40 Cf. also the chapters "Three or Four Sons?" and "Three or four Brothers", in MEERSON, pp. 185-207.

41 GERIGK, *Dostojewskijs Entwicklung*, S. 216.

42 Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, "Dialogue and Pseudo-Dialogue", in Predrag CICOVACKI and Maria GRANIK (eds.), *Dostoevsky's "Brothers Karamazov". Art, Creativity, and Spirituality* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), pp. 29-44: p. 40.

an adult teaches children how to torture dogs, and who experiences his first epileptic seizure at the age of twelve after being slapped by his stepfather? Would we say so about someone who develops an obsession with cleanliness and a fetishism for boots, but also plays the guitar, admires France, is proud of his cooking, dreams of opening his own restaurant with a small start-up capital – and finally seizes the opportunity to snatch this capital from his loathsome biological father with a perfectly disguised murder? Would we really deny such a person any affinity with human nature? This is a rhetorical question.

Smerdyakov is neither the devil nor a tool, but human, all too human – and in this capacity, the perfect embodiment of the banality of evil:⁴³ emotionally damaged, resentful, petty in his pipe dreams but not entirely without talents, sadistic towards the weak, greedy, cunning and extremely opportunistic when an occasion presents itself, eager to blame someone else when confronted with the consequences of his actions. And his face, already wrinkled at the age of 24, proclaims: all these characteristics are as old as mankind itself. Smerdyakov's version of evil thus marks a fundamental and at the same time highly realistic counter-position to three other, much more grandiose, ways of behaving towards evil. He neither entrenches himself saintly behind monastery walls against temptation, nor does he work himself up into an intellectual furor of moral indignation against the wickedness of the world, nor does he allow himself to be carried away in a frenzy of passion. In other words, he is neither Alyosha, nor Ivan, nor Dmitry Karamazov. He lives up to his name: he is the very stinker that none of us wants to be when tempted to do something ugly, but whom we encounter all the time (sometimes in front of a mirror). And Dostoevsky makes it clear that this ignoble variant of evil inevitably enters the scene as soon as the actual deed is committed – no matter what noble theory or emotion may have prompted it. Brother Smerdyakov is always part of the party; Gerigk's astute observation that "without Dmitry there is no murder"⁴⁴ has to be supplemented by the trivial observation that without Smerdyakov there is no murder either.

The Karamazovs' allegorical family has four indispensable members. And each of these family members is given a specific punishment that is tailored to them. Dostoevsky's novel provides, and this is important to recognize, not on-

43 Cf. the subchapter on "Die Banalität des Bösen" in HARRESS, S. 141-143. See also Urs HEFTRICH, "Der Dämon im Alltagskleid: Zum Begriff der 'pošlost' bei Nikolaj Gogol", in Peter THIERGEN (Hrsg.), *Russische Begriffsgeschichte der Neuzeit. Beiträge zu einem Forschungsdesiderat* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2006), S. 127-137.

44 GERIGK, *Dostojewskijs Entwicklung*, S. 214.

ly a “theory of stages in the development of evil”.⁴⁵ It houses an entire *penal colony* with finely graduated sanctions for each evil. All *four* of Karamazov’s sons are dealt retributive justice, which proceeds according to a strict *jus talionis*. Each of the four is punished specifically for *his* part in their father’s murder. Alyosha is expelled from the monastery walls for his attempt to hide behind them against the lure of evil. Dmitry must atone for his unfinished patricide, in which he meets and almost kills the wrong father figure (the old servant Grigory), by the fact that the court now strikes *him* as the wrong person – *instead of a servant* (Smerdyakov) and *because of a servant* (Grigory’s incorrect memory). Note the precision with which Dostoevsky relates the circumstances here! Smerdyakov, the actual murderer, is the only one of the four brothers to be sentenced to death – by his own hand. This suicide is not only motivated by the plot (in order to eliminate the decisive exonerating witness for Dmitry and at the same time make his innocence clear), but also to a large extent by the ethical system of *The Brothers Karamazov*: a murderer can perhaps still attain the kingdom of heaven, a suicide hardly. From the point of view of divine justice, Smerdyakov therefore suffers the harshest punishment; he alone is guaranteed hell (he appears to Ivan at the exact moment of his death in the form of an inhabitant of hell). This places the most banal representative of evil at the center of the action.

The Brothers Karamazov is a story of the decay of the Luciferian act, which begins with the spirit’s attempt to rise morally above the Creator and ends with a banal act of bloodshed. Ivan is punished at the seat of the intellect for providing the intellectual instrument of killing: he becomes temporarily insane. It is worth noting that Smerdyakov, for his part, describes Ivan as the “true legal murderer” and that Ivan also accuses himself of murder in court. There is an unmistakably close relationship between the theorist of amorality and the practitioner of robbery-murder. It culminates in Ivan’s conversation with Smerdyakov and his nightly conversation with the devil, which is synchronized with Smerdyakov’s suicide. The placement of this conversation in the plot of the novel thus follows a well-calculated direction. Dostoevsky takes rational thought down two paths, each of which leads to a point where it encounters something that cannot be proven but is nonetheless undeniable: the voice of conscience and the sensory presence of a hallucination. He constructs his novel in such a way that the logic first fails morally and then, at the peak of the action, fails in itself. It is now possible to determine the meaning of the

45 GERIGK, “Die Architektonik...”, S. 72. Cf. already Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, “Die zweifache Pointe der *Brüder Karamasow*. Eine Deutung mit Rücksicht auf Kants *Metaphysik der Sitten*”, *Euphorion*, vol. 69, 1975, S. 333-349.

Logos sent into a headspin: pure reason is to be reduced to absurdity, for it is “a scoundrel”. To achieve this impression, Dostoevsky, after having damaged it through skillful plotting, drives the Logos into a battle that is hopeless from the outset. He cunningly conceals to whom he owes his knowledge of the outcome of the battle: the Logos.

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The Other Trial in The Brothers Karamazov

Introduction

The Brothers Karamazov ends with one of the most famous criminal trials in world literature, but few readers remember that it begins with a frivolous civil suit. Pyotr Miusov, the cousin of Fyodor Pavlovich's first wife, commences legal proceedings against the neighboring monastery over land rights as soon as he comes into his inheritance. The lawsuit drags on for years, and it gives Miusov a pretext for joining the Karamazov family on their visit to the Elder Zosima at the beginning of the novel. Although Miusov vows to settle the suit that day, he is so upset by Fyodor Pavlovich's antics that he runs out of the monastery, his suit unresolved. Miusov never reappears in the novel and his lawsuit is forgotten. Why does the novel begin with Miusov and his suit, only to drop both early on? What bearing does this first foray into legal issues have on the novel's main trial and its larger concerns? Far from inconsequential, I argue that this lawsuit establishes the novel's concerns about boundaries and their relationship to justice. I draw on Al Katz's boundary theory to connect Miusov's lawsuit to the novel's moral questions.¹ Miusov's legal dispute over the monastery's borders establishes a contrast between legal justice, predicated on (often meaningless) binaries, and an alternative vision of justice based on inclusion and shared responsibility. Miusov's unresolved property dispute may seem far less weighty than the murder trial, but it introduces the legal system's reductionist binary logic of mine or yours, right or wrong, innocent or guilty. At the end of the novel, that same logic will cause the wrong man to be convicted through a "judicial error".

No one remembers the content of Miusov's lawsuit, not even Dostoevsky's chronicler. He introduces the suit in vague terms – "Pyotr Alexandrovich, while still very young, having just come into his inheritance, at once began endless litigation over the rights to some kind of fishing in the river or wood-cutting in the forest – I am not sure which" – and glosses over details: "the lawsuit over the bound-

1 Al KATZ, "Studies in Boundary Theory: Three Essays in Adjudication and Politics", *Buffalo Law Review*, vol. 28, № 2, 1979, pp. 383-436. I discuss his theory in detail below.

aries of their land and some rights for cutting wood in the forest and fishing in the river and so on” (“проч.”) (32; *ПСС* 14; 31).² Despite the chronicler’s lack of interest in the case, Miusov’s lawsuit introduces two issues that reverberate throughout the novel: stewardship of natural resources and demarcation of boundaries.

Jane Costlow writes about Dostoevsky’s focus on deforestation in *The Brothers Karamazov* where, in addition to Miusov’s lawsuit over woodcutting rights, “various characters in the novel are engaged in frenetic efforts to generate cash by selling forests.”³ The novel seems to disapprove of characters who engage in such an unabashed exploitation of natural resources, a position that reflects the uneasy relationship between private ownership and public goods that developed throughout the nineteenth century. In her study on property in Imperial Russia, Ekaterina Pravilova argues that the power balance between private ownership and public interest shifted throughout the century from a belief in the inviolability of private property toward “the unfinished process of building public property in Russia.”⁴ Miusov’s suit against the monastery does not deal with public property per se, but by pitting a wealthy private landowner against the monastic community, Dostoevsky creates a conflict between an individual’s right to control land and a community’s need to utilize natural resources. The debate over stewardship of natural resources in nineteenth-century Russia was bound in contradictory views about individual rights versus the public good, views that are echoed in Miusov and Zosima’s approaches to the monastery’s borders.

Although Miusov ostensibly sues over access to resources, he has no interest in using the disputed territory. He does not even know where “the controversial wood-cutting in the forest and the fishing [...] went on” (84; *ПСС* 14; 78). Miusov begins legal proceedings because “to start a lawsuit against the ‘clericals’ was something he even considered his civic and enlightened duty” (11; *ПСС* 14; 10-11). He appears in the novel as a somewhat ridiculous figure, “a lifelong European” and “a liberal of the forties and fifties” (10; *ПСС* 14; 10).⁵ His use of the French word “clericals” (клерикалы) underscores his out-

2 English translations are from Fyodor DOSTOEVSKY, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. Richard Pevar and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1990). References will be given in parenthetical form with the English first.

3 Jane COSTLOW, *Heart-Pine Russia: Walking and Writing the Nineteenth-Century Forest* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), p. 111.

4 Ekaterina PRAVILOVA, *A Public Empire: Property and the Quest for the Common Good in Imperial Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 3.

5 According to Amy Ronner, Miusov “embodies the trends and ‘isms’ that Dostoevsky came to detest in later years and even blamed for the unraveling of the Russian Family”. See Amy RONNER, *Dostoevsky as Suicidologist: Self-Destruction and the Creative Process* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2020), pp. 211-212.

sider status – the word is not used for Russian Orthodox monks.⁶ Miusov does not want to define the border between his estate and the monastery to gain the right to utilize the land, but instead to assert his “enlightened” values against those of the monastery. Miusov invokes the legal system to erect boundaries that have no meaning for him. The legal system enters the novel not as a means to establish truth or administer justice, but rather as a game that can be manipulated to serve an individual’s private purposes.

Miusov’s lawsuit has a historical precedent – a book on the Optina Monastery that Dostoevsky owned includes an account of a 1672 litigation with the townspeople over a new mill that disrupted the monastery’s rights to river access and fishing. The Tsar ruled in the monastery’s favor – the disputed mill was demolished and the monastery’s rights to the river were upheld.⁷ Yet in *The Brothers Karamazov*, the suit remains unresolved – Miusov runs out of the monastery, and the novel, before he can settle the case. On a figurative level, perhaps the suit cannot be neatly resolved because it introduces a line of binary, legalistic thinking that will continue throughout the novel, in conflict with Zosima’s alternative, expansive vision of justice.

Miusov’s interest in defining the monastery’s boundaries is juxtaposed with Zosima’s view of the monastery walls as porous. Zosima’s stance seems paradoxical – the monastery exists as a bounded world, surrounded by walls that separate it from the outside. The chronicler highlights the monastery’s physical boundaries in his descriptions: upon arriving, “the visitors left their carriages at the guest house *outside the walls* and *entered the gates* of the monastery on foot”; soon after “they went *out the gate* and through the woods” to visit Zosima at the hermitage, where “the fence and gates are shut” (34-35, 37; *ПСС* 14; 32-34; emphasis added – *E. D.*). The hermitage walls enclose a figurative Garden of Eden – Fyodor Pavlovich declares it a “vale of roses” – a bounded paradise separate from the outside world (37; *ПСС* 14; 35).

Yet Zosima consistently breaks down the barriers that separate the hermitage from the outside world. Although women are not allowed to enter the hermitage gates, the elder finds ways to meet with female believers. Peasant women wait for him by the porch, and gentlewomen wait in “two small rooms [...] built on the porch, but outside the wall [...] and the elder comes to them by an inner passage, when he feels well enough, so it is still outside the wall” (37; *ПСС* 14; 35). “So, after all, a little hole has been made from the hermitage to the ladies”, Fyodor Pavlovich says suggestively, mocking the elder’s efforts to

6 See note in *ПСС* 15; 524.

7 *Историческое описание Козельской Введенской Оптиной пустыни*, изд. третье (Москва: Типография Готье, 1876), с. 21-23. Referenced in *ПСС* 15; 524.

commune with female worshippers (37; *PICC* 14; 35). Despite his lewdness, the eldest Karamazov accurately describes Zosima's approach to the hermitage walls. The walls are not a firm border that divides two opposed groups, but instead become a porous boundary across which members of the monastic community and the outside world can interact.

Zosima's boundary-breaking view of the monastery also prompts him to send Alyosha out into the world. "Know, my dear son", he counsels Alyosha, "that from now on this is not the place for you. Remember that, young man. As soon as God grants me to depart, leave the monastery. Leave it for good" (77; *PICC* 14; 71). Zosima's words initially shock Alyosha – his elder appears to expel him from the sanctuary of the monastery. Yet Zosima does not wish to permanently banish Alyosha, but instead to send Alyosha where he is needed. "I have no doubt of you, that is why I am sending you", Zosima explains (77; *PICC* 14; 71-72). He sends Alyosha across the walls as an emissary, who can connect the monastery to the world.

During his visit to the monastery, Miusov focuses on the divisions between the monastery and the outside world. While Zosima attempts to make the atheist landowner feel at home in this unfamiliar space, figuratively expanding the monastery's boundaries to include him, Miusov continuously threatens to leave. Near the end of the visit, Miusov suddenly resolves to "be nice, amiable, and courteous" and to "relinquish to them finally, once and for all, that very day", the wood-cutting and fishing rights (84; *PICC* 14; 78). He wants to behave well to prove that he is better than Fyodor Pavlovich, and he believes that dropping the lawsuit would contribute to his generous appearance. In fact, there is nothing generous about his intentions – he is willing to drop the suit because "it was all worth very little anyway" (84; *PICC* 14; 78). The legal action over boundaries is merely a game to Miusov, not an attempt to resolve a substantive dispute. His determination to behave well and resolve the suit also proves to be shallow – Fyodor Pavlovich's behavior so infuriates him that after numerous outbursts, "Miusov rushed from the room", never to return (89; *PICC* 14; 83).

Boundary Theory and The Brothers Karamazov

The conflicting views about borders embodied in Miusov's lawsuit and Zosima's porous vision of the hermitage walls map interestingly onto the legal scholar Al Katz's boundary theory. Katz defines two types of boundaries: a vacuum boundary, which "describes a distinction between two opposed phenomena where there is no third term, no compromise, no mediation", and a live

boundary, which “describes a distinction between two opposed phenomena separated by a ‘space’ that partakes of both but is neither: compromise, mediation, ambiguity”.⁸ Whereas “a Vacuum Boundary is a line”, a live boundary is defined by mediating space between poles.⁹ Despite his focus on U.S. law, Katz posits boundary theory’s wider relevance, claiming that it “seeks to unpack certain fundamental characteristics of the form of human experience”.¹⁰ Katz’s two types of boundaries describe Miusov and Zosima’s approaches to the monastery’s borders: Miusov wants to define a hard, vacuum boundary between his land and the monastery, whereas Zosima creates a mediating space, or live boundary, between the monastic community and the outside world. In Dostoevsky’s novelistic world, vacuum boundaries form the provenance of legal systems, which aim to resolve complicated questions with binary answers. In contrast, live boundaries produce sites of compromise, thus transcending binaries.

Katz traces three famous American legal decisions to show how situations initially understood as vacuum-bounded become reconstituted as live-bounded. He argues that this kind of shift to the middle ground is an attempt to avoid making a choice, and thus becomes its own kind of inevitable choice. Yet live boundaries do not necessarily imply an abdication of responsibility – rather, these kinds of liminal spaces resonate with Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of Dostoevsky’s dialogism. In *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, Bakhtin argues: “the realm of [the idea’s] existence is not individual consciousness but dialogic communion *between* consciousnesses. The idea is a *live event*”.¹¹ The similar terminology underscores the affinity with Katz’s live boundaries: ideas in Dostoevsky take on meaning through dialogic interaction, rather than through division. In Dostoevsky’s world, live boundaries between ideas, words, and characters are what enables dialogue: what “affirms the independence, internal freedom, unfinalizability, and indeterminacy of the hero”.¹²

If live boundaries, as exemplified by the connections Zosima fosters across the monastery walls, become a positive in Dostoevsky’s novel, vacuum boundaries are problematic not only because they prevent dialogic interaction, but also because of how they are applied. According to Katz, vacuum boundaries define questions that can only be decided with “a metaphysics of truth or knowledge

8 KATZ, p. 384.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, p. 383.

11 Mikhail BAKHTIN, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 88 (emphasis in the original).

12 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

of the good”.¹³ While liberal democracy may not offer a way to decide these questions, Dostoevsky’s religious worldview might. Yet in *The Brothers Karamazov*, the characters who establish vacuum boundaries are not interested in elucidating absolute truths, but in playing intellectual games. As previously discussed, Miusov does not care about the boundary between his estate and the monastery – he is not planning to use the land. Instead, he sues over boundaries to toy with the monastery. Dostoevsky sees this kind of intellectual game played with vacuum boundaries as a problem inherent to the modern legal system. As Robert Belknap explains, “The long trial in *The Brothers Karamazov* reflects the intensity of his disillusionment with the way the jury system seemed to be shifting from the adversarial pursuit of truth and justice to an amoral contest in rhetorical persuasiveness”.¹⁴ Indeed, as I will discuss, vacuum boundaries define the jury trial at the end of the novel and contribute to the miscarriage of justice.

Ivan’s Article and the Eradication of Boundaries

Miusov’s lawsuit over property lines and Zosima’s breakdown of the monastery walls form the background to Ivan’s article on the ecclesiastical courts, the novel’s first utopian model of justice. When the elder Zosima returns to the cell after his boundary-breaking meeting with the female believers, the hieromonk Iosif summarizes Ivan’s argument: “Apparently, on the question of ecclesiastical courts, he completely rejects the separation of Church and state” (60; *ITCC* 14; 56). Ivan argues that “it is not the Church that should seek a definite place for itself in the state”, but instead “every earthly state must eventually be wholly transformed into the Church and become nothing else but the Church, rejecting whichever of its aims are incompatible with those of the Church” (62; *ITCC* 14; 58).

Ivan’s model seems to eradicate all boundaries: rather than dividing the Church from the state, he proposes that the state “rises up to the Church and becomes the Church over all the earth” (as summarized by Father Paissy) (66; *ITCC* 14; 62). Nevertheless, in Ivan’s expansive vision, the Church maintains a powerful vacuum boundary – the Church would serve justice by excommunicating criminals. Ivan sees banishment from Christ as the most effective form

¹³ KATZ, p. 434.

¹⁴ ROBERT BELKNAP, “The Trial of Mitya Karamazov”, in Predrag CICOVACKI and Maria GRANIK (ed.), *Dostoevsky’s Brothers Karamazov: Art, Creativity, and Spirituality* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), p. 91.

of punishment: whereas modern criminals can assuage their guilt with the comforting thought that they have not defied the Church, in his utopian model the criminal “would then have to go away not only from men, as now, but also from Christ. For by his crime he would have rebelled not only against men but also against Christ’s Church” (63; *ITCC* 14; 59). Ivan abolishes the boundary between Church and State but replaces it with a much more severe division: the boundary between followers of Christ and the excommunicated.

Although the article generates much interest and “many churchmen decidedly counted the author as one of their own”, Zosima reveals the cruelty of Ivan’s proposed vacuum boundary between Church and excommunicated criminal (16; *ITCC* 14; 16). “What would become of the criminal, oh, Lord, if Christian society, too – that is, the Church – rejected him in the same way that civil law rejects him and cuts him off?” – Zosima laments. “Surely there could be no greater despair, at least for a Russian criminal, for Russian criminals still have faith. Though who knows: perhaps a terrible thing would happen then – the loss of faith, perhaps, would occur in the desperate heart of the criminal, and what then?” (64-65; *ITCC* 14; 60). Zosima agrees with Ivan that if the Church took over society, the treatment of criminals would change. However, Zosima imagines that this could result in more inclusive justice: the Church “would be able to bring the excommunicated back, to deter the plotter, to regenerate the fallen” (66; *ITCC* 14; 61). Whereas Ivan’s utopian legal system would deter criminals by erecting a vacuum boundary between lawbreakers and Church, thus cutting them off from the possibility of redemption, Zosima envisions the benevolence of the Church leading to the reformation of criminals.

The irony of Ivan’s article is that he does not believe in the legal system that he proposes because he is an atheist.¹⁵ Like Miusov’s purely theoretical interest in the land over which he sues, Ivan’s proposed legal system is a game to him. He does not understand the cruelty of excommunicating criminals from the Church because he is not a believer. His rigid vacuum boundary would have catastrophic effects for criminal believers who would be separated from their church, yet for Ivan, the boundary is merely an intellectual exercise that would not affect him. Indeed, some readers concluded that “the whole article was just a brazen farce and mockery”, which somehow appealed to both believers and atheists (16; *ITCC* 14; 16).

In contrast to Ivan’s article and his proposed vacuum boundary between Church and criminal, Zosima’s ethos of live boundaries extends standard

15 Ivan’s devil asserts that Ivan wants to believe, and that he is struggling “between belief and disbelief” – another apparent vacuum boundary that becomes porous and live (645; *ITCC* 15; 80).

Church doctrine. In his Talks and Homilies that Alyosha records, Zosima embraces even the suicides: “We are told that it is a sin to pray to God for them, and outwardly the Church rejects them, as it were, but in the secret of my soul I think that one may pray for them as well” (323; *ICC* 14; 293). Just as he crosses the hermitage walls to reach the women, who are officially excluded from the sacred space, Zosima opens his heart to the suicides, whom the Church formally banishes. Zosima disavows vacuum boundaries of all kinds in favor of porous, live boundaries. Ivan’s article appears to promote the ideals of the Church, but Zosima reveals how its binary, legalistic framework stands in opposition to values of inclusion and brotherhood.¹⁶

After the discussion of Ivan’s article, Miusov introduces Ivan’s famous formulation: “were mankind’s belief in its immortality to be destroyed, [...] nothing would be immoral any longer, everything would be permitted” (69; *ICC* 14; 64-65). This critical formula enters the novel as almost a joke: Miusov, a fairly ridiculous figure, presents it as an anecdote that Ivan told at a recent gathering of local ladies. Robert Louis Jackson suggests that Ivan shared this idea “with the purpose of amusing them, shocking them out of their easygoing and simplistic notions about love for humanity”, and Miusov, too, appears to retell the story for its entertainment value.¹⁷ Yet what begins as a form of amusement takes on lethal weight: Mitya promises to remember that “evildoing should not only be permitted but even should be acknowledged as the most necessary and most intelligent solution for the situation of every godless person” (69; *ICC* 14; 65). Although Mitya does not act on Ivan’s idea, Smerdiakov does – he cites “everything is permitted” when he tells Ivan that he murdered Fyodor Pavlovich (632; *ICC* 15; 68).

Ivan’s formula eradicates all boundaries: if there is no belief in human immortality, then there are no moral laws nor limits to human behavior. Miusov claims that “everything would be permitted, even anthropophagy” (69; *ICC*

16 William Mills Todd draws a similar contrast between Ivan and Zosima’s modes of storytelling. He argues that whereas in Book 5, “Ivan’s narratives work to isolate their subjects (hence their genre designation, ‘little pictures’), in Book 6 “Zosima’s narratives work to link with other stories, to show that nothing is lost”. Ivan erects vacuum boundaries between his subjects, whereas Zosima tells stories to forge connections. See William Mills TODD III, “On the Uses and Abuses of Narrative in *The Brothers Karamazov*”, in Horst-Jürgen GERIGK (Hrsg.), “*Die Brüder Karamasow*”: Dostojewskijs letzter Roman in heutiger Sicht; elf Vorträge des IX. Symposiums der Internationalen Dostojewskij-Gesellschaft. Gaming/Niederösterreich, 30. Juli – 6. August 1995 (Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1997), p. 83.

17 Robert Louis JACKSON, *Dialogues with Dostoevsky: The Overwhelming Questions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 295.

14; 65). Cannibalism represents the destruction of all social and moral boundaries through a physical boundary-crossing: the ultimate violation of the human body. Yet this destruction of boundaries is predicated on a vacuum boundary: *if* there is no belief in immortality, *then* everything is permitted. Zosima notes that Ivan does not seem to really believe in the binary he establishes: “you, too, are toying, out of despair, with your magazine articles and drawing-room discussions, without believing in your own dialectics and smirking at them with your heart aching inside you...” (70; *IICC* 14; 65). Ivan’s formula offers a glimpse of a world without moral boundaries, yet it, like his article, is built on binary thinking. This vacuum-bounded approach to morality reaches its horrific, logical conclusion with the murder of Fyodor Pavlovich.

Vacuum Boundaries in Mitya’s Trial

If readers tend to forget about Miusov’s lawsuit that opens the novel, they remember and are often puzzled by the inordinate amount of time spent on the criminal trial that concludes the novel. Dostoevsky devotes the entirety of Book 12 to the trial, which ostensibly will establish Dmitry’s innocence or guilt. And yet, the trial fails to uncover the truth: Mitya is sentenced to twenty years of hard labor for a crime that he did not commit. Why does the novel end with what Gary Rosenshield describes as “the ultimate prosaics” of the “long and lawyerly” jury trial, and what relation does this trial have to the lawsuit that opens the novel?¹⁸

The jury trial represents the fullest expression of vacuum boundaries in the novel: almost one hundred pages and hours of testimony are devoted to drawing the line between guilt and innocence. While Mitya’s prospects in the trial take numerous turns, the cause of the judicial error remains open to interpretation. Amy Ronner pinpoints Ivan’s excessively truthful testimony as the moment that dooms Mitya;¹⁹ Rosenshield argues that “the real struggle that occurs in the jury trial is not so much about Dmitry’s guilt or innocence but about the authority of the word.”²⁰ I would add to these interpretations a reading rooted in boundary theory. The trial’s failure to establish Mitya’s innocence stems from the flawed premise that this is a case of vacuum boundaries: that he is either guilty *or* innocent.

18 Gary ROSENSHIELD, *Western Law, Russian Justice: Dostoevsky, the Jury Trial, and the Law* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), p. 5.

19 Amy RONNER, *Dostoevsky and the Law* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2015), pp. 195-196.

20 ROSENSHIELD, p. 30.

Dostoevsky devotes more than half of the lengthy trial scene to the two lawyers' speeches. The prosecutor Ippolit Kirillovich lays out the facts of the case, Mitya's history and psychology, and concludes with an impassioned speech to the jurors about their role as "the defenders of our truth, the defenders of our holy Russia, of her foundations, of her family, of all that is holy in her!" (722; *ИИСС* 15; 150). The prosecutor's case rests upon a straightforward interpretation of the facts, which together paint a damning portrait of Mitya. As readers of the novel are well aware, the prosecutor's interpretation of the evidence is incorrect, yet his narrative appears reasonable.

The defense attorney Fetiukovich, however, masterfully breaks down the prosecutor's case by inserting doubt. He goes through each piece of evidence and demonstrates how it can be interpreted differently from the prosecutor's reading, and thus how it does not add up to a clear case against Mitya. Fetiukovich attributes the holes he can poke in the prosecutor's case to the double-ended nature of psychology: "I myself, gentlemen of the jury, have resorted to psychology now, in order to demonstrate that one can draw whatever conclusions one likes from it. It all depends on whose hands it is in" (728; *ИИСС* 15; 156). Fetiukovich argues that all interpretation is subjective and relative – that evidence can be interpreted to create any narrative that one likes. This approach is problematic – Rosenshield contends that this argument opens the door for Dostoevsky's novelistic project to be similarly deconstructed – but Fetiukovich is also right. Mitya did not kill his father, and the prosecution's damning narrative is constructed on an incorrect interpretation of evidence.

Yet Fetiukovich dooms his argument by attempting to play both sides of the case. After inserting doubt into the prosecutor's narrative and expressing his concern that despite a lack of clear evidence Mitya "will perish merely from the totality of these facts", Fetiukovich changes tack: "I do not renounce one iota of what I have just said, but suppose I did, suppose for a moment that I, too, agreed with the prosecution that my unfortunate client stained his hands with his father's blood" (741; *ИИСС* 15; 167). The vacuum boundary between guilt and innocence becomes meaningless in this moment – the defense attorney suddenly changes his position to argue that *even if* Mitya killed his father, he should still be acquitted because Fyodor Pavlovich was not a real father to him. The argument is absurd – Rosenshield notes that Dostoevsky reduces the lawyer by giving him "a patently ridiculous argument about sons who have the right to kill less than perfect fathers."²¹ Fetiukovich's final argument exposes

21 ROSENSHIELD, p. 246. Fetiukovich's absurd argument, that Dmitry should be acquitted for killing his father because his father was not a real parent to him, has a famous literary predecessor: Apollo offers a similar argument for why Orestes should not be held respon-

how he views the trial's vacuum boundary as a semantic game. The defense attorney does not attempt to draw the line between guilt and innocence in order to uncover an absolute truth, but rather to toy with the idea of truth.

In his final charge to the jury, Fetiukovich establishes the stakes of their decision: "In your hands is the fate of my client, in your hands is also the fate of our Russian truth. You will save it, you will champion it, you will prove that there are some to preserve it, that it is in good hands!" (748; *II*CC 15; 173). The truth may be in good hands with the jury, but if so, they must rescue it from the defense attorney's games. By trying to have it both ways – by arguing for Mitya's acquittal whether or not he committed the crime – Fetiukovich shows a complete disregard for the idea of objective truth. The case becomes a semantic and interpretive game for him that can be argued from both sides. Fetiukovich's disregard for the truth forms part of Dostoevsky's critique of the legal system in *The Brothers Karamazov*. As Ronner explains in her book *Dostoevsky and the Law*, "Dostoevsky jabs at a legal system that exiles itself from concerns with ascertaining truth."²² Similarly, Rosenshield reads Fetiukovich as a kind of post-modern critic who does not create his own narrative of the case so much as destabilize the notion that any one narrative can explain what happened, showing "that an almost limitless number of narratives can be 'created' to account for the same 'facts' of the case."²³ Fetiukovich is a master of a certain kind of reading, "a brilliant deconstructionist who casts doubt on every prosecution witness and who subverts the reliability of narrative reconstructions."²⁴ However, his approach fails to reveal the truth of what happened, and so the trial results in a "judicial error", whereby an innocent man is convicted. Although everyone in the audience seems certain that Dmitry will be acquitted, the jury finds him guilty on every count. Fetiukovich's attempt to play games with the case's vacuum boundary fails, as does the truth: an innocent man is convicted of murder.

The trial fails to reveal the truth and serve justice because it is on a false assumption: namely, that the line between guilt and innocence is a vacuum boundary. Zosima posits an alternative vision of culpability: all are guilty before all; all are responsible for all. Zosima's formulation of guilt is closer to a live boundary than a vacuum. Rather than drawing a line between the guilty

sible for killing his mother in Aeschylus's *Oresteia*. In Aeschylus's play the argument succeeds, and even becomes the basis for an entire system of justice: Orestes's acquittal leads to the establishment of the Athenian law courts. Fetiukovich's poor argument was thus arguably not guaranteed to fail.

22 RONNER, *Dostoevsky and the Law*, p. 50.

23 ROSENSHIELD, p. 243.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

and the innocent, he blurs the division by declaring all people are guilty and responsible for one another. Whereas Fetiukovich erects vacuum boundaries only to expose them as meaningless by arguing both sides, Zosima complicates binary divisions and advocates for collective responsibility, an understanding of culpability that comes much closer to describing the complex web of people responsible for Fyodor Pavlovich's murder.

The Ethics of Boundaries

Miusov's lawsuit over property lines and Zosima's porous vision of the monastery walls offer a spatial way to think about the novel's moral questions. This early conflict introduces vacuum and live boundaries as two opposed systems for navigating issues of truth and justice. Vacuum boundaries become associated with insincerity and legalistic thinking, which divides the world into binaries not to reveal irrefutable truths but to play logical games. Live boundaries come closer to the novel's religious ethos of transcending division through universal brotherhood and collective responsibility.

Yet this division between vacuum and live boundaries is its own kind of binary with attendant limitations. While the novel seems to valorize live boundaries through Zosima's ethic of collective responsibility and universal brotherhood, the novel's treatment of certain characters complicates that vision. Smerdiakov, the fourth Karamazov brother, makes the problem of familial boundaries explicit, as characters must decide whether to treat him like a brother or to exclude him from the family. Gary Saul Morson, who emphasizes the importance of boundaries in the novel in order to explore the dangers of the margins, argues that Smerdiakov is an "eternally liminal" character, "whose motives can be explained by the logic of margins. [...] He ruins his brothers because they do not acknowledge him as a brother."²⁵ In her chapter on Smerdiakov, Olga Meerson argues that Dostoevsky is aware of the problem of Smerdiakov, and that it is the narrator, characters, and reader who fail to treat him as a brother – who erect a rigid vacuum boundary between him and the other Karamazovs.²⁶

25 Gary Saul MORSON, "Verbal Pollution in *The Brothers Karamazov*", in Robin FEUER MILLER (ed.), *Critical Essays on Dostoevsky* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1986), pp. 235, 241.

26 In her chapter "The Fourth Brother", Meerson argues that the narrator's presentation of Smerdiakov "distracts attention from the importance which the author does ascribe to Smerdiakov", whose "story is the main line of the plot". See Olga MEERSON, *Dostoevsky's Taboos* (Dresden: Dresden University Press, 1998), p. 184.

Nevertheless, the novel does not make space for other secondary characters who could be metaphorical brothers. Greta Matzner-Gore traces the marginalization of the character Maksimov to argue that the novel's handling and exclusion of certain "secondary" characters problematizes its ideal of universal brotherhood.²⁷ Miusov also poses such a problem: he is literally driven from the novel by Fyodor Pavlovich's antics. He introduces a model of legalistic, binary thinking that contradicts the novel's ideals, yet the supposedly inclusive novel has no room for him. It seems there is no novelistic space for characters who argue for vacuum boundaries – by the end of the novel, both Miusov and Fetiukovich have disappeared, and Ivan is silenced by illness. In its valorization of live boundaries, the novel erects a vacuum boundary to exclude characters who do not fit its ethics.

The novel's prioritization of live boundaries over vacuum boundaries also demands interrogation: are live boundaries morally superior to vacuum boundaries? Or do they carry their own limitations and problems? As I discuss above, Katz sees live boundaries as a way to avoid making a decision – a kind of compromise that evades responsibility. Yet in the novel, live boundaries foster connection and dialogue. The novelistic structure gains meaning through juxtaposition and dialogic interaction – Book 6, Alyosha's manuscript of Zosima's life and homilies, was intended to be a response to the "Grand Inquisitor" in Book 5. Yet Dostoevsky does not put his thumb on the scale – Zosima's words do not directly refute the Grand Inquisitor or Ivan's rebellion against God, and the Elder's saint-like position is immediately complicated by his stinking corpse that opens Book 7. It is up to the reader to make connections across the parts of the novel and to create meaning through their consonances and contradictions.

The question of boundaries in Dostoevsky's work and their relationship to justice and ethics is particularly urgent now, in light of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. In his 1880 Pushkin speech, Dostoevsky asserts Russia's "pan-European and universal" destiny (*IICC* 26; 147). He envisions Russia's role as uniting Europe, and asserts that to be a true Russian is "to become a brother to all people" (*IICC* 26; 147). It is a vision of universal love, an erasure of boundaries between people and nations, that nevertheless depends on an us-versus-them binary: Dostoevsky declares Russia's desire for a "universal, pan-human union with all the races of the great Aryan family" (*IICC* 26; 147). As Joseph Frank explains, "This was the first time he had employed the word 'Aryan,' which reveals the influence of the anti-Semitic literature of the peri-

27 Greta MATZNER-GORE, "Kicking Maksimov out of the Carriage: Minor Characters, Exclusion and *The Brothers Karamazov*", *Slavic and Eastern European Journal* 58, no. 3 (2014): pp. 419-436.

od, and it provoked a great deal of criticism”.²⁸ This supposedly universal message, which is inflected with the discourse of anti-Semitism, also denies agency to other nations and peoples – what if they don’t want to be embraced in this pan-European brotherhood?

One solution to the problem posed by the Dostoevsky we encounter in the Pushkin speech is to erect our own vacuum boundary: to insist on a total divide between Dostoevsky the artist and Dostoevsky the political and religious thinker. But as scholars have recently pointed out, this division is artificial and flawed.²⁹ Dostoevsky the journalist’s virulent antisemitism infects even the universally-minded *Brothers Karamazov*. In the chapter “A Little Demon”, when Liza asks Alyosha, “is it true that Yids steal children on Passover and kill them?” Alyosha fails to discredit the anti-Semitic lie by equivocating: “I don’t know” (583; *ITCC* 15; 24).³⁰ In his book *Dostoevsky and the Jews*, David I. Goldstein reads this moment as both an ethical and aesthetic failure: “How could Dostoyevsky have dared to put these words in the mouth of his Alyosha, Alyosha, the incarnation of charity, the symbol of Russia’s spiritual regeneration? No, an Alyosha could never have spoken those words”.³¹ This moment collapses the distinction between Dostoevsky the journalist and Dostoevsky the artist – Goldstein terms it a “double betrayal”.³² Another solution is to erect a different kind of vacuum boundary and stop reading or teaching Dostoevsky entirely. But the ethic of *The Brothers Karamazov* offers an alternative: to exist in the live-bound-

28 Joseph FRANK, *Dostoevsky: The Mantle of the Prophet, 1871-1881* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 526.

29 Several recent blog posts have tackled this issue. See Sarah HUDSPITH, “Dostoevsky and the Idea of Russianness: The Case for a Decolonial Critique”, *The Bloggers Karamazov*, 9 October 2023 (<https://bloggerskaramazov.com/2023/10/09/dostoevsky-the-case-for-a-decolonial-critique/>) and Lindsay CEBALLOS, “The One Dostoevsky Problem”, *The Bloggers Karamazov*, 9 August 2023 (<https://bloggerskaramazov.com/2023/08/09/the-one-dostoevsky-problem/>).

30 I have edited the translation to indicate that Liza uses the offensive term, *zhidy* (‘Yids’), rather than the neutral term, *evrei* (‘Jews’).

31 David I. GOLDSTEIN, *Dostoyevsky and the Jews* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 156. Many scholars do not agree with Goldstein’s interpretation of Alyosha’s uncertainty – Maxim D. SHRAYER summarizes several other readings of the blood libel scene and provides his own reading in his essay, “The Jewish Question and *The Brothers Karamazov*”, in Robert Louis JACKSON (ed.), *A New Word on The Brothers Karamazov* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2004), pp. 210-233. According to Shroyer, it is “paradoxical that upon his return from Moscow, where he articulated in the Pushkin speech his innermost aesthetic, ethical, and metaphysical ideals, Dostoevsky writes the blood libel scene” (p. 218). Yet as I discuss above, the Pushkin speech contains seeds of anti-Semitic language.

32 GOLDSTEIN, p. 158.

ed, messy middle – to confront Dostoevsky’s nationalistic, xenophobic, and anti-Semitic ideas while also recognizing the alternative modes of thinking and models of inclusion embedded in his narratives. Miusov’s lawsuit is a tiny episode at the beginning of a very long novel. Nevertheless, reading it in dialogue with the novel’s other explorations of boundaries offers a model for embracing ambiguity and complexity – a model for how we can read Dostoevsky the writer alongside Dostoevsky the journalist.

How do we reconcile Miusov’s disappearance with the novel’s valorization of universal brotherhood? Can there really be no novelistic space for characters who argue for vacuum boundaries? Any solution to this contradiction must come from the reader. If the novel lauds Zosima’s efforts to complicate vacuum boundaries, then part of that work must fall to us as readers. Our job is to not forget Miusov and his lawsuit over boundaries. We have to draw the connections between the novel’s first foray into legal issues and the concluding trial, and create a dialogue between them. The novel’s many parts, plots, and questions need not be divided by vacuum boundaries but live ones, if readers can work to complicate these divisions.

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Фигура “ближнего” в рассказе Ф. М. Достоевского Сон смешного человека: ближние и дальние контексты понимания

Если идти вслед за лексикой, то само по себе слово “ближний” (в его этико-теологическом значении) не отличается в творчестве Достоевского повышенной частотностью: на весь корпус художественных произведений – 31 употребление (а на всю публицистику – 12), причем обычно слово это появляется в составе ни к чему не обязывающих речевых формул (вроде «на пользу ближнего» или «обязанности к ближнему») и особой рефлексии не подвергается. Тем не менее, не трудно было бы удостовериться, что смысловым центром подобных контекстов выступают любовь к ближнему и, соответственно, связанный с нею явный или подразумеваемый вопрос о том, насколько она возможна, да и необходима. И не требует подробных доказательств, что вопрос этот никак не сводится у Достоевского к использованию специализированной лексики, но лишь находит в ней свое маркированное выражение.

Наиболее развернуто возможность любви к ближнему обсуждается в *Братьях Карамазовых* – в хорошо известной косвенной, заочной полемике между Иваном и старцем Зосимой. Парадоксально, почти каламбурно заостренная позиция Ивана (высказанная в разговоре с Алешей) заключается в том, что «именно ближних-то [...] и невозможно любить, а разве лишь дальних». И затем: «Чтобы полюбить человека, надо, чтобы тот спрятался, а чуть лишь покажет лицо свое – пропала любовь» (ПСС 14; 213). Как мы видим, фактически здесь обнаруживается другая – многосоставная – проблема (не совсем неожиданная даже с точки зрения исторического генезиса понятия):¹ кого, собственно, считать ближними; насколько однородное сообщество они из себя представляют; играет ли какую-то роль их локализация в пространстве? По сути, смысл афоризмов Ивана сводится к различению двух полярных ситуаций: дальних ближних любить еще возможно, а вот близких, зримых – нельзя. И особенно любо-

1 В классических работах Г. Когена показано, что ‘ближний’ в иудаизме – это сначала ‘чужак’, ‘пришлец’ и пр. См., к примеру: Hermann COHEN, *Jüdische Schriften*, Bd. 1 (Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn Verlagbuchhandlung, 1924), S. 182-195.

пытно, что Алеша, вместо того чтобы решительно возразить брату, вспомнит старца Зосиму, который «тоже говорил, что лицо человека часто многим еще неопытным в любви людям мешает любить» (ПСС 14; 214).

Слова Алеши отсылают к более раннему эпизоду – беседе старца Зосимы с госпожой Хохлаковой, пылко обвинявшей себя в недостатке веры и в неумении любить страждущих представителей человечества иначе, как ради благодарности от них – ради «похвалы себе и платы за любовь любовью» (ПСС 14; 53). Поучения Зосимы – это проповедь «деятельной любви»² как едва ли не единственного способа спасения: «Постарайтесь любить ваших ближних деятельно и неустанно. [...] Если же дойдете до полного самоотвержения в любви к ближнему, тогда уж несомненно уверуете...» (ПСС 14; 52). Но при этом Зосима говорит о том, что такая любовь труднодостижима, что она – «дело жестокое и устрашающее», что главное ее условие – «работа и выдержка» (ПСС 14; 54). В качестве типичного примера и в порядке утешения и ободрения госпожи Хохлаковой старец расскажет историю об одном своем давнем знакомце, который признавался: «...чем больше я люблю человечество вообще, тем меньше я люблю людей в частности, то есть порознь, как отдельных лиц. [...] я двух дней не в состоянии прожить ни с кем в одной комнате, о чем знаю из опыта» (ПСС 14; 53).³

Иными словами, старец Зосима и Иван вполне сходятся в том, что любить ближних на близком расстоянии – особый случай. Разделяет же их лишь то, что для одного подобная любовь осуществима (и необходима), а для другого – нет. Но, так или иначе, в дело любви к ближнему у Достоевского вмешивается пространственный фактор, геометрия. И это имеет явное отношение к еще одной, неоднократно обсуждавшейся проблеме,⁴ которая носит во многом зеркальный характер: зависит ли от размера

2 Эта категория используется и самим Достоевским еще в *Дневнике писателя за 1877 год*, где писатель говорит о важности направленных на утверждение подлинных принципов свободы, равенства и братства дел, которые берут на себя отдельно взятые люди (к этой идее мы еще в дальнейшем вернемся): «обязательна и важна лишь *решимость* ваша *делать всё ради деятельной любви*, всё что возможно вам, что сами искренно признаете для себя возможным» (ПСС 25; 61).

3 Последняя фраза почти дословно повторяет слова рассказчика из рукописных набросков *Сна смешного человека*: «Я двух дней не проживу с кем-нибудь в одной комнате» (ПСС 25; 232). Так что не был ли этот знакомец старца Зосимы «смешным человеком», достигшим почтенных лет жизни?

4 Из числа недавних обзоров темы см.: Константин В. Душенко, «Парадокс о мандарине: этический эксперимент в литературе», *Вестник культурологии*, № 02 (93), 2020, с. 97-122. DOI: 10.31249/hoc/2020.02.06

дистанции то, насколько легко мы способны причинить ближнему зло? Как не раз было замечено (впервые, по-видимому, Л. П. Гроссманом⁵), в рукописных редакциях «пушкинской» речи Достоевский воспроизвел – очень вольно – сцену из романа Бальзака *Отец Горюо*, своеобразный этический мысленный эксперимент, который исследователи (едва ли справедливо) регулярно сближали с текстом и коллизией романа *Преступление и наказание*. В своем пересказе Достоевский добавил и акцентировал то, что у Бальзака было едва обозначено. Во-первых, это как раз идея расстояния: в версии Достоевского местоположение китайского мандарина, которого ради получения миллиона можно умертвить одним внутренним желанием героя, описано как почти бесконечно удаленное («... главное он где-то в Китае, он, мандарин, всё равно что на луне или на Сириусе...»); во-вторых, это идея абсолютного алиби: «...никто этого не узнает...» (*ПСС* 26; 288).

Как это ни удивительно, но текст Достоевского оказывается в сравнении с текстом Бальзака куда ближе к тем философским источникам (Д. Дидро, Д. Юм, А. Смит и др.), которые обычно упоминаются в связи с *Отцом Горюо*.⁶ И в перспективе такой “дистанционной” этики рассказ *Сон смешного человека* выглядит интригующим уже потому, что это у писателя единственное произведение, сюжетным центром которого служит межпланетное путешествие (мелькают в тексте, кстати, и слова о Сириусе). Но в рассказе есть и неприкрытый след подобной этики, а именно – идеи алиби. Комментаторы уже обращали внимание (*ПСС* 25; 406) на одно рассуждение рассказчика (которое повторяет аналогичный ход мысли Ставрогина):

...если б я жил прежде на луне или на Марсе и сделал бы там какой-нибудь самый срамный и бесчестный поступок [...] был там за него поруган и обесчещен [...] и если б, очутившись потом на земле, я продолжал бы сохранять сознание о том, что сделал на другой планете, и, кроме того, знал бы, что уже туда ни за что и никогда не возвращусь, то, смотря с земли на луну, – было бы мне всё равно или нет? (*ПСС* 25; 108).

В этом вопросе, очевидно, откликаются размышления Дидро в его сценке *Разговор отца с детьми...*, нередко фигурирующей в работах об идеологической предыстории диалога о китайском мандарине в *Отце Горюо*:

5 Леонид П. ГРОССМАН, *Поэтика Достоевского* (Москва: ГАХН, 1925), с. 80-83, 99-104.

6 См. прежде всего: Carlo GINZBURG, “Killing a Chinese Mandarin: The Moral Implications of Distance”, *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 21, № 1, 1994, pp. 46-60. DOI: 10.1086/448740

...быть может, расстояние и время обладают способностью ослаблять всякие чувства, всякое раскаяние, даже вызванное преступлением. Убийца, перенесясь на побережье Китая, находится слишком далеко, чтобы видеть окровавленный труп, оставленный им на берегу Сены. Угрызения совести, может статься, возникают [...] не столько от стыда за поступок, сколько в связи с позором и наказанием, которые воспоследуют, если преступление раскроется.⁷

Впрочем, “смешного человека”, как и Ставрогина, – в противоположность парижскому студенту (в пересказе Достоевского) – занимает совсем не то, раскроют преступление или нет, а то, будет ли им лично какое-либо дело до совершенного на другой планете злодейства и его социальных последствий – полнейшего остракизма, когда они навсегда вернутся на Землю. Главный камень преткновения для них не внешнее, а внутреннее алиби.

Итак, приступим теперь вплотную к разговору о *Сне смешного человека*⁸ и начнем с вопроса о том, кого можно рассматривать в рассказе в качестве “ближних” (при том что само слово ‘ближний’ в тексте отсутствует). Ответ как будто бы не вызывает сомнений. Само монологическое построение *Сна...* обращает всех, кто в более или менее конкретизированном виде фигурирует в повествовательном поле, в потенциальных “ближних” для рассказчика. Если разбить историю “смешного человека” на четыре фазы – жизнь до откровения Истины, космический перелет, пребывание на двойнике Земли, жизнь после сна, то круг кандидатов на звание “ближнего” будет выглядеть в динамике так. Первая фаза – «они» (некоторые из которых даны укрупненным планом) и обиженная маленькая девочка; вторая фаза – таинственное существо, переносящее рассказчика на далекую планету; третья фаза – обитатели Земли-дубль; четвертая фаза – опять-таки «они» и та же маленькая девочка.

М. Холквист остроумно заметил (пропустив, правда, эпизод полета), что монологичность текста, а также всякий раз – и наяву, и во сне – эксцентричное, исключительное положение “смешного человека” среди других превращает историю в многократно разыгранное свидетельство о

7 Дени Дидро, *Собрание сочинений*, в 10 тт., т. 4 (Москва, Ленинград: Academia, 1937), с. 37.

8 Из огромного числа исследований, посвященных *Сну...*, сошлемся здесь на две работы, для нас важные: Edward WASIOLEK, *Dostoevsky: the major fiction* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1971), pp. 144-148; Робин ФОЙЕР МИЛЛЕР, *Неоконченное путешествие Достоевского* (Бостон / Санкт-Петербург: Academic Studies Press / Библиороссика, 2022), с. 192-228.

«мании величия и солипсизме рассказчика».⁹ Однако, будучи вполне убедительным по своему общему пафосу (перед нами в *Сне...* и на самом деле речь, структурно расщепляющая, опровергающая содержащееся в ней послание), такое прочтение затушевывает некоторые фундаментальные и для рассказа, и для Достоевского в целом различия. В результате логика учебного отклоняется в сторону умозаключений (замешанных на апелляции к психоанализу), которые не столько выводятся из авторской системы координат, сколько накладываются на нее.

