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edited by Stefano Garzonio

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Foreword

It is with great pleasure that we publish this collection of scientific papers and contributions on Slavic languages and literature presented at the ICCEES Congress held in Stockholm (June 2010). The Congress has showcased that the different disciplines addressed in East European and Eurasian studies are continuously growing and enlarging their thematic and scientific horizons. The ICCEES 2010 Congress mainly focused on issues of Slavic and East European history, politics and economics. However, the interest in Slavic and East European literature and linguistic studies is also rising, as confirmed by the general program of the Congress, where several panels were dedicated to language, literature and cultural studies.

In this volume we include a selection of contributions (in English and Russian), mostly concerning Russian literature of the XIX-XX century (as a matter of fact, 2010 was a jubilee year for Tolstoi and Andrey Belyi) and Jewish-Russian poetry, but also focusing on problems of translation, Russian language and media, and history of archives. The volume addresses several and different topics and approaches and I hope that the reader will find it interesting and enjoy the publication. Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Stefano Bianchini and the IECOB Board for the opportunity to publish this book.

Stefano Garzonio

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Chapter 1

Defining Translation Priorities – or How to be Consistent

(Andrew Jameson[1])

1. 1   Abstract

A general theory of practical translation is not such a utopian concept as it might seem at first sight. This article attempts to systematise the mental and physical processes and decisions involved in the conscious transfer of a written text from a foreign language into a native language (L2 to L1). The approach is not theoretical, but inherently practical. It examines the mental actions performed in gathering information about a source text, criteria for strategic decisions, the setting of translation priorities, first and second stage text work, recurring problems and solutions, third stage text work, checking and editing.

1. 2   Analysis of the Translation Process

Experienced professional translators already do, instinctively, much of what I am going to describe. However it is a different matter how they organise their thoughts, or how they themselves understand the processes of their own translation activity. During a special course on translation, given at an annual summer school in Russian language over the years, my mature students and I experimented with and discussed the various phases of the translation process and their logical order. In the final analysis we decided on seven phases of the mental process of translation. The figure seven is not important in itself: the phases are merely groupings of the mental processes and decisions which are necessary for conscientious professional translation.

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Specialists in translation have pointed out that the process of translation, in the translator's mind, is that of a long succession of small decisions. It seems to me that these decisions are not homogenous, they can actually be divided into two different types. Type One decisions are those decisions taken before starting work on a translation. They are decisions concerning the translation strategy to be adopted. In this article, Phases One to Five of the translation process are used to define the Translation Priorities for any particular text. Type Two decisions on the other hand are those taken during Phases Six and Seven of the translation process and are to do with the selection of equivalent words and phrases in the target language, and the solution of classic translation problems for which standard answers exist.

Let us first mention the physical tasks of the translation process. We can summarise these as: acquaintance with the text, then the first stage of text work (work directly with the source text, decipherment of the text, translation out of the source language); the second stage of text work (work mostly without the source text, translation into the target language). During the second stage, attention is paid to specific recurring translation problems, for which there exist standard solutions. Experienced translators of course are capable of going straight from the source text to the second stage. After this comes the third stage of text work: bilingual and/or monolingual checking and style editing, with or without the help of third parties. This is far from all that is involved; later we shall look at these processes in a little more detail.

In this article we are really looking at the mental processes of translation. In the main, the physical processes follow on from and come after the mental processes of translation. If readers will allow me, I would like to call the elements of the mental processes of translation 'phases', and elements of the physical processes of translation 'stages'. We need to remember that not every phase applies in equal measure to every text-type that we are called on to translate. So let us now look at the mental processes, the 'phases' of the translation process.

Phase One. Collect all necessary information about the text. I call this phase *Source Culture and Context*. For some text-types this will be not be an important issue, so for these we can omit this phase. However for specialists in Russia and Eastern Europe – we know only too well that the correct understanding of a text depends on identifying, and placing the text, and also its author, in the correct social, historical, political and/or economic context. It is important to know the date of the text, and the role the author is playing in society at that moment. Two other, more universal aspects should be mentioned here. Firstly special attention should be given to those places in the text which display typical customs and usages of the source culture; and secondly translators should be alert to passages where the author cites information with which the readers of the target text are probably not acquainted.

Phase Two. Determine the *Text Type (Genre) and Register*. Consider what text-type indicators there are in the text. If the text is literary, we need to determine the *Genre*. Some languages, particularly Russian, have very clearly defined ideas about genre. In the case of certain texts, different parts of the text may consist of different text-types, which is to say, our text is a *Hybrid* text. (Modern translation theory uses the term 'hybrid' differently, by the way.) Speaking of *Registers*, they vary along two axes – formal / informal and (according to the theme) technical / non-technical. So it is important to define the *Register* of our text on the scale formal-neutral-informal. The definition of 'technical' is a matter of debate, as isolated technical terms may occur in almost any text. But, for example, certain literary criticism texts are very definitely technical translations. Professional translators will have their own common-

sense rules to assess register; student translators may need to consult. However it is important to consider and decide these questions during this phase.