Рассказчик действительно относится к окружающим его на Земле другим – к «ним» – таким образом, что они во многом утрачивают субъектность. До своей сновидческой экспедиции рассказчик приходит, в конечном итоге, к убеждению, что «на свете везде *всё равно*» и ему «*всё равно* было бы, существовал ли бы мир или если б нигде ничего не было» (*ПСС* 25; 105). Поэтому он перестает «примечать» и людей до такой степени, что начинает даже наткнуться на них на улице. А после пробуждения, после возвращения из сна рассказчик проникается к «ним» любовью, но любовь эта выступает в роли своего рода приложения к миссионерскому, апостольскому устремлению – приобщить «их» к открывшейся ему Истине: «И вот с тех пор я и проповедую! Кроме того – люблю всех...» (*ПСС* 25; 118). Однако дело тут далеко не только в том (как полагал Холквист), что рассказчик не в состоянии разграничить мир своих желаний и мир реальности и выбраться из скорлупы иллюзий.

Вне зависимости от того, проявляет рассказчик по отношению к земным другим – к «ним» – безразличие или проповедническое рвение, он остается для них все тем же «смешным человеком». Перерождение рассказчика ничуть не уменьшает невосприимчивости других к его личности: рассказчика отделяет от других непреодолимый блок. Между тем, события, связанные с девочкой и жителями двойника Земли, реализуются совсем по другому сценарию. Девочка ищет у рассказчика помощи (не видя в нем ничего «смешного»), а он, прогнав ее и поднявшись к себе домой, вдруг забывает о том, что ему должно было бы быть «всё равно» и начинает испытывать за свой поступок мучительный стыд: «Я помню, что я ее очень пожалел; до какой-то даже странной боли и совсем даже невероятной в моем положении» (*ПСС* 25; 107). И как раз это воспоминание спасает его от самоубийства. А обитатели Эдема (как и весь их мир) относятся к неизвестно откуда явившемуся перед ними чужаку с бескорыстной

9 Michael HOLQUIST, *Dostoevsky and the Novel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 157-158.

любовью, ни о чем не расспрашивая и стараясь только «согнуть поскорее страдание» (ПСС 25; 112) с его лица, и он, в свою очередь, отвечает им благоговейным обожанием. И хотя в первом случае совершается обмен болью, а во втором – любовью (до тех пор, пока рассказчик самим своим присутствием не «развратит» невинных и счастливых инопланетян), в обоих случаях между “смешным человеком” и другими не возникает никаких наглухо изолирующих их друг от друга, препятствующих «деятельной любви» преград.

Очевидная эквивалентность двух этих событийных линий окончательно обнаруживает себя в своеобразном эпилоге – в последних (графически отграниченных от предыдущего текста) предложениях рассказа, где эти линии напрямую соединяются: «А ту маленькую девочку я отыскал... И пойду! И пойду!» (ПСС 25; 119). Невольно (или почти невольно) погубив рай на целой планете и так и не сумев, несмотря на все усилия, ни восстановить его, ни принести себя в жертву, рассказчик после пробуждения отправится проповедовать Истину, которую он узрел, еще и для того, чтобы – в порядке компенсации – осуществить на Земле то, что он разрушил на ее двойнике. Но тогда и искупление рассказчиком вины перед девочкой – это не просто исправление вызывающе совершенного им некогда единичного греха. И вот здесь мы оказываемся перед смысловой развилкой (к которой еще вернемся). Искупительный поступок “смешного человека” получает двойную добавочную мотивировку. С одной стороны, его можно воспринимать как залог того, что вполне возможно на спасительных началах переустроить и все человеческое существование. Под углом зрения “дистанционной” этики уже то, что рассказчик не забыл об обиженной на Земле девочке и не стал скрывать перед земными ближними своего невольного преступления на далекой планете, – аргумент в пользу этого. С другой стороны, искупительный поступок с той же вероятностью можно понимать как признание в том, что переменить человечество невозможно, а потому приходится довольствоваться единичными актами добра, замещающими и тем самым отодвигающими в будущее заведомо утопический проект. Да и сам тот, кто, вернувшись на Землю, возложил на себя миссию апостола новой церкви всеобщей любви, скорее напоминает не Петра, а Иуду, если бы тот, раскаявшись, решил не удавиться, а сделаться распространителем и ревнителем христианского учения.

Так или иначе, однако, именно маленькая девочка и жители космического Эдема (а не какие-нибудь еще другие, не «они») втягиваются на правах жертв в этот сценарий искупления, и такой расклад не случаен. Рассказчик говорит о приснившемся ему как о земле, которая не была осквернена

грехопадением: «на ней жили люди не согрешившие, жили в таком же раю, в каком жили, по преданиям всего человечества, и наши согрешившие прародители» (ПСС 25; 112). Но это какой-то особый рай, который одновременно до некоторой степени напоминает и столь не любимый Достоевским фаланстер. В записях 1864 года, сделанных у гроба жены, Достоевский, размышляя о том, каким должен быть будущий «рай Христов», скажет, что мы знаем только одну его черту: там «не женятся и не посягают». И дальше писатель определит сущность семейства как неизбежную дань законам земной природы, поскольку это «совершенное обособление пары от всех [...]»; ненормальное, эгоистическое в полном смысле состояние от человека» (ПСС 20; 173). Но на двойнике Земли была любовь, и рождались дети, которым тамошние обитатели радовались «...как новым участникам в их блаженстве» (ПСС 25; 113). И при этом люди «счастливой земли» не знали ни сладострастия, ни ревности: «Их дети были детьми всех, потому что все составляли одну семью» (ПСС 25; 114).

Дело, однако, не только в таком обобществлении детей (и, судя по всему, в отсутствии семьи в привычном понимании). Весь текст, посвященный рисовке этих невинных и прекрасных людей, построен на одной ключевой метафоре: «Разве лишь в детях наших, в самые первые годы их возраста, можно бы было найти отдаленный, хотя и слабый отблеск красоты этой [...]. Они были резвы и веселы как дети» (ПСС 25; 113); «Они любили слагать песни друг о друге и хвалили друг друга как дети...» (ПСС 25; 114); и т.д. Одним словом, перед нами детский рай, восполняющий свою непричастность к бессмертию тем, что его счастливая история (длящаяся до того момента, пока появление рассказчика в конце концов не уничтожит ее) – это смена одного поколения детей другим, вечная эстафета, которая передается одними детьми другим. И такая метафорическая кодировка целиком проясняет параллелизм между событийными линиями земной маленькой девочки и обитателей небесного Эдема.

Как хорошо известно (наиболее радикально это интерпретировала в своей работе С. Макрейнольдз¹⁰), дети в мире Достоевского представляют собой особое сообщество, онтологически отличное от других людей: «Дети странный народ, они снятся и мерещатся» (ПСС 22; 13). Недаром и Иван Карамазов в цитированном разговоре с Алешей свою тяжбу с Богом о детях исключает из диалектики любви к ближним и дальним. Соответственно, мы могли бы сказать так: дети – это не «ближние», причем в

10 Susan McREYNOLDS, *Redemption and the Merchant God: Dostoevsky's Economy of Salvation and Antisemitism* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), pp. 157-174.

двояком смысле. Во-первых, будучи иными, они не находятся в отношениях равенства (то есть соизмеримости) с остальными – с “взрослыми”, с рассказчиком в том числе, – так же как нет никакого равенства (с противоположным только знаком) между “смешным человеком” и тем загадочным сверхъестественным существом, которое переносит его на «окраину бытия» (ПСС 25; 234) и которое, разумеется, также не может считаться “ближним”. Если дети у Достоевского и вообще (а обиженная девочка в частности) – это жертвенные посредники в искании человеком Бога, в приобретении Его благосклонности, то “смешной человек” – фигурант некоего затеянного высшими силами космического эксперимента еще большего масштаба и соблазна, чем эксперимент с Иовом. Во-вторых, дети не являются “ближними” и друг для друга. Пребывая в живом соприкосновении с «Целым вселенной», обитатели двойника Земли образуют такое единство, в котором их личности исчезают, не успев обрести суверенности, а значит – и возможности установить какие-либо отношения между собой, кроме совместной причастности к Целому.

Отправной (а может быть, конечный) пункт для Достоевского был, как мы уже сказали в начале статьи, несомненен: согласно библейской заповеди, “ближнего” нужно любить. Но дальше, как мы также отчасти уже видели, тотчас же возникали разнообразные проблемы, вращающиеся, по большому счету, вокруг одного центра – возможности исполнения этой заповеди. В первых строках цитированных записей у гроба жены Достоевский категорически утверждает: «Возлюбить человека, *как самого себя*, по заповеди Христовой, – невозможно. Закон личности на земле связывает. Я препятствует» (ПСС 20; 172). Поэтому заповедь объявляется идеалом, полное, подлинное осуществление которого откладывается до эсхатологического будущего, до наступления «рая Христова». При этом грядущее царство всеобщей любви описывается Достоевским совсем не как преодоление и отмена «закона личности», а как достижение баланса, гармонии между ним и «законом гуманизма», общности: «Мы будем – лица, не переставая сливаться со всем, не посягая и не женясь...» (ПСС 20; 174). Такое положение вещей, подчеркнем еще раз, принципиально отличается от уклада жизни в счастливом инопланетном Эдеме. Один рай не слишком похож на другой. И это откровенное противоречие выводит нас к судьбе еще одной фундаментальной (и столь же проблематичной) для Достоевского близкородственной категории – “братству”.

Если определять одну категорию через другую, то это можно было бы сделать так: братство у Достоевского – состояние, при котором “ближних” объединяет взаимная любовь. Но тогда из этого вытекают, по меньшей ме-

ре, два неприятных следствия разного уровня. Прежде всего, поскольку детские сообщества не знают того, что такое “ближний”, то они не должны знать и о братстве. И это в мире писателя действительно так. О жителях двойника Земли после их грехопадения (после их превращения в копию современных рассказчику землян) будет сказано: «Когда они стали злы, то начали говорить о братстве и гуманности и поняли эти идеи» (ПСС 25; 116). А в вариантах текста эта последняя идея осознания нового – братского – опыта была акцентирована вдвойне: «Они стали злы, но купили тем то познание о братстве и человечестве» (ПСС 25; 296). Показательно, что при изображении у Достоевского двух детских союзов (в *Идиоте* – вокруг князя Мышкина в бытность его до приезда в Петербург пациентом доктора Шнейдера, и в финале *Братьев Карамазовых* – вокруг Алеши) слово ‘братство’ не используется. Но это лишь симптом куда более серьезного отличия. Оба союза строятся не по горизонтали (как это должно было бы быть в случае братства), а по вертикали: они возникают не сами по себе, а только благодаря «большим» (как их назвал бы Иван Карамазов) и скрепляются почитанием тех, кто функционально оказывается в роли жертвенного основания таких содружеств (Мари – в *Идиоте*, Илюша – в *Братьях Карамазовых*).

Но еще важнее для нас другое следствие. Коль скоро (по утверждению Достоевского в записях 1864 года) возлюбить “ближнего” на земле невозможно, то невозможно и братство. Однако на протяжении всех последующих лет писатель будет снова и снова возвращаться и к вопросу о том, как можно любить “ближнего”, и к вопросу о братстве (по сути, это один и тот же вопрос). А из этого, в свою очередь, следует, что подоплека той историсофской коллизии, которая безостановочно воспроизводилась в творчестве и в мысли Достоевского, заключалась в желании невозможного – в надежде отыскать зримые, убедительные примеры, а главное, сам механизм воплощения братства уже на земле, до наступления конца времен. И эти попытки далеко превосходят по своему размаху и вариативности тот уклончивый, утешительный ответ, который дал себе Достоевский в 1864 году, когда написал о том, что полюбить в этом мире «ближнего» нельзя, но можно и нужно стремиться к этому, полагая такую любовь в качестве идеальной цели.

Сон смешного человека в подобном аспекте – одно из центральных произведений Достоевского. На первый взгляд, это что-то вроде облеченного в художественную форму манифеста, итоговый тезис которого лежит на поверхности. Истину, которая открылась рассказчику, он безо всяких обиняков формулирует в самом конце так: «А между тем так это просто: в

один бы день, в один бы час – всё бы сразу устроилось! Главное – люби других как себя, вот что главное, и это всё, больше ровно ничего не надо...» (ПСС 25; 119). Однако простота эта обманчива. Мы уже говорили о двусмысленности эпилога, в котором противоречиво сопрягаются две событийные линии: искупление вины перед обиженной девочкой и обещание дальнейшей проповеди всемирного братства. Но это лишь завершение той игры расщеплений и удвоений, которая разворачивается в тексте.

Собственно, самоотрицание начинается с самой Истины, с ее провозглашения. Если мы вспомним еще раз, что же узрел рассказчик в своем сне, то это “детский” рай, который совсем не идеально подходит на роль аргумента, подтверждающего, гарантирующего осуществимость «рая Христа». Еще больше подрывает риторический потенциал откровения то, что звездный Эдем, как выясняется, способен погибнуть от столь микроскопического “инфицирования” извне. «Живой образ» Истины оказывается явно не очень жизнеспособным, так что перед нами не самый вдохновляющий образец для подражания. К тому же, как нетрудно заметить, в эту дисперсию откровения вмешивается совсем уже коварное обстоятельство, о котором мы чуть ранее сказали. Развращение, грехопадение жителей двойника Земли служит и обретением опыта братской любви, чуть ли не необходимым этапом продвижения в сторону подлинного рая. Недаром рассказчик (хотя мотивировка здесь более сложная) говорит о падших инопланетянах, что «любил их, может быть, еще больше, чем прежде, когда на лицах их еще не было страдания и когда они были невинны и столь прекрасны» (ПСС 25; 117). Добавим, что на свой лад подобную диалектику развития человечества опишет через год после выхода *Сна смешного человека* В. С. Соловьев в своих *Чтениях о Богочеловечестве* (которые, как и их автора, Достоевский знал и высоко ценил):

Путь к спасению, к осуществлению истинного равенства, истинной свободы и братства лежит через самоотрицание. Но для самоотрицания необходимо предварительное самоутверждение: для того чтобы отказаться от своей исключительной воли, необходимо сначала иметь ее; для того чтобы частные начала и силы свободно воссоединились с безусловным началом, они должны прежде [...] стремиться к исключительному господству и безусловному значению...¹¹

11 Владимир С. Соловьев, *Полное собрание сочинений и писем*, в 20 тт., т. 14 (Москва: Наука, 2011), с. 18.

Наконец, ставит под сомнение успешность миссии рассказчика и отчуждение, насмешливая глухота “ближних”, “их”. Да и сам он заранее уверен в своем поражении: «Больше скажу: пусть, пусть это никогда не сбудется и не бывать раю (ведь уже это-то я понимаю!), – ну, а я все-таки буду проповедовать» (ПСС 25; 118-119). Так что *Сон смешного человека* можно с равным правом назвать и манифестом любви к “ближнему”, и антиманифестом, демонстрирующим ее фиаско. Перед нами типичное перечеркивающее себя “двойное сообщение”. Однако алогическая концовка реплики рассказчика – нечто куда большее, чем простой психологический жест. Достоевский в своем рассказе – на примере далекого от святости и гениальности маргинального героя – предпринимает концентрированную аналитику возможных ответов на вопрос, что делать человеку в том времени, которое простирается между нестабильным и неидеальным детским «золотым веком» и «раем Христовым», – в «оставшемся времени» (как его назвал Джорджо Агамбен в одноименной книге).¹²

Парадоксальный вывод, к которому приходит рассказчик в только что цитированной реплике, – это одна технология братства: действовать не смотря ни на что, проявляя свою любовь к “ближнему” – свою “братскость” – без какой бы то ни было уверенности в том, что она рано или поздно принесет плоды. Но буквально через несколько строк, в предложении, предваряющем эпилог, будет сказано нечто кардинально иное, и это уже другая технология братства: «Если только все захотят, то сейчас всё устроится» (ПСС 25; 119). В *Братьях Карамазовых* эта вторая логика будет резюмирована в максиме старца Зосимы «Были бы братья, будет и братство...» (ПСС 14; 286), которая сначала несколько раз, на разные лады варьировалась в подготовительных материалах к роману (то есть была помечена интенсивным авторским знаком): «Будьте братьями, и будет братство, а то – Вавилонская башня» (ПСС 15; 244); «Нет братьев, не будет братства» (ПСС 15; 245); и т.д.

Разницу между двумя этими технологиями братства можно определить так. В первом варианте отдельно взятый субъект, проникнувшись любовью к “ближним” («деятельной любовью»), обращает ее на них, не дожидаясь и (почти) не ожидая ответа. Во втором варианте сначала уже должно быть несколько “братьев”, которые одновременно делают шаг навстречу друг другу. Легко заметить, что оба способа скрывают в себе логические и практические ловушки. Первый из них (и это мы уже наблюдали в *Сне смешно-*

12 Джорджо АГАМБЕН, *Оставшееся время: Комментарий к Посланию к Римлянам* (Москва: НЛО, 2018).

го человека) вообще никакого результата не обеспечивает. Второй оставляет непроясненным вопрос, откуда должны появиться изначальные “братья” и как им хотя бы мысленно синхронизировать свои действия. Между тем, последний момент был для Достоевского основополагающим. В братском деле ни с чьей стороны не должно быть ни малейшей примеси корысти. Если ты совершаешь усилие братской любви в расчете на такой же дар со стороны другого или если ты выжидаешь, когда же “ближний” первым шагнет по направлению к тебе, то вся конструкция братства сразу же рассыпается, низводится до его искаженного подобию – общества, построенного по законам столь ненавистного Достоевскому “разумного эгоизма”.

Понятно, что избежать таких ловушек было невозможно, и из них всякий раз нужно было выбирать, и не только героям Достоевского, но и ему самому. И мы буквально на одном-двух примерах (учитывая огромность задачи) покажем теперь, как это разыгрывалось в том самом *Дневнике писателя за 1877 год* в апрельском выпуске которого был опубликован *Сон смешного человека*. Среди главных тем, которые обсуждаются в дневнике, – «еврейский вопрос»¹³ (в мартовском блоке материалов) и значительно более обширный, сквозной для публицистики Достоевского разных лет «Восточный вопрос» (и метонимически связанный с ним вопрос «славянский»). Рассматривая эти темы, писатель исходит из популярного вплоть до начала XX века представления о том, что народы – это своего рода субъекты, «народные личности» (как их называет сам Достоевский). А потому между этими «личностями» складываются почти такие же отношения, как между отдельными людьми: проблема осуществимости любви и братства просто обретает здесь межнациональную и международную размерность.

Разбирая первый вопрос, Достоевский – в разделе с характерно расщепленным, “оговорочным” заглавием «Но да здравствует братство!» – допускает возможность братского сближения русских и евреев. И описывается это как будто бы в точном соответствии со второй технологией братского делания: «для братства, для полного братства *нужно братство с обеих сторон*» (ПСС 25; 87). Однако стоит только чуть расширить даже эту цитату, как выяснится, что тут тоже есть свое “но” (и в идеологическом, и в грамматическом смысле). Как мы помним, конструкция братства должна быть строго симметричной. Но в статье Достоевского – совсем другое: в своих суждениях он опирается, как на аксиому, на идею, что рус-

13 Сошлемся на ключевую работу о “еврейской” теме у Достоевского: Пезтер Тороп, *Достоевский: история и идеология* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 1997), с. 23-55.

ский народ – единственный, кому открылось истинное понимание братства. Поэтому он уже готов к вековечному любовному сосуществованию с другими: «за русский народ поручиться можно: о, он примет еврея в самое полное братство с собою, несмотря на различие в вере, и с совершенным уважением к историческому факту этого различия». А вот за этим следует продолжение с опущенным в первой нашей цитате “но”: «но для братства, для полного братства» и т.д. (ПСС 25; 87). «Но» оказывается адресованным еврею: «Пусть еврей покажет ему [русскому народу. – А. Ф.] и сам хоть сколько-нибудь братского чувства, чтоб ободрить его» (ПСС 25; 87). Вопреки своей модели Достоевский ожидает от “ближнего” – от еврейского народа – гарантированного ответного (если не первого) шага, прежде чем начнется это движение навстречу друг другу. К тому же писатель обставляет всё это большими сомнениями в том, что евреи (даже самые лучшие их них) на такое вообще способны. В итоге мы попадаем в ситуацию, когда один “брат” есть, а другого нет.

Отдавая себе, по всей вероятности, полный отчет в том, что будущего у такого братского единения нет никаких, Достоевский в следующей главе (закрывающей размышления о «еврейском вопросе») изменяет тактику и апеллирует теперь к «единичному случаю» (так будет назван и один из разделов), возвращаясь тем самым от второй технологии братства к первой. В этой главе он приводит и подробно комментирует письмо одной своей еврейской корреспондентки, в котором она рассказывает о похоронах некоего доброго немецкого доктора, на могиле которого по очереди произносили молитвы и плакали пастор и раввин. Для Достоевского эта сцена и есть «начало решения», и даже, больше того (здесь типичная для писателя патетическая градация), едва ли не разрешение «еврейского вопроса», пусть и на мгновение. И завершает этот раздел Достоевский прославлением «единичных случаев»: нужно «...именно убедиться в том, что вот без этих-то единиц никогда не соберете всего числа, сейчас всё рассыплется, а вот эти-то всё соединят. [...] И вовсе нечего ждать, пока все станут такими же хорошими, как и они, или очень многие: нужно очень немного таких, чтоб спасти мир, до того они сильны. А если так, то как же не надеяться?» (ПСС 25; 92). Так заранее будет оправдан и “смешной человек”. Хотя не будем забывать (помимо прочего) о том, что этот сердобольный и почти святой доктор был все-таки немцем, да еще и соединившим на минуту народы лишь своей смертью.

Такая откровенная ненадежность обеих технологий братства, конечно, никак не могла устроить Достоевского. И в его публицистике (в том числе в *Дневнике* 1877 года) мы находим еще один путь – третью технологию, ко-

торая отчетливее всего проявляет себя как раз при обсуждении «Восточного» / «славянского» вопроса.¹⁴ Больше того, чрезвычайно показательным, что одна из бросающихся в глаза повествовательных тактик, которую при обращении к этому вопросу применяет Достоевский, во многом пересекается с поведением рассказчика в *Сне...* Автор представляет себя эксклюзивным – «смешным» – носителем истины, которую другие не просто еще не постигли, но и постичь не захотели: «Беда только в том, что над словами этими засмеются не только в Европе, но и у нас...» (*ПСС* 25; 97); или: «О, пускай смеются над этими “фантастическими” словами наши теперешние “общечеловеки” и самооплёвники наши...» (*ПСС* 25; 100). Но в отличие от своего героя Автор отнюдь не чувствует себя в невыгодном и абсолютно проигрышном коммуникативном положении: он совсем не одинок перед лицом враждебно настроенных, исполненных скептического пренебрежения других. Если мы завершим вторую из цитат, то увидим, что «фантастические» слова Автора укоренены в народной почве:

...но мы не виноваты, если верим тому, то есть идем рука в руку вместе с народом нашим, который именно верит тому. Спросите народ, спросите солдата: для чего они поднимаются, для чего идут и чего желают в начавшейся войне, – и все скажут вам, как один человек, что идут, чтоб Христу послужить и освободить угнетенных братьев, и ни один из них не думает о захвате (*ПСС* 25; 100).

Напомним для исторической справки, что речь идет о только что объявленной тогда русско-турецкой войне 1877-1878-х годов.

Так вот, в ноябрьских главах *Дневника за 1877 год* Достоевский возражает Н. Я. Данилевскому, который, по словам писателя (существенно спрямляющим, кстати, взгляды оппонента), полагал, что «Константинополь должен, когда-нибудь, стать общим городом всех восточных народностей. Все народы будут-де владеть им на равных основаниях, вместе с русскими, которые тоже будут допущены ко владению им на основаниях, равных с славянами» (*ПСС* 26; 83). Для Достоевского это категорически неверное решение. Он в очередной раз повторяет свою мысль о том, что «Константинополь должен быть наш», и главным доводом, радикально подрывающим ту модель братства, о которой мы до сих пор говорили, выступает ссылка на неравенство народов: «Как может Россия участвовать во владе-

14 Наиболее оценочно взвешенный обзор социальной философии Достоевского дан в книге: Джеймс СКАНЛАН, *Достоевский как мыслитель* (Санкт-Петербург: Академический проект, 2006), с. 154-221.

нии Константинополем на *равных* основаниях с славянами, если Россия им неравна во всех отношениях – и каждому народцу [sic! – А. Ф.] порознь и всем им вместе взятым?» (ПСС 26; 83). Такой расклад и определяет третью технологию братства, такую же асимметричную, как первая (с одной стороны – единственный носитель идеи братства, с другой – весь прочий мир ближних), но строящуюся не “по-братски”: не по горизонтали, а по вертикали, сверху вниз. Славянские народы изображаются Достоевским как те, кому еще нечем поделиться с Россией, кто готов ответить неблагодарностью и даже ненавистью на ее помощь, кто долго еще не поймет ни сути Восточного вопроса, ни «славянского единения в братстве и согласии» (ПСС 26; 81). Поэтому задача России – бескорыстно объяснять всё это славянам, в надежде, что рано или поздно они «воротятся к ней и *прильнут* к ней все, уже с полной, с детской доверенностью» (ПСС 26; 81).

Последний момент является ключевым. Братство тут уподобляется знакомому нам детскому союзу. Оно не учреждается само собой, на основе взаимного равенства и признания, а возникает под началом того, кто поставлен старшим: он уже, когда сочтет это необходимым и когда потенциальные братья этого заслужат, дарует им братские права, в частности – независимость и возможность участия во владении тем, что принадлежит ему. В записной тетради 1876-1877 гг. Достоевский так сформулирует свою (то есть русскую, как он ее понимает) политическую программу: «Мы не станем поляка обращать в русского, но когда поляк или чех захотят быть действительно нашими братьями, мы дадим автономию, ибо и при автономии не разрушится связь наша, и они будут тянуть<ся> к нам, как к другу, к старшему брату, к великому центру» (ПСС 24; 194). И ту же самую логику своего рода братского сюверенитета мы находим при решении вопроса о Константинополе, которое Достоевский представляет как единственно правильное: «Одним нам он должен принадлежать, а мы, конечно, владея им, можем допустить в него и всех славян и кого захотим [...], но это уже будет не федеративное владение вместе со славянами городом» (ПСС 26; 83).

Открытым в третьей технологии братства остается, однако, вопрос, почему кто-то становится старшим, есть ли сущностные (а не случайные) основания для этого. И у Достоевского – применительно к его геополитике – есть вполне определенная аргументация: Россия потому ответственна за насаждение братского начала, что органически, изнутри к нему причастна. Другое дело, что механизмы такой причастности могли описываться у Достоевского по-разному. К примеру, в *Зимних заметках о летних впечатлениях* просто утверждается, что «...сделать братства нельзя, потому что оно само делается, дается, в природе находится. А в приро-

де французской, да и вообще западной, его в наличии не оказалось...» (ПСС 5; 79). Вывод, который напрямую в тексте не делается, но который не может не сделать читатель – и из подобных суждений, и из рассыпанных по очерку недвусмысленных намеков (вроде обычного для эпохи упоминания общины) – очевиден: поскольку на Западе братства нет и быть не может, оно есть в России. Но наиболее интересное для нас (хотя и косвенное) объяснение мы обнаруживаем в позднейшем *Дневнике писателя* 1881 года. Достоевский здесь развивает патерналистскую идею устройства русского общества: русский народ – это «...дети царицы, дети заправские, настоящие, родные, а царь их отец» (ПСС 27; 21); социальная свобода в России «...созидается лишь на детской любви народа к царю, как к отцу, ибо детям можно многое такое позволить, что и немыслимо у других, у договорных народов...» (ПСС 27; 22); и т.д. Вся Россия (за вычетом тех русских «поучающих господ», которые еще не поняли истины) оказывается в результате одним большим детским союзом, а ее граждане в силу и в меру подобного устройства – братьями.

В такой перспективе назначение России – естественное следствие ее внутренней организации: то “детское” братство, которое она призвана учредить среди славянских народов, да и в остальном мире, – это проекция вовне подобного же социального опыта, образующего саму почву русского существования. Подчеркнем, впрочем, что в общей системе мысли Достоевского третья технология братства выглядит как аварийный вариант – как продукт сомнения в возможностях двух других способов братского делания. И к тому же вариант сам по себе далеко не идеальный. Если мы вернемся от публицистики – к фикциональным текстам, от геополитики – к поэтике, то быстро убедимся, что никаких особых иллюзий относительно детских сообществ Достоевский не питал. Как мы помним, в *Сне смешного человека* инопланетный детский Эдем демонстрирует свою подозрительную непрочность. Но это не самое неприятное обстоятельство. В *Братьях Карамазовых* финальную детскую утопию Алеши предваряет антиутопия Ивана – его поэма, в которой Великий инквизитор рисует обычных людей («тысячи миллионов») как тех, кто нуждается в попечении сверху: «докажем им, что они слабосильны, что они только жалкие дети, но что детское счастье слаще всякого [...]; в свободные от труда часы мы устроим им жизнь как детскую игру, с детскими песнями, хором, с невинными плясками. О, мы разрешим им и грех [...], и они будут любить нас как дети за то, что мы им позволим грешить»; и т.д. (ПСС 14; 236). Перед нами, по существу, кощунственно-пародийная форма детского союза – картина того, во что он может выродиться.

Одним словом, повторим в заключение, само это умножение технологий братства свидетельствует о стремлении (во многом тщетном) доказать, что подлинное братство, подлинная любовь к ближнему по сию сторону жизни возможны хотя бы на время и в отдельных случаях. Братское устремление к ближнему наталкивается у Достоевского на двойную (почти непреодолимую) блокировку. Во-первых, это невоплотимость или, по крайней мере, трудность любви на близком расстоянии (о чем прямо рассуждают и Версиллов, и госпожа Хохлакова, и Иван Карамазов, да и – на свой лад – старец Зосима). Во-вторых, это нежелание, зачастую проявляемое самими ближними, принимать братскую весть – направленную на них «деятельную любовь» (что общим планом дается в *Сне смешного человека* и является стандартной коллизией для сюжетики Достоевского в целом). Отсюда, собственно, искушение понизить порог толкования “братскости”, переключить ее из горизонтальной системы счисления в вертикальную и преподнести ближним свою любовь как такой дар, от которого они не смогут отказаться. Неудивительно, что такая версия понимания встречается у Достоевского именно в области геополитики, то есть там, где масштабы совсем иные и где господствует не любовь к ближнему, а любовь к дальнему. Назначать народам и странам их братскую судьбу – куда более легкая задача, чем распутывать судьбу отдельно взятых ближних.

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Social Death or Social Resurrection? Dostoevsky's The Double through the Looking Glass

I beg you to read it inversely – completely inversely, that is, with deliberately friendly intent, giving the inverse sense to all my letter's words (*IICC* 1; 204).¹

So says the bureaucrat Yakov Golyadkin, protagonist of Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Double* (1846), to his less than welcome alter ego. According to Golyadkin, the vitriolic letter in question, in which he expressed the intention of killing this double in a duel, was in fact a mere expression of comradeship, even affection. I propose that this perplexing paradox reflects not the hesitancy or volubility of Dostoevsky's protagonist, but a far more psychologically sophisticated portrait, in which two incompatible, even inverse intentions that exist side by side evoke the irreparably fragmented state of consciousness symptomatic of a loss of identity.² In other words, I aim for a reading of *The Double* which takes Golyadkin by his word, and interprets all of his actions and statements, particularly the most categorical and decisive, as expressing only one half of a continually doubled consciousness. I will show how Golyadkin's psychological unravelling, his countless public humiliations, and his ultimate demise may all be understood from the inverse perspective of a new, emerging identity, and thus as the very opposite of what is shown to the reader: personal transformation, redemption, and resurrection.

For both Dostoevsky's contemporaries, steeped in the fantastic tales of E.T.A. Hoffmann, and for modern readers, who may be inclined to associate the double with the Freudian *id* or the Jungian shadow, the very title of the novella tends to conjure up images of a "dark" repressed self, animated by malign

1 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are taken from Fyodor DOSTOEVSKY, *The Double*, trans. Hugh Aplin (London: Penguin Books, 1988).

2 I am following in the footsteps of other scholars of Dostoevsky's paradoxes such as Gary Saul MORSON, "What is it Like to be Bats? Paradoxes of *The Double*", in Vladimir GOLSTEIN and Svetlana EVDOKIMOVA (eds.), *Dostoevsky Beyond Dostoevsky: Science, Religion, Philosophy* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016), pp. 235-248; Robin FEUER MILLER, "The Gospel According to Dostoevsky: Paradox, Plot, and Parable", in Robin FEUER MILLER, *Dostoevsky's Unfinished Journey* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 68-85.

nant egotism, violence, lechery, and all the fantasies forbidden by social and legal norms. One rather extreme, characteristically romantic example of a Jekyll-and-Hide double is Hoffmann's *Devil's Elixir*: the monk Merdarus uses the identity of an identical brother to commit a wide variety of crimes, including stabbing the object of his affections, poisoning his lover, and murdering his love interest's brother. Another example of this notion is Edgar Allen Poe's "William Wilson" (1839), in which the mold is inverted, but by no means disrupted: in this case, the narrator is an alcoholic, a cheat and a womanizer, while his double is consistently morally upright. Given that the dichotomy between a socially functional and a licentious self underlies the literary conception of the double figure in the 1830s and 1840s, but also recalls subsequent psychoanalytical theories, it is no surprise that readers should be tempted to assume Dostoevsky's take on the theme is centered around one good and one evil, one conscious and one unconscious, or one repressed and one dissolute self. I propose, however, a new interpretation of the story that transcends this "evil twin" theory. I argue that the dichotomy of the two Golyadkins is the conflict between a dying, failed identity and its emerging new counterpart.

It is certainly true that the protagonist largely tends to perceive the newly appeared man who shares his name and appearance as a shadow self, a moral inferior who "transgresses [...] every rule of civilized society" (*ITCC* 1; 175), and whose shameless behavior threatens to tarnish his own respectable reputation. Whether this is an accurate assessment is, however, another matter. Golyadkin's double, hereafter referred to as Golyadkin Jr., is hardly a paradigm of moral righteousness, but the misbehavior the original Golyadkin lambasts as outrageous is almost comically trivial: he eats ten pies at a restaurant, flirts with a waitress, and repeatedly mocks Golyadkin Sr. for embarrassing private confessions he made while intoxicated. More importantly still, this brazen and unapologetic Golyadkin Jr. is far from the socially dysfunctional equivalent of his already awkward and generally unpopular namesake, and, on the contrary, all other characters appear to prefer Golyadkin's double to Golyadkin himself. It is the cautious, serious, insecure original who finds himself socially marginalized, while Golyadkin Jr. is "of lively and agreeable disposition, and is equally successful in the service and in the society of persons of common sense" (*ITCC* 1; 182). If Golyadkin Jr. is the fully uninhibited, socially dysfunctional version of the respectable Golyadkin Sr. – identifiable, perhaps, with the Freudian id or the Jungian shadow – why does he commit only relatively minor offences, and why is it so unequivocally Golyadkin Jr. that wider society is more inclined to accept?

Scholarship on *The Double* can be divided into two camps in its treatment of this issue: critics who attempt a "psychological reading" which takes Golyad-

kin as a Hoffman-inspired double, and critics who turn away from the heritage of romanticism all together. Following the novel's initial publication, the former school was undoubtedly the more dominant one. Nikolay Dobrolyubov, for example, gave a voice to the more general sentiment of Belinsky's circle as he wrote that Golyadkin projects everything "mean and worldly adroit" onto a double because his own timidity prevents him from integrating them into his own identity.³ This understanding of Golyadkin Jr. as Golyadkin Sr.'s morally objectionable shadow underlies many seminal 20th-century interpretations of the double scholars such as Charles Passage, Otto Rank and Joseph Frank.⁴

While the parallels between Golyadkin Jr. and the Hoffmannian evil double or the Jungian shadow are worthy of note, they do not answer the question of why this character's moral flaws tend rather towards pettiness than towards any metaphysical idea of evil, why his "good" counterpart displays little behaviour worthy of admiration, or, indeed, why society at large tends to prefer the double to the original. Given this apparent incongruity between *The Double* and a German romantic vision of the world, it is no surprise that many critics have moved away from Hoffmann-inspired interpretations of the story. Some, such as Victor Terras, even read *The Double* as a parody of romanticism and Golyadkin's internal battle as "a struggle not between Heaven and Hell for a man's soul, but between two ridiculous underlings – for a snug little job" and "a travesty" of the "Hoffmanesque Doppelgänger".⁵ Bakhtin's interpretation, on the other hand, very convincingly argues that the main question of *The Double* is not the unconscious at all, but self-consciousness, which he defines as a dialogue between an external self – "I for the other" – who turns

3 Николай А. ДОБРОЛЮБОВ, *Собрание Сочинений в 9 тт.*, т. 7 (Москва: Художественная литература, 1963), с. 258.

4 Charles Passage, for instance, argues that "the new Mr. Golyadkin is the latent aggressive phase of Mr. Golyadkin's character". Otto Rank calls Golyadkin Jr. "the antithesis of [Golyadkin Sr.'s] prototype in terms of character. Although the two are considered to be twins, the double is venturesome, sycophantic and ambitious. Knowing how to attain popularity with everyone, he soon eliminates his clumsy, timid and pathologically candid rival" (Otto RANK, *The Double: A Psychoanalytic Study*, ed. and transl. Harry Tucker [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971], p. 30). Perhaps inspired by Rank, Roger B. Anderson also concludes that Golyadkin's double is rebellious, while the original is meek. Roger B. ANDERSON, "Dostoevsky's Hero in *The Double*: A Re-Examination of the Divided Self", *Symposium*, vol. 26, № 2, 1972, p. 102. Similarly, Joseph Frank writes "the double's behaviour both mirrors the suppressed wishes of Mr. Golyadkin's subconscious and objectivises the guilt feelings which accompany them" – Joseph FRANK, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 304.

5 Victor TERRAS, *The Young Dostoevsky (1846-1849): A Critical Study* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1969), p. 14.

against his meek and insecure internal “I for myself” double.⁶ Other interpretations of *The Double* discover new, innovative ways to focus not on the psychological conflict between Golyadkin and his double, but on the historical context,⁷ the significance of secondary characters,⁸ the role of paradox and the semiotics of doubling.⁹

In this article, I will consider the basic question that troubled *The Double*'s first readers, namely, who is Golyadkin Sr., who is Golyadkin Jr, and what is their relationship to one another? Given that *The Double* was written only very shortly after the Zenith of Dostoevsky's love for Hoffmann,¹⁰ I aim to return to an approach which takes the German romantic model into account, while also offering an interpretation that transcends the notion of a morally opposite “ugly shadow”. If we go beyond Hoffmann's fiction and turn our attention to *Naturphilosophie*, the broad intellectual and artistic movement underpinning Hoffmann's works, we may find a compelling alternative to the overtly Manichean model of doubling. I argue that the novella may instead be understood in accordance with the psychological and mystical theories of *Naturphilosophie*, as the story of an identity death – the war of an untenable identity of idealized social ascension with a “deeper” self, culminating in a social death that kills the old and untenable identity, and from which a new and better socially integrated equivalent may emerge. This reading owes a significant debt to Yuri Corrigan's book *Riddle of the Self*, which examines how Dos-

6 See Mikhail БАХТИН, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), pp. 212-221.

7 Jillian Porter, for example, makes a convincing argument that the anxiety about what is ‘real’ and what is ‘counterfeit’ in *The Double* can be traced back to the 1839-43 monetary reforms, “rather than fixing the Double with the stable allegorical status of counterfeit and Golyadkin with the status of original, Dostoevsky sets these categories in unstoppable motion”. Jillian PORTER, “The Double, the Ruble and the Real: Counterfeit Money in Dostoevsky's *Dvoynik*”, *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 38, № 3, 2014 (Fall), p. 389.

8 Vitaly Antonov proposes that there are two versions of Dr. Rutenspitz: the kindly doctor and his demonic double: Виталий А. АНТОНОВ, “Другой двойник в повести Ф. М. Достоевского *Двойник*”, *Достоевский и мировая культура. Филологический журнал*, vol. 3, № 7, 2019, с. 142-150.

9 Кроо́ and Faustov explore the semantic implications of Dostoevsky's doubling, focusing particularly on repetition, copying and the individual faced with a de-individualizing bureaucratic world. Каталин КРОО, Андрей А. ФАУСТОВ, Сергей В. САВИНКОВ, *Превоплощения смысла в творчестве Достоевского: Семиотические Заметки* (Воронеж: Изд. дом БГУ, 2022).

10 In the summer of 1838, Dostoevsky wrote that he had read the entirety of Hoffmann's work. Throughout his life, Dostoevsky frequently mentioned his youthful admiration for the German author. See FRANK, pp. 102-105.

toevsky's "passionate reverence for the irreducible and inviolable nature of the personality" can coexist with his continual striving toward the "annihilation of the I".¹¹ Since Corrigan's discussion of *The Double* is limited to a brief analysis of how a little dog symbolizes a hidden, long-forgotten memory, this article seeks to expand and explore the question of personality in relation to *The Double* and to show how the "annihilation of the I" can lead directly to the development of a personality.

Golyadkin and the Ganglious

Although largely forgotten by modern psychologists, *Naturphilosophie* offers a theoretical approach to the human being which arises out of the same social, artistic and literary movements that also shaped the young Dostoevsky. Although the boundaries of its chronology are fluid, most critics agree that the movement began with the writings of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling in 1798 and reached its apex between 1800 and 1830. Among its most celebrated theorists were Schelling, Ritter, geologist Franz von Baader, and lawyer-turned-philosopher Johann Jakob Wagner, to name only a few. While a new rise in empirical thought beginning in the 1840s marked the decline of the medical and physiological streams of *Naturphilosophie*, their psychological counterpart persisted into the 1870s, with Gustav Carus' *Psyche* (1846) and Eduard von Hartmann's *Philosophie des Unbewussten* (1869) among its most influential later contributions.

One of the most distinctive features of *Naturphilosophie* is its aim of merging medical science, natural sciences, poetry, literary studies, philosophy and theology into one coherent branch of knowledge. For the nature-philosophers, the workings of the human mind, the human body, the natural world and God are not distinct phenomena, but all parallel manifestations of the single, omnipresent, transcendental order of the universe. For nature-philosophers, every unique entity – whether animal, person, or even idea – is a microcosm of the whole, albeit in various degrees of perfection.¹² Thus, every being is simultaneously driven by a pursuit of its own interests and its preservation while also animated driven by a hidden, "collective spirit", towards the cosmic aims of nature

11 Yuri CORRIGAN, *Dostoevsky and the Riddle of the Self* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2017), p. 4.

12 See Karl E. ROTSCHUH, "Ursprünge und Wandlungen der Physiologischen Denkweise im 19. Jahrhundert", *Technik und Geschichte*, vol. 33, 1966, pp. 329-355; Manfred ENGEL, *Naturphilosophisches Wissen und romantische Literatur – am Beispiel von Traumtheorie und Traumdichtung der Romantik* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002), S. 65-69.

itself. This is not merely an abstraction, but very much understood as the physiological basis of the human body, whose existence “is controlled by an individual center (which we like to consider the brain) and by a center located in the universe (whose point of attachment is found in our ganglionic system).”¹³ Precisely this tension is at the core of *Naturphilosophie*, and particularly of its psychological branch; such theorists as Gotthilf von Schubert refer to these two centers and their satellites as the nervous and the ganglionic system.

Broadly speaking, the nervous system is responsible for all acts of consciousness and voluntary action; goals, aspirations, choices and our sense of self all fall under its jurisdiction. The ganglionic system, on the other hand, “participates in all of the movements of the universe.”¹⁴ On the one hand, the ganglionic encompasses the unconscious mechanisms of the body – heartbeat, digestion, and reproductive urges, for instance – and, on the other, the individual being’s connection with the “total life”, a divine unity that necessarily transcends individual consciousness.¹⁵ According to Schubert, those who attempt to suppress and eliminate the urges of their body – even as an act of religious asceticism – in fact risk losing their connection to the life forces of the universe as a whole, to other human beings, and, consequently, to God.¹⁶

While similar to notions such as the *ego* and the *id*, the Apollonian and the Dionysian, the conscious and the unconscious, the psychological binary that underlies *Naturphilosophie* is best summed up as the internal struggle between an individual and a collective orientation: the nervous system drives one towards material well-being, stability, status, and self-preservation, while the ganglionic aims at union with the cosmic cycles of creation and destruction, through dreams, hallucinations, intoxication, sexual indulgence, but also religious experience – a union which surpasses and may even destroy individual identity.

The extent of these theories’ influence throughout Europe in the first half of the 19th century must not be underestimated. Engel goes as far as comparing it to the prominence of psychoanalysis in our own time: even those who have never read a sentence by Freud are likely to know about the *ego*, the *id*, and the

13 Albert BÉGUIN, *L'âme romantique et le rêve: Essai sur le romantisme allemand et la poésie française* (Paris: J. Corti, 1939), p. 78.

14 Carl Gustav CARUS, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele*, 2-nd ed. (Stuttgart: G.H. Scheitlins Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1851) quoted in BÉGUIN, p. 140.

15 ENGEL, S. 72.

16 Gotthilf Heinrich von SCHUBERT, *Die Symbolik des Traumes* (Bamberg: C.F. Kunz, 1814), S. 92.

superego, or the Oedipal complex.¹⁷ The theories of *Naturphilosophie* are known to have exerted various degrees of influence over numerous well-known and obscure literary figures of the era, including Novalis, Jean Paul, Ludwig Tieck and Hoffmann. At the very least, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that someone of Dostoevsky's level of education would likely have been familiar with the main intellectual currents of his time, including this one. More importantly, however, he was known to have been an avid reader of Schelling and Hoffmann, and even to have cultivated a friendship in his youth with poet Ivan Shidlovsky, who aimed at a pantheistic form of mystical self-annihilation. Dostoevsky also read Gustav Carus's *Psyche* in the 1840s and expressed the wish to translate this work into Russian while in Siberia,¹⁸ and his early works such as *The Landlady* are strong evidence of an intimate familiarity with these general ideas, especially of their literary proponents such as Hoffmann. Furthermore, Dostoevsky's conception of the world as "an ocean" in which "a touch in one place sets up movement at the other end of the earth" and which can only be reached through an "all-embracing love, in a sort of transport" (*ICC* 9; 290) bears a great similarity to the *Naturphilosophie* vision of the ganglionic system. On this basis, we may assume that Dostoevsky was not only familiar with this pre-Freudian nervous-ganglionic model of the mind, but that it was very likely a significant influence on what might be termed the mystical psychology he would go on to develop.

An Identity War

I propose a reading of Dostoevsky's complex psychological character studies through the lens of *Naturphilosophie* as an underlying conceptual framework. In the case of *The Double*, we are faced with a character who is, quite literally, at war with himself. From a psychoanalytic perspective, this war takes place between Golyadkin's conscious, moral self and his aggressive, lecherous and animalistic unconscious. From the perspective of *Naturphilosophie*, however, a perspective which does not exclude or contradict the more familiar psychoanalytical model, this is a war between an identity in which the nervous system reigns supreme – a fantasy self, deliberately constructed and under full conscious control – and an alternate identity which acknowledges at least certain aspects of an embodied ganglionic system it cannot suppress. These are not nec-

¹⁷ ENGEL, S. 77.

¹⁸ See FRANK, p. 76.

essarily the emotional and aggressive vestiges of a repressed self, but a self-deprecatory admittance to gluttony and lust – in other words, recognition of the body and acceptance that no idealized self will transcend it. When the first identity publicly fails, the second triumphs.

To a certain extent, a sense of identity is always constructed as a bulwark against the anonymizing collective, the tyranny of individual emotions and desires, and the continual natural fluxes of creation and destruction to which we are necessarily vulnerable – a bulwark against all that with which the ganglionic system seeks reconciliation, in other words. In this sense, an individual identity is always opposed to this ganglionic system. In the case of Golyadkin, I would argue, however, that Dostoevsky depicts the psychological causes of an identity which tends to deny the existence of the ganglionic system altogether, of fantasy's failure to negotiate adequately with reality. The identity this yields is so categorically divorced from the physiological reality of the body that Golyadkin Sr. comes to believe his very existence is not contingent on eating, sleeping, and breathing, but on his social status and reputability. In the crisis of identity in which we find him, the endangerment of his reputation feels like a nightmarish endangerment of life itself, and public humiliation becomes equivalent to execution.

From the opening pages of *The Double*, we learn that the original Golyadkin is very concerned with upholding the identity he has constructed for himself. He washes, shaves, puts on a new set of clothes, forces his servant to dress in a gaudy livery, and orders a carriage. In a passage later removed from the 1866 version of *The Double*, Dostoevsky elaborates on Golyadkin's tendency to fabricate a fantasy self, incongruous with his real position in society:

The fact is that he was very fond of sometimes making romantic assumptions about himself. He loved to promote himself now and then into the hero of the most ingenious novel, to imagine himself entangled in various intrigues and difficulties, and, at last, to emerge with honor from all the unpleasantness, triumphing over all obstacles, vanquishing difficulties and magnanimously forgiving his enemies (*ИСС* I; 335).

While any identity is, to some extent, constructed, a conception of the self by the self which strays too far from a conception of the self by others will necessarily be maintainable only through great effort, fragile, and easily subject to existential threats. Indeed, Golyadkin's identity appears to be imperiled by the slightest blemishes upon his body, as he looks into the mirror in fear that "some extraneous [посторонний] spot had made its appearance" (*ИСС* I; 110). The word 'extraneous' implies that this pimple would not be a part of him – a com-

mon, natural and largely inevitable consequence of having skin – but an encroachment from the outside upon an infallible, idealized body.

Given that it is estranged from reality, incapable of negotiating itself with the outer world, Golyadkin Sr.'s inner, subjective sense of himself cannot be measured, validated, rejected or revised. On account of his rigidly inward identity's incapability of adapting and evolving through contact with external reality, it can only be absolutely fabricated or absolutely real, and it is no surprise that he appears to favour the latter assumption. Golyadkin Sr. consistently seems to conceive of his identity as objective, absolute, and infallible, in perfect correspondence with concrete reality, including even material, corporeal reality, which should be expected to reflect his inflexibly idealized self. In fact, his thorough examination of his own face for "external" blemishes recalls a desperate attempt to seek confirmation of the axioms upon which he bases his identity in objective and indisputable reality, and thus to reinforce his delusions, a poor substitute for active identity's active negotiation through social engagement with the wider world.

In a general sense, one may argue that the character's artificial and extremely fragile identity tends to rely on material confirmation as a substitute for the social confirmation which it cannot have. The discernment of an unblemished and idealized body serves as verification, albeit weak, that the unblemished and idealized sense of self is real. Since the idealized and isolated identity can only be totally real or totally false, any rejection of his idealized-self image by the outer world, as through derision or social exclusion, feels rather like a categorical rejection of the person in his entirety, and thus, not of his *failed* identity, but of *any possible* identity he may adopt. In parallel, since the body is understood as the objective vessel of his idealized self, suggestions that Golyadkin Sr. is delusional are experienced as a destruction of the organism itself, or, in other words, homicide. In fact, when telling his doctor about how people in his social circle are planning to ruin somebody's reputation, he asks very literally "What did they think up to murder a man? [убить человека]" (ИСС I; 121), and only after the doctor's understandable confusion does he specify that he means "to murder a man morally [нравственно]" (*ibid.*). It is rather clear that this 'man' is Golyadkin himself, and the murderous rumors concern his less than respectable relationship to his former landlady, Karolina Ivanovna, whom he allegedly agreed to marry in return for free meals. This codependent relationship, in which Golyadkin's sustenance depends on a physical and psychological intimacy with another person not only falls short of the social code of conduct which this idealized self is presumably expected to uphold, but also publicly exposes his sexual and literal appetites, with which it appears absolutely incapable of

coexisting. When Dr. Rutenspitz pointedly asks him about this former living arrangement, he gives a bizarre response.

“Where am I living now, Krestian Ivanovich?”

“Yes... I want... previously, I think, you were living...”

“Yes, Krestian Ivanovich, I was, I was previously too. How could I not have been living!” (*ITCC* 1; 121).

Even at the expense of common sense, Golyadkin treats the doctor’s suspicion that he once lived less than respectably as a suggestion that he previously was not alive at all.

Yet, as mentioned at the beginning, Golyadkin’s words and behavior constantly undermine his constructed identity as a respectable, honest and upstanding citizen. This is perhaps why others treat him with suspicion, derision and even outward hostility. Interestingly, although Golyadkin treats his identity as absolute, unthreatened by others’ response to it, he is nonetheless driven to seek its affirmation by the outer word, and thus to social interaction, even as he proves incapable of modifying his identity in the slightest through it. It is largely this simultaneous wish to test his sense of self in the outer world and the refusal to recognize the outer world’s rejection of it which leads to an inconsistent, vacillating state of consciousness, symptomatic of a failing identity. Shortly after he justifies himself privately for why he must stay home from work, for instance, we hear that he inexplicably got up and “flew to the office” (*ITCC* 1; 145). Later, he tells himself that any intimacy between him and his younger colleagues must be avoided, only to slap them on the shoulder and to attempt, very unsuccessfully, to make jokes with them. Even more outrageously, as he waits in a stairwell, wondering whether or not to intrude on a ball, Golyadkin eventually concludes that he must instead go home, and then, without warning, dashes “forward, as if someone had touched a spring in him” (*ITCC* 1; 132) and enters the gathering. As he hesitates during this passage, the protagonist is increasingly aware of his contradictory doubled consciousness:

He, gentlemen, is also here, not at the ball, that is, yet all but at the ball; he, gentlemen, is all right; although he’s his own man, still at this moment he stands on a road that is not entirely straight [...]. He, gentlemen, is only observing now; he, gentlemen, might go in as well, of course... so why not go in? (*ITCC* 1; 131).

The narrator can barely utter a single clause without a ‘yet,’ ‘but,’ or a ‘that is’ to contradict and modify his previous statements. Golyadkin is both at the ball

and not at the ball, 'sam po sebe' and thirsting for community, a disinterested spectator and the soon-to-be center of attention. And yet Golyadkin attempts to tell himself that even this ridiculous situation is the result of his own conscious wishes: "but he had not ventured to penetrate farther, he clearly had not dared to do that... not because he had not dared to do something, but simply because he himself had not wanted to, he preferred to be nice and quiet" (*ITCC* 1; 132). Although the narrator here speaks with Golyadkin's own voice, he represents these thoughts as increasingly ridiculous and untenable given his present situation.¹⁹ Just as Golyadkin rejects the reality of his bodily imperfections and bodily appetites, he cannot conceive of his thoughts and actions as subject to any internal forces beyond his conscious volition. In a rare moment of clarity, Golyadkin then finally briefly admits to his fear of exposure and decides to go home, at which point his clarity is immediately eclipsed by the reactive need to uphold his delusional sense of self, and he finds himself walking into the ball without knowing what he is doing. Once again, his identity proves to be a fantasy which, to use the terms of *Naturphilosophie*, rejects the ganglionic system categorically.

A Social Death

After Golyadkin enters the ballroom uninvited, his life transforms into a nightmare. His constructed identity now faces an existential threat, exposure is imminent, and every attempt he makes to preserve his dignity only leads to his further humiliation. He wishes to congratulate Klara, but a slight stammer – a symptom of his anxiety – paralyzes him completely:

He sensed that if he stumbled, all would go to the devil straight away. And that was how it turned out – he stumbled and got stuck; he got stuck and blushed; he blushed and got confused; he got confused and raised his eyes; he raised his eyes and looked around; he looked around and – and froze [обмер] (*ITCC* 1; 134).

From the narrator's repetition, we get the sense that each bodily symptom of confusion – stuttering, floundering, blushing – embarrasses him anew and

19 Bakhtin writes that "the narration glitters with Golyadkin's own words: "he is all right, 'he's on his own', etc. But these words are uttered by the narrator with ridicule, and somewhat with reproach, directed at Golyadkin himself and constructed in a form meant to touch his sore spots and provoke him" (BAKHTIN, p. 218).

leads to another, more severe symptom, until his humiliation appears to reach an apex. Interestingly, the word ‘обмереть’ (to faint or to freeze), shares a root with the verb ‘умереть’ (to die). In this manner, the exposure of the rejected ganglionic system, of even relatively harmless bodily functions outside of conscious control – but now uncomfortably visible to everyone – kills his consciously constructed identity.²⁰ Here, the narrator puts the ‘голый’ (naked) in Golyadkin; our protagonist may as well be naked.

Again and again, the narrator reminds us that the gaze of others “kills” Golyadkin. For example, when his superior gives him a look that “if our hero had not already been utterly, completely destroyed, he would without fail have been destroyed a second time – if that had only been possible” (*ИСС* 1; 134). Likewise, an unknown bystander looks at Golyadkin with a “murderous smile” (*ИСС* 1; 135). And as others destroy Golyadkin with their disdain, Golyadkin himself loses the ability to see. In a typical example of Golyadkin’s continuous state of contradiction, the narrator says that “he saw other people too. Or no: he saw nobody, looked at nobody” (*ИСС* 1; 133). This is directly opposed to the protagonist’s awakening at the beginning of the story: “he yawned, stretched and in the end opened his eyes fully” (*ИСС* 1; 109). While the opening of the eyes seems to evoke the conscious – and in this case, socially spurned, untenable – self, sudden darkness at the ball may be equated with the transient collapse of conscious thought, rationality, and individual identity – a descent back into the primal darkness of the ganglionic system.

With the culmination of this embarrassing scene, Golyadkin is forced to recognize the unbridgeable gap between his sense of himself and others’ sense of him. In a final moment of humiliation, he takes Klara’s hand as if to dance with her, but finds himself stopped by the crowd’s outrage. Desperately hanging onto the delusion that dancing with Klara is his decision, he says that he “consents” to dance with her. But the narrator tells us that “nobody seemed to have asked for Golyadkin’s consent” (*ИСС* 1; 137). Other people lead him to the door, put on his coat and throw him out: “Mr. Golyadkin wanted to say something, to do something... But no, he no longer wanted anything” (*ИСС* 1; 137). Through contempt, laughter and rejection, the crowd has destroyed Golyadkin’s self-conceived identity as a respectable suitor; exposed the tripping, blushing and stammering limitations of his body; and has thrust Golyadkin in-

20 Deborah Martinsen explains the influence of shame on identity: “Shame concerns identity; thus, shame exposed has the power to shake us to the core of our being. [...] Shame has as its object who we are and involves a sense of inferiority or inadequacy and a fear of exposure.” Deborah MARTINSEN, *Surprised by Shame: Dostoevsky’s Liars and Narrative Explorers* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2003), p. 20.

to a terrifying reality in which the delusion of an absolute self collapses, and in which the individual's subjection to collective scrutiny condemns an untenable identity to death.

Yet Golyadkin is surprised to discover that the execution of his reputation does not lead to his literal death: "Mr. Golyadkin was dead – fully dead, in the full sense of the word, and if he had retained at this particular moment the ability to run, it was only by some miracle, by a miracle in which he himself, finally, refused to believe" (*IICC* 1; 138). This new life – a life that continues because it depends upon a living, breathing body, not social status – appears to be a life without identity, even without the bulwark of individuality, given that the idealized, infallible material self has been lost, and the protagonist immediately finds himself surrounded by the chthonic disorder of darkness, liquids, and disease. The narrator describes the night as "wet, misty, rainy, snowy, pregnant with gum oils, head colds, cold sores, sore throats, fevers of all possible types and kinds" (*IICC* 1; 138). And indeed, after his public humiliation, Golyadkin seems to merge with the collective for a moment and wish for the total dissolution of his perceived self: "Mr. Golyadkin now not only wished to escape from himself, but even to be completely annihilated, not to be, to turn to dust" (*IICC* 1; 139). When he stops and begins "to stare at the black, turbid waters of the Fontanka" (*ibid.*), he appears, for the first time, to accept his social death without the delusion that literal death must necessarily come along with it: "the deed was done, finished, the decision signed and sealed; what was it to him?" (*ibid.*). As he recognizes that his identity is fabricated, untenable in the real world, the possibility for a new and better identity emerges if only, like a snake, he is able to fully shed this old skin. It is at this precise moment that Golyadkin's flesh and blood double, Golyadkin Jr., is born.

A Social Resurrection

This brings us to the question of Golyadkin Jr.. Critics often describe him in purely negative terms: a fawning sycophant,²¹ "a mixture of Antichrist and Judas"²² the embodiment of meanness and dishonesty. And indeed, if we take Golyadkin Sr.'s words at face value, we find a whole collection of unpleasant adjectives to describe his new counterpart: he is 'mean' (подлый), 'depraved' (развращенный), 'shameless' (безбожный), and 'self-sat-

21 Dina КНАРАЕВА, *Nightmare: From Literary Experiments to Cultural Project*, transl. Rosie Tweddle (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 110.

22 ANDERSON, p. 109.

isfied' (самодовольный). Yet it may be useful to consider Golyadkin Sr.'s statement that the listener should understand his words as conveying the "inverse sense" to what they denote, since all of the novella's other characters seem far more ready to agree with this than with the overt meaning of the aforementioned words: the junior clerks laugh at his jokes, his superiors admire his work, and friends invite him to live with them. Indeed, Golyadkin Sr.'s former friend calls Golyadkin Jr. "true in word and in friendship". One could argue, of course, that society at large is so corrupt that it rejects the virtues of Golyadkin Sr., and prefers instead the villainous machinations of his double. Yet this interpretation sounds suspiciously like a fantasy concocted by a resentful Golyadkin Sr., a character whose judgement seems less than trustworthy.

None of this means that Golyadkin Jr. should be taken as his namesake's more admirable and virtuous counterpart. There is no doubt that he fawns over his superiors and plots against those he dislikes, but, importantly, he shares this behavior with Golyadkin Sr., who, in the words of Khapaeva, "merits no other title than a scoundrel".²³ In fact, Golyadkin Jr. is, in many respects, very similar to the original. The one striking difference between them is Golyadkin Jr.'s lack of crippling shame:

The man who was now sitting opposite Mr. Golyadkin [...] was Mr. Golyadkin himself – [...] not the one who liked to efface and bury himself in the crowd; not the one, finally, whose gait clearly pronounced: "Don't touch me, and I won't touch you" or "Don't touch me, after all, I'm not knocking into you" – no, this was an entirely different Mr. Golyadkin, a completely different one, but at the same time, completely like the first one too (*ITCC* 1; 147).

Thus, we will interpret this new Golyadkin not as an impostor, but as a new and alternate identity for Golyadkin, born after the social death he suffered at the ball. This is, as outlined earlier, a more viable and more genuine identity because it takes better account of its fallibility and of the existence of a concealed and not always respectable self beyond its idealized equivalent. Former terror at being exposed for the failure to adhere to an idealized identity is eclipsed by an unapologetic advertisement of these failures, perhaps in order to preclude their use by others to undermine the individual. By means of these "pores" in idealized identity, the new Golyadkin shows himself quite unafraid of his appetites, even revealing them to others, as he eats ten pies, openly jokes about his sexual preferences – he remarks to Golyadkin Sr. "That's really a tasty bit of skirt!"

23 KHAPAeva, p. 109.

(*ITCC* 1; 202) – and appearing unashamed of having spent a night in Golyadkin Sr.'s room. As noted, the idea of the ganglionic system which Golyadkin Jr. seems to accept as part of his identity is not limited to bodily urges but involves a far broader recognition of the individual's role in the wider collective order. In this case, we are not face to face with a character suddenly dominated by the ganglionic system, which would involve an entire collapse of subjective identity, and it is therefore no surprise that Golyadkin Jr. shows no sign of the unbridled bacchanalian revelry or the experience of the transcendental that Schubert associates with indulgence of the ganglionic system. Instead, the character's recognition of this system in himself and his consequent self-deprecatory admission to his own identity's limitations as a bulwark against it liberates him from the need to defend the identity from appraisal and attack by the collective; precisely through this admission, and often in palpably bodily terms, Golyadkin Jr. gains the acceptance of the collective without which identity cannot be maintained: "he squeezed himself into the group of clerks, shaking hands with one, slapping the other on the shoulder, putting his arm around another; [...] probably to his most intimate friend, he gave a resounding kiss" (*ITCC* 1; 194-195).

By integrating his bodily self into his public persona, the new Golyadkin can make connections with others that transcend the concrete structures of professionalism or conventional affability.

Now that the old Golyadkin's old identity has been publicly destroyed, the new Golyadkin can be born, and this less respectable variant of him is paradoxically by far the more respected of the two. For three days, Golyadkin's identity is effectively dead and not yet reborn – the old and the new coexist side by side amidst great anxiety and upheaval. This period of three days displays obvious biblical undertones: Jonah had to spend three days in the belly of the whale before emerging as a new man, while Jesus lay three days in the tomb before his resurrection.²⁴ For Dostoevsky, just as in the foundational stories of Christianity, resurrection is not an instantaneous transformation, but a long and painful process in which the old must die so the new can live. In the case of Golyadkin, the old identity, still idealized and estranged from reality, experiences a crippling shame as the new identity affirms itself in its unapologetic failure to uphold idealized standards of behavior. When Golyadkin Jr. eats ten pies, Golyadkin Sr. turns "red as a beetroot" (*ITCC* 1; 174) and begins to make embarrassed exclamations: "Felt no shame in a public place! Can they see him? Nobody seems to have noticed" (*ITCC* 1; 174). Conversely, the new Golyadkin derides the old self for a fantasy identity which nobody considers credible and goes out

24 Mat 12:40.

of his way to destroy it once and for all. He publicly teases his old self by calling him “Faublas”, the devious and adroit seducer of Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray’s novel *Les amours du chevalier de Faublas*, and makes brazen comments about the similarity of their sexual appetites. Most intolerably for Golyadkin Sr., the new identity publicly exposes his former self for his alleged illicit conduct. Neither his junior colleagues nor his superiors are deprived of discovery that Golyadkin had less than respectable relations with his landlady. Golyadkin Jr., in other words, is less interested in uncovering the hidden sins of his counterpart than in exposing them to social scrutiny, presenting them as blatant failures in the pursuit of an infallible social identity, and, it would seem, in pushing the old Golyadkin towards a more robust identity, which is, paradoxically, a more flawed one.

A Successful Psychotherapy

Golyadkin’s transformation isn’t the result of his own conscious volition, and given its painful and humiliating nature, it is highly plausible that such a person would never have chosen it at all. Instead, an outside force seems to pull the protagonist along the jagged transformational path from awkward and delusional recluse to his self-aware, well-integrated counterpart. *Naturphilosophie* generally associates the acquisition of a more self-aware double with animal magnetism, in which two subjects “stand in a sympathetic relationship to one another” and “the life-form of one is conditioned by the sphere of influence of the other”.²⁵ In *The Double*, the role of magnetizer may be associated with the physician, Dr. Rutenspitiz, a familiar and utterly mundane figure whose vocation is to heal his patients from their physical and psychological ailments.

In their meeting at the beginning of the story, the morning before the disastrous party scene that throws Golyadkin Sr. into crisis and precipitates the emergence of Golyadkin Jr., the protagonist seems to conceive of Dr. Rutenspitiz not only as a doctor, but also as a confessor of sorts (духовник), whose main duty is to “know his patient” (знать пациента) (ИСС 1; 113). The narrator establishes an implicit link between Dr. Rutenspitiz and magnetism when describing his “expressive, flashing gaze” as “evidently all that was needed to drive off every illness” (ИСС 1; 114). Indeed, eye-contact and physical touch, another key component of animal magnetism,²⁶ seem to play an essential role

25 Matthew BELL, *The German Tradition of Psychology in Literature and Thought, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 177.

26 The father of animal magnetism, Franz Anton Mesmer, was known for triggering various

in Dr. Rutenspitz's communication with Golyadkin. At the beginning of the conversation, the protagonist rather stubbornly presents his constructed and untenable identity, insisting that he is honest, open, respectable, etc., but the dynamic of the conversation suddenly shifts in a "rather strange scene":

Somewhat perplexed, Krestian Ivanovich seemed for a moment to be rooted to his armchair and, at a loss, stared wide-eyed at Mr. Golyadkin, who looked at him in the same manner. Finally, Krestian Ivanovich stood up, holding on a little to the lapel of Mr. Golyadkin's uniform coat. For several seconds they both stood like this, motionless and not taking their eyes off one another. Then, and moreover in an extraordinarily strange way, Mr. Golyadkin's second impulse was resolved too. His lips began to shake, his chin began to jerk, and our hero quite unexpectedly burst into tears (*ITCC* 1; 118).

The combination of eye-contact with physical touch brings about a sudden emotional change in Golyadkin. His constructed identity appears to rupture for a moment so that genuine emotion can pass through it. As Golyadkin's demeanor shifts, he replaces his hackneyed, repetitive and stiff phrases about his own excellent character with metaphoric language and Russian idioms. He still cannot admit that he was the one to have been involved with his landlady, but he manages to tell the doctor of his troubles by transparently pretending that the rumors concern his "close friend". It is, in this sense, the doctor's very gaze and touch which allow this second, more genuine Golyadkin Sr. to come to the surface.

Dr. Rutenspitz's words to Golyadkin foreshadow the birth of Golyadkin Jr. as he says that Golyadkin's therapy should consist of his integration into a community: "Your treatment should consist in the alteration of your habits... Well, amusements – well, I mean you should call on friends and acquaintances, and at the same time not be afraid of having a drink; consistently keep cheerful company [...] go to shows and a club" (*ITCC* 1; 115). His insistence that Golyadkin needs friends, alcohol and amusement – discreetly hinting at a sexual form of amusement, as well – suggests that the cure for his mental affliction is as simple as accepting a need for community and satisfaction of appetite, or, to use Schubert's terms once again, for acceptance of his ganglionic system. The topic of sexuality is particularly relevant in this context, as it simultaneously evokes the pursuit of union with others – if not profound, then at least in-

symptoms in patients such as convulsions by the touch of his finger. For more information, see Henri F. ELLENBERGER, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*, vol. 1 (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 56.

tense – through the explicit stimulation of the material body, and thus perhaps exemplifies the dual nature of the ganglionic system more clearly than any other means by which it might be accessed. When the patient seems impervious to his advice, Dr. Rutenspitz changes his approach, and insists “you need to make a radical transformation of your whole life and in a certain sense to master [переломить] your own character” (ИСС I; 115). The narrator stresses the significance of this pronouncement: “Krestian Ivanovich put a strong emphasis on the word ‘master’ [переломить] and paused for a moment with a very meaningful air” (*ibid.*). The word ‘переломить’, which is defined by Ushakov’s *Dictionary* (*Толковый словарь Ушакова*) as ‘break in two’ (сломать на двое) rather explicitly foreshadows the splintering of Golyadkin’s character into two pieces.

In addition to his advice that Golyadkin seek company, alcohol and amusement, Dr. Rutenspitz evokes sexuality in his association with Golyadkin’s landlady, Karolina Ivanovna. In Dostoevsky’s 1846 version of *The Double*, this connection is explicit: Golyadkin’s former roommate writes to him that “the doctor of medicine and surgery, Krestian Ivanovich, who is known to you, will not refuse with all of his influence to contribute to the wellbeing and defense of his insulted countrywoman” (ИСС I; 114).²⁷ In the final version, the shared patronymic and heritage establishes a clear parallel between the figurative magnetizer – the only character who we see appearing to permeate the protagonist’s idealized and highly artificial identity – and the landlady who almost certainly permeated it as well, providing him not only with shelter and food but also sexual amusement. Both German characters thus seem to evoke the bodily urges that Golyadkin Sr. may take as the most objectionable aspects of the ganglionic system he denies.²⁸

Dr. Rutenspitz then writes Golyadkin a prescription. From the very beginning, Golyadkin seems to fear this medication; he clutches the doctor’s hand and says, “No sir, it’s not required at all” (ИСС I; 118). Although he is never depicted going to a pharmacy or taking the medication, one event suggests that the prescription was indeed significant. Towards the end of the story, Golyadkin, dirty and exhausted from his pursuit of his double, finds in his pocket the bottle of medicine “prescribed some four days before by Krestian Ivanovich” (ИСС I; 208). As if in a trance, Golyadkin looks at the “dark, repulsive, reddish

27 Translation is my own – E. F.

28 Natal’ja V. Konstantinova convincingly establishes the link between the two characters: Наталья В. КОНСТАНТИНОВА, “Немцы и немецкое в ранних произведениях Ф. М. Достоевского (На материале повести «Двойник»)", *Сибирский Филологический Журнал*, т. 4, с. 132 Our points of view diverge, however, when she argues that Dr. Rutenspitz punishes Golyadkin for his affair with his landlady.

liquid”, drops it to the ground and screams “So, my life is in danger!” (*ibid.*) This extreme reaction to discovering the medication seems to suggest that Golyadkin fears that this liquid will bring about his death – and perhaps his fears are not unreasonable.²⁹ If Golyadkin has indeed been taking it for four days, perhaps it is responsible for this “break” in his character and, by helping a new Golyadkin Jr. emerge, threatens the very existence of his dysfunctional and unstable counterpart. Alternatively, the “repulsive, reddish liquid” could also symbolize blood, a symbol of Golyadkin’s bodily self, which he sees not as a link to the divine – “the life of a living body is in its blood” (Lev. 17.11) – but as something dangerous and disgusting, entirely separate from himself.

Nonetheless, the full extent of Dr. Rutenspitz’s significance to Golyadkin’s transformation only becomes apparent at the story’s conclusion. In an echo of Golyadkin’s humiliation at Klara’s birthday ball, the story ends with another large social gathering at the house of Olsufy Ivanovich, her father. Golyadkin Sr., still under the delusion that she is willing to elope with him, attempts to hide behind a wood stack, but he is exposed once more: “and suddenly he completely burned up in shame. He had been fully spotted, everybody had spotted him all at once” (*ИСС* 1; 224). Just as in his previous humiliating exposure, Golyadkin Sr. seems to become the passive puppet of an overwhelming crowd: “all this clustered around Mr. Golyadkin, all this sped towards Mr. Golyadkin, all this carried Mr. Golyadkin out aloft, and he remarked very clearly that he was being dragged off in a particular direction” (*ИСС* 1; 225). This time, however, he does not resist the will of the crowd, but resigns himself fully to its power. Significantly, the narrator describes the crowd as an abyss [бездна] (*ibid.*); the crowd transforms into a sublime, awe-inspiring and ultimately destructive force of nature, ready to swallow up Golyadkin’s identity.

In *The Double*, the crowd alone does not have the power to pass the final judgement. Everyone solemnly sits down in rows arranged around Golyadkin and Olsufy Ivanovich, “obviously expecting something not entirely ordinary” (*ИСС* 1; 227). They are waiting for a particular person and shout “He is coming, he is coming” [едет, едет] and “It’s time!” [пора] (*ibid.*). The formality of the scene increases even further when everyone rises their feet to greet the new arrival. The expectation, the shouts of “he is coming”, and Golyadkin’s sense of an imminent ending all recall the Last Judgement. The arrival is not Christ,

29 For an alternate explanation of this scene, see АНТОНОВ, pp. 148-149. The loss of Krestian Ivanovich’s medicine causes Golyadkin to fear for his life because, without the medication, prescribed to him by Krestian Ivanovich, it is in danger”. However, since Golyadkin is horrified as soon as he sees the “repulsive, reddish liquid” and leaps away from the spilt liquid, it seems quite clear that he suddenly perceives it as poison.

however, but Dr. Rutenspitz. Golyadkin now perceives the formerly rather prosaic doctor as an angel of death “whose look alone turned Mr. Golyadkin to ice” (*IICC* 1; 227). Starting with Golyadkin Jr., everybody in the crowd repeats over and over again that this is indeed Krestian Ivanovich Rutenspitz. Convinced by the crowd, Golyadkin says that “in that case I’m prepared... I entrust myself fully... and deliver my fate into Krestian Ivanovich’s hands” (*IICC* 1; 228). But Dr. Rutenspitz hardly seems trustworthy any longer. We learn that, as soon as Golyadkin and the doctor drive away in a carriage and reach a desolate stretch of road, Golyadkin’s “heart stood still: two fiery eyes were looking at him in the darkness, and these two eyes shone with a sinister, diabolical glee” (*IICC* 1; 229). At the beginning of the story, it is said that Dr. Rutenspitz’s eyes “could drive off every illness”, and now they seem to be quite literally driving off Golyadkin Sr. These two sides of Dr. Rutenspitz – the benevolent helper and the sinister demon – are by no means incompatible. If Dr. Rutenspitz is the helper of Golyadkin as a whole and initially advises him to turn outwards and pursue amusement, it is hardly surprising that he now carts off the old and untenable identity as its new counterpart watches with excitement.

From this perspective, *The Double* is not the tragic story of a little man’s undoing, but a hopeful and uplifting tale of redemption. Golyadkin Jr. is overjoyed that his former mocked and derided identity has been destroyed for good: “he was rubbing his hands in delight, he was turning his head around in delight; he seemed ready to begin dancing in delight right away” (*IICC* 1; 228). The new Golyadkin has returned to his life in a communal apartment; he is cared for again by Karolina Ivanovna, supported by his friends, appreciated by his superiors and admired by his colleagues. This is not the transformation of a petty bureaucrat into a remarkable hero or of a self-serving recluse into a Christian saint, but it is rebirth of a socially dysfunctional man as a better-integrated variant of himself. It is perhaps not a coincidence that this story of mundane, relatively pedestrian resurrection still evokes the biblical themes of the three-day limbo and the figurative damnation of the failed identity with language and images recalling the Last Judgment. The psychological binary most likely to have influenced the author is not the later ego and id model, nor is it best described as the tension between the conscious and unconscious or the rational and the irrational; instead, the *Naturphilosophie* binary of the nervous and ganglionic systems may more readily be understood as the struggle between the aims of the individual and the collective, that is, between the ambitions of personal identity and the needs of the organism, the pressures of the group, and the will of the cosmos. According to this model, an identity which finds itself at odds with the reality of the body and the scrutiny of wider society is nec-

essarily an identity at odds with God as well. And although Dostoevsky makes no suggestion that Golyadkin Jr. better accesses spirituality, the biblical themes underlying the story suggest that the character's transformation in favor of a more realistic acceptance of his own imperfections may mark a movement towards a more absolute truth as well. At the very least, it is a movement beyond the petty self-interest and excessively materialistic sense of self that seem to preclude any hope for spiritual fulfillment in Golyadkin Sr. Golyadkin's first name, Yakov, a reference to the Biblical twin Jacob who steals his brother's birthright, is particularly relevant here, as Jacob goes on to become one of the founding patriarchs of Israel. In the biblical story, as perhaps in *The Double*, an unjust usurpation sets us to the path towards spiritual fulfillment.

This interpretation of *The Double*, while generally at odds with scholarship of the novella, is by no means inconsistent with the author's wider works. Despite his reputation as an author of disturbing, dark and twisted narratives, Dostoevsky spent his career striving to depict stories of resurrection. In this case, Golyadkin is and remains a petty clerk, but, through a painful and terrifying transformation – the death of his old identity, which often feels like literal death – he is elevated from awkward and delusional recluse to a well-loved member of a community.

Even after significant revisions in 1859, Dostoevsky remained unsatisfied with *The Double*. Still, he insisted multiple times that the idea behind Golyadkin was “excellent [...], the greatest type in its social importance”, and, as late as 1877, called it the most serious idea which he had ever come up with in literature.³⁰ Much speculation has followed Dostoevsky's words. Perhaps this important idea may be understood as the painful, humiliating and tragic experience through which resurrection may be made possible. However, in *The Double*, even the most profound emotions are only one half of a doubled consciousness. If we read *The Double* from an inverted perspective, conscious of its fundamental antonymity, we find a newfound sanity in a journey to the madhouse, hope in bleakness, and a social resurrection in a social death.

30 Владимир Н. ЗАХАРОВ, “Тениальный «Двойник»: Почему критики не понимают Достоевского?”, *Неизвестный Достоевский*, т. 7, № 3, 2020, с. 33.

ARTICLES



СТАТЬИ

Cultural and Textual Contexts



Культурные и текстуальные контексты

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О Николае Угоднике и Касьяне Угоднике у Достоевского (На материале Преступления и наказания)

I

Вопрос о присутствии Святого Николая в произведениях Достоевского уже нашел отражение в различных исследованиях, посвященных творчеству писателя (Мейер, Назиров, Агашина). Прямые и косвенные указания на образ или имя Св. Николая Угодника не раз встречаются у Достоевского, не только в художественных текстах, но и в переписке. В частности, в данной статье хочется обратить особое внимание на указание на образ Николая в *Преступлении и наказании*, где фигура святого отражается, как постараемся доказать, в “двух Миколках” – в образе пьяного мужика, убивающего лошадку в первом сне Раскольникова, и в образе маляра-сектанта, который обвиняет себя в убийстве процентщицы. Интересно будет рассмотреть именно эти указания на Угодника в свете одного фольклорного текста, вдохновившего по данной гипотезе Достоевского и подсказавшего ему образ этих двух радикально противоположных персонажей с одинаковыми именами.

II

Как уже сказано, ссылки на фигуру Николая у Достоевского можно отыскать и в произведениях, и в переписке – это заметно в некоторых из его самых популярных сочинений (любопытно в этом смысле, что в своем романе *В мире отверженных* Петр Якубович, например, писал, что в *Записках из мертвого дома* каторжные «богородицу смешивают с пресвятой троицей, Христа с Николаем-угодником»¹). Прямые отсылки к Николе встречаются в сочинениях разного времени – в четвертой главе *Унижен-*

1 Ирина Д. Якубович, “Записки из Мертвого дома и В мире отверженных П. Ф. Якубовича”, in *Достоевский. Материалы и исследования*, т. 8 (Ленинград: Наука, 1988), с. 200.

ных и оскорбленных герой наблюдает мрачную сцену “нетрезвой” «толстой бабы, одетой как мещанка» (ПСС 3; 258), которая в гневе собирается бить только что вернувшуюся домой маленькую Елену, но, увидев соседей, останавливается и кричит всем, оправдывая этими словами свой гнев:

Вижу у вас, бедных людей, на руках, самим есть нечего; дай, думаю, хоть для Николая-то угодника потружусь, приму сироту. Приняла. Что ж бы вы думали? Вот уж два месяца содержу, – кровь она у меня в эти два месяца выпила, белое тело моё поела! Пиявка! Змей гремучий! (ПСС 3; 258).

Николай Угодник, а вернее, церковь ему посвящённая, упоминается в *Игроке*, когда Полина приветствует бабушку и спрашивает её о здоровье. Отвечает она: «Вот видишь ты: лежала-лежала, лечили-лечили, я докторов прогнала и позвала пономаря от Николы» (ПСС 5; 254; как уточняют комментаторы ПССП [5; 595], та же московская церковь упоминается и в *Подростке*); в известной сцене встречи на мосту Ставрогина с Федькой в *Бесах*, последний рассказывает главе террористов, что недавно украл несколько ценных вещей в церкви («Николая Угодника подбородник, чистый серебряный, задаром пошел: семилеровый, говорят» [ПСС 10; 220]), а в *Подростке* мать героя в девятой главе поминает Угодника в своем молении:

Ну, господи... ну, господь с тобой... ну, храни тебя ангелы небесные, пречестная мать, Николай-угодник... Господи, господи! – скороговоркой повторяла она, всё крестя меня, всё стараясь чаще и побольше положить крестов, – голубчик ты мой, милый ты мой! Да постой, голубчик... (ПСС 13; 272).

Приведенные цитаты позволяют нам сказать, что Николай Угодник фигурирует у Достоевского в канонической своей роли – покровителя детей или одного из святых, наиболее почитаемых русскими, которые построили во имя его много церквей.² В этом контексте роман *Преступление и нака-*

2. Небезынтересно подчеркнуть, что в *Повести временных лет* упоминается уже в 882 году (т.е. до принятия Русью Христианства) церковь, посвященная Святому Николаю, происхождение которой неясно: якобы она была построена неким Ольмой (предположительно киевский боярин, о котором нет более точных сведений: *Повесть временных лет*, ред. Варвара П. Адрианова-Перетц [Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 1996], с. 409) около Печерского монастыря Киева, на месте гробницы, в которой лежал Аскольд, бывший в конце IX века правителем Киевского княжества. Борис Успенский выдвигает гипотезу о том, что Николай «был христианским именем Аскольда» (Борис А. УСПЕН-

вание представляется исключением: несмотря на то, что этот святой нигде прямо не называется, очень важными являются косвенные указания на него, а в особенности на его образ, который возникает из фольклорных текстов.

Только раз, насколько нам известно, Достоевский упоминает Чудотворца в письмах. Имеется в виду его переписка с Аполлоном Майковым, прежде всего, письмо Майкову от 9 октября 1870, где писатель пишет другу поэту: «Он нас не оставит, потому что Николай Чудотворец есть русский дух и русское единство» (ПСС 29; 144-145). В комментарии подтверждается, что образ Николая, который Достоевский имеет в виду, исходит именно «из народных преданий и легенд» (ПСС 29; 443). В своем письме Майкову Достоевский отвечал на его послание от 23 сентября 1870, где адресант представлял романисту «свои размышления об исторической миссии России» (*там же*). Эти размышления обретают у Майкова особую остроту в связи с общественно-политическими происшествиями лета и осени 1870 г., когда поэту стали ясны отрицательные последствия сильно напугавших его исторических событий: «падение наполеоновской империи в результате революционных событий 4 сентября, рождение французской республики, провозглашение догмата непогрешимости папы римского, грядущее образование германской империи и т. п.» (ПСС 29; 443-444). Майков пишет:

Боже мой. Империи падают, республики провозглашаются, провозглашается непогрешимость одного смертного и возникает империя, создаваемая протестантским богом [...] где же наш Николай Чудотворец – что же он-то думает, неужели он спит в то время, когда работают и политический и протестантский боги – ужели он за нас не потрудится, по старому обычаю своему [...]. Насколько хватит взор – горизонты блестящие, обширные, а опустишься в кресла [...] убеждаешься, что чудотворец, по-видимому, еще не тронулся на нас поработать [...]. Верю все-таки, несмотря на всю тупость и глупость видимую, что Миколка свое дело знает [...] с улыбочкой смотрит на подвиги протестантского бога, являющегося во всеоружии своих игольчатых ружей, нарезанных пушек, реквизиций, контрибуций и просмотрит и думает: «Наше дело впереди» (цит. по: ПСС 29; 444).

Письмо Майкова и ответ ему написаны после выхода *Преступления и наказания*, причем и в письме Майкова фигурируют два разных обраще-

ский, *Филологические разыскания в области славянских древностей. Реликты язычества в восточнославянском культе Николая Мирликийского* [Москва: Изд. МГУ, 1982], с. 21).

ния к Угоднику – официальное имя «Николай Чудотворец», и ласковая народная форма «Миколка» (последняя используется поэтом именно в обращении к святому как «скорпомощнику»)³.

III

Критика не раз затрагивала вопрос о связи Угодника с Достоевским, в том числе с первым из его великих романов. О нем высказался Георгий Мейер уже в своей книге 1967 г. о *Преступлении и наказании*, где предлагается интересное замечание о двойном характере Раскольникова. Согласно автору, сложность стоящего перед ним выбора между добром и злом отражается в двойном характере всякого человека, который, по сути, оказывается противоречивым и, в соответствии с мировоззрением самого Достоевского, «ежеминутно может изменить своему святому».⁴ По убеждению Мейера, внутренний мир Раскольникова можно увидеть в обращении с именами святых, которые у Достоевского «даются не случайно»,⁵ а отражают противоположные черты фольклорного изображения тех же святых (Микола милостивый и *скорпомощник*, но и Микола вор и врун). Также Мейер уточняет, что в представлении Достоевского всякий мыслитель имеет такой двойной характер, как характер Раскольникова. С одной стороны, эти черты в фольклоре могут представляться в форме двойной роли определенного святого (см., например, как в одних фольклорных текстах Николай Угодник – «русскому человеку большая помощь»,⁶ а в других же текстах, наоборот, этот же святой выступает в неприятных или неприличных, отрицательных ролях).⁷ С другой стороны эти черты могут быть представлены в парах святых, в которых, хотя оба святых носят звание «угодников», в легенде они являются антиподами. Как будет сказано дальше, одна из этих пар, состоящая из святых Николая и Касьяна, особенно важна для настоящей трактовки, потому что, как нам

3 Gerardo STOFFARI, "S. Nicola. Fiabe e leggende russe. Prima raccolta", *Bollettino di San Nicola [Numero speciale]*, 1982, п. 4, р. 2.

4 Георгий А. МЕЙЕР, *Свет в ночи* (о «Преступлении и наказании»). *Опыт медленного чтения* (Франкфурт: Посев, 1967), с. 81-82.

5 *Ibid.*, с. 81.

6 Павел И. Якушкин, "Николай угодник и Касьян угодник (народная сказка, сообщённая П. И. Якушкиным)", *Летописи русской литературы и древности, издаваемые Николаем Тихонравовым*, т. 1, ч. 2, отд. 3, 1859, с. 166.

7 УСПЕНСКИЙ, с. 125-126.

представляется, с этой парой святых могут быть связаны образы двух Миколок, изображенных Достоевским в романе *Преступление и наказание*. Как уточняет Мейер:

у Миколки-красильщика есть антипод, такой же, как и он, деревенский парень – Миколка, пьяный и дикий, насмерть забивающий несчастную лошадь. [...] Раскольников духовно связан с Миколкой-красильщиком и злодуховно с другим Миколкой, на смерть избивающим лошадь.⁸

В книге *Творческие принципы Достоевского* Ромэн Назиров тоже затрагивает связь Достоевского с Николаем Угодником и предлагает дальнейшее развитие идеи Мейера. Он в особенности останавливается на вопросе о снах в *Преступлении и наказании*, потому что «сновидения Раскольникова заражают сюжет»,⁹ и обращает особое внимание на «совпадение имен» двух Миколок: «Думается, между двумя Миколками существует тайное символическое тождество, и самообвинение маляра – это художественный результат сна о забитой лошади».¹⁰ Назиров не решает вопрос о возможном совпадении имен, но им интересовались другие исследователи творчества Достоевского.

Интересные замечания содержатся в комментариях Сергея Белова и Бориса Тихомирова к роману. Белов подтверждает не только важность совпадения имен двух Миколок, но и его высокое значение в судьбе героя: «между этими двумя Миколками, между верой и неверием и мечется Раскольников, связанный с обоими неразрывно: с одним – круговой порукой греха, с другим – надеждой на воскрешение».¹¹ Белов останавливается и на сильном впечатлении, которое произвела на Достоевского сцена избивания лошадки, что нашло отражение в автобиографических воспоминаниях писателя. Он не только ссылается на черновые записи к роману, где рукой Достоевского написано «как одна, загнанная лошадь, которую я видел

8 Мейер, с. 339.

9 Ромэн Г. НАЗИРОВ, *Творческие принципы Ф. М. Достоевского* (Саратов: Изд. Саратовского университета, 1982), с. 149.

10 *Ibid.*, с. 149.

11 Сергей В. БЕЛОВ, *Роман Ф. М. Достоевского «Преступление и наказание»: комментарий* (Москва: КомКнига, 2010), с. 93. См. также замечание Наседкина: «А Миколка из сна странным образом персонифицируется в самого Раскольникова, превратившись в красильщика Миколку (Николая Дементьева), который возьмет на себя его преступление. Миколка из сна – как бы двойник-антипод Миколки-красильщика» (Николай НАСЕДКИН, *Достоевский. Энциклопедия* [Москва: Алгоритм, 2003], с. 344).

в детстве»,¹² но и упоминает «случай с фельдъегерем», который тронул Достоевского во время одного переезда из Москвы в Петербург, когда ему было пятнадцать лет. Перед глазами молодого писателя предстала тогда неприятная бытовая сцена – один фельдъегерь на почтовой станции угрожал кулаками ямщику, который в свою очередь «нахлестал лошадей, до того что они неслись как угорелые. [...] Эта отвратительная картинка осталась в воспоминаниях моих на всю жизнь».¹³ Следует добавить, что «дрожащих от слабости, загнанных, тощих крестьянских клячонок Достоевский мог видеть в деревне, в усадьбе родителей»,¹⁴ когда был молодым, недалеко от города Зарайска. В своих воспоминаниях Анна Григорьевна Достоевская рассказывает, что 21 марта 1880 г. писателя пригласили

участвовать на литературно-музыкальном вечере в зале Благородного собрания в пользу Педагогических курсов. Муж выбрал отрывок из *Преступления и наказания* – Сон Раскольников о загнанной лошади. Впечатление было подавляющее, и я сама видела, как люди сидели, бледные от ужаса, а иные плакали. Я и сама не могла удержаться от слез.¹⁵

Тихомиров опирается на книгу Мейера и соглашается с проблемой двух путей победы над миром («через кровь или через смирение»),¹⁶ а потом останавливается на двух подробностях: во-первых, он подчеркивает, что в романе «тождество имен сугубо подчеркнуто использованием достаточно редкого производного варианта: Николай/Миколка»;¹⁷ во-вторых, – что этим раздвоением Достоевский словно ссылается на мышление Георгия Федотова, в особенности, идею философа о том, что душу всякого народа больше не следует считать «однозначной», а понимание души народа должно «опираться скорее на полярные выражения национального характера».¹⁸

12 Белов 2010, с. 93.

13 *Ibid.*, с. 94.

14 Галина Ф. КОГАН, «Примечания к основному тексту романа», in Федор М. Достоевский, *Преступление и наказание*, под ред. Л. Д. Опульской, Г. Ф. Коган, (Москва: Наука, 1960), с. 740.

15 Анна Г. ДОСТОЕВСКАЯ, *Солнце моей жизни – Федор Достоевский. Воспоминания 1846-1917* (Москва: Бослен, 2015), с. 407-408.

16 Борис Н. ТИХОМИРОВ, «Лазарь! Гряди вон!». Роман Ф. М. Достоевского *Преступление и наказание* в современном прочтении. Книга-комментарий (Санкт-Петербург: Серебряный век, 2016) с. 136.

17 *Ibid.*, с. 135.

18 *Ibid.*

В более современной статье, ссылаясь именно на фигуру Святого Николая, Елена Агашина пишет на тему прототипов “двух Миколок”, приводя интересные гипотезы. Агашина останавливается в особенности на мотиве лошади в истории создания образа Николая Угодника, который «в русской традиции амбивалентен, неоднозначен. Его облик в народном представлении раздваивается, приобретая как светлые, так и темные черты»,¹⁹ поэтому не странно, что под его именем действуют два персонажа с противоположным поведением. В русле данного замечания Агашина обращает внимание еще на традиционную связь Николы с особыми животными, особенно с лошадьми, ибо «в народе этого святого всегда называли лошадиным святым» и праздник вешнего Николы был известен под названием «лошадиного праздника».²⁰

Однако в статье Агашиной не уточняются возможные фольклорные источники, на которые мог бы сослаться писатель, обращаясь к образу Угодника. Источники такие, наоборот, как представляется, являются особенно важными, потому что помогают понять, что образ «злого Миколки» из сна Раскольникова взят не только из воспоминаний писателя, но и из литературных источников.²¹ Имеются в виду легенды и предания о русских святых (угодниках), очень распространенные при Достоевском в журналах и в особых сборниках и собраниях. В этих фольклорных текстах содержатся исторические легенды, где святые могут играть двойную роль (сам Николай Угодник, как уже отмечено, может быть в них и вором или обманщиком), или самые лучшие из угодников, объединенные в пары, могут выступать противниками друг друга (Николай и Илья, Николай и Георгий, Петр и Николай). Это случай св. Касьяна, который по древней традиции считается «привратником ада» или адским святым, поэтому из святых оказывается самым подходящим к данной трактовке.

Цель данной статьи состоит в выяснении возможной связи (и ее отражении в воображении писателя) между парой Миколок в романе Достоевского и парой святых, действующих в достаточно известной

19 Елена Н. Агашина, “К проблеме двойников: два Миколки в романе Ф. М. Достоевского «Преступление и наказание»”, *Гуманитарные исследования в Восточной Сибири и на Дальнем Востоке*, 2009, № 2, с. 10.

20 *Ibid.*, с. 11.

21 О возможных других источниках сцены избияния лошадки, см.: Юрий В. ЛЕБЕДЕВ, Владимир И. МЕЛЬНИК, “О двух возможных источниках сна Раскольникова”, *Достоевский: Материалы и исследования*, т. 4 (Ленинград: Наука, 1983), с. 227-230; Александр П. ВЛАСКИН, *Творчество Достоевского и народная религиозная культура* (Магнитогорск: Изд. Магнитогорского ГПУ, 1994), с. 81.

народной легенде, *Николай угодник и Касьян угодник*, опубликованной в 1859 в *Летописях русской литературы и древности* Тихонравова. С этой легендой, как можно предположить, Достоевский, вероятнее всего, был знаком, и ее текст мог бы, как постараемся продемонстрировать, вдохновить его на изображение двух Миколок. Интересно показать, как писатель зафиксировал определенное внимание на этой легенде, сочетая ее сюжет и некоторые детали с другими литературными источниками, или, скорее, осовременивая фигуры Николая и Касьяна, чтобы «найти им место» в Петербурге XIX века. Данная гипотеза полностью совместима с особенностями воображения Достоевского, которое, как уже отметила Валентина Ветловская,²² имеет вертикальную структуру, и в рамках которой отражается «многоплановость» его мышления. Эта многоплановость проиллюстрирована Ромэном Назировым в его статье о мифотворчестве у Достоевского,²³ а затем точнее объяснена, с некоторыми примерами, Розанной Казари, согласно которой Достоевский «смешивает традиции, распространяя в повествовании мотивы, взятые из разных произведений, от разных персонажей, в чрезвычайно динамичных связях».²⁴ Результатом этого приема является то, что «в некоторых случаях», объясняет также Казари, в творчестве Достоевского «почти отсутствуют прямые ссылки на исходный античный миф, а на уровне текста узнаются только аллюзии, отголоски, намеки».²⁵

22 Валентина Е. ВЕТЛОВСКАЯ, «Достоевский и поэтический мир древней Руси (Литературные и фольклорные источники «Братьев Карамазовых»)», *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы* (Ленинград: Наука, 1974), с. 296.

23 Ромэн Г. НАЗИРОВ, «Специфика художественного мифотворчества Ф. М. Достоевского. Сравнительно-исторический подход», *Dostoevsky Studies. New Series*, vol. 3, 1999, с. 87-98. Здесь Назиров объясняет, что мифотворчество Достоевского «не просто комбинаторика сюжетов. Достоевский умел придавать мифам жгучую злободневность. Роман его выходит за пределы реализма, прозрачность воображаемого мира предвещает символизм, а повышенная экспрессивность, страсть к пародии, обращение к мифу, фольклору и народной религиозности сближают роман Достоевского с литературой модернизма» (с. 88).

24 Rosanna CASARI, «Giuseppe e i suoi fratelli, Giuseppe il Magnifico: tradizione letteraria e iconografica nei *Fratelli Karamazov* e ne *L'idiota*», in Marco CARATOZZOLO (ed.), *Dostoevskij e la tradizione* (Bari: Stilo, 2010), p. 64.

25 Розанна КАЗАРИ, «*Прекрасная сказка об Амуре и Психее* в творчестве Достоевского», in Людмила ЗАЙОНЦ (сост.), *На меже меж Голосом и Эхом: сб. статей в честь Татьяны Владимировны Цивьян* (Москва: Новое Издательство, 2007), с. 167.

IV

С письменной версией легенды о Николае и Касьяне русские читатели ознакомились только в 1859, но устные ее версии уже были распространены по всей России. Вспомним ее сюжет в изложении Владимира Соловьева, который описал легенду в первой главе своей книги *Россия и вселенская церковь* (книга написана на французском языке и опубликована в Париже в 1889 г., русский перевод вышел только в 1911).²⁶ В пересказе, который Соловьев помещает в свой памфлет, фигурируют придуманные им самим подробности: самая важная деталь состоит в том, что во всех фольклорных текстах это Бог, а не св. Петр принимает в рай двух угодников, их опрашивает и наказывает Касьяна. Во всяком случае, в версии Соловьева не меняется общий смысл рассказа. Его текст звучит так:

Святой Николай и святой Кассиан, [...] посланные из рая навестить землю, увидели однажды на дороге бедного крестьянина, телега которого, нагруженная сеном, глубоко завязла в грязи и который делал бесплодные усилия, чтобы заставить свою лошадь сдвинуть воз с места.

– Пойдем, подсобим доброму человеку, – сказал святой Николай.

– Сохрани меня Бог, – ответил святой Кассиан: – я боюсь запачкать свою хламиду.

– Ну, тогда подожди меня или лучше иди себе без меня своей дорогой, – сказал святой Николай, – и бесстрашно забравшись в грязь, он бодро помог мужику вытащить телегу из колеи.

Когда, покончив с этой работой, святой Николай догнал своего товарища, он был весь в грязи, а запачканная и разорванная хламида его напоминала рубище бедняка. Велико было изумление святого Петра, когда он увидел его в этом виде у врат рая.

– Э! Кто тебя так отделал? – спросил он его.

Святой Николай рассказал, как было дело.

26 Цель философа в том, чтобы четко отделить, с помощью фигур Николая и Касьяна, католическую церковь от православной и заявить, что, в отличие от русской, «Западная Церковь, верная своему апостольскому призванию, не побоялась погрузиться в грязь исторической жизни. В течение долгих веков она была единственным началом нравственного порядка и умственной культуры среди варварских народов Европы и принуждена была поэтому принять на себя и весь труд материального управления наряду с духовным воспитанием этих, независимых по своему духу и суровых по своим инстинктам, народов» (Владимир СОЛОВЬЕВ, *Россия и вселенская церковь*, пер. с французского Г. А. Рачинского [Москва: Путь, 1911], с. 79).

– А ты, – спросил святой Петр святого Кассиана, – разве не был с ним при этой встрече?

– Как же, но я не имею привычки вмешиваться в то, что меня не касается и прежде всего я подумал о том, чтобы не загрязнить девственную белизну моей хламиды.