Phase Three. *Text Function*. We need to determine the *Functions* of the text in the source language and in the target language. The most useful technique for determining text function is to ask oneself the following questions (if one question does not suffice, try them all until one produces an answer). What did the original author (or maybe the editor or publisher) intend to say? What influence did the original author / editor / publisher wish to exert on the reader / public? What will be the function of our translation in a different society? Why after all is this text being translated? What public is it intended for? What use will this public or this client make of the text?

Phase Four. *Tone And Message*. This is the final phase of the process of understanding the source text. By *Tone* I mean such elements as objectivity-subjectivity of the text, its emotional content, and elements like persuasion / slanted information / implied criticism / satire or irony. We all know that texts can contain contradictory meanings, or emotional elements, which intensify (or negate) the literal meaning of the words. Those concerned with political or literary language know well that the *Message* of the text may be more than the sum of its parts. In the final analysis the message of a text is the over-riding total meaning of our text, the through-line as Stanislavsky would say.

Phase Five. *Translation Priorities*. In the light of the information collected and judgements made in the first four phases, here in the fifth phase we take the most important decisions on the treatment of our translation. We need to set what I call *Translation Priorities* (TPs). (This is, I believe, a new contribution to translation theory). It is my belief that it is axiomatic that it is impossible to translate absolutely all aspects of the meaning of our source text. Therefore in Phase Five we take the decision to translate fully those aspects of the meaning of the source text which seem to us to be *the most important for the realisation of the function of the target text*. These are then our TPs. The many other meanings contained in the source text are then realised as time and space allow, as long as they do not conflict with or hinder the higher translation priorities listed above.

There are likely to be one, two or three *Translation Priorities* for each text. It sometimes comes as a shock to students of translation to find that TPs can differ radically between different text-types, and also that it is necessary to insert and delete elements, and modify the Target Text in various ways. We do not have the space to discuss the technicalities of TPs here, but certain comments may be useful. For example, what are the guidelines for the derivation of TPs? Some TPs will reflect the qualities of the source text to be retained in the target text. Some TPs may be simply general principles for that particular text type. Other TPs may be specific requests from the client. Despite the fact that TPs reflect the qualities of the source text, they need to be realised in terms of the attributes of the target text. Once again in the case of a *Hybrid* text, each different text-type section needs its own TPs.

I would like to propose a further innovation, and that is that it may be possible to use TPs as a device to help with consistency in decision-making while translating. For this to work, when we have decided our TPs, we need to place them into a hierarchy (i.e. simply list them 1, 2, 3..). We need to decide the most important principle of our translation, and place this in the number one position. After that the other TPs follow in order of precedence. When the need arises to take a difficult decision in principle when translating a particular word or expression, the so-

lution lies in *applying the priorities strictly in the order in which we have listed them*. If a lower TP in a given case is contradicted by a higher TP, then the higher priority 'wins'. And if you do not like the result, you can always re-number your TPs in a different order (although, if you do this, you may need to go back and change earlier decisions that you have already made).

So these phases Phases One – Five all require Type One decisions, that is, decisions needed to decide your TPs (which are, in fact, your translation strategies). It is very much to be hoped that the first five phases of mental work will be decided before the start of the first stage of physical work. At the very least, to be of use, decisions about TPs should be taken before the end of Stage One (physical work) on the translation. Experienced translators are of course already well aware of the Type One decisions connected with particular text-types and particular clients. All the same, the procedure described here may be useful if the translator wishes to be a "reflective practitioner" about her/his own work, or if a new text-type or genre is encountered. Probably the major area where these ideas will be of use is in providing a comprehensive overview of the translation process for students training to be translators. Strange through it may seem to "us professionals", the ideas spoken of in this article are difficult for final year language students in universities to grasp immediately (see, for example, *Thinking German Translation* 2006: xiii) .

Phase Six. *Creating the Final Version.* Now that Type One decisions have been taken, we know our overall strategy, and Phase Six is the place where the final text begins to take shape. Phase Six is the Stage Two of physical work, and is defined as leaving the source text behind and working on a target text which acquires its own structure and logic. When teaching translation, I describe it as the stage where we physically re-write our Stage One preliminary version into the Stage Two typical lexical and grammatical structures of the target language. Physical circumstances are important here, internet access and book reference materials must be optimally arranged to avoid fatigue. A translator's dictionary with a thesaurus-like content is much to be preferred, and of course on-line dictionaries which are collaborative and allow contribution and discussion have changed translators' lives immensely. Some texts, for example a big conference programme, require internet lookup on virtually every line.

Classic Translation Problems. It is here in Phase Six that we deal with specific recurring translation problems, for which standard solutions already exist. What are these problems? I have expanded and classified the UK Chartered Institute of Linguists list of *classic translation problems* and compiled a list of 35 different problem groups, arranged in four categories: defects and technical problems; word and phrase usage; realia in the source culture; quotations and metaphors.