– Ну так вот, – сказал святой Петр, – тебя, святой Николай, за то, что ты не побоялся испачкаться, выручая ближнего из беды, отныне будут праздновать два раза в году, и ты будешь в глазах всех крестьян святой Руси самым большим святым после меня. А ты, святой Кассиан, довольствуйся непорочной белизной твоей хламиды, а праздновать тебя будут лишь в високосные года – раз в четыре года.²⁷

Насколько известно, *Сравнительный указатель сюжетов* восточнославянских сказок (авторы-составители Лев Г. Бараг, Иван Березовский, Константин Кабашников и Николай Новиков) – это единственный источник, где отмечаются все варианты рассматриваемой легенды. В нем отмечается,²⁸ что существуют четыре письменные версии данной легенды – две на русском и две на белорусском языке. Белорусские версии, сходные по сюжету, были опубликованы этнографом Романовым в IV томе *Белорусского Сборника*, но только в 1891, поэтому с ними Достоевский не мог быть знаком, тем не менее, они содержат по крайней мере две интересные подробности, которые здесь полезно отметить: в первой версии разительный контраст между двумя угодниками символически выражен и через одежду – у Касьяна было платье, расшитое золотом, а у Николы простое и белое;²⁹ во второй, напротив, интересно, что Касьян призывает Николая не тратить время на то, чтобы помочь крестьянину, иначе «будут говорить, что ты где-нибудь валяешься пьяный!»³⁰

Больше всего нас интересуют две первые версии легенды, тоже очень близкие по времени написания (обе вышли в 1859) и по сюжету:

а) Версия Якушкина вышла под названием *Николай угодник и Касьян* в первом томе *Летописи русской литературы и древностей* – ежегодника, выпущенного в 1859-1863 гг. издателем Николаем Тихонравовым. Текст

27 Соловьёв, с. 77-78.

28 Лев Г. БАРАГ, Иван П. БЕРЕЗОВСКИЙ, Константин П. КАБАШНИКОВ, Николай В. НОВИКОВ, *Сравнительный указатель сюжетов. Восточно-славянская сказка* (Ленинград: Наука, 1979), с. 199.

29 Евдокий Р. РОМАНОВ, *Белорусский сборник. Выпуск четвертый: сказки космогонические и культурные*. Собрал Е. Р. Романов (Витебск: Малкин, 1891), с. 15.

30 *Ibid.*, с. 15-16.

легенды был популярен в русских и белорусских краях и был записан в Орловской губернии русским этнографом Якушкиным, который за свою жизнь собрал огромное количество сказок, народных песен и загадок. Не найдено до сих пор никаких свидетельств о возможном знакомстве Достоевского с Якушкиным. Только в конце XIX века Аничков в важном очерке о святом Николае в фольклоре написал о существовании двух вышеуказанных белорусских версий.³¹ В той же книге, поддерживая замечание Веселовского, Аничков подчеркивает,³² что источником этой легенды может быть апокрифическое сказание о чуде царя Синагриппа, которое Пропп определяет так: «оказавшись на корабле во время бури, он испугался несчастья и обратил свои молитвы к святому Николаю, который спас его, а святой Феокист отказался это сделать».³³ От афанасьевской версии якушкинская версия отличается только тем, что Бог наказывает Касьяна не только за то, что не помог крестьянину, но и за то, что неправильно обратился к нему: «Слушай, Касьян, угодник божий, сказал Господи: – не умел ты меня назвать: назвал вашим благородием, за то тебе в два года один молебен».³⁴ Хотя еще не обнаружено прямых свидетельств того, что Достоевский знал легенду в версии Якушкина, не подлежит сомнениям некая связь между Тихонравовым и Достоевским уже во время работы писателя над романом, поэтому трудно представить, что Достоевский не знал легенды. Несмотря на то, что Белов уточняет, что личное знакомство издателя с писателем состоялось только «в начале июня 1880»,³⁵ известно, что Достоевский был знаком с издательской деятельностью Тихонравова и внимательно следил за публикациями, выходившими под его редакцией уже с начала шестидесятых годов. Он внимательно читал *Житие протопопа Аввакума*, изданное под редакцией Тихонравова в 1861 году, и регулярно читал и *Летописи русской литературы и древности*, если иметь в виду, что он отозвался на первый том (ПСС 15; 478) (именно тот, где появилась легенда), на второй том (ПСС 18; 299) и на четвертый том (ПСС 12; 357) изданного Тихонравовым журнала. Напомним еще замечание Ветловской о том, что с поэмой *Хожделение Богородицы по мукам*, которая упоминается

31 Евгений В. Аничков, “Микола угодник и св. Николай”, in *Записки Нео-филологического Общества при Императорском Санкт-Петербургском Университете*, вып. 2 (Санкт-Петербург: Балашев, 1892), с. 43.

32 *Ibid.*, с. 43-44.

33 Владимир Я. Пропп, *Поэтика фольклора* (Москва: Лабиринт, 1998), с. 295.

34 Якушкин, с. 166.

35 Сергей В. Белов, *Ф. М. Достоевский и его окружение. Энциклопедический словарь*, т. 2 (Санкт-Петербург: Алетейя, 2001), с. 295.

в *Братьях Карамазовых* (ч. II, кн. 5, гл. 5), Достоевский «был знаком» именно по версии, изданной Тихонравовым во втором томе *Памятников отреченной русской литературы* от 1863.³⁶

б) Версия Афанасьева носит название *Касьян и Никола* и была включена фольклористом уже в первое издание его известного сборника *Народные русские легенды* от 1859 г. (опубликован в Лондоне, а в следующем году в России; сборник переиздавался не раз в последующие годы). Совпадение года публикации этой и якушкинской версий объясняется тем, что Афанасьев слышал от самого Якушкина текст легенды и решил сразу включить его в свой сборник народных легенд³⁷ с упрощением мелких деталей. Следует уточнить, что еще не установлено, был ли Достоевский знаком со сборником легенд Афанасьева. По мнению Ветловской (*ПСС* 15; 572) писатель, который «всегда интересовался устным народным творчеством»,³⁸ тем не менее, не знал сборника Афанасьева, но Вячеслав Михнюкевич и Лидия Лотман думают по-другому: первый на самом деле упоминает в своей книге о Достоевском и фольклоре афанасьевскую версию легенды,³⁹ а вторая идет ещё дальше и утверждает, что «скандал», который вызвало издание тома легенд Афанасьева, вместе с публикацией других томов легенд и апокрифов для серии Полного Собрания Русских Летописей, «должны были привлечь внимание Достоевского».⁴⁰

V

Святому Касьяну посвящено немало научных исследований. В них подчеркиваются его особенно неприятные русскому народу черты и его статус одного из наименее почитаемых святых. Как объясняет Владимир Чичеров, наделение Касьяна оборотническими чертами («демонологическая

36 Валентина Е. ВЕТЛОВСКАЯ, «*«Идеал Мадонны» в «Братьях Карамазовых»*», in *Достоевский. Материалы и исследования*, т. 15 (Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 2000), с. 316.

37 Александр Н. АФАНАСЬЕВ, *Народные русские легенды*, собранные А. Н. Афанасьевым (Москва: Изд. Н. Щекина и К. Солдатенкова, 1859), с. 42-43.

38 Нина Ф. БУДАНОВА (ред.), *Библиотека Ф. М. Достоевского. Опыт реконструкции. Научное описание* (Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 2005), с. 20.

39 Вячеслав А. МИХНЮКЕВИЧ, *Русский фольклор в художественной системе Ф. М. Достоевского* (Челябинск, 1994), с. 160.

40 Лидия М. ЛОТМАН, *Реализм русской литературы бох годов XIX века* (Ленинград: Наука, 1974), с. 285. См. тоже: Николай К. ПИКСАНОВ, «Достоевский и фольклор», *Советская этнография*, 1934, № 1-2, с. 162.

сущность», по определению Николая Мендельсона)⁴¹ и создание его образа «адского святого» связаны с феноменом «соединения элементов язычества и христианства в народных суевериях и обрядах» (*двоеверия* по терминологии Чичерова),⁴² вследствие которого день, посвященный ему, органически связан с аграрным календарем. С принятием русскими Христианства, однако, этот день – 29 февраля, день св. Касьяна – стал наделяться в народе отрицательными качествами и стал восприниматься как неприятный день, в который может произойти что-то нехорошее. В частности, Чичеров приводит цитату из *Месяцеслова* Владимира Даля, где в отношении Касьяна употребляются следующие слова: «завистливый, злопамятный, недоброежелатель, завистник, скупой, немилостивый» (а с эпитетом «милостивый» обычно обращаются к Николаю); добавим, что существует немало поговорок, где отмечаются отрицательные качества Касьяна: «Зинул Касьян на крестьян»; «Касьян на что ни взглянет – вянет»; «Касьян на народ – народу тяжело, Касьян на траву – трава сохнет, Касьян на скот – скотдохнет»; «Касьян на скот взглянет – скот валится, Касьян на дерево – дерево сохнет».⁴³

Как уже сказано, в старом календаре день, посвященный Касьяну, фактически приходился на 29 февраля, то есть на последний день по старому счету нового года (как отмечает Джерардо Чоффари, праздник Феоктиста также приходился на 29 февраля).⁴⁴ Этот день считался зловещим и опасным, поэтому в этот день было опасно выходить из дома, а с наступлением високосного года рекомендовалось в тот же день не сеять, не праздновать браки и даже не планировать рождение детей, поскольку они могли умереть. По разным поверьям, сам Касьян «живет в аду, [...] он сторож ада, стережет бесов»;⁴⁵ в приписываемых ему историях (у чертей он был похищен в детстве) представляет демонические элементы: вероломство, зависть, малый рост, пристрастие к мучению животных. В этой последней его черте, особенно ярко проявившейся в восточнославянском фольклоре

41 Николай М. Мендельсон, «К поверьям о св. Касьяне», *Этнографическое обозрение. Издание этнографического отдела Императорского Общества Любителей Естественных, Антропологии и Этнографии, состоящего при Московском Университете*, 1897, № 1, с. 1.

42 Владимир И. Чичеров, «Из истории народных поверий и обрядов («Нечистая сила и Касьян»)", *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы Института Русской Литературы*, т. 14 (Москва-Ленинград: АН СССР, 1958), с. 529.

43 *Ibid.*, с. 531.

44 Gerardo CIOFFARI, *San Nicola: leggende e cronache russe* (Bari: Centro Studi Nicolaiani, 1986), p. 3.

45 Чичеров, с. 532.

из сибирского региона (где Достоевский, как известно, долго был на ка-торге), отразилось поверье, что Касьян отворачивает головы птенцам, убивая их или превращая в чудовищ.⁴⁶ Напомним также, что демонический образ Касьяна был источником вдохновения для других авторов русской литературы, в том числе и Гоголя, если иметь в виду уточнение Назаревского о том, что «многие поверья о Касьяне обнаруживают, что некоторые черты его внешности и его свойства напоминают Вия».⁴⁷

Помимо упомянутых нами четырех версий, легенда о Касьяне и Николае распространена и в других вариантах, которые отражены только в устных свидетельствах: в одном из них вместо крестьянина фигурирует вдова, собирающаяся рожать; в другом – святой Илья, а крестьянин, у которого увязла телега, рискует утонуть в грязи.⁴⁸ В то время как Касьян полностью игнорирует его, Илья спасает его от смерти, но не вытаскивает телегу из грязи; Николай же делает и то, и другое и получает два праздника каждый год, в отличие от Ильи (один раз в год) и Касьяна (один раз в четыре года). Существует еще одна интересная легенда, касающаяся только Касьяна и даты его праздника, согласно которой святой «три года подряд в день своих именин пьянствовал и только на четвертый год был трезв. Поэтому его и положено праздновать один раз в четыре года – в день, когда Касьян был трезв».⁴⁹ Как уточняется дальше, склонность Касьяна к мучению животных и к пьянству – это черты, имеющие особое значение.

VI

Если рассмотреть сложное переплетение отрицательных черт Касьяна и, напротив, положительных – Николая, которые ясно представлены в основном сюжете легенды, можно предположить, что этот текст оказался очень близким для Достоевского, когда он придумал не только структуру рома-

46 Татьяна А. Агапина, *Мифопоэтические основы славянского народного календаря. Весенне-летний цикл* (Москва: Индрик, 2002), с. 42.

47 Александр А. Назаревский, “Вий в повести Гоголя и Касьян в народных поверьях о 29 февраля”, in А. А. СЕТЕНКО (под ред.), *Вопросы русской литературы*, вып. 2 (Львов: Изд. Львовского Университета, 1969), с. 42. Интересно, что Назаревский в данной статье ссылается именно на легенду о Николае и Касьяне, которую он уже затрагивал в предыдущей работе (см.: Александр А. Назаревский, *Из истории русско-украинских литературных связей: старинные книжные легенды и их связи с русским и украинским фольклором* [Киев: Изд. Киевского Университета, 1963]).

48 УСПЕНСКИЙ, с. 34-35.

49 ЧИЧЕРОВ, с. 532.

на, но и двух Миколок, которые, повторяю общее критическое мнение, представляют два возможных противоположных пути, перед которыми Раскольников оказывается, как на распутье, перед тем, как решает совершить убийство.

Вспомним теперь некоторые детали, связанные, с этими двумя персонажами. Крестьянин Миколка приснился Раскольникову в пятой части первой главы романа, перед убийством. Герой бродил по петербургским улицам в тисках мучительных мыслей. Съев пирог и выпив рюмку водки в уличной харчевне, он почувствовал себя очень усталым и по дороге домой «сошел с дороги, вошел в кусты, пал на траву и в ту же минуту заснул» (ПСС 6; 45). В «страшном сне», который ему снится, Раскольников видит себя самого в возрасте семи лет.⁵⁰ Остановимся на этой сцене и уточним некоторые детали:

- Раскольников, отмечает Виктор Шкловский,⁵¹ засыпает в том же месте, где гуляет Свидригайлов, «которому мерещились высоко поднявшаяся за ночь вода Малой Невы, Петровский остров, мокрые дорожки, мокрая трава, мокрые деревья и куст» (ПСС 6; 394);
- во сне маленький Родя гуляет с отцом «за городом», т. е. оставляет город и гуляет «где-то очень далеко», где «чернеется лесок», «на самом краю неба» (ПСС 6; 46);
- кабак, перед которым разворачивается сцена избиения и убийства лошадки находится по дороге к кладбищу, куда в тот момент отправляются Родя с отцом. По описанию автора, именно то кладбище с церковью представляются Раскольникову очень приятным местом, тем более что с ним связаны детские радостные воспоминания самого писателя;
- размеры сразу замеченной Родей телеги далеко не соответствуют размерам лошадки, которую Достоевский описывает такими словами: «маленькая, тощая, саврасая крестьянская клячонка, одна из тех, которые – он часто это видел – надрываются иной раз с высоким каким-нибудь возом дров или сена, особенно коли воз застрянет в грязи или в колее» (ПСС 6; 47);⁵²
- Миколка – молодой и толстый мужчина, с лицом «мясистым и крас-

50 Интересное замечание приводит по этому поводу Мейер, подчёркивая, что Достоевский «прибегает к особому художественному приему, объединяя их [герой Раскольников и маленький Раскольников во сне] словом он» (МЕЙЕР, с. 340).

51 Виктор Б. Шкловский, *За и против. Заметки о Достоевском* (Москва: Советский писатель, 1959), с. 219.

52 Здесь и далее, курсив в цитатах – мой (М. К.).

- ным как морковь», как другие пьяные мужики, носит красно-синюю рубашку «с армяками внакидку» (ПСС 6; 47);
- Миколка оправдывает свой поступок тем, что кобылка «даром хлеб ест», а потом, убив ее, «кричит Миколка, с ломом в руках и *с налитыми кровью глазами*. Он стоит будто жалея, что уж некого больше бить» (ПСС 6; 49);
 - во время избиения лошадки, «один старик из толпы» старается реагировать и кричит Миколке: «Да что на тебе креста, что ли, нет, леший!». Вскоре, однако, этот старик перешел на сторону мучителей, «не выдержал и усмехнулся» (ПСС 6; 48).
- Рассмотрим теперь сектанта Миколку. Он красильщик, в минуты убийства работает именно в здании процентщицы, на два этажа ниже от ее квартиры. Это, как известно, особенно важный персонаж романа, отражающий, по выражению Белова (который называет его «христианским эстетиком»), *религиозные взгляды автора*,⁵³ в частности староверческую идею принятия на себя вины других, в данном случае – вины атеистического Раскольникова, чтобы «страдание принять». Остановимся на некоторых подробностях, касающихся его:
- Миколка – красильщик, поэтому он довольно часто в контакте с *белым цветом*; белый свет возвращается не раз в коротких описаниях его внешнего вида: «побелел, ровно мел» (ПСС 6; 107), «бледный человек» (ПСС 6; 270),
 - хозяин пивнушки, где Миколка пропивает найденные серьги, знает его с детства и уточняет, что они оба «из Зарайска»; «Миколай», добавляет он, «хоть *не пьяница*, а выпивает» (ПСС 6; 106);
 - в течение романа то к нему обращаются формой Микола, то – формой Николай: «неужели ты не видишь, по всем этим данным, что это за натура, этот Николай?» (ПСС 6; 109), кричит Раскольников Зосимову, а Разумихин попозже: «Если убили они, или только один Николай, и при этом ограбили сундуки со взломом, или только участвовали чем-нибудь в грабеже, то позволь тебе задать всего только один вопрос» (ПСС 6; 109).

Подводя итоги, на основе проанализированных материалов, кажется, вполне возможно утверждать, что среди различных источников, которые пересекались в сознании Достоевского во время работы над *Преступлением и наказанием*, есть легенда о Касьяне и Николае, кото-

53 Сергей В. БЕЛОВ, *Ф. М. Достоевский. Энциклопедия* (Москва: Просвещение, 2010), с. 531.

рая, в форме довольно навязчивых литературных ссылок, повлияла на создание образов двух Миколок и на их полярные функции в романе: плохого Николая (то есть Касьяна), путь которого Раскольников должен избегать, и хорошего Николая, которому следует подражать.

Как объяснила Розанна Казари,⁵⁴ переработка Достоевским различных текстов не позволяет нам найти сюжет или отсылки в его текстах в неизменном виде, но мы должны полагаться на отсылки, которые кажутся особенно очевидными. Действительно, отсылки к легенде, которую Якушкин записал и опубликовал в 1859 году в *Летописях...* Тихонравова, а которую вскоре после этого переиздал Афанасьев в томе *Народных легенд*, многочисленны:

- грязь, в которой увязла крестьянская повозка, в легенде отражена и в упоминании места, где засыпает Раскольников, которого Свидригайлов избегает, потому что ненавидит, когда вода смешивается с травой и деревьями, и в упоминании кобылы-мечты, которую Достоевский определяет как одну из тех, на которых вытаскивают увязшую повозку;
- художественное пространство легенды разделено между местом, где живут обычные люди (улица, земля), и раем, где Бог ждет двух святых, но такое же четкое разделение представлено и во сне Ракольникова: четко очерченное “земное” место, лес с кабаком, где происходит событие, противостоит определенным утешительным пространствам, которые представляют собой пространство спасения и чистоты: кладбище недалеко, которое любит Раскольников (и любил маленький Достоевский); город «далеко»; рай, «на самом краю неба»;
- фигура крестьянина Миколки во многом соответствует традиционному для русских образу святого Касьяна – мстительного святого, жестокого с животными, пьяницы, но прежде всего с дьявольскими элементами; эти характеристики хорошо представлены в фигуре недоброго персонажа из сна Раскольникова, чьи «налитые кровью» глаза, красная рубаха, склонность толкать других на грех и не слушать призывов остановиться приближают его к Касьяну. Вспомним также, что в тексте Якушкина есть небольшой намек на жестокость Миколки там, где указывается, что крестьянин, не в силах вытащить телегу из грязи, «бился, бился мужик - ничего не сделает!»;
- в построении характера старообрядца Миколки прослеживаются отсылки к фигуре святого Николая: совпадение имени (более того, полезно заметить, что его также называют обеими формами – Миколка

54 См. Казари.

и Николай) и готовность этого персонажа взять на себя чужую вину и чужое наказание – это, конечно, лишь общие подсказки, но если говорить поподробнее, то бросается в глаза, что Миколка действительно из Зарайска. Как известно, этот город сильно связан с одним из самых значимых образов святого, иконой Николая Зарайского – типом изображения, известным с XII века и связанным с древней *Повестью о перенесении иконы Николы из Корсуни*, в которой рассказывается о том, как икона из Корсуни попала в Зарайск и здесь была освящена. Напомним также, что в Рязанской губернии «согласно окончательному тексту, живут мать [Раскольников] и Дунечка и оттуда родом сам Раскольников», а еще, что в самом Зарайске «Достоевский ребенком проводил каждое лето с 1831 по 1836» и туда «Достоевские часто ездили на ярмарки и большие базары»;⁵⁵

- близость маляра Миколки к белому цвету (в то время как другой Миколка носит красно-синюю рубаху), а деталь, что он «не пьяница, а напивается», ставят его в антиподы по сравнению с крестьянином из сна и подтверждают стремление Достоевского выстроить отношения между двумя Миколками с помощью резких оппозиций;
- старик, который во сне стоит в толпе и, по крайней мере поначалу, противостоит злобности Миколки, что напоминает представление об Угоднике в русском фольклоре, где он всегда предстает в виде бородатого, измождённого старика. Стоит отметить, что старик обвиняет Миколку в том, что он леший, и его риторично спрашивает, «крест [ли] на тебе», – деталь, которая может, с одной стороны, отсылать к сохранению языческих элементов в фигуре Касьяна, а с другой – напоминать о натальном кресте, который переходит от Лизаветы к Соне и, наконец, к Раскольникову, после признания им своей вины.

На основе всего вышеизложенного можно выдвинуть гипотезу о наличии у Достоевского точной системы источников (в данном случае имеются в виду фольклорные материалы о Николае угоднике), элементы которой затем распространяются по всему тексту романа, начиная с центральной сцены – сна Раскольникова. Поэтому хочется надеяться, что дальнейшие исследования этих не вполне явных намеков, отсылок, не прямых указаний, почерпнутых из традиции русского устного и письменного фолькло-

55 Тихомиров, с. 195, 208. По Моисею Альтману, «связью с *раскольничьей* Рязанской губернией Раскольникова и раскольника Миколки Достоевский подчеркивает [...] их, в определенном отношении, близость» (Моисей С. АЛЬТМАН, *Достоевский: По ведам имен* [Саратов: Изд. Саратовского университета, 1975], с. 193).

ра, могут способствовать более глубокому и полному пониманию поэтики и художественного метода Достоевского, а также выдвижению новых интерпретационных гипотез относительно его романа *Преступление и наказание*.

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Отклики “Чистилища” Данте в “Эпilogе” Преступления и наказания

Настоящее исследование¹ исходит из часто встречающейся констатации того, что прямых указаний на Данте и дантовских знаков в творчестве Достоевского фактически очень мало, поэтому оно основывается прежде всего на типологических параллелях, которые можно установить между произведениями этих двух авторов. Такие параллели представляют собой неожиданные аналогии, возможные ассоциации и переключки, в особенности между *Божественной Комедией* и романами Достоевского.

Интерес Достоевского к Данте связан с более общим вопросом о знакомстве с *Божественной комедией* представителей русской словесности начиная с XVIII века. Об этом М. П. Алексеев написал исчерпывающую работу, где показано, как произведения Данте начали распространяться среди русских литераторов именно во второй половине XVIII века.² Очень важно подчеркнуть, что в конце века, в 1798 г., был издан первый отдельный перевод из *Божественной Комедии* на русский язык, а именно стихи 1-75 из XXVIII-ой “Песни” “Чистилища”.³ Этот ранний русский пе-

- 1 Совпадение в 2021 году дантовского юбилея – 700-летие со дня смерти, – и юбилея Достоевского – 200-летие со дня рождения, – побудило исследователей творчества двух великих авторов вновь обратиться к поиску точек соприкосновения и параллелей между их произведениями, см.: Евгения С. БУЖОР, Ольга В. ШЕВЧЕНКО, “О мотивах ада, чистилища и рая в творчестве Достоевского”, *Гуманитарные науки. Вестник финансового университета*, т. 12, № 2, 2022, с. 75-83; Kristina LANDA, “Il ‘Purgatorio’ nella Russia sovietica. Atpaut Daniel nelle traduzioni di Michail Lozinskij (1940) e Aleksandr Iljušin (1979)”, доклад в Симпозиуме “Traduzioni, tradizioni e rivisitazioni dell’opera di Dante”, Università di Bergamo, 13-15 maggio 2021; Kristina LANDA, “Le traduzioni di Dante nella Russia dell’Ottocento: dagli esperimenti formali alla scoperta del messaggio civile della *Commedia*”, in Simona BRAMBILLA, Luca MAZZONI (a cura di), *Dante fra Italia ed Europa nell’Ottocento* (Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2021), pp. 235-268; Alessandra VISINONI, “Dante e la critica al falso realismo”, *Estudios Dostoievski*, vol. 6 (8 julio-diciembre), 2021, pp. 38-60.
- 2 Михаил П. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, “Первое знакомство с Данте в России”, in Михаил П. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *От классицизма к романтизму. Из истории международных связей русской литературы* (Ленинград: Наука, 1970), с. 6-62.
- 3 “Мир покаяния. Отрывок из Данта”, *Приятное и полезное препровождение времени*, № 12, 1798, с. 177-182.

ревод одной из частей “Чистилища” особенно заметен, поскольку во всех странах интерес читателей к поэме Данте был обращён в первую очередь к “Аду”, а не к “Чистилищу” или к “Рая”. Но в соответствии с духом эпохи сентиментализма анонимный переводчик выбрал (и перевел, вероятно, с французского) те терцины, которые представляют Эдем и появление загадочного персонажа Мательды.

Довольно поздним был, наоборот, первый полный перевод “Ада” на русский язык.⁴ Он относится к 1842 году и был сделан в прозе; его автор – Елизавета В. Кологривова (1809-1884), которая писала под псевдонимом Ф. Фан-Дима. Второй полный перевод “Ада” сделал Димитрий Е. Мин (1818-1885) в 1853 году (отдельное издание 1855 г.). Мин перевел текст Данте размером подлинника и снабдил свой перевод богатым комментарием. Позже Мин перевел и “Чистилище” и “Рай”, но его полный перевод *Божественной Комедии* был напечатан отдельным томом только в 1902 году.⁵

Достоевский мог читать поэму не только по-русски, но и по-французски, так как он владел в совершенстве этим языком, и по-немецки. Но в каталоге его библиотеки, составленном женой, отсутствует том *Божественной Комедии*, правда, список книг является не полным.

Вполне вероятно, что Достоевский читал перевод “Ада”, сделанный Фан-Димом. На самом деле, в его статье “Выставка в Академии художеств за 1860-1861 год”, напечатанной в журнале *Время* в 1861 году без подписи,⁶

4 О знакомстве с *Божественной Комедией* русских литераторов, см. в частности: Илья Н. ГОЛЕНИЩЕВ-КУТУЗОВ, *Творчество Данте и мировая культура* (Москва: Наука, 1971); Валентина Т. ДАНЧЕНКО, *Данте Алигьери. Библиографический указатель русских переводов и критической литературы на русском языке* (Москва: Книга, 1973); Арам А. АСОЯН, *Почтите высочайшего поэта... Судьба «Божественной Комедии» Данте в России* (Москва: Книга, 1990).

5 Крупные писатели второй половины века, русские реалисты Гончаров, Лесков, Салтыков-Щедрин, Толстой (о Тургеневе надо говорить отдельно), не проявляли особого интереса к католическому и средневековому миру Данте, не разделяя его мировоззрение. На этом фоне обращает на себя внимание позиция Достоевского, в творчестве которого дантовская поэма лежала глубоко, как показывают, несмотря на их скудость, отзывы, содержащиеся в романах и в *Дневнике писателя*. Интерес к Данте в русской словесности заметно увеличился в конце XIX – в начале XX века. Рост этого интереса связан с символизмом и акмеизмом, с именами Мережковского, Брюсова, Вячеслава Иванова, Блока, Белого, Ахматовой. К 1934 году относится оригинальная, необычная интерпретация Данте, которую предлагает Осип Мандельштам в этюде *Разговор о Данте*, в то время как классический перевод поэмы Данте был сделан в период с 1939 по 1945 гг. Михаилом Лозинским (1886-1955) и появился в печати только в 1950 году.

6 О том, что Достоевский был автором этой статьи, долго спорили, а теперь критики сходятся на том, что Достоевский по крайней мере является одним из ее авторов:

Достоевский, комментируя изображение Харона в трех картинах выставки, утверждает: «влияние Флаксмана видно в рисунке» (ПСС 19; 158).⁷ Английский художник John Flaxman (1755-1826) иллюстрировал издание *Божественной Комедии*, вышедшее в Лондоне в 1797 году, а его рисунки находились именно на страницах первого русского полного перевода “Ада” Ф. Фан-Дима.

В художественных произведениях, в *Дневнике писателя* и в письмах Достоевского прямые отсылки к Данте и его поэме очень редки. Можно по пальцам пересчитать упоминания имени Данте, несколько раз употребляется определение «дантовский» или цитируется поэма Данте. В творчестве русского писателя гораздо чаще встречаются не прямые, возможные отзывы, возможные ассоциации, созвучия или точки соприкосновения с поэмой Данте.

Из прямых, два отзыва можно считать весьма значимыми и ценными. Первый содержится в статье “Предисловие к публикации перевода романа В. Гюго *Собор парижской богородицы*”, опубликованной в журнале *Время* в 1862 году, где Достоевский пишет:

...мысль Виктора Гюго [...] есть основная мысль всего искусства девятнадцатого столетия [...] формула ее – восстановление погибшего человека [...]. Виктор Гюго чуть ли не главный провозвестник этой идеи «восстановления» в литературе нашего века. [...] Проследите все европейские литературы нашего века, и вы увидите во всех следы той же идеи, и, может быть, хоть к концу-то века она воплотится наконец вся, целиком, ясно и могущественно, в каком-нибудь таком великом произведении искусства, что выразит стремления и характеристику своего времени так же полно и вековечно, как, например, «Божественная Комедия» выразила свою эпоху средневековых католических верований и идеалов (ПСС 20; 28-29).

В словах Достоевского можно прочесть между строк намек на творческий замысел самого Достоевского, то есть на создание энциклопедического произведения, основанного на воскресении современного человека из греха, которое каким-то образом соответствовало бы поэме *Божественная Комедия*, где, по мнению Достоевского, полностью выражаются средневековая эпоха, ее верования и идеалы.

Алексей Ю. Балакин, “Еще об авторстве статьи «Выставка в Академии художеств за 1860-61», атрибутируемой Достоевскому”, *Slavica Revalensia*, № 2, 2015, с. 51-54.

7 О понятии реализма, которое Достоевский выражает в данной статье, сделала ценные замечания VISINONI.

На самом деле, несколько лет спустя Достоевский приступит к созданию *Жизни великого грешника*, огромного «романа»,⁸ который сначала должен был бы состоять из пяти частей, потом из трех, как *Божественная комедия*. Как известно, вышла только первая часть, роман *Братья Карамазовы*, содержащий «поэму» Ивана «Великий Инквизитор».

Для того, чтобы понять, насколько важное место занимает Данте в зрелом творчестве Достоевского, необходимо, на наш взгляд, глубоко проникнуть в значение второй прямой отсылки к Данте и к *Божественной Комедии*, содержащейся именно в *Братьях Карамазовых* в начале главы «Великий Инквизитор», когда Иван собирается рассказывать Алеше поэму, которую он сам было сочинил. Иван утверждает, что его поэма является в роде тех средневековых произведений, где сводятся «на землю горние силы», и спешит добавить: «Я уж про Данта не говорю» (ПСС 14; 224), как будто исключая возможность соперничать с Данте. Далее он приводит в качестве примеров для своей поэмы две средневековые поэмы, одну французскую – *Le bon jugement de la très sainte et gracieuse Vierge Marie*, – и одну русскую, очень популярную народную монастырскую поэму (по словам Ивана, конечно, с греческого) – *Хождение богородицы по мукам*. Именно по поводу этого последнего произведения Иван утверждает, что в нем есть картины «не ниже дантовских» (ПСС 14; 225). На наш взгляд, эти слова имеют исключительную ценность, они показывают, что Иван (Достоевский) всё-таки продолжает думать именно о Данте как об отправной точке для своего произведения, несмотря на слова «Я уж про Данта не говорю».

Далее Иван передает содержание русской народной средневековой поэмы:

Богоматерь посещает ад, и руководит ее «по мукам» архангел Михаил. Она видит грешников и мучения их. Там есть, между прочим, один презанятийный разряд грешников в горящем озере: которые из них погружаются в это озеро так, что уж и выплыть более не могут, то «тех уже забывает бог» – выражение чрезвычайной глубины и силы (ПСС 14; 225).

Грешники, которые мучаются «в горящем озере», не могут не напомнить грешников, мучающихся в самом последнем круге дантовского «Ада»,

8 О значении жанров «поэма» и «роман», см. Ivan VERČ, *Limiti e possibilità della tradizione dantesca nello sviluppo del romanzo russo (Gogol' – Dostoevskij – Belyj – Pil'ňjak – Bulgakov – Erofeev)* (Sassari, 1983).

хотя у Данте грешники погружены в «ледяное» озеро.⁹ Учитывая эти со-ответствия и обдумывая их на глубоком уровне их значения, нам кажется, что можно прийти к важному заключению. Если, по словам Ивана, русская народная поэма имеет общие с дантовским адом мучения грешников, и одновременно она является произведением того же рода, что и “Великий Инквизитор” (как сам Иван утверждает: «Ну моя поэмка была бы в том же роде...»), то можно заключить, что по мнению Ивана (и по убеждению Достоевского), существует всё-таки прочная, несомненная связь и между *Божественной Комедией* и “Великим Инквизитором”.

Отсылки к *Божественной Комедии* действуют как своего рода знаки, указатели, проливающие свет на постоянное присутствие дантовской поэмы, так сказать, за кулисами основного действия в некоторые важные моменты в произведениях Достоевского. В творчестве Достоевского, пересмотренная, истолкованная, склоненная на русский лад поэма Данте присутствует в подтексте романов, просматривается сквозь текст романов, появляясь в них как бы полуживо.¹⁰

Непрямые отсылки и возможные параллели с дантовским “Адом” являются, напротив, многочисленными в произведении Достоевского *Записки из Мертвого дома*, которое вышло в 1861-62 году. *Записки из мертвого дома* – представляют собой автобиографический рассказ (который ведётся от лица рассказчика) о жизни Достоевского на каторге в Сибири. Автор прожил там четыре года, находясь между убийцами и преступниками, как Данте в аду между грешниками. Но в отличие от Данте, Достоевский разделил их жизнь, он был не только свидетелем, но и участником их судьбы. Сам каторжник, он намеревался не только описать нравы и условия жизни каторжников, но хотел глубоко вникнуть в их душу, в их судьбу.

Рассказ Достоевского вполне реалистичен и вместе с тем, как дантовская поэма, богат символами: в *Записках из мертвого дома* автор создает свой “Ад”, а «мертвый дом» становится метафорой этого ада. “Дантовской” по традиции считается сцена, представляющая арестантов в бане перед Рождеством: «Когда мы растворили дверь в самую баню, я думал,

9 Отсылка к «горящему озеру» может тут предвещать то огромное «автодафе», сжигающее в Севилье сотни еретиков, о котором Иван расскажет в начале своей поэмы.

10 Как утверждает Роман Г. Назиров, для Достоевского «характерна дантовская ориентация». Ученый утверждает, что Достоевский ориентировался именно на “Ад” Данте, но «эта глубинная ориентация заслоняется приемами авантюрного романа и всякого рода драматическими (порой даже мелодраматическими) эффектами». Роман Г. Назиров, *Творческие принципы Ф. М. Достоевского* (Саратов: Изд. Саратовского ун-та, 1982), с. 92.

что мы вошли в ад» (ПСС 4; 98). Слово «ад», находящееся в такой рельефной позиции, можно, конечно, понять как отсылку к дантовскому «аду», хотя автор не ссылается эксплицитно на Данте.

Рассказ продолжается:

Представьте себе комнату шагов в двенадцать длиною и такой же ширины, в которую набилось, может быть, до ста человек разом [...]. Все это орало и гоготало, при звуке ста цепей, волочившихся по полу... Иные, желая пройти, запутывались в чужих цепях и сами задевали по головам сидевших ниже [...]. Грязь лилась со всех сторон. [...] Обритые головы и распаренные докрасна тела арестантов казались еще уродливее. На распаренной спине обыкновенно ярко выступают рубцы от полученных когда-то ударов плетней и палок. Страшные рубцы! [...] и пар застелет густым, горячим облаком всю баню; все загогочет и закричит (ПСС 4; 98).

Уже Тургенев, как известно, в письме, написанном Достоевскому из Парижа в декабре 1861 года, охарактеризовал эту сцену именно как «дантовскую»: «Картина бани просто дантовская...»¹¹ (ПСС 4; 294), в то время как критик Александр П. Милюков «называл писателя новым Вергилием» (ПСС 4; 295). Герцен тоже очень высоко ценил произведение Достоевского и писал, что книга «своего рода *carmen horrendum*, которая всегда будет красоваться над выходом из мрачного царствования Николая, как надпись Данте над входом в ад» (ПСС 4; 295).

У Достоевского, как и у Данте, вопросы зла, искупления греха, веры, страдания, этического горизонта человеческого мира – самые важные вопросы: в 1865-1866 гг. Достоевский обрисовывает образ убийцы, Раскольникова, совершившего страшное преступление. Одновременно, именно в 1865 г., в России, как везде в Европе, Данте был в центре культурной жизни, так как праздновался дантовский юбилей, шестьсот лет со дня рождения итальянского поэта. Память о мертвом доме и этот, так сказать, «дантовский контекст» сопровождают Достоевского во время создания романа *Преступление и наказание*. Раскольников, герой романа, как и Данте, двигается от греха к раскаянию, к новой жизни. Соня, как и Беатриче, является его проводником к окончательному спасению.¹²

11 Иван С. ТУРГЕНЕВ, *Полное собрание сочинений и писем в 30 тт.*, т. 4 (Москва: Наука, 1987), с. 319-320.

12 О чертах сходства между *Божественной Комедией* и *Преступлением и наказанием* Достоевского, см: Катерина КОРБЕЛЛА, «Комедия» Данте в «*Преступлении и наказании*», *Достоевский и мировая культура. Филологический журнал*, № 3 (19), 2022, с. 18-36.

Но кроме указанных общих смыслов, имеющих глубокое значение, в произведениях Достоевского и Данте, присутствуют другие мотивы, поражающие их совпадением, их явным параллелизмом; они как будто бросаются в глаза при параллельном чтении текста второй части “Эпизога” *Преступления и наказания*, где рассказывается о встрече Раскольникова с Соней на берегу реки Иртыш, и стихов из “Чистилища” (“Песни” XXVIII, XXX, XXXI), где повествуется о встречах Данте сначала с Мательдой, потом с Беатриче.¹³

Следует, прежде всего, обратить внимание на мотив воды и на значительную роль, которую она играет в пейзажах, где происходят встреча Данте и Беатриче и встреча Раскольникова и Сони. Как считает итальянский учёный Бианка Гаравелли, в дантовской поэме «вода играет двойную роль: с одной стороны она – элемент, составляющий окружающий пейзаж, с другой стороны, вода находится в центре сложной метафорической системы, через которую автор выражает ряд нелегко понимаемых теологических концептов».¹⁴ Вода, по мнению итальянского ученого, – красная нить пути Данте в загробном мире. На самом деле, в первой части поэмы, вода – понятие, связанное с грехом, со злом. Она является визуальным преставлением Божьих наказаний. Мрачная река Ахерон, кровавая река Флегетонт, ледяное озеро Когито представляют собой в “Аду” места, где страшно мучаются грешники, в то время как в “Чистилище” вода является местом и средством очищения и духовного обновления. Реки Эдема – Лете и Эуноэ – имеют сверхъестественную природу, чудесную чистоту.

Что касается романа Достоевского, Нина Е. Меднис в работе “Мотив воды в романе Достоевского «Преступление и наказание»”, утверждает, что «...вода у Достоевского возвращает человека к самому себе, без чего не возможен подъем духа и воскресение, но возвращает лишь при условии, что человек не потерял, не утратил, не отверг верхнюю точку вертикали»...¹⁵ Уместно сказать, продолжает Н. Меднис, «о двуликости мотива воды, у Достоевского мотив воды сопрягается с мотивом огня образуя

13 Вспомним, что когда Достоевский работал над *Преступлением и наказанием*, никакого полного русского перевода “Чистилища” не было в России, но он мог читать французский перевод или быть знакомым с частичным переводом 1798 года.

14 Bianca GARAVELLI, “Dante e l’acqua ultraterrena”, in Guido GARUFI e Antonio SANTORI (a cura di), *Acqua storia di un simbolo tra vita e letteratura. Atti del Convegno* (Milano: Transeuropa, 1967), p. 58.

15 Нина Е. МЕДНИС, “Мотив воды в романе Достоевского «Преступление и наказание»”, in Нина Е. МЕДНИС, *Поэтика и семиотика русской литературы* (Москва: Языки Славянской Культуры, 2011), с. 194.

[...] вертикаль».¹⁶ Точка верха вертикали: «косые лучи заходящего солнца». «Вставшая между солнцем и водой вертикаль как бы отводит смерть от Раскольникова».¹⁷

В последних песнях “Чистилища”, именно на берегах реки Лете, происходит знаменитая встреча Данте с Беатриче и его покидает Вергилий, который уже закончил свою миссию провожатого. Сцена обнаруживает поразительные черты сходства с рассказом о встрече Раскольникова с Соней в “Эпилоге” романа *Преступление и наказание*, начиная с совпадения пространственных и временных координат, вплоть до описания психологического состояния и духовного мира персонажей. Поражает также сходная система образов, символов и метафор, употребляемых в двух произведениях.

Путешествие Данте по “Чистилищу” происходит после Пасхи. Достоевский же, со своей стороны, вводит читателя в окончательные сцены романа словами: «Шла уже вторая неделя после Святой» (*ПСС* 6; 420). Пасхальное время, время Воскресения Христа – необходимый фон действия личного, духовного возрождения двух героев. А с пространственной точки зрения, Данте находится в Эдеме, в Земном раю, в то время как в эпилоге романа Достоевского несколько пейзажных штрихов ясно намекают на земной рай.

Сравним два отрывка, в которых читателю представлено пространство и время возрождения двух героев:

Преступление и наказание

День опять был ясный и теплый. Ранним утром, часов в шесть, он отправился на работу, на берег реки [...] и стал глядеть на широкую и пустынную реку (*ПСС* 6; 421).

“Чистилище”

Уже восприяла меня древняя роща, и я не зрел того места, куда вступил тихими шагами. Внезапно малый ручей остановил мое шествие.¹⁸

У Данте это река Лете, которая зачеркивает память о прежних грехах, в то время как пустынная и широкая, почти бесконечная река Иртыш

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 193.

¹⁸ “Мир покаяния...”, с. 179. Приводим и классический перевод Михаила Лозинского: «Я между тем так далеко простер / Мой путь сквозь древний лес, что понемногу / Со всех сторон замкнулся кругозор. / И вдруг поток мне преградил дорогу»... (Данте Алигьери, *Божественная комедия*, пер. Михаила Лозинского (Москва: Наука, 1967), с. 280.

вводит Раскольникова, кажется, в другое измерение. Параллельные детали сопровождают путь очищения двух грешников: оба они, находящиеся на берегах Лете и Иртыша, слышат мелодию, которая доносится из-за рек. Чудесная природа и мелодия в обоих произведениях создают тот пространственный фон, который обретает характеристики земного Рая:

Преступление и наказание

С высокого берега открывалась широкая окрестность. С дальнего другого берега чуть слышно доносилась песня. Там, в облитой солнцем необозримой степи, чуть приметными точками чернелись кочевые юрты. Там была свобода и жили другие люди, совсем не похожие на здешних, там как бы самое время остановилось, точно не прошли еще века Авраама и стада его (ПСС 6; 421).

“Чистилище”

Стопы мои остановились, и взоры полетели за ручей, привлеченные восхитительную смесью зеленеющих кустарников.¹⁹

У Данте описание земного рая опирается не только на Библию, но на изображение мифологического Золотого века у античных писателей, у самого Вергилия в четвертой “Эклоге”, у Гесиода. У Достоевского пейзаж за рекой имеет характеристики мира Золотого века, где время как бы приостановилось. По этому поводу надо вспомнить, что для Достоевского миф о Золотом веке является сквозным мотивом творчества и основной идеей в мировоззрении таких персонажей, как Ставрогин, Версиков, смешной человек.

Именно на фоне прекрасного и неиспорченного мира Эдема у Данте и у Достоевского появляется женщина-спасительница. В дантовской поэме образ спасающей женщины как бы дублируется: через реку Лете сначала появляется Мательда. Она не сама спасительница, она только прообраз той женщины, Беатриче, на которой лежит задача вывести поэта из мира зла и греха; для этого Беатриче сначала послала ему Вергилия в роли вожака, а потом сама сопровождает его по Раю.

Существуют разные интерпретации образа Мательды, но в основном она – символ природного совершенства и красоты первобытных людей, в то время как Беатриче является символом совершенной любви, она же по-

19 “Мир покаяния...”, с. 179. В переводе М. Лозинского: «Остановись, я перешел ручей / Глазами, чтобы видеть, как растенья / Разнообразны в свежести своей». ДАНТЕ, с. 281.

кажет ему дорогу в Рай. В произведениях Данте и Достоевского моменты появления женщин-спасительниц во многом схожи:

Преступление и наказание

Раскольников сидел, смотрел неподвижно, [...] мысль его переходила в грезы, в созерцание [...]. Вдруг подле него очутилась Соня (*ЛСС* 6; 421).

“Чистилище”

И как некое прекрасное чудо, внезапно явившееся, и увлекательное дух от всех других мыслей, явилась взорам моим жена, уединенно с песнопением изшедшая на эмали лугов....²⁰

Далее появляется Беатриче. Неизвестный автор, который в 1798 году перевел “Чистилище”, остановился на 75-ом стихе XXVIII “Песни”, поэтому пользуемся переводом Михаила Лозинского:

“Чистилище” (“Песнь” XXX, 28-33)

Так в легкой туче ангельских цветов
Взлетавших и свергавшихся обвалом
На дивный воз и вне его краев,

В венке олив, под белым покрывалом,
Предстала женщина...²¹

Появления Сони, Мательды и Беатриче – неожиданны, но их подготавливает тот пространственно-временной контекст, который характеризуется красотой и полной гармонией природы. Вокруг героев – единый гармоничный эдемский пейзаж.

Беатриче, как и Соня для Раскольникова, является верным проводником к окончательному спасению поэта. В момент её появления о Соне говорится:

Преступление и наказание

На ней был ее бедный, старый бурнус и зеленый платок (*ЛСС* 6; 421).

²⁰ “Мир покаяния...”, с. 180. В переводе М. Лозинского: «И вот передо мной, как те явления, / Когда нежданно в нас устранила / Любая дума силой удивления, / Явилась женщина»... ДАНТЕ, с. 281.

²¹ ДАНТЕ, с. 291.

В то время как о Беатриче говорится:

“Чистилище” (“Песнь” XXX, 31-33)

В венке олив, под белым покрывалом,

Предстала женщина, облачена

В зеленый плащ и в платье огне-алом.²²

При сравнении текстов Данте и Достоевского в образах Сони и Беатриче, несмотря на все различия, поражает общая деталь, тот «зеленый платок» и тот «зеленый плащ», которые их характеризуют в момент их появления. Для христианской культуры зеленый цвет, как известно, обозначает надежду. В данном случае Достоевский и Данте отсылают к этому положительному значению, потому что Соня и Беатриче являются носительницами надежды на спасение для Раскольникова и для Данте. Но не только.

В романе Достоевского данный мотив, фамильный *зеленый* драдедамовый платок семейства Мармеладовых, появляется несколько раз, не только в “Эпилоге”, но во все критические моменты истории семьи Мармеладовых. Соня в нем одета, когда за Раскольниковым идет на перекресток, где он должен целовать землю в знак раскаяния и примирения с землей и с народом. Зеленый платок в данных случаях отсылает к значению покрова, защиты.²³

Еще одна деталь является общей в указанных сценах. Внезапные появления Сони и Беатриче, которые для двух главных персонажей представляют собой возможность внутреннего возрождения и новой жизни, вызывают у Раскольникова и у Данте взрыв освободительного плача.

Преступление и наказание

Как это случилось, он сам не знал, но вдруг что-то как бы подхватило его и как бы бросило к ее ногам. Он плакал и обнимал ее колени (ПСС 6; 421).

“Чистилище” (“Песнь” XXX, 19-21)

Так я не вынес бремени тревоги,

²² *Ibid.*

²³ См. Ольга И. КАДУШИНА: “Символика образа «зеленого драдедамового платка» в романе Ф. М. Достоевского «Преступление и наказание»”, in Т. А. СНИГИРЕВА, Л. А. НАЗАРОВА (отв. ред.), *INITIUM. Художественная литература: опыт современного прочтения*, вып. 3 (Екатеринбург: УГИ УрФУ, 2020), с. 126-129. Такое значение мотива зеленого платка отмечено и в статье КОРБЕЛЛЫ, с. 33.

И ослабевший голос мой затих,
В слезах и вздохах, посреди дороги.²⁴

Картина встречи Раскольникова с Соней дается в каком-то мифологическом свете: время, кажется, остановилось; спокойный, тихий, неподвижный пейзаж отсылает к доисторическим временам. Автор, изображая Раскольникова, который духовно перерождается именно на каторге в Сибири, преобразует в нем свой личный опыт: это Сибирь, которую он лично знает, это омская территория, Иртыш. Но вместе с тем Достоевский как будто создает символический “Эпилог Эпилога” своего романа, где Раскольников и Соня являются как бы погруженными во вневременной, мифологический контекст. В них автор, кажется, как бы “мифологизирует” свой индивидуальный опыт каторжной жизни, придавая ему универсальное значение.

Известно, что Сибирь в русской литературе имеет часто метафизическое, отвлеченное значение, как утверждает Юрий М. Лотман: «сюжетное звено [дантовское звено – *Р. К.*] смерть – ад – воскресение в широком круге русских сюжетов подменяется другим: преступление (подлинное или мнимое) – ссылка в Сибирь – воскресение. [...] Раскольников, Митя Карамазов, Нехлюдов [...] – воскресение происходит именно в Сибири».²⁵

24 ДАНТЕ, с. 295.

25 Юрий М. ЛОТМАН, “Сюжетное пространство русского романа XIX столетия”, in Юрий М. ЛОТМАН, *О русской литературе* (Санкт-Петербург: Искусство-СПб, 1997), с. 723-724, 725.

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По поводу смеха у Достоевского: новые исследования

В восприятии творчества Достоевского существует, кажется, “проблема смеха”: крайне упрощенное мнение о писателе как угрюмом трагике и «жестоким таланте», возникшее в 80-е годы XIX века, еще прочно бытует не только на уровне “городских легенд” у среднеобразованной публики (чтением романов Достоевского иной раз пугают...), но, что удивительнее, даже и на уровне литературоведческих и философских исследований. Смех в произведениях Достоевского можно переживать как проблему: смех рушит линейные, однозначные и раз навсегда установленные интерпретации его творчества. Это для некоторых настоящая трагедия. А многих других несчастных спасает факт, что юмор у Достоевского – дело тонкое, отнюдь не очевидное, и слишком степенные люди его, обычно, просто не замечают. Таким образом, могут продолжать читать своего “болезненного” писателя, и только время от времени до них будет, вероятно, касаться странное ощущение, что что-то все-таки не то...

И все-таки юмор – одна из характерных основ поэтики Достоевского. Парадокс скорее состоит в том, что эту черту его творчества всегда ценили и изучали многие выдающиеся достоееды, но книг, и даже статей, полностью фокусированных на юмор Достоевского почти нет.¹ Почти *не*

1 Среди немногочисленных работ по теме, можно упомянуть: Юрий Н. Тынянов, “Достоевский и Гоголь (к теории пародии)”, in Юрий Н. Тынянов, *Поэтика. История литературы. Кино* (Москва: Наука, 1977), с. 198-226 (впервые 1921); Иван И. Лапшин, “Комическое в творчестве Достоевского”, in Альфред Л. Бем (под ред.), *О Достоевском* (Прага, 1933), с. 34-35; Ромэн Г. Назиров, “Юмор Достоевского”, in *Русская литература 1870-1890-х гг.*, сб. 10 (Свердловск: Уральский ГУ, 1977), с. 46-55; Рита Я. Клейман, *Сквозные мотивы творчества Достоевского в историко-культурной перспективе* (Кишинёв: Штиинца, 1985); Моника Л. Спивак, “Место и функция смеха в творчестве Ф. М. Достоевского”, *Вестник МГУ. Филология*, серия 9, 1986, № 5, с. 70-76; Robert Louis BUSCH, *Humor in the Major Novels of F. M. Dostoevsky* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1987); Андрей Е. Кунильский, *Смех в мире Достоевского*, (Петрозаводск: ПетрГУ, 1994); Лия М. Розенблюм, “Юмор Достоевского”, *Вопросы литературы*, 1999, № 1, с. 141-188; Takayoshi SHIMIZU, “Buffons’ World in Dostoevsky: An Attempt of Analyzing through Japanese Amai”, *Slavonic Studies*, Vol. 3-1, 1999 (special

было: что-то наконец сдвинулось, и внезапно, весной 2021 года, среди многочисленных конференций и мероприятий, связанных с 200-летней годовщиной писателя, отсчитались одновременно и две конференции, цель которых было изучение, с различных точек зрения, юмора в произведениях нашего “угрюмого” писателя. Материалы одной из этих конференций, состоявшейся в Генуе, в Италии, 27-29 мая 2021 года, вышли в прошлом году и уже получили рецензию в нашем журнале.² А летом настоящего года вышел наконец и сборник материалов конференции “Beyond Carnival: Funny Dostoevsky” (За пределами Карнавала: смешной Достоевский), организованной 14-15 мая 2021 года, т.е. за всего несколько дней до ее генуэской “сестры”, американскими коллегами Ириной Эрман (Чарльстон колледж) и Линн Эллен Патук (Дартмут колледж).³

С появлением этих двух книг тема юмора в поэтике Достоевского, во всех ее оттенках (а палитра действительно широка), получила наконец свои исследовательские “вехи”, и все наводит на мысль, что ее будут все больше и свободнее развивать: смех у Достоевского перестанет быть проблемой, в то время как остаются открытым вопросом природа, цели и функционирование механизмов его своеобразного юмора.

Книга *Funny Dostoevsky: New Perspectives on the Dostoevskian Light Side*

Issue), pp. 13-19; Marco CARATOZZOLO, “Образ осла и архетип шута в романе «Идиот»”, in Katalin KROÓ, Tünde SZABÓ (eds.), *F. M. Dostoevsky in the Context of Cultural Dialogues* (Budapest: ELTE, 2009), pp. 75-84; John GIVENS, “A Narrow Escape into Faith? Dostoevsky’s ‘Idiot’ and the Christology of Comedy”, *The Russian Review*, vol. 70, No. 1 (Jan. 2011), pp. 95-117; Sarah HUDSPITH, “Why We Must Laugh at the Underground Man”, in Robert REID and Joe ANDREW (eds.), *Aspects of Dostoevskii: Art, Ethics, and Faith* (Leiden: Rodopi, 2012), pp. 67-79; Marco CARATOZZOLO, “Du fripon divin au bouffon: étude sur l’évolution d’un archétype chez Dostoïevski”, in Natalia LECLERC, Anne PINOT (sous la réd.), «*La Révolution a été faite pour les voluptueux*». *La force du mal dans l’oeuvre de Dostoïevski* (Paris: Hermann, 2019), pp. 121-135; Katalin KROÓ, “A nevetés mint többszörös szignál Dosztojevskij *A félkegyelmű* c. regényében” [Laughter as multiple signal in Dostoevsky’s novel *The Idiot*], in Róbert KISS SZEMÁN (szerk/ed.), *Humor és sport a szláv kultúrákban: Köszöntő kötet a 60 éves Lukács István tiszteletére* (Budapest: ELTE BTK Szláv Filológiai Tanszék, 2019), pp. 102-115; Marco CARATOZZOLO, “Due sorelle che camminano accanto: i lampi di comicità e le fitte nebbie di *Delitto e castigo*”, *Letteratura e letteratura*, n. 17, 2023, pp. 81-93. DOI [10.19272/202309801007](https://doi.org/10.19272/202309801007)

2. См. Ирис Уччелло, Рецензия на: Лаура Сальмон, Дарья Фарафонова и Стефано Алоэ (под ред.), *Ф. М. Достоевский: Юмор, парадоксальность, демонтаж* (Firenze: FUP, 2023), *Dostoevsky Studies*. New Series, vol. 26, 2003, с. 185-190.

3. Lynn Ellen PATUK & Irina ERMAN (eds.), *Funny Dostoevsky: New Perspectives on the Dostoevskian Light Side* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2024). Cp. <https://bloggerskaramazov.com/2021/05/07/funny-dostoevsky-virtual-conference-may-14-15/>

собирает восемь оригинальных статей (или глав, как они указаны) с теоретически важным предисловием одной из двух редакторов, Линн Эллен Патык (*de facto* его можно считать первой из девяти самостоятельных, но органично связанных друг с другом работ). Первая задача, объявленная Патык уже в едва ли переводимом титульном названии предисловия (“The De-seriousification of Dostoevsky” – «Десерьезнификация Достоевского»), состоит в разоблачении уже упомянутого мифа об исключительно трагичном и неспособном на легкость писателе. Патык справедливо связывает такой миф с формированием во второй половине XIX века нарочито серьезного канона русской литературы, этические, политические и даже религиозные задачи которого исключали, в представлении ведущих критиков, всякую возможность юмористического подхода (с. 3). Впрочем, теоретическое определение юмора всегда непросто, и «кардинальная проблема теорий комедии в том, что комедия и теория – это два человеческих проекта, которые не должны бы стоять друг возле друга никогда»⁴ (там же)... Следует краткий, но точный эскиз философской истории юмора, интересный еще и тем, что на фоне теории Канта, Бергсона и др., Достоевский выглядит не последователем той или другой концепции, а создателем оригинальной манеры обращаться к юмористической стихии: рядом с откровенно шуточными героями и ситуациями, вспыхнувшими “вдруг” скандалами и сумбурными коллективными сценами, отмечены в его творчестве более скрытые “бахтинские” черты полифонии и двойничества. «Индивидуализированная, идиосинкратическая (эксцентричная) речь персонажей» – пишет Патык, опираясь на Бахтина – «служит одним из самых распространенных комических приемов Достоевского», так как она ведет к ироническому последствию, что «всякий говорит на своем собственном языке (языке, часто полном противоречий), с результатом, что его, то частично, то даже полностью, не понимают» (с. 11). Другое ценное наблюдение Патык ведет к тому, что «в творчестве Достоевского телесное выражение идеи неотделимо от идеи как таковой, а абсурдный жест вносит комизм во всю затею» (с. 12). Несоответствие действий с идеями и нелепость поведения многих героев представляют читателю обстановку, все время переживающую новый иронический сдвиг, позволяя ему позиционироваться на перекрестке разных точек зрения без возможности совпасть полностью с одной из них. Человек сам по себе несоответствующее (“incongruous”) существо, как нам доказывает герой из подполья: лишь человеку дано ощущать «разрыв

4 Все переводы автора статьи.

между своим непосредственным опытом и своими размышлениями над ним» (с. 13).

Статью Кэрил Эмерсон, открывающую сборник после насыщенного предисловия Патык, в силу своего теоретического значения можно считать вторым методологическим предисловием к целой книге, поскольку она посвящена концепции смеха и карнавализации Бахтина. Один довольно парадоксальный вывод Эмерсон состоит в том, что Бахтин, автор в том числе книги о Рабле и работ о Гоголе, писал мало о комедии и комическом; и что особенно скудно встречается эта тематика в его монографии о Достоевском. Но Эмерсон на этом наблюдении не останавливается и сосредотчивает свое внимание на малоизвестных работах Бахтина 40-х гг. о сатире, в которых можно обнаружить основы «бахтинской метафизики смеха» (с. 28), ключевой для второго варианта его *Проблемы поэтики Достоевского*. В понимании Бахтина, сатира возникает на почве смешного сосуществования положительных жизненных сил и их отрицания (старения, смерти). Именно такое понимание *отрицания* как элемента диалектического сосуществования противоположностей (различного от гегелевского “преодоления” тезиса и антитезиса в высшем синтезе) отмечает философ в поэтике Достоевского, где правда каждого героя не только противопоставляется правде других, но и комплементарна к ним в неразрывном сосуществовании. По Бахтину, пишет Эмерсон, отрицание – это «апофатическая, инклюзивная, освободительная» сила, а смех «всегда освежает и обновляет весь окружающий мир» (с. 31): в чем концепция Бахтина неожиданно приближается к понятию *остранения* Шкловского. Среди разных аспектов магистрального анализа, привлекает особое внимание акцент на нарратологическую составляющую комического у Достоевского: вслед за Бахтиным, Эмерсон выделяет роль странных, часто неадекватных повествователей Достоевского, вводящих читателя в заблуждение, и припоминает функцию «плута, шута, дурака» в романном хронотопе, изученную Бахтиным еще в 30-е годы (с. 42-43).

Бахтинские позиции учтены авторами книги, но приняты не всеми и не полностью. В главе, написанной Татьяной Ковалевской и посвященной трудностям передачи юмора Достоевского в английских переводах, выдвигается альтернативное бахтинской полифонии понимание структурной связи комического с многоголосьем: Ковалевская фокусирует свое внимание на смесь стилевых регистров, характерную для речи некоторых персонажей Достоевского. Эффект этой внутренней речевой смеси назван Ковалевской «layered voicing» (“многослойное озвучивание”) и получает такое определение: «это комбинация различных голосов и точек зрения

в рамках одного высказывания».⁵ Ссылаясь на одну запись из *Дневника писателя за 1877 г.* («Юмор ведь есть остроумие глубокого чувства» – ПСС 25; 91), Ковалевская интерпретирует концепцию юмора Достоевского как «глубоко нравственный и назидательный поэтический компонент, который, в почти диккенсовской манере, призван произвести эмоциональное преобразование в душе читателя» (с. 53). Вероятно по такой причине в его произведениях завуалированная, «эвристическая ирония» преобладает над ярко комическим, что создает множество проблем для переводчиков, как иллюстрирует анализ целого ряда примеров.

В своей главе по названию “Красный нос Раскольников: слэпстик⁶ серьезных протагонистов Достоевского” Фиона Белл базирует свои провокационные, и тем более очень интересные тезисы на довольно беспорном факте: абсолютно серьезные герои Достоевского отличаются жестами и манерами, которые, гранича с шутовством и чудачеством, указывают на комический раскол между их возвышенными интеллектуальными занятиями и неуклюжими и уязвимыми телами (с. 71). Дальше всё – вероятно и сознательно – спорно. По мнению Белл, образцом для Раскольникова, если смотреть на героя *Преступления и наказания* в этом ракурсе, является господин Голядкин из *Двойника*, а «семиотический анархизм» движений обоих героев можно отнести скорее к корням клоунады чем к разряду бахтинской карнавализации: «Для Голядкина и Раскольникова балаганная [“slapstick”] телесность не игровая и не возрождающая, а болезненная, произвольная и даже овеществляющая» (с. 77). Достоевского сильно волнуют вопросы нравственной цельности своих героев, тем не менее «он не развивает последовательную метафоричность [их] жеста. Вместо этого, используя приемы балагана [slapstick], писатель указывает на нераз-

5 «...a combination of different voices and points of view *within a single statement*» (р. 60 – курсив в тексте).

6 Предлагаю в замену оригинала *Slapstick Comedy* перевод ‘слэпстик’ как, на мой взгляд, наиболее точный для определения специфического жанра американского комического кино начала XX века. При этом следует учитывать, что термин ‘слэпстик’ малораспространен в русскоязычной литературе, в которой англ. ‘slapstick’ чаще ассимилируется со смежными терминами из театральной традиции, такими как ‘балаган’ или ‘буффонада’. Слово ‘балаган’, в частности, звучит вполне уместным для дискурса о некоторых чертах поэтики Достоевского. О балаганном юморе Достоевского писала, напр., Рима Якубова. См.: Рима Х. Якубова, “Традиции балаганного искусства в Романе Ф. М. Достоевского «Бесы»”, in *Фольклор народов РСФСР*, Межвузовский научный сб., вып. 18 (Уфа: Башкирский университет, 1991), с. 45-55; Рима Х. Якубова, “Роман Достоевского «Бесы» и русский балаган”, in Рима Х. Якубова, *Творчество Ф. М. Достоевского и художественная культура* (Уфа: Гилем, 2003); и др.

борчивость и даже семиотическую неустойчивость жеста в человеческом мире» (с. 76-77). Идеи Белл вероятно смогут вызвать оживляющие и продуктивные дебаты, они выглядят во многом оригинальными, хотя местами возникает впечатление, что «Остапа понесло»... Исходя из ценной проверки поэтики Достоевского через призму водевиля и мелодрамы, Белл ставит, пожалуй, слишком сильный акцент на присутствие в его творчестве элементов, типичных для «слэпстик-комедии» (гэг, клоунада и т.п.). Неубедительны, в частности, параллели, предложенные автором между Голядкиным и маской *Дзанни* из Комедии дель-Арте. *Дзанни* – крестьянский полудурак и полухитрюга, чем-то напоминающий по функциям Ивана-дурака из русского фольклора: черты, которые вряд ли можно приписать и Голядкину. Любопытно, что анализ здесь воскрешает социо-экономические категории, некогда характерные для марксистской критики: *Дзанни* интерпретируется как прототип антикапиталистического мятежника, а Раскольников – как студент, нищетой и общественным положением вынужденный действовать как неуклюжий бунтарь (с. 82 и след.). Несмотря на сомнения, вызванные такой интерпретацией главного героя *Преступления и наказания*, нельзя не признать продуктивность наблюдений Белл по поводу сцены убийства – это «растянутый гэг», где действие получается неумелым и отчасти саботируется самим героем, вызывая напряженное несоответствие между трагизмом факта и «комизмом» его завершения.

Мелисса Фразьер в главе под названием «Ощущения смеха: разум и материя в *Братьях Карамазовых*» затрагивает вопрос продолжительной полемики Достоевского против материалистического детерминизма Чернышевского и нигилистов, в которой он чаще всего пользовался оружием иронии и пародии. В противоположность автору романа *Что делать?*, Достоевский понимал разум и материю как два аспекта одного целого. В своей полемике он юмористически обыгрывает понятие реальности, подключая ощущения тела к рассуждениям разума и переплетая физическое и метафизическое: не столько разрыв создает юмор, напоминает Фразьер, сколько совместное присутствие противоположностей (с. 102). В романе *Братья Карамазовы* отец Ферапонт, с одной стороны, и Федор Павлович, с другой, в своих попытках понять что такое дьявол и ад не представляют себе другого пути, как через вещественную реальность, с гротескными результатами. Стремление Ивана Федоровича уразуметь оба мира, физический и метафизический, в осязаемых терминах обойдется ему еще дороже – осмеянием черта и сумасшествием. Достоевский призывает к разрешению противоречий сосуществования разума и материи совершенно другим подходом, сконденсированным в понятии «живая жизнь». По это-

му поводу, чрезвычайно интересны предложенные Фразьер параллели с научными концепциями, возникшими после середины XIX века и хорошо знакомыми Достоевскому: в частности приводятся идеи Джорджа Генри Льюиса, согласно которому, цитируя слова самого Льюиса, «объективное существование *есть* для каждого то, чем оно ощущается» (“objective existence is to each what it is felt to be” – курсив Льюиса) (с. 107).

Не менее ценной является глава, написанная Алиной Уайман и развивающая анализ категории “онтологической насмешки” (термин ввел Б. Н. Тихомиров в статье, опубликованной в этом журнале в 2013 г.⁷). Ощущение, что Природа издевается над человеком, разделяют разные герои Достоевского: Ипполит, Иван, герой *Приговора...* Идея о насмешке предполагает персонификацию Природы, напр. в виде чудовища или, как подсказывает Уайман, как метафорического “драматурга”, который насмехается над нами, инсценируя человеческую жизнь... Ответ героев Достоевского неоднозначен: если для вышеупомянутых персонажей он полностью отрицательный (возбуждая в них комические реакции с трагическими последствиями), он может так же и быть положительным, как в случае героя из Подполья, который принимает игру, но участвует в ней по-своему, с намерением высмеять “глобального джокера” в самом процессе: «Разразившись подрывным смехом, Человек из Подполья высовывает язык и показывает кукиш “Хрустальному дворцу”, пусть он и делает это в своем кармане» и знает, что протест напрасен (с. 129). Уайман улавливает в этом сходство с ницшеанским *ressentiment*, но с существенной разницей: в отношении Подпольного заложена апофатическая интуиция “подлинного”, “высшего” Хрустального дворца, желанного, но недостижимого «онтологически бездомному герою» (там же). Уместно и упоминание гофмановской концепции фантастического как романтического выражения двойственности реальности, онтологически оптимистичной согласно В. Соловьеву, в которой свобода выражается через юмор: «смех способен приостановить педантичную уверенность в сугубо реальном, чтобы освободить место для веры» (с. 133). Но у героев последующих произведений не будет хватать юмора и автоиронии Подпольного человека, заключает Уайман, они будут более уязвимыми и склонными к насилию и к суицидальным мыслям. Догматизм Ипполита и Ивана и «низкий комедийный коэффициент Кириллова» (с. 135) приводят их к гибели, гарантируя при этом эффекты горького, невольного комизма.

7 См. Борис Н. Тихомиров, “«Кто же это так смеется над человеком?» Мотив «онтологической насмешки» в творчестве Достоевского”, *Dostoevsky Studies. New Series*, vol. 17, 2013, с. 73-97.

Кириллов остается в центре внимания и следующей главы книги вместе с другими молодыми нигилистами из романа *Бесы*. Хлои Пападопулос посвящает ее «юношеской нетерпеливости» как фактору нарративного движения, чреватому смешными последствиями. Суэта смехотворна, а в *Бесах* она настоящий двигатель действий. Все время создается напряженное столкновение между «серьезным и чопорным» поведением, с одной стороны, и «смехотворным и поспешным», с другой (с. 149). Пападопулос подчеркивает в романе значимость лексем, принадлежащих сфере нетерпения, торопливости, спешки (в том числе и такие наречия, как ‘вдруг’, ‘мигом’ и ‘скоро’, которые часто дают тон повествованию). ‘Нетерпение’ и ‘торопиться’ – два из ключевых слов романа. Предметом особого внимания является глава романа “У наших” со своим репертуаром молодых и менее молодых “торопливых” героев. Пападопулос анализирует последствия их торопливости: она порождает внезапные действия, потерю контроля, неистовство и многое другое.

Автор следующей главы, Сьюзен Фуссо, ведет неожиданный компаративный анализ *Бесов* Достоевского и недавнего (2015 г.) произведения американского театра – мюзикла *Гамильтон* (*Hamilton. An American Musical*) драматурга и композитора Лин-Мануэля Миранды. На первый взгляд, странное сопоставление оказывается *de facto* вполне допустимым, более того, оно в работе Фуссо – одной из лучших в этой книге – получает полную легитимацию благодаря прочной методологической основе и тонкости анализа. Два совершенно разных по жанру, культурному контексту и эпохе произведения сопоставляются с точки зрения присутствия в обоих особенного вида пародии, который Фуссо предлагает назвать “возрождающей” (“Restorative Parody”): это тот случай, когда пародия делается способной «возродить ценности и символы, которые были мумифицированы в соответствующих культурах, лишены своей жизненной значимости в восприятии как их противников, так и их почитателей» (с. 172).⁸ В частности, в обоих произведениях в центре внимания стоят тема конфликта поколений (отцы и дети) и тема революции. Посредством дестабилизирующего действия пародии получают новую жизнь окаменелые символы – в *Бесах* это, в первую очередь, символ Систинской Мадонны, а в *Гамильтоне* – комплекс мифов о генезе американской нации (сюжет мюзикла основан на биографии Александра Гамильтона, героя американской революции и одного из отцов-основателей США). Как убедительно объясняет Фус-

8 «...in a way that revivifies values and symbols that had been mummified in their respective cultures, drained of vital significance by both attackers and worshipers».

со, эта новая жизнь символов неотделима от юмористической силы, возникающей из пародийного несоответствия. Это не тот “агрессивный” вид пародии, которым Достоевский также пользуется, прежде всего, для осмеивания Тургенева-Кармазинова и нигилистов. “Возрождающая пародия” имеет совершенно другие цели и возникает в самом ярком виде в одной из ключевых сцен романа – в момент возвращения Марьи Шатовой: после создания комической атмосферы через описание супружеских стычек между женой и мужем Шатовыми роды вдруг преобразуют Marie, и тут хроникер дает ее экфрастический портрет, отсылающий к Сикстинской Мадонне. «Всё как будто переродилось», отмечает хроникер (*ПСС* 10; 453), сама Marie переродилась. Пародия возродила истертый до пошлости миф о Сикстинской Мадонне и по воле Достоевского оказалась связана с воскрешением основных ценностей, поврежденных как идолопоклонством, так и дискредитацией (ср. с. 179).

Автор заключительной главы и одна из двух редакторов книги, Ирина Эрман, обращается к теме смеха исходя из методологических основ гендерных исследований и изучая аспекты юмора, связанные у Достоевского с женственностью; и это неслучайно, и даже символично, если иметь в виду то, что и в самом предисловии уже подчеркивалось: что все авторы книги – женщины, и что это – *женская книга* о Достоевском. Эрман, разумеется, хорошо знакома с феминистской литературой о Достоевском и с трудностями, с которыми сталкивается всякая попытка точно определить позиции Достоевского по отношению к женщине, “женскому вопросу” и т.п. Ее вклад в дебаты значителен и заключается в первую очередь в стремлении доказать, что в творчестве писателя комизм, связываясь с женским началом, представляет вызов патриархальному консерватизму: излюбленные мишени Достоевского, замечает Эрман, это мужские персонажи (например, Лужин или Тоцкий), желающие властвовать над другими, но жизненной силой и остроумием женщин обреченные на неизбежное осмеяние и унижение. Другой интересный пример женского “положительного” смеха встречаем в диалоге комически серьезного и надменного Раскольниковва с простой, веселой Настасьей, которая смеется, но с сочувствием, над его серьезностью. Не иначе, считает Эрман, Достоевский пользуется фигурой «чудно феминизированного сыщика Порфирия Петровича, напоминающего повествователю “крестьянку” (с. 197 и с. 204) для осмеивания главного героя романа (ссылка на ремарку повествователя по поводу одной реакции сыщика: «...с каким-то бабьим жестом покачал головою Порфирий» – *ПСС* 6; 194). Игривые и ускользающие манеры Порфирия Петровича отсылают, по мнению Эрман, к криптогомосексуальной семиотике XIX века

(с. 205). С другой стороны, Достоевский отводит женщинам значительные роли, высмеивая мужские, например, роль мужа; а самые комичные персонажи – это женщины средних лет, такие “матроны” как Лизавета Прокофьевна, которую генерал Епанчин «до того уважал и до того иногда боялся ее, что даже любил» (ПСС 8; 15). Эрман считает, что комедийность, будучи способной объединять социальный коллектив, – по природе чисто женская стихия, в то время как трагизм характеризует сильно индивидуализированные и эгоистичные мужские личности. Такое утверждение требовало бы, пожалуй, уточнений, но в целом эта работа достойно заключает книгу, в которой блестяще представлены многие из новейших тенденций западной критики и американского достоевсковедения.

Юмор и смех как черты поэтики Достоевского стали главным предметом еще одной недавней публикации – первого собрания стихотворений Достоевского в итальянском переводе рядом с русским оригиналом (Fëdor Dostoevskij, *I versi del Capitano Lebjadkin*).⁹ Переводчица и автор краткого, но внушительного предисловия – Клаудия Скандура, известный специалист по русской поэзии XX века, что объясняет ее оригинальное решение прибавить к немногочисленным стихам Федора Михайловича переводы обэриутских стихотворений Николая Олейникова и Николая Заболоцкого, инспирированных «стихами капитана Лебядкина» из романа *Бесы*. У такого решения есть два больших плюса: оно позволяет итальянским читателям ознакомиться с частью поэтической продукции русского авангарда, малоизвестной итальянской публике и доступной до сих пор только в оригинале; оно делает “стихи капитана Лебядкина” ключевым фактором для прочтения Достоевского не столько как поэта, сколько как гениального предшественника литературного авангарда XX века. Дело в том, что Достоевский-поэт, вопреки недавним и славным попыткам его переоценки,¹⁰ вряд ли может вызывать восторг читателя, особенно если взять в пример его серьезные стихотворные пробы; а Лебядкин, как своего рода “самостоятельный” поэт, одаренный автором собственным, специфическим и крайне оригинальным стилем, отворяет ворота к поэзии нонсенса, абсурда; Лебядкин первым сознательно отделяет означающее от означаемого и, неслучайно, футуристы и формалисты в первых десятилетиях XX

9 Fëdor DOSTOEVSKIJ, *I versi del Capitano Lebjadkin*, a cura di Claudia SCANDURA (Roma: Elliot, 2023)

10 См. ценное издание под редакцией и с послесловием Бориса Николаевича Тихомирова «Жил на свете таракан...»: Стихи Ф. М. Достоевского и его персонажей. «Витязь горестной фигуры...»: Достоевский в стихах современников (Москва: Бослен, 2017).

века его заметят.¹¹ Жаль, что Скандура, которая только эпизодично занималась творчеством Достоевского, не пользуется основной литературой о теме юмора писателя и его стихотворений, что немного ограничивает горизонт и перспективы ее анализа. Тем более ценны выводы, к которым она приходит самостоятельно, благодаря глубокому знанию нюансов русского языка и русской культуры. «Стихи Лебядкина – пишет Скандура – это не просто несурзности в стихах, плоды иступления графомана, а результат нигилистского разрушения эстетики, отрицания божественной, высшей красоты, в том числе и красоты искусства, которую заменяет сила “демонизма”. Происходит, таким образом, не только пародическое преобразование подлинника, но и радикальная смена художественно-идеологических полюсов, общий переворот традиционной эстетической системы. А в небрежном отношении Лебядкина к поэтическому слову весьма отчетливо отражается механизм этого постепенного разложения эстетики, потери способности воспринимать гармонию и красоту под вредным влиянием нигилистского демонизма» (с. 13). Как искусный переводчик поэзии, Скандура работает над текстами “Достоевского-Лебедева” с полным сознанием значения стихотворной техники для создания гротескной и комической поэтики персонажа. Лебедевская «гротескная духовность» выражается именно «грубостью, которой его сумасбродные рифмы портят все прекрасное и возвышенное» (с. 14), как особенно явствует в «мадригале “Звезде-амазонке”», который «окажется не таким уж ужасным, хотя последний стих, резко прекращая до того момента правильный ритм поэтического модуса, явно указывает на внутренний недостаток, который неизбежно портит опыты Лебядкина – раздор, не позволяющий стихам достичь истинной гармонии» (с. 15).

Смех тревожит, смех разрушает или возрождает... Он никогда не оставляет вещи в своих местах, в произведениях Достоевского. Об этом говорят работы, посвященные юмору писателя, с какой точки зрения ни смотри и какие философские определения юмора ни возьми. Между прочим, сам Достоевский некогда писал, что «нет такого предмета на земле, на который нельзя было бы посмотреть с комической точки зрения» (ПСС 18; 45). Юмор – часть того, что писатель называл «реализмом в высшем смысле»: взгляда, способного разрушить любой автоматизм в восприятии реальности для того, чтобы уловить ее истинный облик.

11 Ср. в первую очередь эссе Владислава Ходасевича “Поэзия Игната Лебядкина” 1931 года, цитированное на с. 18 предисловия Скандуры.

ARTICLES



СТАТЬИ

Dostoevsky in Greece: Reception and Translations



Достоевский в Греции: рецепция и переводы

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Dostoevsky in Greece. A Brief History of Reception (1877-1929)

The story of Dostoevsky's reception among Greek readers begins in 1877, a year intertwined with the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), which sparked the first commentary on the Russian author. The endpoint of this article is 1929, a pivotal year in modern Greek literary history, marking the emergence of the new literary generation known as the Generation of the '30s. This literary shift, coupled with a decline in Dostoevsky translations, a growing critical engagement with his topics and techniques, and, what is the most important, emerging intertextual dialogue, marked a transformation in the author's reception in Greece.

After the initial reference to Dostoevsky (1877),¹ which is closely tied to the unique historical and cultural relations between Greece and Russia, as well as Greece's immediate interest in a political issue that was also a major concern for Dostoevsky at the time: the Eastern Question, specifically the fate of Constantinople following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, nearly a decade passed before the Russian author began to attract the attention of critics and translators.² The sparse mentions between 1877 and 1886 are further confirmed

1 ANON., "Ἰδιαιτέρα ἀλλήλογραφία Εφημερίδος", *Εφημερίς*, 3,5.1877.

2 Mentions of Dostoevsky began appearing in the Greek press as early as the 1870s. The reception of the author in Greece should not be considered delayed, especially when compared to other European countries, with the exception of Germany, where the first references to Dostoevsky emerged earlier. For details on the author's reception in Germany, see: Виктор В. ДУДКИН и Константин М. АЗАДОВСКИЙ, "Достоевский в Германии (1846-1921)", in Илья С. Зильберштейн *et al.* (под ред.), *Ф. М. Достоевский: Новые материалы и исследования* («Литературное наследство», т. 86) (Москва: ИМЛИ РАН, 1973, с. 659-740). In England, for instance, the first reference to the Russian writer dates to 1875, when *The Athenaeum* published a report by its Russian correspondent, Eugene Schuyler, concerning Dostoevsky's novel *The Adolescent* (See Helen MUCHNIC, *Dostoevsky's English Reputation* [New York: Octagon Books, 1969]). "Dostoevsky [...] remained almost entirely unknown in France until the mid-1880s" (Alexander MCCABE, *Dostoevsky's French Reception from Vogüé, Gide, Shostov, and Berdyaev to Marcel, Sartre, and Camus. 1880-1959* (doctoral dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2013). Interestingly, the first commentary on Dostoevsky appeared even earlier, in 1869, in Italy, see: Стефано АЛОЭ, "Первые этапы знакомства с Ф. М. Достоевским в Италии", in *Достоевский и мировая культура*, № 15 (Санкт-Петербург: Серебряный век, 2000), с. 141-155.

by the news of his death in 1881, which went almost unnoticed in the Greek press.³ Reports of his death appeared in the sections of magazines and newspapers alongside other foreign news, likely sourced from the Russian and European press.⁴ By comparison, the death of Tolstoy prompted numerous texts dedicated to his life and work by prominent figures of Greek intellectual life, such as Kostis Palamas,⁵ Grigorios Xenopoulos,⁶ and Pavlos Nirvanas.⁷ However, towards the end of the 1880s, there was a gradual increase in the public's interest in Dostoevsky's works, particularly after the publication of the translation of *Crime and Punishment* by Alexandros Papadiamantis in 1889.⁸

The most significant factors that encouraged the spread of Dostoevsky's work, and Russian literature in general during the last two decades of 19th century were: 1) the necessity to adapt Greek intellectual and social life to European standards, 2) the distancing from France's exclusive influence, 3) the opening towards the "northern" intellectual horizons of Europe, and 4) the aesthetic pursuits of the Generation of the 1880s, which could no longer be satisfied by the romanticism of previous decades nor by the idyllic depictions of rural Greece. In the last decades of the 19th century, among Russian authors, the dominant figure was Turgenev, who at that time was also highly successful in France. Then, Tolstoy took the lead, but more as a social thinker and philosopher rather than a literary figure. Dostoevsky became a part of the broader reading experience only during the first decade of the interwar period.

The Russian author was presented to the Greek public as a writer of "highly realistic" works, where reality was portrayed objectively and accurately. The image promoted of him aligned with the following aesthetic demands of the time:

- 3 News of the author's death was reported by only three Greek publications: ANON., "Χρονικά", *Παρνασσός*, τομ. 2, Φεβρ. 1881, σ. 189; ANON., "Ειδήσεις", *Εφημερίς*, 16.3.1881; ANON., "Φιλολογία, Επιστήμη, Καλλιτεχνία", *Δελτίον της Εστίας*, 1.3.1881, σ. 1.
- 4 Many years later, Kleon Paraschos, referring to Dostoevsky's success in the West, characteristically writes that the author had to die and be deified in his homeland and "there should also happen to be a French ambassador there, a writer, de Vogüé, to begin to become the greatest Russian writer known only in 1890, in France, and from France throughout the world" (να τύχει να είναι και Γάλλος πρέσβης εκεί, ένας λογοτέχνης, ο de Vogüé, για ν' αρχίσει να γίνεται ο μεγαλύτερος ρώσος συγγραφέας γνωστός μόλις κατά το 1890, στη Γαλλία, και απ' τη Γαλλία σε όλο τον κόσμο). Κλέων ΠΑΡΑΣΧΟΣ, "Μας αγνοούν στην Ευρώπη", *Νεοελληνικά Γράμματα*, 21.9.1940, σ. 1-3.
- 5 Κωστής ΠΑΛΑΜΑΣ, "Τύρο στον Τολστόη", *Καλλιτέχνης*, Δεκέμ. 1910, σ. 261-263; Κωστής ΠΑΛΑΜΑΣ, "Τολστόης", *Ο Νουμάς*, 21.11.1910, τομ. 413, σ. 225-227.
- 6 Γρηγόρης ΞΕΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Ο μέγας Τολστόϊ", *Αθήναι*, 7.11.1910.
- 7 Παύλος ΝΙΡΒΑΝΑΣ, "Λέων Τολστόϊ. 1828-1910", *Παναθήναια*, τομ. 244, 30.11.1910, σ. 99-103.
- 8 Θεόδωρος ΔΟΣΤΟΓΕΦΕΣΚΗ, *Το Έγκλημα και η Τιμωρία*, μτφρ. Α. Παπαδιαμάντης, *Εφημερίς*, 14.04.1889-01.08.1889.

precision in observation, direct oversight of social injustice and corruption, rejection of excessive imagination in the depiction of people or events, portrayal of the feelings and ideas of society, and description of characters as living witnesses of the era.⁹ On one hand, he was discussed as an author who fostered the cultivation of realistic consciousness, and on the other hand, he was part of a mechanism that rejected romantic works – mostly translated from French – which were labeled as “literary cholera”¹⁰ and harmful to readers. In response to these aesthetic demands, Dostoevsky was compared to Zola, whose work had already reached the Greek public through the translation of *Nana* (1879),¹¹ which caused a “revolution” in Greek literature at the time. Writing about the waves of foreign literature that arrived in Greece during the last decades of the 19th century, Palamas observed that the first wave brought Zola, while the second brought Dostoevsky.¹²

Beyond the points of convergence between the French and Russian writers, Greek critics also identified differences, particularly Dostoevsky’s skill in psychologically dissecting his characters. Emmanuel Rhoides, comparing the Russian author with the French naturalists, remarked that while the latter “stripped their heroes and heroines of their clothes, sometimes even of their undershirts, Dostoevsky strips off their very skin.”¹³ The attention to the psychological depiction of his characters, one of the innovative tendencies of Dostoevsky’s work, did not go unnoticed by other scholars of the time. Recognizing the importance of depicting both the external and internal realities in the Russian writer’s work, Greek intellectuals tended to place it within the framework of subjective realism. Thus, Mihail Mitsakis described him as a writer who is “the most extreme of realists”, but also “the foremost of idealists”.¹⁴ Palamas also referred to Dostoevsky’s prose from the perspective of blending objective and subjective elements in his aesthetically profound literary expression.¹⁵

9 Γρηγόρης Ξενοπούλος, “Το έργο του Παπαδιαμάντη”, *Παναθήναια*, τομ. 248, 31.1.1911, σ. 217.

10 Θεόδωρος Βελλιανίτης, “Σύγχρονος ρωσική φιλολογία”, *Παρνασσός*, τομ. 5, February 1889, σ. 253-274.

11 The publication of the serialized translation of Zola’s novel in *Rambagas* had provoked strong reactions from a segment of the reading community. It provided an opportunity for significant intellectuals of the period – such as Angelos Vlachos – to offer vigorous responses to the issue of naturalism. (Άγγελος Βλάχος, “Η φυσιολογική σχολή και ο Ζολά: επιστολή προς Επαρχιώτην”, *Εστία*, τομ. 207, 16.12.1879, σ. 789-795).

12 Βάρδας Φώκας [=Κ. Παλάμας], “Ένας θάνατος”, *Εστία*, 11.12.1897.

13 Εμμανουήλ Ροΐδης, “Δοστογιέφσκη και το έργο του Έγκλημα και τιμωρία”, *Εφημερίς*, 13.4.1889.

14 Μιχαήλ Μητσακής, “Ολίγα λόγια”, *Το Άστυ*, 1.2.1895.

15 Παλάμας, “Γύρο στον Τολστόη”, σ. 261-263.

In addition to the comments provoked by Dostoevsky's aesthetic writing characteristics, during the initial phase of his reception, there was also some interest in his political ideas. Specifically, attention was focused on the Russian author's views regarding the fate of Constantinople, which were met with negative responses.¹⁶ The negative reception of these ideas stemmed from fears that Greek national interests would be jeopardized if the Russians laid claim to Constantinople. As a result, these ideas were rarely framed within the context of Dostoevsky's concept of the "universal idea", which, according to him, involved the ultimate union of humanity and the creation of a universal brotherhood. Although this was a notion with positive content, grounded in Christian values of love and self-sacrifice, the "universal idea" elicited negative reactions from the Greek public, with the sole exception of Palamas.¹⁷ Dostoevsky's pan-humanist views were mainly interpreted as narrow nationalism, a Pan-Slavic vision, imperialist ambitions, a fantasy of the Russian soul, and evidence of the author's subjugation to Tsarist autocracy, with even the authenticity of his ideas being questioned.

The cultural activity of two groups of intermediaries played an important role in the reception of Dostoevsky: the Russian-speaking and the Western-oriented.¹⁸ The former, a product of the unique Greek-Russian cultural and historical relations, participated in both cultures and bridged the gap between Greek and Russian literary life with their activities. Their mediatory role was multifaceted. They contributed to the dissemination of Dostoevsky's works through translations, critical essays, news reports, chronicles, articles, and speeches. Notably, their writings were based on Russian sources, which were largely unknown to the Greek public. These intermediaries were mostly minor literary figures (e.g., Nikos Kastrinos or Anna Stamatellatou), who became known primarily due to their mediating role.

The group of Western-oriented intermediaries consisted of prominent figures of Greek intellectual life. Unlike the Russian-speaking intellectuals, they were a product of the longstanding dependence of Greek literary life on the West, especially France. These individuals were typically intellectuals who

16 For the Eastern Question and its relation to Dostoevsky's reception in Greece, see: Зорка Б. ШЛИВАНЧАНИН, "Рецепция Ф. М. Достоевского как политического мыслителя в Греции", *Кафедра византийской и новогреческой филологии*, № 1-2 (3), 2018, с. 159-168.

17 W [= К. ПАЛАМАС], "Και πάλιν προφήται", *Εμπρός*, 17.6.1918. In this specific text, Palamas mentions that Dostoevsky was a "universal humanist to the point of obsession" (πανανθρωπιστής μέχρι μανίας).

18 For more, see: Zorka ŠLJIVANČANIN, "Cultural Mediators' Contribution to the Reception of Russian Literature in Greece", *Akropolis*, том. 1, 2017, σ. 158-168.

maintained frequent contact with Western countries – primarily France and Germany, and less often England and Italy – through their professions or studies. However, even those who did not travel abroad (e.g., Palamas) kept up with developments in the Western intellectual scene because their knowledge of foreign languages gave them access to foreign magazines and newspapers (e.g., *La Revue des Revues*) and foreign books, which were available in Greek bookstores (e.g., Eleftheroudakis in Athens). In contrast to the Russian speaking intellectuals, the mediating role of the Western-oriented intermediaries was one-dimensional, as they primarily operated as critics or translators. Western-oriented intermediaries in Greece engaged with Dostoevsky's work under the influence of French, German, and, to a lesser extent, Italian and English criticism and translation efforts.¹⁹ This is why the most significant translation event of Dostoevsky's first reception phase, the translation of the novel *Crime and Punishment* (1889), arrived in Greece via France, as a product of the cultural relations between the two countries.

The 1889 translation of *Crime and Punishment* into Greek was pivotal for the reception of Dostoevsky, not only during its initial phase but even up to the present day. When the novel was translated in Greece, it encountered a “horizon of expectations” shaped (or distorted) by French romantic novels. From this perspective, it is not surprising that eighteen promotional texts appeared, attempting to familiarize readers with the “high realism” of Dostoevsky's literary world. If the hypothesis that Papadiamantis was the author of these publications holds true,²⁰ it gives us access to a critical reading of *Crime and Punishment* from the perspective of the Skiathos writer. This reveals the levels at which his original work, specifically *The Murderess* (*Η Φόνισσα*, 1903), was influenced by *Crime and Punishment*. In this sense, the way Dostoevsky's novel is presented in these publications is of great interest. It is worth mentioning that their author focuses on the following points: 1) the narrative focus on the perpetrator rather than the victim, 2) the connection of the crime both to social factors and the mental state of the perpetrator, 3) the depiction of characters' actions as logical consequences of their circumstances, 4) the emphasis on in-

19 The influence of Italy is most prominent in the Ionian Islands, whereas the impact of English translations and critical reception of Dostoevsky's works is more evident in Cyprus, which was under British colonial rule from 1878 to 1960. For further details on the reception of Dostoevsky in Cyprus: Zorka SLJIVANCANIN, “Ο Φ. Μ. Ντοστογιέφσκι και η Κύπρος”, *Νέα Εποχή*, τομ. 352, 2022, σ. 65-72.

20 Manolis Halvatzakis is the first to support this opinion. For more, see: Μανώλης ΧΑΛΒΑΤΖΑΚΗΣ, *Ο Παπαδιαμάντης – μέσα από το έργο του* (Αλεξάνδρεια, [self publishing], 1960).

ternal punishment through guilt, and 5) the emphasis on an episode involving the murder of a child, which never actually occurred in the novel.

This particular translation, as historical evidence of Papadiamantis' relationship with Dostoevsky's work, encouraged discussions regarding the creative meeting between the Greek and Russian authors.²¹ Already in 1894,²² Papadiamantis was characterized as the "Dostoevsky of Greece" in an anonymous publication in *Akropolis*.²³ Starting from this publication and continuing to the present, a significant part of the process of Dostoevsky's reception in Greece has been shaped in the context of a joint examination of him with Papadiamantis. The critical texts written up to the end of the Interwar period highlight the following points of convergence: 1) the emotional power of their writing,²⁴ 2) the vivid realistic depiction, melancholy, religious worldview, psychological affinity, and the incorporation of biographical elements into their literary work,²⁵ 3) the polyphony of their characters and their independence from the author's voice, with characters serving as carriers of specific spiritual states and emotional dispositions, offering emotional power and philosophical stimulation to readers, and²⁶ 4) the affinity – almost identification – of the Slavic and modern Greek soul.²⁷

During the same period, critical texts also circulated that attempted to refute the similarities between Dostoevsky and Papadiamantis, primarily through a comparison of *Crime and Punishment* and *The Murderess*. According to these texts, the points of divergence between the two authors are as follows: 1) the

21 For more information about Papadiamantis' translation, see: Zorka ŠLJIVANČANIN, "Crime and Punishment in Greece, 1889-1912", *Mundo Eslovo*, vol. 16, 2017, pp. 235-244 (access: <https://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/meslav/article/view/1700/15425>); I. B. ΡΟΥΖΙΤΣΚΙ, Ζ. ΣΛΙΒΑΤΣΑΝΙΝ, Δ. ΜΑΡΟΥΛΗΣ, "Η απόδοση της ιδιολέκτου του Ντοστογιέφσκι στα ελληνικά", *Στέπα*, τευχ. 14, 2019, σ. 391-396.

22 ANON., "Ένα διήγημα", *Ακρόπολις*, 6.1.1894.

23 According to Sofia Bora, the anonymous editor of the publication under discussion was Vlasis Gavielidis, director of *Acropolis*, with whom Papadiamantis worked closely. For more, see: Σοφία ΜΠΟΡΑ, *Ο Παπαδιαμάντης και οι αναγνώστες του: Ζητήματα ιστορίας της πρόσληψης του έργου του (1879-1961)*, τομ. 2, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Αθήνα: ΕΚ-ΠΑ, 2008).

24 Κωστής ΠΑΛΑΜΑΣ, "Αλέξανδρος Παπαδιαμάντης", *Τέχνη*, τομ. 6, Απρ. 1899, σ. 138-142.

25 See the Philèas LEBESQUE's column in *Mercure de France*, under the title: "Lettres Néo-Grecques" for the following dates: 16.11.1908 (pp. 355-359), 1.7.1911 (pp. 200-205), 16.8.1913 (pp. 866-871), 15.4.1934 (pp. 421-429). The aforementioned texts were translated and published in the Greek press.

26 See: Μιλτιάδης ΜΑΛΑΚΑΚΗΣ "Αλέξανδρος Παπαδιαμάντης", *Νέον Άστυ*, 1911.

27 See: Φάνης ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Ο Παπαδιαμάντης. Ένα ψυχομετρικό σημείωμα", *Σήμερα*, 1933, σ. 19.

reasons that drive the protagonists to commit murder – Fragkogiannou is driven by mental delusion, while Raskolnikov by his criminal instincts,²⁸ 2) the portrayal of Fragkogiannou as a native type, in contrast to Raskolnikov, who represents a universal character, and also the way they handle the problem of evil,²⁹ and 3) the absence of a socially educational role in Papadiamantis' existential concerns, in contrast to Dostoevsky, and the difference in the former's "devotional faith" compared to the latter's torturous "Christianity".³⁰

Apart from the translation of the novel *Crime and Punishment*, Dostoevsky's short stories also attracted translational attention until 1918. Just four months after the release of Papadiamantis' translation of *Crime and Punishment*, the newspaper *Akropolis* published another work by the Russian author. On December 16, 1889, in anticipation of the upcoming Christmas celebration, "Δια τα καϋμένα τα παιδάκια. Η γιόλκα του Χριστού" (*The Beggar Boy at Christ's Christmas Tree*) was published, translated by Theodoros Vellianitis.³¹ Nevertheless, this was not his first short story rendered in Greek. In fact, three years earlier, in 1886, the Greek readers had their first opportunity to engage with Dostoevsky's literary style through the translation of the "Το δέντρο των Χριστουγέννων και γάμος" (*A Christmas Tree and a Wedding*) translated again by Vellianitis.³² Most likely, both translations were rendered from Russian, in contrast to "Ο μουζικός Μάρεϋ (Ανάμνησις Σιβηρίας)" (*Peasant Marey*),³³ published in 1888, which was translated from France by unknown translator. Dostoevsky's two Christmas stories were repeatedly republished in subsequent years, largely due to the common practice among Greek publishers of releasing works with festive themes during the holiday season, particularly for Christmas and New Year's. Through these stories, Greek readers were introduced to two key elements of Dostoevsky's artistic thought: social criticism and existential reflection. It is possible that, during this early phase of Dostoevsky's reception, Greek holiday-themed literature was insufficient to meet readers' demands. Under these circumstances, foreign holiday-themed short stories, including

28 See: Κωνσταντίνος ΧΑΤΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Παπαδιαμάντης", *Νέα Ζωή*, Νοέμβ. 1912 – Ιαν. 1913, σ. 33-34.

29 ΜΙΧΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, σ. 19.

30 See: Αγγέλος ΤΕΡΖΑΚΗΣ, "Το πρόβλημα Παπαδιαμάντη", *Νεοελληνικά Γράμματα*, τομ. 11, 13.2.1937, σ. 2.

31 Θεόδωρος ΔΟΣΤΑΓΙΕΦΣΚΗ, "Δια τα καϋμένα τα παιδάκια. Η γιόλκα του Χριστού", *Ακρόπολις*, Δεκ. 16, 1889.

32 Θεόδωρος ΔΟΣΤΑΓΙΕΦΣΚΗ, "Δένδρον των Χριστουγέννων", *Ακρόπολις Φιλολογική*, Δεκ. 24, 1886.

33 Θεόδωρος ΔΟΣΤΑΓΙΕΦΣΚΗ, "Ο μουζικός Μάρεϋ (Ανάμνησις Σιβηρίας)", *Φιλολογική Ακρόπολις*, 10.4.1888, σ. 63-165.

Dostoevsky's, found fertile ground for dissemination. However, it is noteworthy that the author's short stories, outside the realm of holiday-themed literary production, did not particularly captivate the interest of Greek translators. Of the five collections of Russian short stories published in Greek up to 1923, only one included his short stories.

In the context of Dostoevsky's reception in translation up to 1918, the Greek versions of *White Nights* and *The House of the Dead* hold particular significance. The repeated publications of these works, either in full or as excerpts, confirm their resonance with the interests of the Greek literary scene, whose writers during this period can be categorized into three groups: a) those depicting contemporary urban life without advocating for any reformative agenda; b) those focusing on the individual's inner world and consciously adopting the techniques of symbolic poetry; and c) those portraying society in ways shaped directly or indirectly by a specific vision for its future.³⁴

If we accept that these translations aligned with the literary demands of the time, it becomes evident that *White Nights* reinforced a trend in Greek literature toward prose that was subjective, emotionally charged, and poetically expressive. This work examines the danger of individuals isolating themselves from society and the consequences of excessive imagination, centering on the archetype of the dreamer. Its translation was published a total of four times by 1918: in 1894, 1909, and 1917. On the other hand, *The House of the Dead* stimulated a different trend in Greek prose, fostering works with strong social concerns. This book particularly captivated the interest of critics, translators, and journals aligned with socialist ideological leanings. For instance, the prominent socialist intellectual Pános Tangópoulos praised its vivid descriptions of prisoners' lives.³⁵ Two years after his commentary, excerpts from the same book were translated for the journal *Kerkiraiki Anthologia*, whose editor was Konstantínos Theotókis, a well-known prose writer and advocate of socialist ideals.

At the beginning of the second phase of Dostoevsky's reception in Greece (1918), the number of translations of his works, primely from French and Russian, increased rapidly, and critical texts about him proliferated. The Greek theater scene also began showing heightened interest in dramatizing his works. References to Dostoevsky became more frequent in the writings of Greek intellectuals, while the composition and size of his readership changed and expanded compared to previous decades. His works transitioned from being regarded as the "intellectual property" of a small circle of bourgeois intellectuals to be-

34 Roderick BEATON, *Εισαγωγή στη νεότερη ελληνική λογοτεχνία* (Αθήνα: Νεφέλη, 1996), σ. 138-139.

35 Δημήτριος Π. ΤΑΓΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Νέα βιβλία", *Ο Νουμάς*, αρθ. 524, 19.4.1914, σ. 112.

coming a part of a broader reading experience. During the 1920s, although the Greek literary intelligentsia generally preferred foreign translations, a new audience gradually emerged that read Greek translations of Dostoevsky's works. This led to an expansion of his readership, which now included not only intellectuals but also members of the petty bourgeoisie, artists, students, and educated workers. Consequently, the network for receiving his works widened considerably, reflecting a more diverse and inclusive reading public.

The success of Dostoevsky's work during the first decade of the Interwar period is due to a wide range of factors, with the October Revolution holding a central position. This socio-historical event marks the dividing line between the first period of Greek readers' acquaintance with Dostoevsky's works (1877-1918) and the subsequent period of his establishment as part of broader reading experiences (1918-1929). The impact of the October Revolution, whether seen as negative or positive, invigorated the reception network for Dostoevsky and Russian literature more generally. After this event, Greek readers increasingly sought to explore the ideological and spiritual expressions of Russian life. Dostoevsky's works successfully met this curiosity. His examination of the external and internal life of modern Russians allowed his works to serve as "windows" into the post-revolutionary life of Russia. The reception of *The Brothers Karamazov* during the Interwar period is indicative of this communicative power. During this period, the novel was received on five levels: critical, translational, theatrical, cinematic, and in original literary production. Its impact was owed to its ideological content as well as its portrayal of an entire gallery of human types within Russian society.

Aside from the October Revolution, other internal factors also contributed to the success of Dostoevsky's works during the 1920s: 1) the strengthening of socialist awareness, 2) changes in book production and the book market, 3) demographic shifts in the country with the arrival of émigrés from Russia and refugees from Asia Minor, 4) the spirit of disintegration, pessimism, and reevaluation of values that prevailed after the Asia Minor Disaster and World War I, and 5) the publishing success of Dostoevsky in Europe. The combination of these factors encouraged the widespread dissemination of Dostoevsky's work, but also contributed to the phenomenon of translation overproduction.

The high demand for Dostoevsky's works, which became part of the reading "fashion" of the 1920s, negatively affected the quality of Greek translations.³⁶

36 The publisher Kostas Govostis, in the Preface of the *History of Russian Literature*, writes about the "snobbish mania" of Greek readers to "stuff their pockets with books" written by Russian authors: ΕΚΔΟΤΗΣ [= Κ. ΓΚΟΒΟΣΤΗΣ], "Η έκδοσις της ρωσικής φιλολογίας", in Louis LEGER, *Ιστορία της ρωσικής φιλολογίας* (Αθήνα: Γκοβόστης, 1929), σ. 7-10.

The release of low-quality translations in the Greek book market shows that translation production was not immune to external factors. Testimonies from intellectuals of the time assure us that the circulation of “butchered” translations,³⁷ including some Greek versions of Dostoevsky’s works, was due to the following factors: first, the merging of roles – publisher, bookseller, and merchant – into one person, who sought quick profit and controlled the book distribution industry; second, the lack of a systematic state policy regarding the translation of foreign books into the domestic market; third, the shortcomings and weaknesses of the source text (in cases of mediated translation); and fourth, the untranslatability of the words used in the source text.

Apart from translations, the reception of Dostoevsky during the 1920s was also shaped by critical texts that viewed him as an ideologue, psychologist, criminologist-psychiatrist, and playwright. Among these aspects, most commentary focused on the ideological dimension found in his literary works. The fluidity of ideological life in Greece and the plurality in Dostoevsky’s ideological views allowed for the coexistence of at least two opposing approaches. One segment of Greek intellectuals portrayed Dostoevsky as a critic of socialist-revolutionary movements, basing their arguments primarily on *The Demons*.³⁸ From this same group, he was also presented as an opponent of anti-democratic methods in achieving social prosperity and as a prophet of the tragic events that followed the rise of socialist-revolutionary movements to power.

At the same time, another segment of Greek intellectuals saw Dostoevsky as an inspirer and precursor of the October Revolution. A characteristic example is Petros Pikros, a renowned writer of the first interwar generation, a socialist intellectual, and a translator of Dostoevsky. In 1921, he wrote an extensive preface for the translation of the book *The House of the Dead*, in which he emphasized, among other things, that Dostoevsky’s works were written with a “revolutionary intent”. The circle of the intellectuals that promoted the image of Dostoevsky as an inspirer of revolutionists based their arguments on his youthful enthusiasm for utopian socialism, his imprisonment for political beliefs, and the social concerns that permeated his works throughout his career. In discussions about socialist art in Greece, opinions often emerged regarding the relation-

37 The term was borrowed from an anonymous article published in *Βραδυνή* under the title “The Russian writers and their translators” (ANON., “Οι Ρώσοι συγγραφείς και οι μεταφρασταί των”, *Η Βραδυνή*, 23.3.1924).

38 For more, see indicatively: SER [Γ. ΣΕΡΟΥΪΟΣ], “Οι Δαιμονισμένοι. Το προφητικόν πνεύμα του Δοστογιέφσκυ”, in *Φιλολογικό παράρτημα της Μεγάλης Ελληνικής Εγκυκλοπαιδείας*, τομ. 14, 30.5.1926, σ. 6. Σπύρος ΜΕΛΑΣ, “Δαιμονισμένοι”, *Εστία*, 9.3.1938. Φώτος ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, “Συγχρονισμός”, *Πειθαρχία*, τομ. 28, 27.4.1930, σ. 18.

ship between Dostoevsky's ideological commitment and the social critique in his works. Thus, the contradictory image of the Russian writer as both a prophet-critic of the Revolution and a prophet-inspirer of it was highlighted.

In contrast to Dostoevsky as a political thinker, which generated limited critical commentary during the first phase, Dostoevsky as a psychologist drew attention from the beginning of his reception in Greece.³⁹ The commentary on the psychological dissection in his works holds a dual significance. On the one hand, it distinguishes him from other pre-revolutionary Russian authors who were crossing Greek linguistic boundaries during the same period. On the other hand, it highlights the superiority of his writing compared to French authors, who were also achieving notable success in translation at the time. However, critical texts that focused on the psychological analysis in his works became more prevalent during the interwar period. Interest in the psychological depth of Dostoevsky's characters aligned with the renewal trends in Greek prose. Dostoevsky's focus on human interiority, which reflects the aesthetic demands for introspection and the exploration of the unconscious, made his works particularly relevant to the new artistic goals. In this context, comments on the superiority of his psychological analysis, and his contribution to the development of the psychological novel, were of great interest. For Nikos Kazantzakis, Dostoevsky is one of the "patriarchs of the modern soul"⁴⁰ and a great psychologist who, with unparalleled precision, subtle analysis, and empathy, delves deeply into the realms of human injustice, sin, and mysticism. Moreover, according to Thrasos Kastanakis, Dostoevsky's creative process allows us to describe him as "a kind of Christopher Columbus of our inner geography".⁴¹

39 During the initial phase of Dostoevsky's reception, the psychological analysis in his work is discussed in the following texts: Θεόδωρος ΒΕΛΛΙΑΝΙΤΗΣ, "Δένδρο των Χριστουγέννων", *Ακρόπολις*, 24.12.1886; ANON., "Αλληλογραφία της Εστίας", *Δελτίον της Εστίας*, 19.4.1887, σ. 3; ANON., "Ειδήσεις εκ Ρωσίας", *Ακρόπολις*, 30.22.1886; ΒΕΛΛΙΑΝΙΤΗΣ, "Σύγχρονος ρωσική φιλολογία", ό.π., σ. 253-274; ...Κ, "Θεόδωρος Δοστογέβσκη", *Κλειώ*, τομ. 5, 1889, σ. 145-147; ΡΟΪΔΗΣ, "Δοστογέβσκη και το έργον του Έγκλημα και τιμωρία", ό.π.; Π. ΜΟΔΙΝΟΣ, "Το ψυχολογικόν μυθιστόρημα", *Η φωνή της Κύπρου*, 5.4.1995; Νίκος ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Το μυθιστόρημα και το διήγημα κατά τον 19ου αιώνα", *Τό Αστυ*, 8.1.1901; Ν. Επ. [=Νίκος ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ], "Γαβριήλ Δ' Αννούντσιο", *Τό Αστυ*, 3.6.1895; Νίκος ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Το μυθιστόρημα και το διήγημα κατά τον 19ου αιώνα", *Τό Αστυ*, 8.1.1901.

40 Νίκος ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗΣ, "Τι γίνεται στη Ρωσία", *Αναγέννηση*, τεύχ. 5, Ιαν. 1928, σ. 190-198.

41 See Kastanakis' unpublished lecture on Dostoevsky, the text of which is preserved in the author's archive at the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (E.L.I.A.), in the folder numbered Ζ17.

During the same period, his criminological and psychiatric observations also captivated critical attention. Interest in crime as part of Dostoevsky's literary agenda was influenced by the Italian school of criminal anthropology, particularly Cesare Lombroso. Dostoevsky's criminal studies were discussed alongside the broader literary interest in social marginalization issues such as crime and prostitution. It should also be noted that Dostoevsky's focus on criminal behavior is closely linked to his existential concerns. His characters are often placed in extreme situations before or after committing crimes, creating the perfect "laboratory" conditions for examining the limits of human nature.

When Dostoevsky explored crime, his primary interest lay in the moral and existential questions it raised, as religious-philosophical reflection was the central axis of his literary production. However, during the period under review, these dimensions of his work received limited recognition in Greece. Early exceptions, such as Roidis, acknowledged Dostoevsky's infusion of Christian ideas,⁴² but broader systematic commentary was largely absent. From the very beginning of Dostoevsky's reception in Greece, some critical attention was drawn to his metaphysical exploration of suffering and his treatment of the problem of evil. Nevertheless, these remarks were sporadic, lacked factual support, originality, or substantial argumentation. Instead, they were predominantly shaped by the views of Melchior de Vogüé and his *Le Roman russe* (*The Russian Novel*), a work that garnered significant readership in Greece from its publication (1886) up until the 1930s. Over time, however, greater critical attention began to focus on Dostoevsky's existential and moral reflections. This growing interest, particularly during the 1930s and 1940s, coincided with the influence of Russian existentialist philosopher Nicolas Berdyaev. His works were not only translated into Greek during interwar period but also widely read by Greek literary figures such as Angelos Terzakis. Thus, it is important to note that Berdyaev's focus on existential and metaphysical questions likely shaped the Greek perception of Dostoevsky's philosophical and religious reflections during the second interwar decade.

The reception of Dostoevsky in Greece is shaped also by efforts to adapt his works to the needs of the theater. The adaptations of his works are connected to attempts to renew and modernize Greek theatrical life and are initially incorporated into the development of realistic, psychological drama, which focuses on social issues. However, as Dostoevsky became a part of the broader reading experience, those involved in Greek theater began staging his works, driven also by financial motives. Regardless of the purpose they served, these

42 ΡΟΪΔΗΣ, "Δοστογιέφσκη και το έργον"...

stage adaptations of Dostoevsky's novels encouraged discussions about his life and work. They provided Greek intellectuals with an opportunity to express opinions about his literary output, focusing on aspects such as psychological analysis, the authenticity of his portrayal of the Russian soul, and his profound philosophical thinking.

To summarize, the article reveals two distinct phases of Dostoevsky's reception from 1877 to 1929, differing in both the volume of material and the nature of the evidence documenting his presence. The first, the *Introductory Phase* (1877-1918), marked a cautious acquaintance by Greek readers with his works. His writings were rarely translated, primarily from French or Russian, and were mostly short pieces published in newspapers. Regarding critical reception, this phase was characterized by insufficient recognition of the philosophical and religious significance of his work, as well as early associations with Alexandros Papadiamantis, who translated *Crime and Punishment*, the first of Dostoevsky's novels rendered into Greek. The second, the *Establishment Phase*, was shaped by the October Revolution, during which Dostoevsky transitioned from being a name known mainly in intellectual circles to a widespread literary phenomenon. This period saw an abundance of Greek translations of his works, often issued as inexpensive editions alongside those of other Russian authors, making them more accessible to a broader audience. It could be argued that this proliferation of translations and their widespread consumption during the 1920s laid the groundwork for the evolution of interwar prose in the following decade.

By the end of the first interwar decade, however, the publication of Dostoevsky translations began to decline, while critical engagement with his works deepened. His prose also increasingly served as a source of intertextual references for authors from the Generation of the '30s, such as Angelos Terzakis, Yiorgos Theotokas, and M. Karagatsis. These writers engaged in a creative dialogue with Dostoevsky's works, demonstrating a level of systematic engagement not observed in earlier generations, except perhaps in the case of Petros Pikros. What's more, Dostoevskian narrative techniques, such as the internal monologue, did not provoke significant discussion among Greek critics and writers before 1929. It was only in the following decade that critics such as Petros Spandonidis and Andreas Karandonis began analyzing the works of Stelios Xefloudas, Lazaros Pigiatoglou, and Konstantinos Theotokis through the lens of Dostoevskian literary methods. These discussions, published in the literary journal *Makedonikes Imeres* (*Macedonian Days*),⁴³ particularly focused on character de-

43 Πέτρος ΣΠΑΝΔΩΝΙΔΗΣ, „Καθρεφτίσματα”, *Μακεδονικές Ημέρες*, τεύχ. 1, Μάρτ. 1932, σ. 29-31; Πέτρος ΣΠΑΝΔΩΝΙΔΗΣ, “Η πέζογραφία των νέων (1929-1933)”, *Μακεδονικές Ημέρες*, τεύχ. 1, Ιαν. 1934, σ. 13-28.

velopment and the inner monologue technique, highlighting the growing influence of Dostoevsky on Greek prose, especially within the novel.

However, several questions remain open for further exploration, and one of them is: how did the third phase of Dostoevsky's reception unfold, and which aspects of his literary production were most assimilated by Greek prose writers? Ultimately, this brief overview of Dostoevsky's reception in Greece does not aim to exhaustively account for the entire phenomenon of the Russian author's influence within the Greek intellectual sphere during the examined period. Instead, it emphasizes key milestones in the translation and critical response to his work from 1877 to 1929, illustrating the unique nature of his reception in Greece.⁴⁴

44 For more details on the reception of Dostoevsky in Greece, please refer to the doctoral dissertation of Zorka ŠLJIVANČANIN, under the title: "F. M. Dostoevsky in Greece (1877-1929): Critical Reception and Translations" (*Ο Φ. Μ. Ντοστογιέφσκι στην Ελλάδα (1877-1929). Κριτική πρόσληψη και μεταφράσεις* [Nicosia: University of Cyprus, 2020]).

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Ares Alexandrou: The Balancing Act of Translating Dostoevsky into Greek

Ares Alexandrou (1922-1978) is the central figure in more than a century of Fyodor Dostoevsky's translation history in Greece; Dostoevsky's name being "inseparable" from that of Alexandrou in Greek culture.¹ Since their publication in the 1950s, Alexandrou's *Crime and Punishment* (*Πρεστυπλευνιευ και νικαζανιευ*, 1866), *Demons* (*Βεσυ*, 1871), *The Idiot* (*Ιδιουτ*, 1869), and *The Brothers Karamazov* (*Βρατβυα Καραμαζουβυ*, 1880) (with the exception of *The Idiot*, all the first Greek translations directly from Russian) have been the authoritative editions of Dostoevsky in Greek, achieving the status of "classic texts" in Modern Greek translated literature.²

Alexandrou's translations of Dostoevsky's four major novels are characterised by a uniform, distinct style which gives voice to the original's polyphony in Greek. In his posthumously-published monograph *The Dramatist Dostoevsky* (*Ο Δραματουργουσ Δουστουεβσκυ*, 2012), Alexandrou described translating Dostoevsky's intangible style as a balancing act ("I had thus to balance on a tightrope").³ This balancing act led him to form his theory of Dostoevsky as a dramatist, where dialogue took priority, as it would in a stage play. To express this aspect of Dostoevsky's poetics (what he defined as his *dramaturgy*), I argue that Alexandrou developed his particular translational style of pronounced orality and frequent colloquialisms. Alexandrou's strategy of vernacularisation along with his interventions in the text arguably transformed the original. This interventionist attitude aligned with Alexandrou's philosophy of translation, whereby the only solution for the translator to avoid betrayal of the original was through (re)creation.

- 1 Kostas PΑΠΑΓΙΟΥΡΓΕΣ, "O Dostoevsky tou Are Alexandrou" [Ares Alexandrou's Dostoevsky], *Lifo*, 25 April 2012 <<https://www.lifo.gr/culture/vivlio/o-ntostogiebski-toy-ari-alexandroy-apo-ton-kosti-papagiorgi>> (accessed 30 September 2024).
- 2 Katerina I. ANESTE, "Dostoevsky phlegomenos apo avevaioteta kai apistia" [Dostoevsky in the Fire of Uncertainty and Unfaithfulness – interview with Manoles Velitzanides, i.e. the publisher of Editions Indiktos], *Lifo*, 20 November 2008 <<https://www.lifo.gr/culture/vivlio/ntostogiefski-flegomenos-apo-abebaiotita-kai-apistia>> (accessed 30 September 2024).
- 3 Ares ALEXANDROU, *O Dramatourgos Dostoevsky* [*The Dramatist Dostoevsky*] (Athens: Gοvοstes, 2012), p. 26.

The aim of this article is to provide an argument for translation as a lens through which one can examine Fyodor Dostoevsky's reception within a foreign culture, by stressing the role of individual agents in this process. In the case study presented here, my focus is on Ares Alexandrou due to his lifelong intellectual engagement with the Russian author's work and his centrality in Dostoevsky's translation history in Greece. First, I examine the publishing house Editions Govostes and the entrepreneurial publisher Kostas Govostes (1904-1958), who employed Alexandrou and commissioned the translations. I then turn to Alexandrou's biography focusing on the way Dostoevsky was tied in the Greek translator's memory with crucial moments of his own biography. Next, I discuss Alexandrou's translational credo and idiolect, first, by examining his monograph *The Dramatist Dostoevsky* where Alexandrou lays out his understanding of Dostoevsky's poetics and how it determined his discursive translation style; and finally, by analysing his translation strategies in his Greek versions of Dostoevsky.

Dostoevsky's Apanta in Edition Govostes

During the first decades of the twentieth century, a radically changed historic-cultural context expanded the popularity of Russian authors in Greece. The Russian Revolution of 1917 galvanised readers' interest in Russian literature, increasing demand for translations of their works.⁴ The rising demand for "everything Russian" inundated the Greek publishing world.⁵ Unprepared to deal with such high demand, publishers (themselves not so well versed in Russian culture) rushed to publish Russian and Soviet works in poorly curated and edited translations.⁶ Kostas Govostes noted the gap in the market and set up his publishing house in 1926 with the express purpose of providing the growing readership of Russian literature in Greece with good and affordable transla-

4 Philippos PAPPAS, "Logotechnike metaphrase kai Aristera: entypa, tomes, repertorio (1901-1950)" [Literary translation and the Left: Publications, Innovations, Repertoire (1901-1950)], in *Zetemata neoellenikes philologias, metrika, yphologika, kritika, metaphrasitika* [Issues of Modern Greek Philology: Metric, Stylistic, Critical, Translational] (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2016), pp. 603-611 (p. 605).

5 Kostas GOVOSTES, "E Ekdosis tes istorias tes rosikes philologias" [The Publication of the History of Russian Literature], in Louis Leger, *History of Russian Literature*, transl. by Ad. D. Papadema (Athens: Govostes, 1929), pp. vii-xi (p. vii).

6 As the publisher Kostas Govostes wryly wrote in 1929: "Today, those who are interested in Russian literature and culture and in everything Russian, are so many, that Greek businessmen do not want to miss the chance to take advantage of them" (GOVOSTES, p. viii).

tions.⁷ Govostes inaugurated his publishing house with Dostoevsky's *Dream of a Ridiculous Man*, the first translation of the short story in Greek.⁸

Govostes' far-reaching plan to acquaint Greek readers with "the most beautiful works of world intellect" and "to disseminate literature and make it accessible to everyone" culminated in the publication of Dostoevsky's *Apanta* (*Collected Works*) between 1938 and 1958.⁹ The project survived the Nazi Occupation (1941-1944), the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), and the politically volatile period that followed, during which Govostes' designated Dostoevsky translator, Ares Alexandrou, spent many years in island prison camps for his ties to the Communist Party.

Govostes' editions of *Apanta* were a turning point in the Russian author's Greek translation history. These editions provided Dostoevsky's major works in Greek, translated directly from the Russian original for the first time. Until then, as my research has shown, the vast majority of Greek translations of Dostoevsky used intermediate sources (predominantly French translations).¹⁰ Despite Dostoevsky's popularity with Greek readers (Dostoevsky was the third most translated author in Greek between 1900 and 1950),¹¹ very few works had been translated directly from Russian until the 1950s, while many works – most notably, *Demons* – remained untranslated. In his editions of Dostoevsky's *Apanta*, Govostes sought to remedy this gap by enlisting Russian-speaking translators such as Ares Alexandrou, but also the two most active Russian-speaking translators at the time, Athena Sarantide and Koralia Makre, to

7 For Govostes, "the preconditions for the development of literature" were "publishing editions at low prices given how the economic crisis has shrunk the public's purchasing power" and "quality of the content", [Kostas GOVOSTES], "Gia to vivlio" [On Books], *To Chroniko tou Vivliou*, 6, May 1936, p. 6.

8 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *To Oneiro enos geloiou* [Сон смешного человека / *Dream of a Ridiculous Man*], transl. by Giorgos Semeriotis (Athens: Anatole, 1926).

9 While Govostes titled his 1938-launched Dostoevsky series, *Apanta* – 'apanta', which literally means 'everything' in Greek, is used to describe the edition of an author's complete works – he did not in fact publish all of Dostoevsky's fictional and non-fictional works. For that reason, I will translate henceforth *Apanta* as 'collected works' instead of 'complete works' to be precise.

10 As my doctoral research revealed, at least two thirds of translations published before Editions Govostes launched their Dostoevsky series, relied on French intermediate sources: Christina KARAKEPELI, *The Translation History of Fedor Dostoevsky in Greece (1886-1992)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2024), <<http://hdl.handle.net/10871/137217>> (accessed 30 December 2024).

11 Konstantinos G. KASINES, *Vivliographia ton ellenikon metaphraseon tes xenes logotechnias 1901-1950* [A Bibliography of Greek Translations of Foreign Literature, 1901-1950] (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ophelimon Vivlion, 2013), p. xxv.

retranslate Dostoevsky from the Russian original.¹² Govostes promoted these translations – especially those authored by Alexandrou – as “the real Dostoevsky” vis-à-vis previous translations which had “mistreated” and “abused” Dostoevsky’s works.¹³ Alexandrou’s versions were advertised as a “restoration” of the Russian text, which transferred it into Greek “complete, without any cut, straight from the original [...] preserving the spirit, the style, and the atmosphere of [the original]”.¹⁴

Govostes published in 1938 the first volume of *Apanta: The Gambler* in Athena Sarantide’s translation.¹⁵ Before the Second World War broke out, Govostes had published the following titles in his Dostoevsky series: *Netochka Nezvanova* (transl. by Koralia Makre) in 1939, *The Eternal Husband* (transl. by Athena Sarantide), and *Notes from Underground* (transl. by Koralia Makre) in 1941. The series continued throughout the war, by 1944, Editions Govostes had published *The Honest Thief, White Nights, The Humiliated and Insulted* (all three translated by Koralia Makre), and *Notes from the House of the Dead*, which was Ares Alexandrou’s first translation of Dostoevsky.

Alexandrou’s addition to the translation team in 1942 allowed Govostes to aim higher and to prepare for publication the behemoths of Dostoevsky’s oeuvre: *Crime and Punishment, Demons, The Idiot, The Brothers Karamazov*. Even though the upcoming translations authored by Alexandrou were announced as early as 1945, the translations were finally published between 1951–1954.¹⁶ There were two reasons for the delay. The first was an adverse historical reality: Alexandrou spent the years between 1948–1958 imprisoned for his affiliation to the Communist Party, as I will describe in the next section which

12 There are no birth or death dates for either Athena Sarantide or Koralia Makre. Neither of the two female translators have been the subject of a research study. My own research on Dostoevsky’s Greek translation history was able to uncover little information on their translatorial work. I was only able to confirm that both women translated from Russian and that they were employed by several publishing houses between the 1920s and 1930s prior to their cooperation with Editions Govostes.

13 Back cover of the third volume of *Crime and Punishment* (1951), transl. by Ares Alexandrou (Athens: Govostes, 1951); Back pages of the third volume of *Demons* (1953), transl. by Ares Alexandrou (Athens: Govostes, 1953).

14 Back pages of the third volume of *Crime and Punishment* (1951); Editions Govostes advertisement, *To Vema*, 26 May 1953, p. 2.

15 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *O Paiktos [Παικτος / The Gambler]*, transl. by Athena Sarantide (Athens: Editions Govostes, 1938).

16 “In the Dostoevsky series, after Merezhkovsky’s critical work, published for the first time in Greece, *Demons* and *The Adolescent* in translations by Ares Alexandrou and Koralia Makre, will be published in autumn”. Editions Govostes advertisement, *Eleuthera Grammata*, 6 (24 August 1945), p. 15.

traces his biography. The second reason had to do with Govostes' rigorous and lengthy editing process, which involved several rounds of manuscript readings by the editing team before a text was approved for publishing.¹⁷ This intensive work meant that it took years for a translation to be published.

Govostes finally published the first volume of *Crime and Punishment* in Alexandrou's translation in 1951; the next two volumes appeared within the same year.¹⁸ This was the first Greek *Crime and Punishment* to be based on the Russian original; all previous translations were based on intermediate sources.¹⁹ A year later, in 1952, Govostes began publishing *Demons* in three volumes, the final one published in 1953. Previously only the excised chapter "At Tikhon's" had been published as "Stavrogin's Confession" (c. 1930).²⁰ Govostes followed *Demons* with *The Brothers Karamazov* and *The Idiot*, each published in four volumes between 1953 and 1954, both translated by Alexandrou. *The Idiot* had previously been translated once,²¹ and *The Brothers Karamazov* three times

17 Leonidas ZENAKOS, "To Cheirourgeio ton metaphraseon" [The surgery of translations], *To Vema*, 5 February 2006, p. 47.

18 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *Enklema kai Timoria* [Преступление и наказание / *Crime and Punishment*], transl. by Ares Alexandrou, 3 vols (Athens: Editions Govostes, 1951).

19 Previous translations of *Crime and Punishment* in Greek included: Alexandros Papadiamantes' first translation of the novel based on Victor Derély's *Le Crime et le Châtiment* (1884). Papadiamantes' seminal translation was serialised in the daily newspaper *Ephemeris* between 14 April 1889 – 1 August 1889; it was republished in 1992 by Editions Ideogramma: see Eugenia MAKRYGIANNE, "Epimetro", in Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *To Enklema kai e Timoria*, transl. by Alexandros Papadiamantēs (Athens: Ideogramma, 1992); Stelios Charitakes' 1912 translation was also based on Derély's French version (*To Enklema kai e Timoria*, transl. by Stelios Charitakes [Chania: Gorgias P. Phortsakes, 1912]). Charitakes' translation was the first version of the novel rendered in the demotic variant of Modern Greek. Previous translators, following literary norms of the time, rendered Dostoevsky's works in *katharevousa*, the archaising variant of Modern Greek; and finally, Athanasios Boutouras' 1922 translation (*Enklema kai Timoria*, transl. by Athanasios Boutouras, 3 vols [Athens: Vivliopoleio G. I. Vasileiou, 1922-1925]) was likely based on the first German translation of the novel *Schuld und Sühne*, transl. by Wilhelm Henckel, 1882).

20 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *E Exomologese tou Stavrogin's Confessions*, transl. by P., [unknown publisher], c. 1930. The translation of the title as "*Daimonismenoi*" (*The Demonised*) has been contested by some. The Russian scholar Metsos Alexandropoulos (1924-2008) claimed that in Greek "the meaning of the title was ruined": "[in the novel] it is Russia that is 'demonised' and 'demons' are set to destroy it": Metsos ALEXANDROPOULOS, *Daimones kai Daimonismenoi* [*Demons and Demonised*] (Athens: Delphini, 1992), p. 44. Nevertheless, Alexandrou's title of *Daimonismenoi* persisted; all retranlations since then have preserved the title as such.

21 *The Idiot* had previously been translated by Athena Sarantide from Russian in 1924, for a different publishing house (Athens: Vivliopoleio G. I. Vasileiou, 1924). Even though Gov-

based on French intermediate sources.²²

For Govostes, the pinnacle and conclusion of Dostoevsky's *Apanta* was the translation of *The Brothers Karamazov* which, along with *Crime and Punishment* and *Demons*, represented "the brightest stars in Culture's Constellation".²³ After *The Brothers Karamazov*, Govostes published Koralia Makre's translation of *The Adolescent* (c. 1955).²⁴ At Govostes' death in 1958, the publication of Dostoevsky's *Apanta* was complete, a work he hoped would "establish Greek translation as an undeniable cultural contribution to Modern Greek literature".²⁵ Editions Govostes published posthumously Alexandrou's translations of *Poor Folk* (1985), *The Village of Stepanchikovo* (1989) and *White Nights, Dream of a Ridiculous Man*, and *The Meek One* (2014). Overall, Alexandrou, along with Makre and Sarantide, translated most of Dostoevsky's fictional works. All these translations are still in print from Editions Govostes.

I will now move on to Ares Alexandrou's biography in order to trace his trajectory as a bilingual translator, pausing at critical moments of his life linked in the Greek translator's memory with the Russian author. This part serves as the backdrop of his translation work, which was conducted in adversity and which, I argue, explains Alexandrou's deep spiritual connection to Dostoevsky and the studiousness with which he tackled the task of rendering Dostoevsky's works in Greek.

Ares Alexandrou (1922-1978)

Ares Alexandrou, whose real name was Aristoteles Vasileiades, was born on November 24, 1922, in St. Petersburg (then named Petrograd).²⁶ His mother was

ostes had previously published some of Sarantide's translations, it is likely that he asked Alexandrou to retranslate the novel – instead of republishing Sarantide's – to ensure uniformity in language and style between Dostoevsky's four major novels.

22 Giorgos Semeriotēs' first translation (1922) of *The Brothers Karamazov* was based on the first French theatrical adaptation by Jacques Copeau and Jean Croué (*Les Frères Karamazov, drame en cinq actes d'après Dostoïevski*, 1911). Semeriotēs' second translation (1926-1927), as well as the 1927-1931 translations published by Georgios I. Vasileiou, were based on Mongault and Laval's 1923 French translation of the novel (*Les Frères Karamazov*, trad. par Henri Mongault et Marc Laval, Paris: Bossard, 1923).

23 Editions Govostes advertisement, *To Vema*, 11 November 1952, p. 2.

24 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *O Ephevos* [*Ποδρρομοκ* / *The Adolescent*], transl. by Koralia Makre (Athens: Govostes, c. 1953-1959).

25 Editions Govostes advertisement, *To Vema*, 2 June 1952, p. 2.

26 All biographical information on Alexandrou is based on Demetres RAUTOPOULOS's bio-

Russian-Estonian and his father was of Russian-Greek heritage, born in the city of Trebizond (now Trabzon) on the East Black Sea, where Greek-speaking communities had lived since the time of Catherine the Great.²⁷ After the revolution of 1917, the family struggled to make a living under the Soviet regime, and in 1928, they decided to immigrate to Greece, where his father had relatives, and where they hoped for a better future under the progressive Venizelos government. They first moved to Salonika and finally they settled in Athens in 1930.

When they arrived in Greece, neither Alexandrou, then six, nor his mother spoke a word of Greek. Alexandrou picked up Greek quickly, showing aptitude in both language and literature. During his last year of high school, he translated Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* and *The Captain's Daughter* from Russian to Greek as a personal creative exercise.²⁸ As soon as he graduated from high school, he joined the student branch of the Communist Party, showing early on a desire for political activism.²⁹ In October 1940, when Alexandrou was eighteen years old, Greece joined the Second World War on the side of the Allied forces. This fatal day (October 28, 1941) was connected in Alexandrou's memories with one of his first encounters with Dostoevsky's works:

I [once] read a small book by Dostoevsky, "The Grand Inquisitor" translated into Greek, which I found in a bookshop. [...] I wondered then "What is this story?" because I had never heard of a work like that by Dostoevsky (I hadn't yet read *The Brothers Karamazov*). It appeared that this was the result of an arbitrary decision by an unknown Greek publisher who had simply extracted a chapter from *The Brothers Karamazov* without explanation, creating the impression that this was a short but complete work.³⁰ I thought that Dostoevsky had written a sort of one-act play, a monologue or dialogue, since the Inquisitor addresses Christ who responds only with his eloquent silence [...]. The next day, the Italians [Mussolini's forces] invaded Greece. I remember that when I was woken abruptly by the cry of the sirens, the first thing I saw was this small book with its pink binding on my nightstand.³¹

graphy: *Ares Alexandrou o exoristos* [Ares Alexandrou the exiled], 2nd ed. (Athens: Soko-
le, 2004).

27 On Alexandrou's childhood, RAUTOPOULOS, pp. 76-79.

28 Both translation manuscripts were lost during the Occupation; on Alexandrou's early translations of Pushkin, RAUTOPOULOS, pp. 89, 100-101, 400.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

30 Alexandrou probably referred to a 1928 edition of *The Grand Inquisitor*, transl. by A. Basilare (Athens: N. Tilperoglou, c. 1928). In 2015, Editions Govostes published Alexandrou's translation of the chapter as a stand-alone edition.

31 ALEXANDROU, pp. 27-28.

By April 1941, the German Nazi forces had occupied Athens. In the first year of the Occupation, Alexandrou joined the Greek Communist Party (KKE), and the youth-wing of the National Liberation Front (EAM, a Party-affiliate organisation) established shortly after the war to organise the resistance against the Nazi occupiers.³² The poet Giannes Ritsos, who knew Alexandrou from shared political circles and was impressed by the latter's high-school translations of Pushkin, recommended Alexandrou to Govostes in 1942 as a prospective translator for his publishing house.³³ It was Ritsos who gave the young man born Aristoteles Vasileiades the pseudonym of "Ares Alexandrou" (to avoid confusion with another Govostes translator named Vasileiades),³⁴ thus becoming his "spiritual [god]father".³⁵ Govostes heeded Ritsos's recommendation and employed Alexandrou, inaugurating a three-decade-long collaboration.

Alexandrou's first translations for Govostes were from English: D. H. Lawrence's *The Rocking Horse Winner* (1942), and Jack London's *The Iron Heel* (the latter was censored by the Germans and was published after the war).³⁶ His first translation of Dostoevsky, *Notes from the House of the Dead*, managed to pass through the censors and was published in the first years of the Occupation.³⁷ Later, Alexandrou remembered this translation as "an act of resistance" against the Nazi occupiers:

During the [German] Occupation, I translated *Notes from the House of the Dead*. I believed (the young are often subject to self-delusions) that I was taking a sort of stand – since this was a Russian novel – against labour camps, like the one the author described and where he had been sent to be punished for harbouring libertarian ideas. Dostoevsky did not say this clearly, but the informed reader would notice it. Dostoevsky was taking a stand against the authoritarian tsarist regime and by extension, I, as his translator, encouraged resistance against the Germans.³⁸

32 RAUTOPOULOS, p. 105.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

35 Giannes RITSOS, *Trochies se diastaurose: epistolika deltaria tes exorias kai grammata sten Kaite Drosou kai ton Are Alexandrou* [Trajectories at Cross-roads: Epistolary Cards from Exile and Letters to Kaite Drosou and Ares Alexandrou], ed. by Lizy Tsirimokou (Athens: Agra, 2008), p. 100.

36 RAUTOPOULOS, pp. 100-101.

37 The translation is dated c. 1940-1944.

38 ALEXANDROU, pp. 27-28.

After the war ended Alexandrou continued translating for Govostes and published his first poetry collection *Akoma toute e anoixe* (*This Spring, Still*) in 1946.³⁹ In the same year, Civil War broke out. With the Civil War still raging in 1948, Alexandrou, along with thousands of other Communist Party supporters, was interned by the right-wing government in prison camps on the islands of Lemnos and Makronesos, where prisoners were called to recant their Communist beliefs under torture. Alexandrou recalled the harrowing experience of seeing people tortured, etched in his memory as a scene out of Dostoevsky's mock-execution:

In Makronesos, they separated us into groups of six and led us to a slope and called each group to move to the front. [...] The prison guards fell on them and started beating them with clubs, one and sometimes two on each prisoner. I was watching, I remember, to make out all that I could of the clubs going up and down, I wanted to not miss a single detail. [...] I remembered then that exactly a hundred years before (in 1849), Dostoevsky would have been in one such group of six and would have seen his comrades tied to the stake ready to be shot (all staged as it turned out) but there was nothing staged here.⁴⁰

The recollection, shared in correspondence with a friend in 1974, reveals how Alexandrou saw himself as “a Dostoevskian hero in his tortured life.”⁴¹ Alexandrou was still preoccupied with Dostoevsky in the 1970s, more than two decades after he first translated the Russian author's novels. Around the time he wrote the letter cited above, Alexandrou was working on *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, which I examine next.

Alexandrou spent the decade after the end of the Civil War in 1949 mostly in prison. In between his internments, he translated Dostoevsky for Kostas Govostes, who started publishing Alexandrou's translations from 1951. After he was released, Alexandrou translated numerous works of world literature from English and Russian for Editions Govostes, and published two more poetry collections – *Agonos Gramme* (1952) and *Euthytes Odon* (1959), which received little critical and commercial attention at the time.⁴² In 1967, a paramilitary

39 RAUTOPOULOS, p. 146.

40 Letter to Christos Theodoropoulos (19 May 1974), Athens, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA), Archive of Ares Alexandrou (A.E. 15/06), fol. 12.5.

41 Panagiotes DRAKOPOULOS, “Prologiko semeioma” [Introduction], in Th. TAMPAKĒ-GEŌRGA and M. DĒMOPOULOU (eds.), *Spoude ston Dostoevsky* [A Study on Dostoevskii], (Athens: Imago, 1998), p. 7.

42 RAUTOPOULOS, p. 186 and p. 192.

group overthrew the government and established a military dictatorship on the pretext of safeguarding the nation from a supposed Communist threat. Alexandrou left Greece for Paris, as did many Greek intellectuals at the time. In Paris, he struggled to make a living, taking many different jobs.⁴³ While in France, he started to work on his first and only novel, *To Kivotio* (*The Box*). During this period, he translated Dostoevsky's *White Nights*, *Dream of a Ridiculous Man* and *The Meek One*, and worked on his monograph about Dostoevsky; all published posthumously by Editions Govostes.⁴⁴ When the military junta ended, in 1974, *The Box* was published to critical acclaim, hailed as one of the most important Modern Greek novels of the post-war era.⁴⁵ Four years later, Alexandrou died of a heart attack. He was fifty-six years old.

One of the most prolific translators of the post-war generation, in his thirty-year career, Alexandrou balanced translation and literary creation. His “linguistic crossings”, textual and geographical which took him from his mother tongue (Russian) to his paternal tongue (Greek), endowed Alexandrou with a singular sensitivity to the nuances of Modern Greek.⁴⁶ His translations of Dostoevsky, which demanded that he “balance[d] on a tightrope” to render the Russian’s “absence of style”, led him to create his own theory on Dostoevsky’s poetics, expressed in his posthumously published monograph *The Dramatist Dostoevsky* (2012).⁴⁷

The Dramatist Dostoevsky

The Dramatist Dostoevsky is an uncommon type of monograph within Greek literature on Dostoevsky: one of the very few critical studies to be written on the author by his Greek translators.⁴⁸ It can be considered a long translator’s

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 244-248.

44 Alexandrou was also preparing a translation of *A Writer’s Diary*, announced in 1958 after Kostas Govostes’ death, *To Vema*, 7 December 1958, p. 8; however, the translation was never published.

45 Roderick BEATON, “Land Without Novels?”, *TLS*, 12 October 2001, p. 14.

46 Lizy TSIRIMOKOU, “Eisagoge” [Introduction], in Ares ALEXANDROU, *Geia sou, Auraki: ennea grammata tou Ares Alexandrou sten Aura Drosou* [Hello, Auraki: Nine Letters of Ares Alexandrou to Aura Drosou] (Athens: Morphotiko Idryma Ethnekes Trapezes, 2018), pp. 12-15 (p. 13).

47 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 26.

48 Ares Diktaios (1919-1983) who translated *The Adolescent* and *The Village of Stepanchikovo* in 1954, published an essay collection in 1961, where he discussed Dostoevsky along with Goethe, William Blake, Friedrich Hölderlin, Nietzsche, Shestov, and Arthur Rimbaud;

note, since Alexandrou never wrote translator's notes to accompany his versions of Dostoevsky. It was published by Editions Govostes in 2012, based on manuscripts from 1971. The (unfinished) essay covers Dostoevsky's biography, Alexandrou's own experience translating his works, and his interpretation of Dostoevsky's poetics. Writing about the difficulty of translating Dostoevsky into Greek, Alexandrou identified Dostoevsky's lack of style as his main obstacle:

When I was translating my first book by Dostoevsky, *Notes from the House of the Dead* (and similarly, when I was reading *The Idiot* – although translating and reading is not the same, you do not pay the same attention), I was surprised by the absence of what we call “style”; the absence of narrative flow, the absence of any sort of care on the author's part to create “literature” and more than that, “good literature”.⁴⁹

There were two “acceptable explanations” for Dostoevsky's elusive style. The first was that “Dostoevsky was forced to write fast to earn his living”; and the second that “one might easily neglect style when one is certain [one] has very important things to say”.⁵⁰ In trying to reconcile the “lack of correlation between the importance of the events [described] and the weight of words”, Dostoevsky was “consumed by expressiveness and hyperbole”.⁵¹ His authorial idiolect was one of “sonorous and rare words” which “create[d] phrases imbued with rhythm – almost imperceptible but certainly there – phrases that moved or flowed naturally like a great river, that poured out like a stream”.⁵²

Faced with the stylistic irregularities of the Dostoevskian text, Alexandrou “felt the need to interfere with the text”:

I used to interfere with the text, for had I left it the way it was, I would have been branded a sloppy translator. I had thus to balance on a tightrope, to intervene in the text in a way that the reader would think that I had altered nothing, and that that was how Dostoevsky himself would have written in Greek; that

Metsos Alexandropoulos, who translated the short story *Bobok* in 1995, has written several biographies of Dostoevsky (see the Conclusion for more analysis of Alexandropoulos's work). However, Alexandrou's *The Dramatist Dostoevsky* remains the only work written by one of Dostoevsky's major Greek translators, detailing the process of translating his works into Greek.

49 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 22.

50 *Ibid.*

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

is, that he would have written neglecting style, piling phrases on paper, as if the text was raw material to be refined later.⁵³

The breakthrough in how to translate Dostoevsky came in 1945, when Govostes commissioned Alexandrou to translate *Demons*. The following anecdote from Alexandrou's efforts to procure a Russian edition from the Soviet Embassy in Athens reveals the origin of Alexandrou's concept of Dostoevsky as a dramatist:

After the liberation from the Germans, my publisher asked me to translate *Demons*. As I could not find the novel in the only bookshop that sold Russian books [...] I went to the USSR embassy. [...] When I asked [the cultural attaché] whether they had Dostoevsky's *Bessy* [sic] in the embassy's library, he said no: "We don't have Dostoevsky's *Piessy* [sic]". I was at the point of explaining somewhat ironically that I wasn't looking for Dostoevsky's *Piessy* ("his theatrical works"), since it would be impossible to look for something that does not exist. However, influenced by the official atmosphere of the place, I explained with the most serious and natural expression that I was looking for *Bessy*, enunciating the word as clearly as I could. I implied that, while *Piessy* existed, I was not interested in them for now. I was looking for *Biessy* [sic]. The cultural attaché unimpressed said "We do not have *Biessy* [sic]". [...] I thought how funny it was to meet a Soviet cultural attaché who was not aware that Dostoevsky had never written plays. I kept laughing [...] until I finally realised its meaning while standing at the entrance to the stadium with its white amphitheatre [he is referring to the Panathenaic Stadium situated at the centre of Athens]. I stopped laughing and thought: "Why, yes! Comrade cultural attaché was right. Dostoevsky's *Piessy* do exist! Dostoevsky wrote nothing but plays. And what plays! Genuine tragedies that follow all of Aristotle's' rules".⁵⁴

In realising that Dostoevsky indeed wrote his novels as *пьесы* (dramas) Alexandrou started to approach Dostoevsky as a *dramatourgos*, a dramatist and

53 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; Alexandrou is referring to Aristotle's definition of tragedy in *Poetics* (1449b): "Tragedy is, then, a representation of an action that is heroic and complete and of a certain magnitude – by means of language enriched with all kinds of ornament, each used separately in the different parts of the play: it represents men in action and does not use narrative, and through pity and fear it effects relief to these and similar emotions". <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0056%3A-section%3D1449b>> (accessed 30 September 2024).

playwright: “translating Dostoevsky, I had the feeling I was translating a theatrical play and not a novel”.⁵⁵ The inherently theatrical structure of Dostoevsky’s novels explained the many stage adaptations of his works: “Dostoevsky’s time is more akin to narrative time in theatre than in novels”.⁵⁶ In scenes like Marmeladov’s speech (*Crime and Punishment*), Hippolyte’s confession (*The Idiot*), the group scene in Stavrogina’s drawing room and Stavrogin’s confession (*Demons*), Dmitry Karamazov’s “Confessions of an Ardent Heart” and Ivan Karamazov’s confessions to Alyosha in “Pro and Contra” (*The Brothers Karamazov*),

the theatrical and dramatic element even reach[ed] the melodramatic [...]. We are dealing with old-school theatre and a type of old-fashioned acting. Even the spaces where the events take place – usually attics or humble rooms, and sometimes aristocratic drawing rooms in the capital or in the country – are described with very few details as if they are part of the setting.⁵⁷

Constrained in the claustrophobic stages Dostoevsky designed for them, his heroes were pushed to their emotional limits, impelled “to open their hearts, to make confessions that turn their souls upside down while realising at the same time their absurdity; they confess publicly their insignificance; they are self-flagellating and self-punishing”.⁵⁸ In these emotional confessions “under the strain of acute emotional pressure” their speech became “theatrical even in the narrowest sense of the word; in the sense that a skilled actor could very well play the corresponding part without the need of extra directions”.⁵⁹ Following the dramatist’s implicit stage directions, the characters acted “as if possessed by demons [...] against their will, only to wonder afterwards why they acted that way and not the other”.⁶⁰

“Are they [Dostoevsky’s heroes] then ‘marionettes’ at the hands of an author who moves them at will?”, Alexandrou wondered.⁶¹ “All heroes are ‘marionettes’”, he acquiesced, “playing a part prescribed to them by the author”.⁶² The puppeteer-author “blackmails” his heroes, operating them to “prove”, to voice

55 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 92.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

59 *Ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

62 *Ibid.*

his own ideas.⁶³ How did Dostoevsky then manage to create heroes that “escape [his] pre-defined plan and follow their own way, unpredictable to both them and the author?”⁶⁴ For Alexandrou, it all came down to the question of individual agency, with which Dostoevsky gifted his characters, despite them being his own creations: “This exact fact – that Dostoevsky let his heroes ‘escape’ or ‘get carried away’ in different directions – is what makes them believable irrespective of their ‘theatricality’ or exactly because of it”.⁶⁵

In Dostoevsky’s narratological experiment, the characters, from marionettes, transform into living humans with their own consciousness and responsibility for their actions:

It is at once evident that while they are indeed “acting”, these characters are living their part. They are improvising. Their passion is their own. They are not soulless marionettes after all but living creatures which have accepted – how else – their creator’s life-giving first breath and from then on, they live and act at their own will. Without the heroes’ “freedom of will” Dostoevsky’s novels would simply be a “lecture”, an “illustration” of philosophical or moral-religious ideas.⁶⁶

Alexandrou’s thesis on the freedom of Dostoevskian characters evokes Mikhail Bakhtin’s definition of the polyphonic novel. In *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, Bakhtin argued that Dostoevsky’s characters are not subjugated to the author: “a character’s word about himself [...] is not subordinated to the character’s objectified image as merely one of his characteristics, nor does it serve as a mouthpiece for the author’s voice”.⁶⁷ His heroes assume full-fledged independence: “Dostoevsky, like Goethe’s Prometheus, creates not voiceless slaves (as does Zeus), but free people, capable of standing alongside their creator, capable of not agreeing with him and even of rebelling against him”.⁶⁸ The “plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses” which Dostoevsky’s characters represent, gives rise to the “genuine” polyphony which is at the basis of Dostoevsky’s poetics.⁶⁹

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Mikhail BAKHTIN, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, transl. by Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: Minneapolis University Press, 1984), p. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

The characters' detachment from the author's consciousness is what animates Dostoevsky's heroes, making them convincing. Their verisimilitude is further enhanced by what Alexandrou described as "the qualitative transformation through time".⁷⁰ We, as real human beings, Alexandrou argued, "transform" according to what Aristotle described in his *Poetics* as "eikos kai anankaion", (plausible or verisimilar, and necessary).⁷¹ For that reason:

We demand that a work of art should be "convincing", in other words to depict the qualitative transformation through time in such a way, that we never for a moment doubt that it was unavoidable for Oedipus, or Hamlet, or Raskolnikov to have transformed the way they did [...]. When we say that [...] a work of art [...] is convincing, we mean that its time, its inner time, the one expressed through the hero's qualitative transformations through time, the time "created" by the author, flows normally; that it is "proper" time conforming to our sense of the passage of time, neither slower or faster.⁷²

Thus, according to Alexandrou, Dostoevsky's works were convincing and his characters authentic, because characters' thoughts and actions developed according to "how we might have been subjected to the qualitative transformation of the novel's heroes under the conditions set by the plot".⁷³ He argued that readers identify and empathise with Dostoevsky's characters because it is easy to "imagine ourselves in the hero's place, and say that we would also have behaved that way, that we would have also suffered Ivan Karamazov's white fever or that we would have confessed our crime like Raskolnikov".⁷⁴

As these excerpts from *The Dramatist Dostoevsky* reveal, Alexandrou was intrigued by how Dostoevsky achieved the illusion of verisimilitude in his fiction; how he created believable characters who acted seemingly unconstrained by the author's intentions. In what comes next, I will investigate whether and how Alexandrou recreated the illusion of verisimilitude of the original in his own translations of Dostoevsky. To that end, I analyse his particular discursive

70 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 87.

71 ARISTOTLE, *Poetics* (1451b): "What we have said already makes it further clear that a poet's object is not to tell what actually happened but what could and would happen either probably or inevitably [*kata to eikos e to anankaion*]". <<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0056%3Asection%3D1451a>> (accessed 1 April 2024).

72 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 87

73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*

strategy of “intervening in the text”,⁷⁵ and I discuss what I define as his hermeneutics of Dostoevsky.

Alexandrou’s Hermeneutics of Dostoevsky

Alexandrou’s translation strategy, to write “as Dostoevsky himself would have written in Greek”, was one of emphatic vernacularisation.⁷⁶ In his intention to translate transparently (“in a way that the reader would think that I had altered nothing”),⁷⁷ Alexandrou enforced a two-pronged discursive strategy: striving for the most colloquial rendering possible, even when the source text used more standard language; and intervening in the original by way of explicitation, which often resulted in semantic shifts. As I will argue, Alexandrou’s interventionist translation strategy (to consciously “interfere with the text”)⁷⁸ and its effect on the reader, can be better understood within a hermeneutics model of translation:⁷⁹ one where interpretation of the source text is not only warranted but is an inexorable part of the transformation to which the act of translation subjects the original.

The first strategy – that of an expressly vernacular translation – was in line with Alexandrou’s thesis on the theatricality of Dostoevsky’s style. As I showed above, Alexandrou understood Dostoevsky’s novels as *пьесы*, plays where characters speak like actors on the stage. This implied a high degree of orality in their speech that did not always conform to the norms of literary language or written speech. To achieve this, Alexandrou made frequent use of colloquial words, phrases, and idioms to render characters’ speech. Alexandrou increased the expressiveness of the original by selecting “sonorous” and “rare” words that created their own rhythm in Greek and carried particular emotional weight in order to render, what he termed, Dostoevsky’s “expressiveness” and “hyperbole”.⁸⁰ This overtly vernacularising strategy aligns with what Mikhail Bakhtin identifies as the *skaz*-like elements of Dostoevsky’s poetics, whereby *skaz* “refers

75 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 26.

76 *Ibid.*

77 *Ibid.*

78 Alexandrou, in his text, uses the verb *epemvaino* (‘to interfere’) which literally means ‘step/tread upon’; ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 26.

79 Lawrence VENUTI, “Genealogies of Translation Theory: Schleiermacher”, transl. by Siobhan Brownlie, in Lawrence VENUTI (ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader*, 4th ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 486–500.

80 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 25.

to a technique or mode of narration that imitates the oral speech of an individualised narrator”⁸¹

The two examples below show cases of Alexandrou inserting colloquialisms in the target text, following his strategy to vocalise the character’s speech. The first excerpt is from the opening sentence of Ivan Karamazov’s legend of the Grand Inquisitor (*The Brothers Karamazov*, Part 2, Book 5, Chapter V). The mystique of Ivan’s *нелепая поэма* is immediately broken, as he exclaims “тъфу” (ugh!) in embarrassment at having to explain his fictional tale. Alexandrou extends his exclamation to “Phtou, na parei kai na sekosei”: ‘phtou’ is the onomatopoeic (mimicking the sound of spitting) Greek equivalent which expresses annoyance and exasperation; the colloquial phrase “na parei kai na sekosei” (may [the devil] take and lift [me]) is used when one is extremely irked or frustrated.

Russian:

Ведь вот и тут без предисловия невозможно, то есть без литературного предисловия, *тъфу!* (ПСС 14; 224 – here and in the following examples italics are by the author of this article).

Greek:

Omos kai edo de ginetai n’ archiso choris prologo, delade choris philologiko prologo. *Phtou, na parei kai na sekosei!*⁸²
[But here also it is not possible to start without a prologue, without a philological prologue that is. *Phtou, take and lift!*]

In the second example taken from *Demons*, Alexandrou takes his strategy of colloquialization a step further: he adds direct speech, not present in the source text. In the scene from Stavrogina’s drawing room, the scheming captain Lebyadkin grandly returns the twenty roubles gifted by Varvara Petrovna to his sister (*Demons*, Part 1, Chapter 5, IV). As Lebyadkin fumbles with the money and drops it, Alexandrou adds the angry exclamation “Aï sta kommatia!” (Oh, [may it fall] to pieces!), to express the character’s anger and exasperation.

Russian:

...заметив на полу вылетевшую бумажку, он нагнулся было поднять ее, но, почему-то устыдившись, махнул рукой (ПСС 10; 133).

81 ВАХТИН, p. 9.

82 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *Adelphoi Karamazov*, transl. by Ares Alexandrou, p. 284.

Greek:

Vlepontas sto patoma to pesmeno chartonomisma ekane na skypsei na to parei, ma drapeke gia kapoio logo kai kounese to cheri tou *san na lege: "Ai sta kommatia"*.⁸³

[Seeing on the floor the fallen banknote he made to lean over and take it, but got embarrassed for some reason and waved his hand *as if saying: "Oh, [may it fall] to pieces"*]

The second strategy, that of intervening in the text, is more inscrutable with regards to Alexandrou's intentions. It could be that what Alexandrou perceived as Dostoevsky's lack of a particular style gave him the freedom to render the Russian text more liberally, engaging in a hermeneutics of translation. In the most abstruse parts of the novels, such as the legend of the Grand Inquisitor or Stavrogin's confession at Tikhon's, Alexandrou felt the need to interpret Dostoevsky's ideas, rather than his text. Following Lawrence Venuti's model of hermeneutic translation, I understand Alexandrou's interventionist strategy as the manifestation of his "critical dialectic" with Dostoevsky's text.⁸⁴ As Venuti has argued, translation is an inherently "interpretive act": the translator mediates (interferes with) the text by overlaying his personal interpretation of the original, which is "one among different and potentially conflicting interpretations".⁸⁵ As such, Venuti argues, the translation communicates not the foreign text, but "an interpretation of it" rendered in the translator's idiolect.⁸⁶

In the first example from *The Brothers Karamazov*, The Grand Inquisitor in Ivan's story imagines people, happy to have masters become their conscience, as a "стадо" (a herd) (*The Brothers Karamazov*, Part 2, Book 5, Chapter V). In Alexandrou's text the more compliant "стадо" turns into "agele" (a pack), a word mostly used to describe "a pack of wolves" (*agele lykon*), shifting thus the perspective of the leader of weak-willed humanity, from a shepherd to the head of a pack of wolves.

Russian:

И люди обрадовались, что их вновь повели как стадо (ИСС 14; 234).

Greek:

Kai oi anthropoi charekan pou tous odegesan kai pali san *agele* kai pou sekosan

83 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *Oi Daimonismenoi*, transl. by Ares Alexandrou, p. 178.

84 VENUTI, p. 296.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 288.

86 *Ibid.*

epitelous apo tis kardies tous to toso tromero doro pou tous ephere vasana.⁸⁷

[And people were happy that they led him again like a *pack* and that they lifted from their hearts that most horrible gift that brought them anguish]

In the second example from Stavrogin's confession to Tikhon, Stavrogin tries to talk himself out of his guilt, in finding the crux of his suffering in the persistent ghost-memory of Matryoshka shaking her fist at him after he raped her (*Demons*, "At Tikhon's", Chapter II). Stavrogin concedes that there is no escape: even if he does not have remorse for his crime, he has already been "judged" (осужден) by Matryoshka herself. Alexandrou imagines Stavrogin's fate differently: it is not the knowledge of being judged by the girl he raped that haunts him, but the thought there is no "soteria (salvation) for him, no Raskolnikovean absolution for his crimes.

Russian:

Не о преступлении, не о ней, не о смерти ее я жалею, а только того одного мгновения я не могу вынести. Никак, никак, потому что с тех пор оно мне представляется каждый день, я совершенно знаю, что я осужден (ПСС 12; 128).⁸⁸

Greek:

Auto pou den boro na ypophero einai monacha ekeine e stigmati sto katophli, den boro, den boro, giati te vlepo s' aute te stase kathe mera ki eimai sigouros *pos den yparchei soteria gia mena*.⁸⁹

[What I cannot bear is just that moment on the doorstep, I cannot, I cannot, because I see her in this stance every day and I am certain *that there is no salvation for me*]

87 DOSTOEVSKY, *Adelphoi Karamazov*, transl. by Ares Alexandrou, p. 296.

88 It is not clear from which Russian edition Alexandrou worked when translating *Demons*. Especially in the case of the excised chapter, "U Tikhona", Alexandrou seems to have consulted various editions, as well as Dostoevsky's notes on the chapter. Judging from the accounts of the editing process at Editions Govostes, the editing team was consulting various editions of the works. Here, I am using as a reference for the excised chapter volume 12 of ПСС, which includes "U Tikhona" and additional notes to the chapter.

89 Fiodor DOSTOEVSKY, *Oi Daimonismenoi*, transl. by Ares Alexandrou, p. 706.

Conclusion: Translation as a Balancing Act

Alexandrou's main concern as a translator was how to reconcile the inescapable unfaithfulness of translation with the ideal of linguistic equivalence. In personal correspondence, Alexandrou admitted that even "established" translators like himself were guilty of "vindicating the wise *traduttore traditore*":⁹⁰ "The notion of the translator-traitor might be hyperbolic but impossible to extinguish. The ideal would be for people to know all tongues or to speak the same language. As with all ideals, it is unattainable".⁹¹ Elsewhere, Alexandrou explained to the French translator of his novel *The Box*, Colette Lust, that equivalence was not a direct relationship between the word-signs of the source language and target language:

It is impossible to find the corresponding word-sign in another language, for the simple reason that it does not exist. But one can always find the equivalent to a word-sign, by using two or three word-signs, or even a whole phrase-sign. [...] It remains to be seen whether the words in the original are actually signs. In any case, this does not concern the translator. The author is the only person responsible for correcting his work.⁹²

Not privy to the author's intentions, the translator, even with the best of intentions and the highest degree of professionalism, always ran the risk of committing treachery against the original text. As such, for Alexandrou, strict equivalence between languages was not the translator's desideratum.

Venuti explained in *The Translator's Invisibility* that the incommensurable equivalence of word-signs in different languages inevitably leads the translator to "interpretation": "Translation is a process by which the chain of signifiers that constitutes the source-language text is replaced by a chain of signifiers in the target language which the translator provides on the strength of an interpretation".⁹³ In this hermeneutic model of translation, interpretation leads to a

90 Interview with Ares Alexandrou as part of the survey: "To Vivlio pernaei krise!" [Publishing under Crisis!], *Epitheores Technes*, 73-74 (January-February 1961), p. 100.

91 Letters to Aura Drosou-Thomopoulou (1974), Athens, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA), Archive of Ares Alexandrou (A.E. 15/06), fol. 11.2.

92 Letter to the French translator (Colette Lust) of *To Kivotio* (transl. in French as *La Caisse*), quoted in the journal *Metaphrase*, 1 (1996), pp. 132-134; Athens, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA), Archive of Ares Alexandrou (A.E. 15/06), fol. 12.2.

93 Lawrence VENUTI, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 17-18.

creative reconstruction of the original: “conceiving of language use as a creative act thickly mediated by linguistic and cultural determinants so that it does not transparently express ideas or represent reality but rather constructs them”.⁹⁴ In reconstructing the original, the translated text acquires a “relative autonomy”.⁹⁵ The original disappears. As such, the translation does not afford “direct access to the foreign text but rather as a foreign-ism, an image of that text constructed from linguistic patterns and cultural traditions in the receiving situation”.⁹⁶

As Alexandrou himself conceded, an effective translation was less an issue of stylistics or equivalence but rather of how a translator’s idiolect measured against that of the original author: “I do not believe there is an English, a French or a Greek style [of writing]. There is – if there is something – a personal style, in this case mine. This personal style can be rendered in any language, as long as one finds of course a worthy translator”.⁹⁷

Alexandrou’s intention in constructing the original anew was to trick his readers into believing that he “had altered nothing, and that that was how Dostoevsky himself would have written in Greek”.⁹⁸ I believe that the popularity of Alexandrou’s translations lies in exactly that: his successful (re)creation of a Greek version so autonomous in its illusion of transparency that Greek readers had to accept it as if it was the original author’s work.

94 VENUTI, “Genealogies of Translation Theory”, p. 288.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 289.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 294.

97 Letter to Robert L. Crist (21 January 1976), Athens, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA), Archive of Ares Alexandrou (A.E. 15/06), fol. 12.3.

98 ALEXANDROU, *The Dramatist Dostoevsky*, p. 26.

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Books on Dostoevsky in Greece: an Overview

The following text constitutes a chronological overview of the fifteen main monographs on Dostoevsky published in Greece since the post-war period.

Τάσος ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΔΗΣ, *Ο Ντοστογιέφσκη. Από το κάτεργο στο πάθος* [Tasos ATHANASIADIS, *Dostoevsky: From the Penal Colony to Passion*] (first ed. Αθήνα: Εστία, 1955; second ed. Αθήνα: Εστία, 1978), 407 pp.

Tassos Athanasiadis stands as one of the last representatives of the Generation of the '30s, a literary movement that profoundly reshaped the course of Greek literature during the interwar period. This generation sought to align Greek prose with foreign currents, notably drawing upon models such as Dostoevsky, thereby moving away from the earlier, more localized literary style known as “ηθογραφία” (ethografia), which focused on depicting the customs, morals, and everyday lives of people, particularly in rural or provincial communities. Over the course of his distinguished literary career, Athanasiadis engaged in nearly all forms of prose, including short stories, novels, biographical fiction, and travel writing. His contributions to biographical fiction, in particular, are noteworthy, as he undertook extensive studies of the lives and works of prominent figures such as Victor Hugo, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Albert Schweitzer. In recognition of his contributions to the development of the biographical novel in Greece, he was repeatedly honored, in 1956, 1964, and 1979. His first significant award was for his book *Dostoevsky: From the Penal Colony to Passion*.

The book comprises five chapters, an epilogue, an introductory note, and a postscript. The second edition of this biographical novel, published twenty-three years after the original, includes a preface titled “The Timelessness of Dostoevsky”, which offers critical insights into Athanasiadis’ creative methodology. The preface reveals that Athanasiadis undertook a comprehensive study of the critical literature concerning the Russian writer’s life and works before composing the book. His research, which encompassed both Western and Rus-

sian critics, led him to conclude that Dostoevsky is a deeply multifaceted figure, with a body of work characterized by intricate layers open to multiple interpretations. Moreover, Athanasiadis emphasizes the importance of adopting a biographical approach, asserting that Dostoevsky's personal experiences played a decisive role in shaping his creative identity. This perspective encourages Athanasiadis' own decision to examine Dostoevsky's literary persona through a synthesis of biographical and fictional elements.

Among the key sources that informed Athanasiadis' composition of this biographical novel, two stand out: Dostoevsky's *Correspondence* and Count Melchior de Vogüé's *The Russian Novel*. Vogüé's work, in particular, appears to have served as a foundational reference, especially in its depiction of Dostoevsky's temperament and its framing of suffering as a central thematic concern in his oeuvre. This influence is explicitly reflected in the title of the first chapter, "Life Begins Anew from Suffering". Vogüé, who was active in the intellectual circles of late 19th-century Russia and had personal acquaintance with Dostoevsky, played a significant role in shaping the early reception of his works among Greek scholars, particularly those educated in the French intellectual tradition. His influence extended into the twentieth century, as exemplified not only by Athanasiadis but also by figures such as Nikos Kazantzakis.

In addition to the chapter titled "Life Begins Anew from Suffering", the book includes other sections: "Among the Humble and the Downtrodden", "An Angel from St. Petersburg", "Farewell with Champagne", "At War with the Steppe", and an epilogue titled "A Fateful Omen". Each chapter has a distinct title and is accompanied by an epigraph from the Russian author's works (with the exception of the epilogue, which is preceded by a phrase from one of Dostoevsky's letters). These epigraphs serve as indicative markers for the central themes that unfold in each narrative section. Throughout these five sections, Athanasiadis meticulously examines Dostoevsky's life, beginning in 1854 after the author's four-year imprisonment in a Siberian penal colony and his subsequent relocation to Semipalatinsk. In the preface, the biographer justifies his focus on this specific phase of Dostoevsky's life by asserting that this period played a formative role in shaping the Russian author's creative identity, particularly through his relationship with his first wife, Maria Dmitrievna – a figure, he argues, who had been significantly overlooked by previous critics.

Athanasiadis combines biographical facts and fictional elements to reconstruct Dostoevsky's life in the town where he was stationed as part of his military service, required by the court-martial that sentenced him. Although the novel draws heavily on verified biographical details, Athanasiadis introduces numerous fictionalized aspects to more vividly portray Dostoevsky's personality,

temperament, intellectual process, and literary output. In the novel, the Russian writer emerges as a solitary and deeply conflicted figure – at times withdrawn and introverted, yet at other times markedly extroverted. The reader witnesses his daily struggles: contending with financial difficulties, teaching French, frequenting churches and monasteries, engaging in conversations with ecclesiastical elders, enduring epileptic seizures, writing, donating books, and displaying contradictory behavior toward individuals of lower social status. Dostoevsky is also portrayed as a complex individual, prone to self-characterizing as peculiar, with an ambiguous yet deeply rooted religious faith. His faith, depicted as a source of hope, is juxtaposed with his belief that suffering and pain are as integral to human life as happiness, emphasizing their existential significance.

Athanasiadis also offers a broad and detailed portrayal of the social landscape of Semipalatinsk, presented through Dostoevsky's relationships with those in his immediate environment and with broader social circles. In addition to Maria Dmitrievna, her son, and her first husband, several other figures from Dostoevsky's life are introduced, such as his close friend, Baron Alexander Egorovich Wrangel. Characters from Dostoevsky's literary works also make appearances, including Makar Alexeyevich. In his depiction of these characters, Athanasiadis incorporates features typical of Dostoevskian literary archetypes. Their behavior and speech mirror those of Dostoevsky's characters, characterized by sensitivity to physical beauty, dreams open to various interpretations, religious discourse, emotional intensity, and moments of weakness – all of which evoke the great psychological and existential themes present in Dostoevsky's works. Athanasiadis thus aims to achieve a dual objective: to faithfully reconstruct the biographical events of Dostoevsky's life while simultaneously adopting a Dostoevskian narrative style, particularly in terms of character development and philosophical inquiry. The biography is infused with subjectivity and mysticism, embedding religious thought within a framework of theological critique of rationalism.

Another distinguishing feature of the text is Athanasiadis' adept recreation of the Russian cultural atmosphere. This is achieved through his strategic use of the Russian language within the Greek text and the inclusion of naïve illustrations that depict scenes from Russian provincial life. Written over approximately eighteen months, from the spring of 1954 to the autumn of 1955 – one century after the time of the events in the novel – this book represents a significant moment in the reception of Dostoevsky in Greece. While its artistic merit may not be its most prominent feature, its importance lies in reflecting the growing interest in Dostoevsky in post-World War II Greece, particularly in terms of translation and fiction writing.

Z. S.

Αμύντα ΠΑΠΑΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, *Ντοστογιέφσκι. Τόμές στο έργο του* [Aminta PAPA-VASILIOU, *Dostoevsky. Incisions to his work*] (Αθήνα: Φέξης, 1965), 123 pp. (second extended edition: *Ντοστογιέφσκι. Το ύφος του ιλίγγου* [*Dostoevsky. The Style of Vertigo*] [Αθήνα: Αρμός, 1990], 141 pp.)

This book consists of 14 short essays: 1. The moral problem, 2. Virtue and courage, 3. The multi-dimensional, 4. The tragedy of personality, 5. “The consciousness, this sickness”, 6. The power of the idea, 7. Reverie and ideal, 8. Eroticism, 9. The metaphysics of disbelief, 10. The justification of malice, 11. The diary, 12. The uniformed time, 13. The style of Dostoevsky, and 14. Dostoevsky and the style of vertigo.

These essays are described by the author as “incisions that the work of Dostoevsky created to the consciousness of the author” (p. 9).¹ This “personal approach” to the work of Dostoevsky produces short contemplative vignettes of an existential strand. Papavasiliou often crystallises to an aphorism what he perceives as the main thrust of the work of Dostoevsky as in the following: “Dostoevsky is a continuous challenge, because it is the incessant renewal of our destiny” (p. 18). It is noteworthy that in this pioneering (and neglected) essay the religious, confessional approach on Dostoevsky, which will prevail 20 years later in the decade of 1980, is absent. What is brought into the fore is Dostoevsky as a seeker and not as an apologist for Christianity.

M. G.

Νίκος ΜΑΚΡΗΣ, *Ντοστογιέφσκι και Μπερνανός* [Nikos MAKRIS, *Dostoevsky and Bernanos*] (Αθήνα: Αιγείο, 1981), 85 pp.

This book is a comparative study of two Christian writers. At the beginning the role of nature in Bernanos and Dostoevsky is examined. Nature in Bernanos is personified and expresses the inner world of the characters of the novels, whereas in Dostoevsky, nature is almost absent, since what prevails is the closed space. However, for both writers nature expresses the Christian cosmology. Equally, there is a sense of mystery in the conception of the person, since in the works of both novelists the flesh is endowed with a metaphysical dimension. Against the passions of the flesh, Bernanos would oppose the virginal feature of the divine which is manifested in an exemplary way in children. The divine in Dostoevsky appears in the kenosis, the folk religiosity and negative theol-

1 Here and elsewhere the translation is the reviewer's own.

ogy. However, both writers express the mystery of the person, the irrational character of passions and the virginal character of virtues. All the virtues point to sainthood and to a mystical knowledge. Hell consists in the inability to love. Contrarily, the presence of sainthood is the most profound expression of things. Since the virginal feature is common in children and in the saints, Makrakis examines the role of children in Dostoevsky and Bernanos. A Christian personalistic reading of the two writers.

M. G.

Μιχάλης ΜΑΚΡΑΚΗΣ, *Ο σοσιαλισμός του Ντοστογιέφσκι και η σοβιετική κριτική. Στα χρόνια του Λένιν, του Στάλιν και του Χρουστσόφ* [Mikhalis K. ΜΑΚΡΑΚΙΣ: *Dostoevsky's Socialism and Soviet Criticism in the Years of Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev*] (Αθήνα: Εστία, 1984), 296 pp.

In this book, the writer examines the position of Soviet criticism from 1917 till 1959. The book is divided into 4 parts:

a) From the October Revolution till the Second World War (1917-1945). In this part he examines the ambivalent stance of Soviet criticism towards Dostoevsky.

On the one hand we have a recognition of his aesthetic merit and on the other, the need to combat his “reactionary” ideas. This ambivalence is manifested explicitly in the position that Gorky adopted towards Dostoevsky. The two poles of the Soviet criticism on Dostoevsky of this period according to Makrakis are the sociological criticism of the school of Pereverzev on the one hand and the stylistic [sic] criticism of Bakhtin on the other. In the 1930's and the years of terror, Dostoevsky was seen as an “enemy of the people”, despite the efforts for compromise by Lunacharsky. Nevertheless, during the Second World War, for nationalistic reasons, an “amnesty” was granted to the Russian Writer. His “humanistic” teaching is opposed to Nietzsche's philosophy of the Superman (taken as the foundation of the ideology of the Third Reich). In addition, his prophecies for the universal mission of the Russian People are taken to strengthen the morale of the country.

b) From the celebration of the 125 years from the birth of Dostoevsky in 1946 till 1956. This is deemed as the darkest period of Dostoevsky's legacy in the Soviet Union. Due to the ideology of Zhdanov the publication of his works was forbidden and there were no books or articles published on him.

c) The third period is between 1956 and 1958. In this period of time, we have

the publication of the first 10 volumes of Dostoevsky's Collected Works. In this edition are included the most "reactionary" texts of Dostoevsky (hitherto censored), while the Soviet criticism on him is less harsh, following Lenin's views on him.

- d) The fourth period is between 1957 and 1959. In the years of Khrushchev we notice a shift from the reaction against Dostoevsky's ideas to the acknowledgment of his artistic merit.

In the preface to the volume, Makrakis announces the publication of a second volume (never to be published) which would consist of four parts: a) the decade of the 60s, mainly the examination of Bakhtin's book; b) the decade of the 70s, with the publication of the 30 volume edition of Dostoevsky Collected works; c) 1981, which marks 100 years since the death of Dostoevsky and the special volume on him of *Sovetskaya literatura*; the final chapter would recapitulate the Soviet criticism on Dostoevsky and its comparison with the "Russian" (of émigré writers?) and international criticism respectively.

In order to evaluate Makrakis's book on the reception of Dostoevsky in the Soviet Union till 1959 we should see to what extent the author relies on or diverges from the two books by Vladimir Seduro that preceded his own: a) *Dostoevsky and Russian Literary Criticism. 1846-1956* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957) and b) *Dostoevski's Image in Russia Today* (Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishers, 1975). But this exceeds the limits of this short presentation.

M. G.

Μιχάλης ΜΑΚΡΑΚΗΣ, *Ο Ντοστογιέφσκι και η επανάσταση των νέων* [Mikhailis K. MAKRAKIS, *Dostoevsky and the Revolution of the Young People*] (Αθήνα: Imago, 1984), 146 pp.

This book is a translated memoir of the young student of the Theology Academy of Petersburg, Aleksey A. Zelenetsky, about his visit with the late Dostoevsky. Zelenetsky is a confirmed atheist till this visit, but he is transformed to a believer after the short discussion with Dostoevsky that he records. Makrakis offers a long comment on the talk, touching on topics like the influence of Dostoevsky on young people, Dostoevsky's advice to Zelenetsky in relation to *The Brothers Karamazov*, social revolution compared to a religious one, Dostoevsky contra Tolstoy, and the Russian Christ. A book of confessional theology.

M. G.

Μιχάλης ΜΑΚΡΑΚΗΣ, *Η λυτρωτική δύναμη του πόνου στην ζωή και το έργο του Φιόντορ Ντοστογιέφσκι* [Mikhailis K. MAKRAKIS, *The Redemptive Power of Suffering in the Life and Works of Fyodor Dostoevsky. In special reference to his last work The Brothers Karamazov*] (Αθήνα: Αποστολική Διακονία, 1984), 334 pp.

This book is a PhD dissertation that was submitted in the Theology School of Athens for the position of assistant professor. Makrakis contrasts the idea of redemption in Tolstoy with that of Dostoevsky. As Makrakis writes in the English summary of the book: “Whereas for Tolstoy the search for redemption is seen as an attempt at liberating oneself from death [...] for Dostoevsky the search for redemption is not an attempt at liberation from suffering but an attempt at liberation through suffering, which may be the result not only of physical but also of moral evil”. Since for Makrakis the redemptive power of suffering always works in relation to one’s own life, the introductory chapter is purely biographical. It is based upon Dostoevsky’s recollections from his incarceration in the prisons of Siberia. The second chapter discusses Dostoevsky’s philosophical view of suffering and its relation to evil and freedom. In the third chapter, the Augustinian distinction between freedom as choice and freedom as adherence to the good is employed in order for a shift to be made from philosophical freedom to religious redemption. In the fourth chapter, *Notes from the Underground* is discussed, which contains Dostoevsky’s basic philosophy on “suffering as a unique case of conscience”. In the fifth chapter, which is devoted to *The Brothers Karamazov*, the religious significance of suffering is examined, namely the idea of joy as it springs from suffering. In the sixth chapter, the religious and theological significance of suffering in *The Brothers Karamazov* are compared with similar ideas of Kierkegaard, Santayana, Strindberg and Faulkner. The concluding chapter compares Dostoevsky’s ideas of suffering with other authors.

Let us add that the three books on Dostoevsky written by Makrakis represent a typical approach to Dostoevsky by the theologians in Greece. Dostoevsky serves his confessional purposes. The tension and multi-layer character of his novels are diminished, for the sake of a Dostoevsky who is reduced to an apologist for Christianity and specifically for Orthodoxy. Neither is Dostoevsky’s idiosyncratic version of Christianity discussed. To conclude, besides a glorification of Orthodoxy, the Greek theologians like Makrakis failed to engage creatively or be influenced by Dostoevsky as was the case with other theologians of the other denomination of Christianity like the Protestant Karl Barth and the Catholic Hans Urs von Balthasar to name two seminal ones, for whom their contact with Dostoevsky was a watershed for their work.

M. G.

Μήτσος ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ο μεγάλος αμαρτωλός. Ο Ντοστογιέφσκι και τα ιερά του τέρατα. Μυθιστορηματική βιογραφία* [Mitsos ALEXANDROPOULOS, *The Great Sinner. Dostoevsky and His Sacred Monsters. A Fictional Biography*] (Αθήνα: Κέδρος, 1984), 489 pp.

The Great Sinner: Dostoevsky and His Sacred Monsters is the third book in M. Alexandropoulos' series, which explores the biographical elements of key Russian literary figures through a fictionalized lens. Following his previous works on Maxim Gorky (*Bread and the Book*, 1980) and Anton Chekhov (*More Freedom*, 1981), this book continues Alexandropoulos' mission to deepen the exploration of Greek-Russian literary relations.

Alexandropoulos has emerged as a key mediator of Russian literature in Greece during the latter half of the 20th century. His trilogy exemplifies his years of dedication to bridging the cultural and literary lives of Russia and Greece. Noting a gap in the Greek-language bibliography on Russian literature, Alexandropoulos remarked in 1977 that there was "no clear understanding of what has been written or translated into our language" (*Russian Literature*, Athens: Kedros, 1977). This realization inspired his extensive research on figures like Gorky, Chekhov, and now, Dostoevsky.

In *The Great Sinner: Dostoevsky and His Sacred Monsters*, Alexandropoulos focuses on eight key moments in Dostoevsky's life, dedicating a chapter to each. The title, inspired by Dostoevsky's unfinished novel, sets the tone for an intimate exploration of the writer's struggles – ranging from madness and money to his personal relationships, health issues, and his complex relationship with death. These themes are not only biographical but often veer into creative territory, as Alexandropoulos incorporates fictional elements into his portrayal of Dostoevsky's inner world.

The book occupies a unique space between genres, functioning neither as a novel nor as a conventional biography, but rather as a "fictional biography". Alexandropoulos constructs his narrative on well-documented historical facts, but also takes artistic liberties, particularly when exploring Dostoevsky's thoughts and monologues. While crafting a humanized portrayal of the Russian writer, he primarily relies on the correspondence with his family and social circle.

In *The Great Sinner: Dostoevsky and His Sacred Monsters*, the utilization of correspondence occurs on three levels. First, the letters serve as the most reliable source of information for Alexandropoulos. Second, excerpts from letters or entire letters are employed as part of the argumentation in the attempt to outline Dostoevsky's personality. Third, a portion of this correspondence is included as an appendix to the book. Specifically, 66 letters from Dostoevsky

and six from his second wife have been translated to provide readers with direct access to the material that underpins the fictional biography. The emphasis placed on correspondence relates to its nature as a resource conducive to understanding the Russian author as a person. It constitutes an authentic material that preserves the genuine expression of Dostoevsky's personality, imbued with lyricism, sarcasm, humility, aggression, despair, and lamentation.

As for the abovementioned creative additions in the book, they are subtle and primarily related to the author's attempt to revive the human side of the Russian writer. The biographer's fictional instincts are activated in those moments where he seeks to reveal Dostoevsky's character in a more personal light. According to Alexandropoulos' words, his goal was to present him in his own way – not as a philosopher, political thinker, or even a novelist per se, but as a complex human being. Although Dostoevsky might seem strange, paradoxical, or even impossible to us today, Alexandropoulos argues that he was perhaps “the most human of the great literary figures”.

He describes him as clumsy, suspicious, demanding, and impatient. In his depiction of the young Dostoevsky, he emphasizes the Russian author's unusual appearance, which was accompanied by a profound and intense inner world. Alexandropoulos also highlights the writer's struggles with his nerves, frequent boredom, epilepsy, and recurring headaches. He stresses that Dostoevsky's character was full of highs and lows, and in his inner world, he identifies the presence of a “divided man”. Despite these hardships, Alexandropoulos notes that Dostoevsky's boredom and physical and mental numbness had a strange element of action, as if they encourage his creativity.

Furthermore, he explores Dostoevsky's fears, obsessions, rivalries, friendships, and loves, painting a picture of a man who was both honest and brave in the courtroom, but also envious of certain fellow writers. One of biographer's goals was to give readers some typical examples of Dostoevsky's behavior. In particular, he sheds light on how Dostoevsky lived his life – the struggles of his work, and the personal and professional challenges of his time. He is especially interested in the human, professional, and social aspects of Dostoevsky's everyday problems, which, he suggests, carry such intensity and interest that they alone could form the basis of a first-rate novel.

In his effort to describe Dostoevsky's personality, the author of the fictional biography avoids focusing on his philosophical or political ideas. He does not analyze Dostoevsky's works in depth but provides valuable comments on the formation of his literary personality and the conditions in which he worked, such as his struggle to get his already completed books published and his attempts to pre-sell books that existed only as ideas. The author also examines

Dostoevsky's creative intentions and the significance his works held in his life, notably describing *The House of the Dead* as a "bridge between Siberia and Russia". Additionally, Alexandropoulos occasionally explores Dostoevsky's writing method, noting, for instance, that writing actually was an interruption of his inner work – a process of articulating thoughts and ideas still in the process of unfolding, not yet fully formed.

Furthermore, despite not critically engaging with Dostoevsky's political ideas, Alexandropoulos follows their genesis or, better put, their transformation. He underlines that, starting in Semipalatinsk, Dostoevsky began formulating a patriotic belief that he would develop further in his articles. He observes significant changes in Dostoevsky's views on religion, the people, Russia, and Orthodoxy. Alexandropoulos points out that the patriotic line of Dostoevsky's thought would eventually become highly developed and critically influence his entire spiritual and political activity. He asserts that Dostoevsky's monarchist views went further than even some staunch monarchists of his time. As a leftist intellectual, he also highlights the tension between Dostoevsky and the other Russian intelligentsia – the democratic and liberal factions, as well as the European émigrés. He informs Greek readers that Dostoevsky was under secret surveillance until his final years, thus casting doubt on the sincerity of his patriotic beliefs.

In conclusion, *The Great Sinner: Dostoevsky and His Sacred Monsters* succeeds in offering a refined, humanized portrait of one of literature's most contradictory figures. Its author skillfully combines facts with fiction, creating a work that encourages readers to see the Russian writer not merely as a monumental literary figure, a contradictory political thinker, or an inspiring philosopher, but as a human individual. Alexandropoulos' portrayal is both factually based and imaginative, filling gaps left by traditional biographies and bringing to light aspects of Dostoevsky's life that have been overlooked by previous scholarship.

Z. S.

Κωστής ΠΑΠΑΓΙΩΡΓΗΣ, *Ντοστογιέφσκι* [Kostis PAPAGIORGIS, *Dostoevsky*] (Αθήνα: Καστανιώτης, 1990), 385 pp.

Kostis Papagiorgis (1947-2014) has a unique place in Modern Greek Letters. He was self-taught (he did not have a single university diploma), and he became the most well-read writer of his generation. His readings spread across many disciplines and genres including philosophy, novels and history. His erudition gave him the ammunition to become the most prolific and probably

the best essay writer of Greece after 1974. He emerged on the scene with monographs on philosophy (Plato, Heidegger, the Bible). In the decade of the 1980's he abandoned philosophy in order to turn his attention to the human vices. He wrote monographs which built a corpus of what could be called a morbid philosophical anthropology (the resentful, the alcoholic, the envious, the violent, the flatterer, the sycophant, the bully etc.) These essays consisted of "an anthropology of the negative" as Dimitris Karabelas labeled them. The novel seen as a rich reservoir of the human condition would be his main source rather than the abstract ideas of philosophy.

Through these lenses he turned his attention to Dostoevsky with the book under examination, published in 1990. It is, then, totally understandable that also in this book on Dostoevsky, he burned his bridges with any theological or philosophical approach to the Russian writer. Although in this book on Dostoevsky, he links Dostoevsky's work with the broader question of Russianness, he distances himself from any historical or sociological approach. What interests him is predominantly the novelistic world. It is taken as an autonomous domain whose merit cannot be traced outside of it. As he would say in one interview: "If we read the 'what' through the 'how' [...] there remains an oeuvre that was born as if due to a miracle and which discards any context" (cited in: Dimitris KARABELAS, "Kostis Papagiorgis and the Antinomies of the Spiritual"²). Papagiorgis would also assert: "The writer can be religious but does not owe to religion his literature" (*ibid.*). These statements can be understood as programmatic statements against any ideological (philosophical or theological) approaches to Dostoevsky, such as the following: "If the great novels could be interpreted based on their ideas, as the works of the theoretician, then for what reason the novel?" (p. 12) Or "The creator [Dostoevsky] succeeded not to defeat – this would be catastrophic – but rather to seize and finally to make his own, the 'believer' and 'ideologue' Dostoevsky. Because his books did not become classic as a vindication of some ideas, but as renowned vindications of themselves only" (pp. 238-239). He would even speak scornfully about "the scaffold of ideology and theological interpretation" (p. 14).

It is true that Papagiorgis focused on the novelty of Dostoevsky's works, that is to say the creative process rather than the abstract ideology. For example, he devoted many pages on the decisive switch from first-person narration to the third in *Crime and Punishment*, that leant an aura of omniscience to the

2 Δημήτρης ΚΑΡΑΜΠΕΛΑΣ, "Ο Κωστής Παπαγιώργης και οι αντινομίες του πνευματικού", *Νέα Εστία*, τχ. 180/1872, Μάρτιος 2017, σ. 53.

author. But, since his universe was the human vices, he would reduce Dostoevsky's creative impulse to morbidity, a sine qua non not only for Dostoevsky but also for his reception from his readers. More precisely, morbidity is reduced to only one vice: Resentment. The recurring mantra of Papagiorgis's reading is the humiliation that Dostoevsky underwent in his youth in the circle of Belinsky. According to this reading, resentment became the sole creative factor and also the most important interpretative tool in order to approach Dostoevsky's novels. Speaking about Dostoevsky's rift with the Belinsky circle, Papagiorgis would assert: "[This incident] became a permanent nidus of infection in his life – because he never overcame it – but it deeply influenced his life. Resentment and the syndrome of 'literary retaliation' that tormented him in all his life, were born that period" (p. 137). In an interview characteristically he said: "Every great literary work knows that it explicitly or tacitly makes agreements with the kingdom of the devil"³

It is true that this line of interpretation works in the early novels of Dostoevsky that form the second part of the book (*The Double, Notes from the House of Dead, Notes from the Underground*). (The first part consists of an inspired sketch of Russia and the question of Russianness that was posed de facto from the time of Peter the Great and thereafter, and in Russian letters with the case of Gogol). Papagiorgis's philosophical underpinnings will enable him to dedicate inspired and exquisite pages on these three novels, which are approached through the lenses of inter-subjectivity. (One has the feeling that what is lying beneath is "the Look" from Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*). Interestingly, he distances himself from Girard. But as he proceeds with his reading in the third part of the book which is dedicated to later novels of Dostoevsky (*Crime and Punishment, The Idiot, Demons, The Adolescent, The Brothers Karamazov*), one has the feeling that this line of interpretation is exhausted and also reductive, that it cannot address the broader issues that are posed in these novels. (It is indicative that the chapter on *The Idiot* is – in my view – the weakest).

Papagiorgis was probably the most important (and prolific) essay writer of Greece after 1974. This was due to his unparalleled erudition across many disciplines, and also to the unique style that he mastered. Both erudition and style enable him to capture the essential in a short succinct phrase: "The phrase out-balances the meaning", he would assert in one interview (cited in KARABELAS, p. 41). Nevertheless, this almost – one could say – fetishism with the phrase is what enables him to crystallise in an aphorism the crux of the matter. In addition, his equally personal style that he cultivated, his idiom that borrows freely

3 Cited in ΚΑΡΑΜΠΕΛΑΣ, σ. 51.

from all the multi-layers of Greek language (formal, informal, archaic, vulgar, slang, usage of proverbs, sayings, metaphors or even the language of sports), made possible renderings of the following – see on *Demons*: “In the small provincial circle, the event have a bigger impact like a gun-shot in a small room” (p. 302). Or “Myshkin’s figure is like a white thread in a black weft” (p. 239).

Notwithstanding any objections that I expressed, it is Papagiorgis’s erudition and exquisite style that grants to this book on Dostoevsky (as most of his books) bravado and makes it a pleasure to read.

A well-informed, idiosyncratic, succinct, captivating and beautifully written book on Dostoevsky.

M. G.

Μήτσος ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Δαίμονες και Δαιμονισμένοι. Επιστροφές στον Ντοστογιέφσκι* [Mitsos ALEXANDROPOULOS, *Demons and Possessed. Returns to Dostoevsky*] (Αθήνα: Δελφίνι, 1992), 180 pp.

Alexandropoulos’s personal reading of *Demons* cannot be read independently of the author’s life as it is interwoven with it. Alexandropoulos (1924-2008) was part of the Resistance movement during the period of the Nazi occupation of Greece (1941-1944). He followed the trajectory of most of the young people that joined the resistance: partisan in the Greek Civil War, member of the Greek Communist Party, political exile in the USSR till 1975 when democracy was restored in Greece, and he was granted a permit to return to his homeland.

Alexandropoulos studied Russian literature in Moscow. He was the one that introduced Russian literature to Greece with monographs on Chekhov, Gorky, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky (his monograph on Dostoevsky *The Great Sinner* is here reviewed by Zorka Šljivančanin), Mayakovsky, Mandelstam as well as an authoritative three-volume *History of Russian Literature*. With these books and also his classic translations of seminal works of Russian literature, Alexandropoulos basically brought Russian literature to the fore in Greece (he was awarded the Pushkin medal for his contribution on the study of Russian literature).

The “adventure of Communism”, as he called it, in his life and readings, took the form of a life-long engagement with Russian culture, “the spiritual history of these People” (p. 6). What started as a partisan engagement with Communism continued as a delving into Russian culture. It is noteworthy that he chose *Demons* (usually deemed as an “ultra-conservative novel”) in order to pose the question of what was – at the bottom line – Communism just a few

years after its Fall (1992). He takes *Demons* not as an anti-nihilist novel but rather as a dystopian one. Interestingly he compares *Demons* to Zamyatin's *We*.

Alexandropoulos would not hide his lineaments: He says that his work "dovetails with my stance towards socialism, even towards this particular system that I did not want to be destroyed but also I did not want to remain the same" (p. 7).

Alexandropoulos uses *Demons* as a yardstick not only for the Russian radicals but also for their heritage – the regime that followed Tsarist Russia. What is valuable in this novel is not only its criticism or even libel but also prophecy: "Dostoevsky was vindicated in all his predictions, despite his exaggerations – or rather thanks to them" (p. 22). "[Dostoevsky] fought socialism as an uncompromising heretic of tomorrow" (p. 22). "As he described [socialism] in that way it became" (p. 5). "The truth is that Socialism passed from all the crossings that Dostoevsky [had foreseen and it was as if] he ambushed and waited for [Socialism to fall into his traps]" (p. 104).

In addition, important adages are included in this essay. For example, when speaking about the way in which the idea unfolds in Dostoevsky, he links the idea with the precise man who incarnates it. The idea is always "an incarnated feeling" (p. 39) interwoven with the novelistic story. Or when, contra to Bakhtin and prefiguring research on Dostoevsky that followed the publication of Alexandropoulos' work in 1992, he argues about the importance of what he deems as "backstage", that is, the link with what is told on the scene. Backstage is what Dostoevsky in an authoritative way (quasi-monological to use Bakhtin's terminology) has created, that determines for the reader the reception of what is said in the scene (the voice). Or, when he stresses the role of the comic in Dostoevsky, like in the following aphorism: "The ridicule in Dostoevsky is one of the most important vicissitudes of the idea inside the human, or of man from the idea" (p. 109). Or "Nothing strikes with such an annihilating force, as the power of laughter" (p. 104).

There is a deeply humane strand in Alexandropoulos's thoughts and writing. For example he speaks about the possession of ideas in *Demons* and labels it as "men from paper, men from a book" (p. 85). The incarnated idea is not only a recurrent theme in this essay. It is moreover what prevents us from taking the ideas *in abstracto*, as it is taken in abstract dialogue: "There do not exist absolute ideas. There is only what comes into the fore from the crossing of the idea with a singular man" (p. 90).

A deeply humane essay, from the hands of the most authoritative scholar of Russian literature in Greece. A product of life-long reading of Dostoevsky and personal engagement with his ideas. It manifests intellectual honesty, a gained

wisdom attained from a life-long devotion to the cause that vehemently supported Dostoevsky's enemies, like Alexandropoulos himself and that Dostoevsky lambasts in this novel. An apologia written in the aftermath of the Fall.

M. G.

Γιάγκος ΑΝΔΡΕΑΔΗΣ, *Ο Ηλίθιος του Ντοστογιέφσκι και το μηδέν της γραφής* [Giangos ANDREADIS, *Dostoevsky's The Idiot and the Zero of Writing*] (Αθήνα: Πλέθρον, 1994), 141 pp.

Having as a point of departure Dostoevsky's *The Idiot*, the writer examines the enigma of writing. *The Idiot* – which Dostoevsky considered once as his highest achievement and once as a failure – is taken as a testimony to the mystery of writing. For Andreadis, this novel is primarily a narrative on the art of narration. “*The Idiot* is a ruined masterpiece, its ruptures reveal the essence of writing in its totality: from the Gospels to Cervantes, Pushkin and Balzac. Its gaps disclose horizons that exceed its monumental form” (from the back cover). The subject-matter of this novel is nothing else than the act of writing: “The answer to the enigma of writing is something more than that which we call reading. It is the opening to danger, to ridicule, to embarrassment and – why not – to idiocy. In what we call – a little bit with optimism – creation” (from the back cover). Andreadis jettisons the analytic tools and arguments per se in order to delve into this novel, to invoke the impression that it created on him when he read it as an adolescent. But in this apparently impressionistic essay they are found precious germs, rarely developed but rather taking the form of a succinct aphorism. A post-modern essay on a liminal novel.

M. G.

Γιάννης ΠΑΝΟΥΣΗΣ, *Ο Εγκληματίας στο έργο του Ντοστογιέφσκι. Υπο-χρόνιος ή υπέρ-ανδρωπος?* [Giannis PANOUSIS, *The Criminal in the Work of Dostoevsky. Underground Man or Superman?*] (Αθήνα: Νομική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2012), 289 pp.

The author, Professor of Criminology in the University of Athens, in this book examines the role of the criminal in the works of Dostoevsky. The main focus is on Raskolnikov and Ivan Karamazov. Panousis describes the many facets of the criminal in Dostoevsky (underground criminal, tragic criminal, irrational criminal, existential criminal, superman criminal). Then he examines the criminal as he is defined by the science of criminology. After that, the criminal in Dostoev-

sky's works is analysed through the lenses of criminology. A systematic study, a contribution on Dostoevsky and criminology which does not downplay the philosophical, theological and psychological dimensions that the criminal is bestowed in the works of Dostoevsky.

M. G.

Ελένη ΛΑΔΙΑ, *Δοκίμια για τον Ντοστογιέφσκι* [Eleni LADIA, *Essays on Dostoevsky*] (Αθήνα: Αρμός, 2020), 232 pp.

Eleni Ladia is widely regarded as one of the most prominent female literary figures in contemporary Greece. Throughout her prolific career, she has produced a significant body of work that includes novels, short story collections, poetry, travelogues, and essays, many of which have earned her numerous awards. Beyond her contributions to literature, Ladia has conducted research in Classical Greek studies and has also made notable achievements as a translator, with five translated works to her credit, including *Notes from the Underground*.

Her recent essay collection, which spans nearly five decades, from 1972 to 2020, is a comprehensive assemblage of twenty-two essays, arranged chronologically by their original date of publication. Some of these essays had previously appeared in anthologies or literary journals, while others served as afterwords in her translations. Notably, a few of these essays are being made public for the first time in this collection.

The opening essay, “Ordynov in *The Landlady*”, written during her youth, offers insight into the defining features of Ladia’s critical approach to Dostoevsky’s work. In this piece, she focuses on character analysis, with particular attention to the emotional and psychological complexity of both primary and secondary figures. The essay explores the dynamics between two key characters, Ordynov and Katerina. Ordynov, a dreamer consumed by bitterness, is marked by indecision and passivity, while Katerina is depicted as struggling with conflicting emotions, torn between romantic love and psychological dependence. Ladia’s application of Jungian theory to interpret the character of Murin adds an interdisciplinary dimension to the essay, enriching the analysis with psychological depth.

Stylistically, Ladia’s language is highly evocative, blending literary creativity with analytical rigor. This stylistic approach, particularly evident in her early work, allows her essays to engage in a creative dialogue with Dostoevsky’s texts, transcending traditional critical frameworks. However, this literary-infused essayistic style is less prominent in her later works, except for the concluding essay in the volume, where this approach resurfaces.

The second essay of the volume, written in the same year (1972), shifts toward comparative literature, drawing parallels between Ivan Karamazov and Josef K. Here, Ladia explores the concept of “pre-existential guilt” as a key point of convergence between Dostoevsky and Kafka, arguing that both authors accept an a priori notion of guilt and original sin. This thematic exploration is supplemented by references to philosophical authorities such as Kierkegaard and Jean Wahl, which Ladia uses to elucidate the nature of guilt and its implications for both characters. Despite identifying these similarities, she also highlights significant differences: Ivan is portrayed as a tragic intellectual figure detached from practicality, while Josef K. is weighed down by the mundane struggles of a meaningless existence. The theme of love serves as another crucial point of divergence between the two.

Ladia’s re-engagement with Dostoevsky after a thirty-year hiatus, likely prompted by her translation of *Notes from the Underground* (Athens: Armos, 2003), reveals the evolution of her critical perspective. The essay “Long Live the Underground! To Hell with the Underground!” – originally written as an afterword to her translation – demonstrates her deepening analysis of Dostoevsky’s characterology. In this essay, she uses the inversion of the Delphic maxim “know thyself” (γνώθι σαυτόν) as a framework to analyze the underground man, who initially embraces but ultimately rejects this ancient Greek principle. Moreover, she emphasizes the underground man’s opposition to concepts like wholeness and rationalism, highlighting his intellectual malice, masochism, self-sarcasm, and jealousy toward the rational “positive man”. Ladia’s analysis also underscores the underground man’s tendency toward self-doubt, self-analysis, and self-rejection, portraying him not as a static theoretical figure, but as an embodiment of a restless, evolving spirit.

This integration of ancient Greek thought into Ladia’s interpretation of Dostoevsky extends beyond this essay to several others in the collection, including “The One, the Whole, and the Law of the Stronger (Callicles and Ras-kolnikov)”, “Greece and Dostoevsky”, and “The Problem of the Fourth Brother in *The Brothers Karamazov*”. Her interpretative approach can be organized around two central axes. The first axis involves the tension between the individual and the whole, explored through the ethical dichotomy of master-slave morality, and linked to the Platonic figure of Callicles, Socrates’ opponent in the dialogue *Gorgias*. Callicles’ theory distinguishes between law and nature, advocating for the supremacy of natural strength, while asserting that laws are created by the weak masses. Ladia applies this framework in her analysis of Ras-kolnikov’s character, as well as in her exploration of the philosophical intersections between Nietzsche and Dostoevsky.

The second axis of Ladia's interpretative approach concerns the notion of the "Euclidean mind", which Dostoevsky critically interrogates across a range of his works, especially in *Notes from the Underground*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, and *Demons*. Of particular note is Ladia's analysis of Kirillov, whom she situates within the tradition of ancient Greek hubristic figures such as Odysseus, Sisyphus, and Niobe. Kirillov is represented as a modern embodiment of hubris, transgressing the limits imposed by rational, Euclidean thought. Ladia posits that the psychology of hubris involves arrogance, pride, and the violation of established boundaries.

The author's attempt to align Dostoevsky's characters with ancient Greek traditions is also evident in the second part of her essay *Greece and Dostoevsky*, published in 2012. In this piece, she offers a critical examination of Dostoevsky's ideology, focusing on his views regarding Russia's claim to Constantinople following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Drawing from *A Writer's Diary*, Ladia critiques Dostoevsky's assertion that Russia should inherit Byzantium's legacy, positioning herself in opposition to his Pan-Slavist stance.

However, the essayist's engagement with Dostoevsky's ideology is somewhat problematic, likely due to her limited access to *A Writer's Diary*, the texts of which were translated into Greek only years after the publication of her essay. Specifically, she focuses on two articles from the journal, despite the fact that Dostoevsky, through fifteen articles, offers a detailed analysis of the Eastern Question, providing a comprehensive overview of the political landscape of his time and the intentions of the major powers regarding Constantinople.

The author's limited access to key texts may account for her oversight of Dostoevsky's more nuanced views, particularly his affiliation with "pochvennichestvo", a movement that distanced him from the core of Pan-Slavism. Moreover, Ladia's essay forms part of a broader intellectual tradition in Greece that has engaged with Dostoevsky's ideology since 1877, when the first reference to the Russian writer appeared in the Greek newspaper *Efimeris* (May 3, 1877). Within this tradition, Dostoevsky's political ideas have often been perceived as antagonistic to Greek national interests, particularly the long-standing vision of reclaiming Constantinople.

In conclusion, Eleni Ladia's critical engagement with Dostoevsky's work is marked by a deep, evolving analysis that draws on both classical Greek thought and comparative literature. Her early focus on character analysis has developed into a broader interdisciplinary approach that integrates philosophy, psychology, and ancient Greek ethical frameworks. Ladia's ability to merge creative and analytical styles has made her a distinctive voice in Dostoevsky scholarship, particularly within the Greek intellectual tradition.

Z. S.

Κώστας ΔΕΣΠΙΝΙΑΔΗΣ, *Δαιμονισμένοι και μηδενιστές. Ο πολιτικός Ντοστογιέφσκι* [Kostas DESPINIADIS, *Possessed and Nihilists. The Political Dostoevsky*] (Αθήνα: Πανοπτικόν, 2023), 158 pp.

The merit of this book is that it is published by the editor of a publishing house that expresses the culture of anarchism. Having as a point of departure *Demons*, Despiniadis tries to examine the political ideas of Dostoevsky. He knows sufficiently the realia of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia and identifies (somehow in a simplistic and questionable way) the characters of the novels with actual members of the intelligentsia (Pyotr Stepanovich Verkhovensky with Nechaev, Stavrogin with Bakunin etc.). Moreover, he pays attention to the revolutionary past of the young Dostoevsky and stresses the way in which censorship might have influenced the writing of the novel. This will legitimize him to assert that although the mature Dostoevsky (as it appears in *Demons*) has significantly departed from the socialism of his youth, something from this partisan period is reflected in this novel. And although somebody might have some objections with parts of his perspective (for example regarding whether this novel can be interpreted in a Bakhtinian reading, as Despiniadis proposes), what is valuable is that Despiniadis treats *Demons* not as an ultra-conservative novel but rather one that manifests that Dostoevsky takes his opponents (the “nihilists”) seriously and is interested in discussing their ideas. An essay on Dostoevsky from an anarchist who extracts himself from the prevailing Greek Christian confessional reading.

M. G.

Γιώργος ΚΥΘΡΑΙΩΤΗΣ, *Ο ανοικτός κόσμος του Ντοστογιέφσκι* [Giorgos KITHREOTIS, *The Open World of Dostoevsky*] (Αθήνα: Αρμός, 2023), 253 pp.

This monograph proceeds from the claim that the West has misunderstood Dostoevsky. The introduction and first chapter (“The Reception”) consist, accordingly, of citations evincing the difficulty of interpreting Dostoevsky in the West. In response to the chapter’s tendentious character – an example of the anti-Western current in modern Greek theology – one could object that the author’s sources, for the most part, go up only to 1950s. Sources from after this date are few and highly selective.

The root of the misunderstanding and distortion of Dostoevsky, according to the author, lies in a lack of engagement with distinctive formal aspects of Dostoevsky’s works that stand in sharp opposition to the aesthetics of the re-

alistic novel of the West. The second chapter (“Persons”), in seeking to redress this misunderstanding, deals with the philosophical anthropology informing Dostoevsky’s characters. The author stresses the notion of absolute freedom and a conception of personality that is open to the “other”, in contrast to (Western) individualism. Bakhtin, of course, underpins this reading (and is cited extensively). With the emphasis on Orthodox theology, however, one notices the absence of any mention of the influential work of the Orthodox theologian John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1997).

The third chapter (“Time”) examines the depiction of time in Dostoevsky’s work. What is stressed is the open character of the Dostoevskian plot (again in sharp distinction to the deterministic character of Western novels), that guarantees the characters’ freedom. Instead of a closed plot, we have choice. The underpinning of this chapter is Gary Saul Morson’s book *Narrative and Freedom: The Shadows of Time* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1994), which is cited extensively. The fourth chapter (“Image”) approaches Holbein’s painting in *The Idiot* as a quintessential anti-icon. The ekphrasis of this anti-icon points *via negativa* to what is missing: a depiction of Christ in the way of Byzantine icons. In the beautifully written fifth chapter (“Space”), the author focuses on the depiction of space in *The Gambler*, showing that space is defined as a way rather than a locus.

The book is well informed and employs a non-Greek bibliography (English and French), which is a rarity in Greek books on Dostoevsky. And here is the irony: if an anti-Western current permeates this book, its merit also lies in its creative usage of a Western bibliography that is totally unknown to Greek readers. A significant contribution to the Greek bibliography on Dostoevsky.

M. G.

Αντρέας ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Η πολιτική της αντιπροσώπευσης. Ντοστογιέφσκι, Παπαδιαμάντης, Κόντογλου* [Andreas PANTAZOPOULOS, *The Politics of Representation. Dostoevsky, Papadiamantis, Kontoglou*] (Αθήνα: Αρμός, 2024), 190 pp.

In the preface, the writer, an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Salonica, states that the scope of his investigation is to trace, amidst the crisis of political trust and political representation of Western Democracies, the pre-conditions of another more authentic and representative politics. In his “critical representation” of the political thought of these three Orthodox writers, he examines “the more political” of their works, as a

way out from the crisis of democracy and liberalism. Taking for granted that “Orthodoxy cannot, neither wants and also must not have any relation with politics” (p. 11), the author seeks in these three Orthodox authors the contours of politics differentiated from the Western Catholic and Protestant paradigm. This engagement is offered for fruitful discussion against the “general recent tendency of a post-modern communal renovation of Orthodoxy” (p. 11) – a hint probably to the influential work of the Greek theologian John (Ioannis) Zizioulas, which is taken outside Greece mostly for granted, as the standard manifestation of Orthodoxy nowadays.

The 40 pages that comprise the essay on Dostoevsky (pp. 13-53) are entitled “The Political Spirit of Dostoevsky. A Sketch for Further Thought”. Dostoevsky’s works that are used by the author are *The Diary of a Writer*, *The Brothers Karamazov* and to a lesser extent *Demons*. In the first of seven brief sections Ivan’s poem on the Grand Inquisitor from *The Brothers Karamazov* is examined as an exposition of Dostoevsky’s political theology. The spectre of Carl Schmitt is visible here and in sections that follow. But Pantazopoulos, besides posing Dostoevsky as a possible forerunner and interlocutor of Carl Schmitt, draws sharp contrasts between the two. Contrary to Carl Schmitt’s vision of the Church as the quintessential institution which has the power to represent and is able to reconcile opposites, in the “Grand Inquisitor” we have precisely an absolute rejection of the secularism of the Church. Pantazopoulos offers a forceful condemnation of the Church seen as an institution and its concomitant legal aspect, since these features of Occidental Catholicism historicizes the eschatological promise. However, trying to counter-propose a positive image of the Church, a “de-politicized” Church, Pantazopoulos discerns the vague, mystical, spiritualistic character of the Church envisioned by Dostoevsky, concluding that paradoxically there is a humanistic flavour in Dostoevsky’s catechism pointing to a limited “Western” humanistic influence of the author. Here Pantazopoulos – rightfully – cites the almost unknown in Greece Konstantin Leontiev. The second section on identity examines the relationship between the people, the nation and God. Referring to the views of Shatov in *Demons*, Pantazopoulos deems them as a form of essentialism against an abstract Universalism. In the third section, which bears the title “The religion makes the nation”, the writer examines Shatov’s conception of the need for a single God that underpins every particular nation. Pantazopoulos deems this stance as “a theologically inspired pre-political identification of the people with the nation taken as the precondition of the political” (p. 31). For Pantazopoulos what is offered by Dostoevsky as a theological and messianic foundation of the national imaginary is but a bunch of

“mystical ideas”. Interestingly, Dostoevsky’s and Schmitt’s particularism seem to converge.

Without a doubt Pantazopoulos engages in a fruitful dialogue with Dostoevsky. His text succeeds in offering “a sketch for further thought”, which is the subtitle of the chapter on Dostoevsky. He posits Dostoevsky squarely in the theological political discussion that blossoms nowadays in the West. He takes Dostoevsky mostly as a potential interlocutor of Carl Schmitt and secondarily of Leo Strauss (the primary and secondary bibliography on them is taken from French). The brief size of this chapter (merely 40 pages of small size) obliges the author to offer short but important comments, which are precious germs for a further discussion. The most important is that this short chapter is one of the very few that exist in Greek (the other – in my view – is the work of Mitsos Alexandropoulos) that manifest the author’s thoughtful engagement with the work of Dostoevsky, that provokes a thoughtful discussion with him, instead of eliminating him to a confessional exponent of Orthodoxy or relying on a limited foreign bibliography taken, most of the time, uncritically.

M. G.

Journals’ issues dedicated to Dostoevsky

- ▶ *Διαβάζω [Diavazo]*, vol. 103, 1984
- ▶ *Σύναξη [Sinaxi]*, vol. 160, 2021
- ▶ *Στέπα [Stepa]*, vol. 18a & 18b, 2021
- ▶ *Πειραιϊκή Εκκλησία, [Piraiiki Ekklisia]*, vol. 224, 2024.

Books with Collections of Articles on Dostoevsky.

- ▶ *Ντοστογιέφσκι, Εκατό Χρόνια από τον θάνατό του [Dostoevsky. One hundred Years from his Death]*, (Αθήνα: Ευθύνη, 1981).
- ▶ Μιχάλης ΜΑΚΡΑΚΗΣ (Εκδ.), *Σπουδή στον Ντοστογιέφσκι [Mikhailis Makrakis (ed.), Study in Dostoevsky]* (Αθήνα: Imago, 1982)

BOOK REVIEWS



РЕЦЕНЗИИ

Thomas Gaiton MARULLO, *Fyodor Dostoevsky – The Gathering Storm (1846-1847): A Life in Letters, Memoirs, and Criticism* (Ithaca: Northern Illinois University Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press, 2020) (= NIU Series in Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies), 251 pp. ISBN 978-1-5017-7021-0

In the pantheon of Russian realist writers, Fyodor Dostoevsky is the one whose life and literary career developed the most unpredictably. Lacking the financial support from a landowning family, which formed the background to Ivan Turgenev's and Leo Tolstoy's rise to literary fame, he made matters worse for himself by turning down the personal security that government service provided to other writers such as Ivan Goncharov for pursuing his artistic interests. Consciously, if not instinctively, Dostoevsky opted for a career path dependent upon the constant need to promise, bargain, and deliver, which inevitably also included breaking up with former patrons and partners, as well as running away from creditors in his more mature years. In view of the rather mercurial circumstances of the early stages of Dostoevsky's development as a writer, in *Fyodor Dostoevsky – The Gathering Storm (1846-1847): A Life in Letters, Memoirs, and Criticism*, Thomas Gaiton Marullo claims that existing studies of the young writer "do not discuss adequately [...] people, places, and events that influenced Dostoevsky in this period" (p. xii).

This publication follows Joseph Frank's lead in breaking up Dostoevsky's complex oeuvre into various periods, represented by separate volumes. However, in terms of contents, Marullo adopted an approach entirely different from Frank's, as his book is essentially a popular digest of excerpts from documents highlighting Dostoevsky's thorny path to literary recognition from both Dostoevsky's own point of view and from the perspectives of his contemporaries. In addition, it includes passages from memoirs of relatives and people acquainted with the writer in later years of his life. The author divides this material, which has not been published in English translation in one single volume so far, into three chronologically defined sections that indicate the course Dostoevsky's career and personal maturation took ("Pride before the Fall", "Havens from the Storms", "The Psycho-Spiritual Turn"), prefacing each of these chapters with a short round-up of biographical background information about the people involved and their relationship with Dostoevsky. Complete with a preface, a general introduction, and a conclusion, the book also contains an appendix consisting of four parts: "*Directory of Prominent Names*", "*Notes, Source Notes*", and "*Index*" (italics used by Marullo).

If Frank presents all of Dostoevsky's life up to his deportation to Siberia in one volume,¹ Marullo focuses on a much shorter period of time. This text is the second volume out of three published by the author so far, and it deals with the two years following the unexpected success of Dostoevsky's first novel, *Poor Folk*, stopping short of the events that led up to Dostoevsky's conflict with the Tsarist regime in 1849, a consequence of which was being exiled to Siberia for almost a decade. The "gathering storm" referred to in the title of the book is Marullo's gloss for the interval when several of the fledgling writer's well-connected patrons, most prominently Vissarion Belinsky and Nikolay Nekrasov, turned away from the former object of their guardianship, whom they increasingly perceived as putting on airs and steering away from the course they expected young Russian writers of their day to follow. Marullo seems to be right in suggesting that if Dostoevsky had cared more about the advice of his erstwhile benefactors and less about his own artistic experiments and hard-earned experience in 1846 and 1847, "he would not have become the national and international figure he would be twenty years later" (p. 204).

It may well be that the fictional works written and published by Dostoevsky during the time period highlighted in Marullo's monograph – i.e., the tales *A Novel in Nine Letters* (written in 1845, published in 1846), *Mr Prokharchin* (1846), and *The Landlady* (1847) – will elicit less critical interest when compared to the main body of Dostoevsky's literary oeuvre as the historical distance to their time of origin increases. However, the tale explicitly criticized by his contemporaries, *The Double*, has spawned a steady flow of both critical and artistic reactions in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, thus proving Belinsky's and others' assessments wrong that this work was essentially a failure. If any positive proof of this ongoing fascination with *The Double* is needed, it could be seen in the fact that Italian composer Lucia Ronchetti (born 1963) has recently completed an opera adaptation of Dostoevsky's novel that is currently touring Germany and Switzerland. Marullo rightly points to the fact that some of the protagonists featured in Dostoevsky's early fiction reappear in later works by the author that have a more justified claim to literary eternity. For instance, Golyadkin, the protagonist of *The Double*, displays features that became prominent in the anonymous hero of *Notes from the Underground*, whereas "Prokharchin prefigures Alexey in *The Gambler* and Arkady in *A Raw Youth*" (p. 139).

The other, better-known piece from the period in question, the novel *Poor Folk*, is mostly remembered as Dostoevsky's literary debut today, and not be-

1 See Joseph FRANK, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt 1821-1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

cause of the originality of its plot. Dostoevsky's contemporaries could not yet foresee what later generations would recognize as the unique features of Dostoevsky's art. As can be expected, given the biographically-oriented approach, in Marullo's book, a lot of attention is given to reviews of *Poor Folk* discussing issues which have since become obsolete, as is the case in a review by a certain Eduard Guber who claims that *Poor Folk* "is a simple tale from genuine life which is repeated, perhaps, every day in one of the dark back streets and corners of our noisy, cold, and indifferent city" (p. 170). The social romanticism of the critics of the Belinsky school, which was the dominant reading among Dostoevsky's contemporaries and hence also in the reviews quoted by Marullo, highlights the writer's indebtedness to the writings of Nikolay Gogol, Friedrich Schiller, and E. T. A. Hoffmann. In light of Dostoevsky's later fiction, however, it was precisely his emancipation from these antecedents that turned the author of *Crime and Punishment* into one of the forerunners of modernism. It is clear that such far-sightedness cannot be expected from the writer's immediate social environment, which was more focused on interpersonal relations between real people than on the intellectual originality of fictitious characters. As a result, what Marullo's collection of reminiscences and criticism, as well as of Dostoevsky's responses to it, can do is allow readers to form their own understanding of Dostoevsky's often difficult relationships with the people around him. What it cannot do is help them understand why his works continue to fascinate readers and inspire creative people the world over up to the present day.

Additionally, Marullo's choice of material is sometimes slightly confusing, as it mostly follows chronological order. Although Marullo sometimes adds excerpts from sources published later, the text does not give any indications as to why he chose the topics discussed or why certain people are quoted and referred to, while others are apparently omitted.² It might have helped the reader to add a few sub-headings to explain the thematic context of the sources included in the book. Moreover, Marullo's selection mixes texts which contain elements of fictional writing with those that are clearly written in a critical mode. For instance, it quotes from notes in which the Russian author adopts the habit of speaking about himself in the third person about conversations he had had with Belinsky years before. This is duly explained in a footnote, though (cf. p. 46; p. 217, footnote 26).

On later occasions, however, the mode of speaking about the writer in Aesopian language does not become sufficiently clear, as lengthy quotations are

2 One of the people that could be mentioned in this context is Ivan Shidlovsky, Dostoevsky's close friend in his student years. Shidlovsky's name appears in the "Directory of Prominent Names" (cf. p. 212), but not in the book's index.

given from a spoof authored by Nekrasov lampooning Dostoevsky because of his alleged pride and vanity. Based upon the first footnote referring to this piece, it appears that some important information is missing (cf. p. 215, footnote 2). It is only many pages later that the reader learns that in his piece, Nekrasov caricatured real-life figures associated with Belinsky's circle under fictitious names: himself as Trostnikov, Belinsky as Mertsalov, and, least flattering of all, Dostoevsky as a conceited literary novice named Glazhievsky (cf. p. 221, footnote 54). An explanatory note would definitely have been helpful at the first mention of Nekrasov's disparaging tale, which is known under various titles (*The Stone Heart*, as well as *How Great am I!*, and *On That Day at Around Eleven O'Clock in the Morning*) (cf. p. 10). However that may be, with the benefit of hindsight, it may have been a lucky coincidence that Dostoevsky apparently had no knowledge of the existence of this lampoon,³ and his creative talent could not be sidetracked by his irascible nature to engage in any retaliatory reactions to Nekrasov's covetous pasquinade.

After decades of steering away from any theoretical approach distantly reminiscent of the "biographical fallacy", western Dostoevsky studies are currently witnessing a resurgence of interest in the writer's biography.⁴ Paradoxically, this comes at a time when the Russian and western perspectives on Dostoevsky, which merged during three decades of globalization following the breakup of the Soviet Union, are clearly drifting apart over the issue of whether Russia should be part of a universal system of values or whether the claim to being able to create a value system of its own should be accepted in western countries, as well (if any doctrine that follows primarily national interests can be called a universally acceptable "system of values" at all, of course). Marullo's book was published in 2020 and reflects the state of affairs in Dostoevsky studies before the Russian attack on Ukraine, which caused many western scholars to reassess nationalistic tendencies in Dostoevsky's writing.⁵ As could have been ex-

3 See Николай Н. НАСЕДКИН, *Достоевский. Энциклопедия* (Москва: Алгоритм, 2003), с. 656.

4 This tendency can be seen in the recent publication of a comprehensive new biography of Dostoevsky in German. See Andreas GUSKI, *Dostojewskij: Eine Biographie* (München: C. H. Beck, 2018).

5 Until fairly recently, the discussion of chauvinistic aspects in his fiction had been only a minor stream in the bulk of Dostoevsky studies, whose focus on antisemitism, as far as English-language criticism is concerned. See Susan McREYNOLDS, *Redemption and the Merchant God: Dostoevsky's Economy of Salvation and Antisemitism* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008). McReynolds puts Dostoevsky's antisemitism down to "cycles of debt and redemption [which] began when he resigned from the army in order to pursue a career as a professional writer" (*ibid.*, p. 61).

pected, little can be felt of this scholarly and public debate in the publication reviewed, where only some passages quoted from Dostoevsky's early feuilletons published under the title *The Petersburg Chronicle* give some premonition of the anti-western attitudes adopted in Dostoevsky's later publicist writing (cf. pp. 183-189). They may never have been deep below the surface anyway, even in the writer's pre-Siberian years.⁶

Fyodor Dostoevsky – The Gathering Storm offers a wealth of insights into the formative years of Dostoevsky's literary career to readers for whom the original sources published in Russian are inaccessible. At a time when archives in the Russian Federation, as well as the collections of the writer's material heritage housed by the various Dostoevsky sites, are no longer within easy reach for western researchers, it can be a helpful source of inspiration for anyone trying to approach the Russian realist through biographical documents. However, since almost one and a half centuries after the writer's demise have passed, new discoveries in the field of biographically-oriented Dostoevsky studies are less and less likely. If anything, they will likely only be possible only in Russia itself. Interested scholars outside the author's home country will have to focus on fictional texts and their intermediary and cross-cultural reverberation, rather than factual material, if they wish to understand why Dostoevsky continues to attract attention from a wide range of creatively-minded people all over the world.

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6 This is suggested by Sarah HUDSPITH, *Dostoevsky and the Idea of Russianness: A new perspective on unity and brotherhood* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004) (= BASEES/RoutledgeCurzon Series on Russian and East European Studies 6), p. 17.

Tine ROESEN, *Dostojevskij: En introduktion* [Dostoevsky: An Introduction] (Aarhus: Aarhus universitetsforlag, 2021). Paperback, 323 pp., including Bibliography and Timeline. ISBN 978 87 7219 4417

This introduction to Dostoevsky by Tine Roesen, a scholar of Russian literature at the University of Copenhagen, was published in 2021, a year that, as most readers of *Dostoevsky Studies* will know, marked the 200th anniversary of the author's birth. The book is clearly and eloquently written in the Danish language, and it is aimed, as the author states at opening pages, both at a broader public with the wish to become acquainted with Dostoevsky and at readers, and perhaps even scholars, with a good knowledge of Dostoevsky, who are hereby invited to a "renewed reflection" (p. 9) on Dostoevsky's legacy. Well-written introductions can be illuminating also for those who have studied its topic for a longer time, as is no doubt the case here.

Roesen has a long experience as a Dostoevsky scholar. She wrote her PhD on his early, pre-exile stories (University of Copenhagen, 2000), and she has also translated several of his works into Danish. It is evident from this book that she has a profound knowledge of Dostoevsky's texts.

The book is divided into three parts: Dostoevsky's early works (1846-1849), his middle works (1859-1865, ending with *Notes from the Underground*) and his late works, that is the "great novels" (1866-1881). She acknowledges that she has devoted perhaps unusually much space for an introduction like this to his early works, and she has done so not primarily because they represent "anticipations" of later themes and techniques (though they do that to some extent as well), but first and foremost because of the literary value they in fact possess.

In an introductory chapter, Roesen articulates her theoretical perspectives on Dostoevsky. Mikhail Bakhtin is, not surprisingly, an essential dialogue partner in this work, too, while a central thread going through this book is narrative analysis, which often forms the starting point of her readings. She engages in particular Wolf Schmid and John Jones, but also numerous other well-known and lesser-known Dostoevsky scholars. Some attention is given to Danish readings and reception. This reviewer was happy to see how productive it can be to explicitly engage research literature also in a book for a broader public, throughout its discussions.

Even though this is an "introduction", it is a book marked by close readings and closeness to the texts. Roesen positions herself early on as a literary scholar and in opposition to philosophical readings of Dostoevsky.

Dostoevsky was not a philosopher, political thinker, or theologian, but a literary writer, and we gain little or nothing by squeezing his works into philosophical, political or theological schemes or reformulating them in a vocabulary drawn from them. In fact, many of his works are about the danger and at the same time impossibility of understanding life theoretically and schematically. Real knowledge of Dostoevsky requires that his works are read as they are written, as closely as possible to the original (p. 12, here and elsewhere the translation is the reviewer's own).

Philosophical readings, Roesen suggests, tend to ignore the literary character of Dostoevsky's works. And as she shows throughout the book, with its persistent interest in narration and narrators, perspectives and points of view, questions of narration are not just a formal matter for meticulous scholars, but important for all readers seeking to understand the very dialogical nature of Dostoevsky's fictional writing. Despite structural flaws that occasionally occur in some of his work (*The Idiot* being the most famous example), Roesen approaches the Dostoevsky novel as a "thought-through literary construction and a unity of form and content" (p. 25). Even articulations of belief are made within a literary framework, from a character's or narrator's point of view.

For instance, Roesen highlights how the combination of a third-person narrator and the fluctuation and zooming-in and -out of the mind of the main character is one thing that makes *Crime and Punishment* such a successful novel. The interplay of form and content is essential also to her readings of *The Idiot* and *The Obsessed*, be it the inherent meanings of the chaotic form of the former or the narrator's presence as a character, if peripheral, in the latter. Let it be noted, however, that Roesen is critical of *The Humiliated and Insulted* and *The Adolescent*. Here, "the combination of a self-obsessed I-narrator and an exaggerated melodramatic plot" (p. 197) poses serious problems for the novels as such.

As for other examples, Roesen emphasizes how important it is *not* to take the narrator's voice in a story like *White Nights* at face value; rather, we must take into account his own interests and role in the story he narrates, and that this in fact is a work of retrospective, long-distance (in time) narration, as it is revealed to the reader towards the end. In a similar fashion, *A Faint Heart* demonstrates that "we cannot listen to what Dostoevsky's characters say only and let us be limited by the perspective bound to particular characters, we also must *see* what Dostoevsky tells us" (p. 94, the author's emphasis). In *Notes from the House of the Dead*, which Roesen regards very highly, it is crucial to take into account that the story is fictionalized, and that the genre is not one of personal recollections and hence not some authorial statement on suffering and

salvation. Selective readings of *Notes from the Underground* as a philosophical treatise without considering the underground man's tragic experiences (for instance in his childhood) are likewise deemed insufficient.

The question of genre is also at Roesen's focus. She proposes a useful typology for his early works with regard to theme and narrator: "novels" of and about an "I"; "notes" of "I" about others; and third-person "stories" (*novestmu*). By the way, "notes" as a genre and narrative technique reemerge in *Notes from the House of the Dead* (cf. above). Other recurrent issues in this book are classic Dostoevsky themes such as "doubles" and family tragedies, and perhaps less classic such as humor and Dostoevsky's obsession with bodily details (toenails, nosebleed etc.), all of which is encountered from his very first stories all the way up to *The Brothers Karamazov*. Roesen takes seriously Dostoevsky's realism throughout the book, defined here as a self-imposed commitment to represent social reality (p. 14), but she also explores his use of melodrama. She writes about the shift from the city as the main literary scene in his early works to the periphery in the later ones. Roesen's method of close reading is consistent throughout the book, whereby she even involves the reader in linguistic details such as Dostoevsky's conspicuous use of the particles *vprochem* (впрочем) and *deskat'* (дескать) in *The Double* or *ved'* (ведь) in *A Faint Heart*. Again, details like these are not marginal, the book suggests; they are essential in order to read and understand better.

Biographical information about Dostoevsky and his times is included to the extent that it sheds light on his works, one example being his interest in trials from the 1860s on, which is reflected in several of his major novels. First and foremost, however, this is an introduction that focuses on Dostoevsky's literary work – as literary constructions. Dostoevsky should, as Roesen concludes, "never be taken at his word" (*ikke bør tages på ordet*, p. 309). Utterances in the novels must always be contextualized and interpreted within the framework that the narrated story makes up.

Even though some sequences of the book may be particularly addressed to a Danish audience, and Danish readings and reception are given some space in it, a translation into English or any other language that would open this excellent book up to an even broader readership beyond Scandinavia is hereby strongly encouraged.

Kåre Johan Mjør

University of Bergen / Western Norway University of Applied Sciences

NEWS

НОВОСТИ

CALL FOR PAPERS

**DOSTOEVSKY:
TEXT, TRADITION, TRANSLATION**

**ДОСТОЕВСКИЙ:
ТЕКСТ, ТРАДИЦИЯ, ПЕРЕВОД**

**DOSTOIEVSKI:
TEXTO, TRADICIÓN, TRADUCCIÓN**

XIX Symposium
of the International Dostoevsky Society

June/Июнь 16-20, 2026
Buenos Aires, Argentina

The XIX Symposium of the International Dostoevsky Society will take place between June 16 and 19, 2026 at the Centro Cultural de la Cooperación, located in the center of the city of Buenos Aires. **Address:** Avenida Corrientes 1543.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF THE SYMPOSIUM

Russian, English, Spanish, Portuguese.

Each speaker will have 20 minutes followed by 5 minutes for comments.

SYMPOSIUM THEMES

The Symposium will have two central axes:

- ▶ 150 years of the novel 'The Adolescent'
- ▶ Dostoevsky in translation

Other axes:

- ▶ Dostoevsky's reception in Latin America, his influence on literature and culture
- ▶ Russia – Europe in the work and thought of Dostoevsky
- ▶ Dostoevsky and cinema / theatre / music
- ▶ Current Issues in the Study of Dostoevsky

SHORT FILM COMPETITION

The International Dostoevsky Society will organize a short film competition (maximum length: 5 minutes) on Dostoevsky topics. Details will be provided from March 1, 2025.

IMPORTANT DATES

Reception of papers: March 1 - August 31, 2025.

Acceptance of papers: October 1, 2025.

Program presentation: January 15, 2026.

NUMBER OF SPEAKERS

The number of speakers will be limited to around 150.

Current IDS or ADS (Argentine Dostoevsky Society) membership is required

REGISTRATION COST

Speakers: \$100.

Students (with certificate): \$50.

CONTACT

Sociedad Argentina Dostoievski

Symposium Website: <https://rusaires.wixsite.com/xix-simposio>

Email: eventos@sociedaddostoievski.com

XIX Симпозиум Международного общества Достоевского пройдет с 16 по 19 июня 2026 года в Культурном центре Кооперации (Centro Cultural de la Cooperación), расположенном в центре Буэнос-Айреса. **Адрес:** Авенида Коррьентес, 1543.

ОФИЦИАЛЬНЫЕ ЯЗЫКИ СИМПОЗИУМА

Русский, испанский, английский, португальский.

На доклад отводится 20 минут времени и 5 минут для ответа на вопросы слушателей.

ТЕМАТИКА СИМПОЗИУМА

На Симпозиуме будут представлены две основные темы:

- ▶ 150 лет роману «Подросток».
- ▶ Достоевский в переводе.

Другие темы:

- ▶ Восприятие Достоевского в Латинской Америке, его влияние на литературу и культуру.
- ▶ Россия – Европа в произведениях и мысли Достоевского.
- ▶ Достоевский в кино, театре, музыке.
- ▶ Актуальные вопросы исследования Достоевского.

КОНКУРС КОРОТКОМЕТРАЖНЫХ ФИЛЬМОВ

Международное общество Достоевского также организует конкурс короткометражных фильмов на темы, связанные с миром Достоевского. Длительность фильма не должна превышать 5 минут.

1 марта 2025 года появится более детальная информация о конкурсе.

ВАЖНЫЕ ДАТЫ

Регистрация и прием докладов: 1 марта - 31 августа 2025.

Дата апробации докладов: 1 октября 2025.

Публикация программы: 15 января 2026.

КОЛИЧЕСТВО УЧАСТНИКОВ

Максимальное количество участников - 150.

Обязательно иметь актуализированное членство в МОД или в АОД (Аргентинском обществе Достоевского).

СТОИМОСТЬ УЧАСТИЯ

Докладчики: 100 долларов.

Студенты (с документом, подтверждающим статус): 50 долларов.

КОНТАКТЫ

Sociedad Argentina Dostoievski

Symposium Website: <https://rusaires.wixsite.com/xix-simposio>

Email: eventos@sociadaddostoievski.com

CALL FOR PAPERS

Humanness, Godness, and the Universe in Dostoevsky's Work

**International Conference in Athens, Greece
16th-18th October, 2025
(University of Athens, Panepistimiou 30, Athens)**

Under the aegis of the International Dostoevsky Society, with the participation of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Verona, Italy

This international conference aims to explore the profound themes of humanness and divinity as depicted in Fyodor Dostoevsky's works. Scholars and enthusiasts are invited to discuss his philosophical and literary contributions in a global context.

Abstract Submission

If you are interested in participating, please send an abstract (ca 200 words) and a biographical note by **31st of January 2025** to: stefano.aloe@univr.it, sljiv-ancanin.zorka@ucy.ac.cy, markosgalounis@yahoo.com

You will be notified of acceptance by **31st of March 2025**.

Official Languages:

English, Russian, Greek

Participation Fee:

90 euros

Each presentation will last 15-20 minutes. There will be a discussion after each panel.

Information about the publication of the proceedings will be announced later.

Cultural program

The following cultural activities are planned for conference participants:

- ▶ On Friday, the 17th of October, there is going to be a dinner in a tavern in Athens. The participation fee is 35 euros per person.
- ▶ On Saturday, the 18th of October there is going to be a free guided tour of

the Acropolis and the Acropolis Museum. The fee for the tickets for both sites is 50 euros.

- ▶ On Sunday, the 19th of October there is going to be an optional guided tour to Delphi. The participation fee which includes the guided tour, the tickets for the archeological site and the transportation is 80 euros per person. (Minimum number of participants: 10)
- ▶ In the cinema theater “Studio” there are going to be screened films that were inspired by Dostoevsky’s Works. The program of the screenings will be announced later. The entrance is free for the conference participants.

Organizational Committee:

- ▶ Prof. Stefano Aloe (University of Verona, Italy, President of the International Dostoevsky Society)
- ▶ Dr. Zorka Sljivancanin (University of Cyprus, Member of the International Dostoevsky Society)
- ▶ Markos Galounis (Member of the International Dostoevsky Society)

Katherine BOWERS
University of British Columbia

News from the North American Dostoevsky Society

There have been some changes in the Society's Executive Board during the past two years. In 2023, we welcomed Katya Jordan (Brigham Young University) to the Board as a new Member-at-Large. In 2023, Chloe Papadopoulos (University of Southern California) began a new role as Assistant Editor of *Bloggers Karamazov*, the Society's blog. In 2024, Papadopoulos was elected onto the Board to replace Katherine Bowers (University of British Columbia) as Communications Chair and Editor of *Bloggers Karamazov*. Bowers has served as Communications Chair and Blog Editor for NADS since 2016 and was elected, additionally, Vice-President in 2019; moving forward she will continue to serve as the Society's Vice-President.

Bloggers Karamazov has featured a call for a student blog series on "Reading Dostoevsky Today" this year. Entries in that series are published on the blog as they are submitted and can be found on the blog site. So far posts from students have included one on generative AI and *Brothers Karamazov* and one on Dostoevsky and disability. This year, the North American Dostoevsky Society has continued its work with students through its regular student essay contests. In 2024, the Society ran both of its regular student essay contests, which included entries for the period 2022-24. The 2024 Undergraduate Essay Contest winner was Natalie Adderton (Pepperdine University) for her essay "The Redemptive Gaze in Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*", with honorable mentions going to Jaden Rodriguez (Duke University) and Romi Vaturi (Rutgers University). The 2024 Graduate Essay Contest winner was Anna Tropnikova (Yale University) for her essay "Thresholds and Hands: Transgression through Corporeal Space in Kurosawa Akira's *Idiot*", with an honorable mention going to Alina Fiorella (University of Bristol). The winning essays will be included as part of the NADS Graduate and Undergraduate Research Forum, to take place online on 9 and 10 January 2025, respectively. The Forum is organized this year by NADS President Kate Holland (University of Toronto), Sarah Hudspith (University of Leeds), and Katya Jordan.

The North American Dostoevsky Society continues to support a virtual speaker series that showcases members' research and unites the community. This series of events provides a mechanism for NADS to co-sponsor talks given

or hosted by Society members. On October 11, Katherine Bowers spoke about her recent book in the talk “Writing Fear: Physiological Petersburg, Dostoevsky, and the Rise of Gothic Realism”. The event was hybrid, including both an audience in-person at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah and an audience of NADS members on Zoom. Thanks to Katya Jordan for organizing the event. Information about working with the Society to co-sponsor a talk at your institution is available on the Society’s blog.

As it does every year, the North American Dostoevsky Society organized sponsored panels for the annual large North American conferences in 2024. For the Modern Language Association (MLA) conference, held in Philadelphia in January 2024, Katya Jordan organized a panel on “Narratives of History in Dostoevsky: Past, Present, and Future” featuring papers by Chloë Kitzinger (Rutgers University), Lindsay Ceballos (Lafayette College), and Chloe Papadopoulos. For the 2025 MLA conference, to be held in New Orleans in January, Melanie Jones (Independent scholar) has organized a panel on “Dostoevsky and Disability” featuring papers by Melissa Miller (Colby College), Ruth Levai (University of Miskolc), and Chloe Papadopoulos. For the 2024 American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) conference, held in Las Vegas in February 2024, Katherine Bowers organized a panel on “Dostoevsky and Gambling” with papers by Lynn Patyk (Dartmouth College) and Kate Holland (University of Toronto). For the November 2024 Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES) conference held in Boston, Kate Holland organized a panel on “Dostoevsky and Modernity: Economy, Society, Reading Public, Psychology”, featuring papers by Jonathan Paine (Wolfson College, Oxford), Amy Ronner (St Thomas University), and Sergei Motov (University of Illinois). Sergei Motov is the inaugural recipient of the Society’s Deborah A. Martinsen Graduate Conference Travel Grant.

The Deborah A. Martinsen Graduate Conference Travel Grant was established by the North American Dostoevsky Society in 2024 to honor our dear friend Deborah Martinsen, who was instrumental in nurturing both the intellectual and the human parts of our Dostoevsky studies community. By establishing this award, we hope to ensure that Deborah’s work in community building lives on through tangible support to graduate students presenting their work on Dostoevsky at our conferences.

William Mills TODD III
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Horst-Jürgen Gerigk
(1937-2024)

It seems hard to believe that forty-four years have passed since we met in Bergamo at the International Dostoevsky Symposium. As always with Horst-Jürgen, there was no small talk, but rather lively discussions of Heidegger, hermeneutics, Dostoevsky, and American popular culture, which I found that he knew better than I did. I had read his book on *The Raw Youth* before we met, and I had expected him to be at least a generation older. Little did I know then that could write serious and profound books as rapidly as the rest of us write reviews or articles. Indeed, he wrote over twenty books and edited a number of multi-author volumes. The range of topics was more impressive than the number, and the depth of critical and philosophical insight was most memorable of all.

We would see each other at these IDS symposia every three years or so, also when he came to America to visit friends and colleagues and to deliver lectures in English on a great variety of subjects. Our conversations became no less intense with the passing of years, and – on his part – no less witty and playful. One of the most memorable was a few years ago when I was preparing a dinner party for him (my wife was out of town) and, as I stirred the sauces, we were discussing philosophical hermeneutics. He slipped, naturally enough, into German, and I remember being challenged to keep pace without burning our dinner.

Over the years I have taken many photographs of us all at these Dostoevsky symposia. My favorite of Horst-Jürgen comes from Naples, 2010, in which he is standing in front of an anarchist graffito which says “Disobedience”. This slogan unintentionally captures his salient scholarly and intellectual virtue, one which his writings, talks, and conversations embodied in the best possible way. It did not prevent him from being a wise and firm president of the IDS, diplomatically and creatively helping to bring us into the twenty-first century.

23 February 2024

List of Illustrations:*Ill. 1/2*

Horst-Jürgen Gerigk, Geneva IDS Symposium, 2004 (photos by William Mills Todd III).

Ill. 3

From left to right: Ulrich Schmid, Horst-Jürgen Gerigk, and Robert Louis Jackson, Geneva IDS Symposium, 2004 (photo by William Mills Todd III).

Ill. 4

From left to right: Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover, Herta Schmid, Horst-Jürgen Gerigk and Dmitrij Tschizewskij in Sankt Wolfgang am See, 1974 (from Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover's archive)

Ill. 5

Horst-Jürgen Gerigk in Naples, 2010.

Ill. 6

From right to left: William Mills Todd III, Horst-Jürgen Gerigk, Robert Louis Jackson, Carol Apollonio, and Jackson's wife in Capri, 2010 (photo by Graf Aloysky).

*Ill. 1**Ill. 2*



Ill. 3



Ill. 4



Ill. 5



Ill. 6

Christoph GARSTKA
Bochum

In memoriam Horst-Jürgen Gerigk (1937-2024)

Prof. Dr. Horst-Jürgen Gerigk passed away in Heidelberg on February 9, 2024 at the age of 86.

The famous German novelist Martin Walser referred in one of his novels to a certain Professor in Heidelberg, who is known as a profound expert on Dostoevsky. He meant of course Horst-Jürgen Gerigk. When a literary scholar himself becomes a literary figure, reality and fictionality intermingle in such an astonishing way that the scholar himself can only understand it as a great honour, especially when he has spent a lifetime as a researcher repeatedly drawing attention to the “poetological difference” between what is visible and what is invisible in a work of art in terms of fiction and non-fiction. Even though Horst-Jürgen Gerigk was born in Berlin and attended grammar school in the Ruhr region, his time as a student and his entire teaching and research activities are inextricably linked to Heidelberg and its university, from which he has never been able to part. For many years, it was as much a part of the Heidelberg cityscape as the castle and the Old Bridge to see a man striding quickly from Handschuhsheimer Landstraße to the Slavic Institute in the Old Town with his hair blowing and his coat open, briefcase in his right hand, often stopping on his way to greet his many acquaintances from the university and the city’s cultural scene and to share his latest findings, insights and projects with them.

In the supplement to the *Bulletin of German Slavic Studies* for 2015, the editors have printed the programme of the very first German Slavic Studies Conference in Heidelberg in 1965, at the official residence of the association’s chairman at the time, Dmitrij Tschizewskij. Under the heading “Announcement of speakers and topics of the academic sessions”, the following reference can be found in second place: “Dr. H.-J. Gerigk, ‘Dostoevskij und die Sprachlichkeit der Sprache’ ” (Dostoevsky and the linguistic nature of language). Nearly 60 years after the lecture by the then newly graduated Slavic scholar, it is fair to say that two constants of an extremely productive academic career have already been revealed here: firstly, the connection to the “cosmopolitan village on the Neckar”, to the old university, which has created a small, idyllic town around itself, and secondly, the focus on the “tricky” Russian writer Dostoevsky and his work, which Gerigk embraced as a speciality and rendered more accessible to a

broad, particularly non-academic audience in German-speaking countries and far beyond through his work.

Horst-Jürgen Gerigk was born in Berlin in 1937. At the end of the 1950s, he began studying Slavic Studies, Philosophy and English/American Studies in Heidelberg, which he completed in 1964 with his dissertation *Versuch über Dostoevskijs "Jüngling"* (*Essay on Dostoevsky's "A Raw Youth"*, published in 1965) and a doctorate under Dmitrij Tschizewskij. Two years earlier, his first longer essay on "Vsevolod M. Garšin als Vorläufer des russischen Symbolismus" (Vsevolod M. Garšin as a forerunner of Russian Symbolism) had already appeared in the journal *Die Welt der Slaven*. This was the diploma thesis for what he himself described as "an interpreter's examination taken on the side, so to speak, with the subjects Russian, English and German constitutional law".¹ He was therefore well prepared when Tschizewskij almost casually informed him in the summer of 1964 that he would have to give a proseminar called "Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft" (Introduction to Literary Studies), in the coming semester; he was already on the course catalogue. Many more "introductions" were to be given, which, however, never followed a monotonous, once-designed pattern, but always sought to introduce the young students to Russian literature in new and original ways. I remember a very reading-intensive and perhaps for this very reason extremely fruitful introduction based on a comparison of various common Russian literary histories. Gerigk worked as an assistant to Tschizewskij until his habilitation in "Russian Literature and General Literary Studies" at the Faculty of Modern Languages at the University of Heidelberg in 1971. He himself labelled his habilitation thesis, *Entwurf einer Theorie des literarischen Gebildes* (*Outline of a theory of the literary structure*), as the "mother text" for everything he wrote later in the field of literary studies, and he can also best summarise what he was concerned with: "Autonomy of the literary image on the basis of the peculiarity of the created thing, both in relation to the subjectivity of the reader and in relation to the subjectivity of the author, whose artistic intelligence must obey the thing if his work is to endure over time".²

Some time was to pass before he was appointed Professor of "Russian Literature and General Literary Studies" at the University of Heidelberg in 1974, which was put to good use: Gerigk was one of the co-founders of the *International Dostoevsky Society* in Bad-Ems in 1971 and was later elected its president

1 Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, *Die Spur der Endlichkeit. Meine akademischen Lehrer. Vier Portraits: Dmitrij Tschizewskij, Hans-Georg Gadamer, René Wellek, Paul Fussell* (Heidelberg: Winter Universitätsverlag, 2007), S. 64.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 14. All translations from German are by the author.

and finally appointed one of its honorary presidents in 2004. From 1998 to 2018, he was also the editor in charge of the “Journal of the International Dostoevsky Society”: the *Dostoevsky Studies*.

Gerigk's fields of work were so wide-ranging that it would be difficult to list them meticulously. At the very least, they included Russian, American and German literature, literary and narrative theory, Hollywood film and the history of aesthetics from Kant to Heidegger. This compilation can be continued with multiple ‘and’ connections: Literature and music, literature and film, literature and philosophy, literature, medicine and psychopathology (together with the medical historian Dietrich von Engelhardt and the psychiatrist Wolfram Schmitt, he founded a productive working group on this in 1983), and in his comparative orientation, he always included Russian and German, English, American, French, etc. literature. After the publication of his habilitation thesis in 1975, fourteen years passed until the publication of his next monographs. However, starting in 1989 and then even more so with his retirement from active teaching at the beginning of the new millennium, one can speak of a veritable explosion of independent studies, which must be regarded as the result of long-lasting and profound reflections. They all show us a practitioner of interpretation and a theorist of interpretation at the highest level of reflection. It would be almost a sacrilege to pick out just a few and praise them here, but it is nevertheless worth pointing out four works that have become very important for his own academic training. Firstly, there is the major comparative study on *Russians in America*.³ Not only is the immense influence of Russian authors of the 19th century on American literature, predominantly of the 20th century, presented here in a remarkably broad framework, but there is also a clearly formulated and pointed characterisation of the poetics of such Russian classic authors as Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Turgenev and Chekhov, which was very helpful to teachers of Russian literature in the subsequent period.

The quintessence of what was eagerly written in Gerigk's Heidelberg literature seminars in the 1990s can be seen in the “workbook” *Lesen und Interpretieren (Reading and Interpreting)*, first published in Göttingen in 2002, third edition in Heidelberg in 2013. Gerigk places the concept of “poetological difference”, which he coined himself, at the centre of his considerations. This refers to the distinction between inner and outer fictional realities when reading a work of fiction. If science involves the ability to abstract, then literary studies should impart the ability to distinguish between inner-fictional or psycho-

3 Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, *Die Russen in Amerika. Dostojewskij, Tolstoj, Turgenjew und Tschekow in ihrer Bedeutung für die Literatur der USA* (Hürtgenwald: Guido Pressler Verlag, 1995).

logical reasons for an event and extra-fictional reasons, which make it possible to gain an insight into the poet's workshop and his world view. *State and Revolution in the Russian Novel of the 20th Century, 1900-1925* (Heidelberg 2005)⁴ has also gone through a long "preliminary course" in academic teaching. Using well-known novels by five authors with completely opposing political views, Gerigk unfolds a broad panorama of Russian not only literary, but also cultural and political history between "legality and underground" at the beginning of the formative 20th century. The literary mastery of the writers is congenially traced here, but Gerigk must also note, with a touch of bitterness, that politics has inadmissibly nested too far into aesthetics.

The ideological appropriation of the literary work of art, as it was practised on the other side of the Iron Curtain (and especially in the 1970s on this side too), was always alien and repugnant to Gerigk. When I happily informed him at the beginning of 1992 that I had received a scholarship for St Petersburg University and wanted to study there for two semesters, he just looked at me in complete amazement and asked: "What do you want there?". A glance at the latest edition of the Falk city map, which was still sold under the name "Leningrad" at the time, could have made his scepticism more understandable: the university was still listed as "Zhdanov University". Even if his mistrust of the state-controlled Russian academic establishment has been so horribly confirmed in recent years, it is nonetheless a source of satisfaction that no small part of Gerigk's works is now available in Russian translations. This includes the fourth of the books to be highlighted here, namely the quintessence of his research on Dostoevsky, published in paperback by Fischer in 2013 under the title *Dostojewskijs Entwicklung als Schriftsteller (Dostoevsky's Development as a Writer)*, translated into Russian as *Литературное мастерство Достоевского в развитии* (Санкт-Петербург, 2016). But it's hard to keep up: a book on Turgenev (Heidelberg 2015) and another introduction to literary studies, *Lesendes Bewusstsein (Reading Consciousness)*, Berlin/Boston 2016) were published shortly afterwards. Even if no more monographs followed in his later years, the number of projects had not diminished: in 2020, a brochure on Nabokov's *Pnin* was published, which he immediately wanted to be understood as a "draft of a philosophy of emigration".

In view of these extraordinarily rich and varied results of a long academic career in research and teaching, not only Slavists can be relieved that the fears expressed by Tschizewskij at the first German Slavists' Conference in Heidel-

4 Horst-Jürgen GERIGK, *Staat und Revolution im russischen Roman des 20. Jahrhunderts, 1900-1925. Eine historische und poetologische Studie* (Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag, 2005).

berg in 1965 did not materialise. When, after Gerigk's lecture on Dostoevsky, a church historian from the University of Tübingen expressed outrage and indignation, Tschizewskij commented succinctly: "If you carry on like this, one day you'll be shot at the lectern".

Gerigk was an inspiring teacher who not merely fascinated his students with his captivating style of lecturing, but also a non-academic audience time and again. With deep gratitude and sincere admiration for his enduring life's work, his students, colleagues, a large community of Dostoevsky researchers and numerous friends of his always alert and immeasurably creative spirit bid him farewell.