Phase Seven *Checking and Style Editing.* The seventh and final phase of the mental work coincides with Stage Three of physical text work, i.e. bilingual and monolingual checking of the translation, checking of factual material and style editing. In an ideal world it is desirable to put the completed text away for one or two days, before the final check. This makes it easier for "foreignisms" to be identified, also "unwanted echoes" in the target text, that is language that reminds the reader of irrelevant or intrusive facts or inappropriate words or expressions. As the text is prepared for delivery, our translators' decisions change from mental, linguistic processes to technical and administrative actions, which are familiar to all of us and not the concerns of this article.

Conclusion. These, then, are my ideas on the theory of practical translation. I very much

hope that my model of the translation process will help to analyse, explain and formulate reasons for routine translation decisions. As one who has thought about translation in terms of this system for the past ten years, I now find it difficult to see how anyone could regard the process in any other way! But I do also remember how difficult it was to battle through the fog of terminology to identify these ideas in the first place, and arrange them in order. Of course, with time, the understanding and application of my system becomes easier and more automatic. Many professional translators already instinctively use elements of such systems as mine. If I have innovated, it is to put forward the concept of the translation priority hierarchy, and to put it in the context of mental and physical actions in the translation process. It is probable that my system will be more useful in the case of text-types where there is wide scope for variation and interpretation, rather than factual or scientific texts, but experience will tell.

Target Audience for this article. It remains to say for whom my ideas are intended. I believe that my system will be especially useful for students beginning the study of the process of professional translation, because it offers a general overview of the translation process from the point of view of its communicative function. After mastering this system, the translator will better understand the process of translation itself, and will be able to adapt this system to their own needs, or even be able to create their own model which will serve their own particular needs. Forgive me if you feel this paper is a statement of the 'perfectly obvious', but I don't recall that anyone else has said these very practical things in quite this way before. I am sure that, after Charles Darwin first lectured on his Theory of Evolution, someone at the back said "Well, it's obvious, isn't it!". But – Charles Darwin had to say it first, before other people could start saying «it's obvious». While I'm not comparing myself to Charles Darwin, I do think that a close examination of the mental processes of translation would lead to an interesting branch of translation research.

Discussion is invited on these ideas. If you would like to correspond and receive associated materials (source texts in Russian, commentary on translation specifics, specimen target texts in English) please write to me at a.jameson2@dsl.pipex.com. These materials are all based on Russian to English translation, but the approach to translation itself can be applied to any language combination.

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Classic Translation Problems: Check List

"Technical" problems

1. "Sentences" without a main clause.

2. Redundancy or repetition.

3. Ambiguities of various kinds.

4. Apparent omissions or typographical errors.

5. Obvious mistakes in original SL text (word or grammar usage) .

6. SL Text which refers to its own form (self-referential text) .

7. The need for extra contextualisation for the sake of clarity.

8. Long sentences which cannot be split easily because of apposition, parenthesis, relative clauses etc.

9. Excessively sparse style which would benefit from amplification or insertion.

10. Russian vs. English tense usage: R historic present, R tenses in indirect speech.

11. Verbs introducing direct speech: Russian uses a much wider variety of these.

12. Transliteration: which system to use (British Standard or Library of Congress), and how to apply it, narrow or broad according to text-type or genre.

13. Orthography of English target text to follow British or American usage?

Some of these can be resolved only by contacting the author or client.

Word and phrase usage

14. Idioms, colloquialisms or proverbs which do not have a standard TL translation.

15. Humour and irony.

16. Stylistic devices, registers or dialects which do not translate well into the TL.

17. Usage of words with a meaning other than that given in a good dictionary.

18. Technical terms, especially rare or historical ones.

19. Abbreviations and acronyms, especially very recent ones.

20. Neologisms and occasionalisms.

21. "Untranslatable" terms whose meaning is peculiar to the SL or its culture.

22. Terms for which a paraphrase in addition to, or instead of, a translation would aid the comprehension of an educated TL reader.

23. SL words which should be retained in the TL version.

24. Unexplained words from other Slav languages or Asian languages.

Consider: *translate OR interpret OR explain*
At word level: *particularise / generalise / omit / insert*

Source language realia

25. Social and behavioural customs from the SL culture.

26. SL names and forms of address, diminutives of names, TY and VY forms.

27. Personal titles and ranks, medals and awards.

28. Names of organisations, institutions, names of degrees and qualifications.

29. Currency values and units of measurement.

30. Colour terms and their equivalents.

31. Differences in the physical environment between SL and TL countries.

Quotation and metaphor

32. Quotations in the SL, referring to or paraphrasing a well known phrase in the SL.

33. Allusions, or terms or phrases with connotations likely to be unfamiliar to a TL reader.

34. Quotations in SL from well known TL phrases or, especially difficult, from a third language, whose original form needs to be found and re-translated (or maybe not) .

35. The treatment of metaphors or, especially difficult, mixed metaphors.

Translation Process Model Diagram

Translation Process Model (Written Translation)	Questions and Decisions
1. Context, Source Culture	What is the date of the text? State the overall context of the text and its significance. Comment if relevant on the author and his/her situation. Note elements of the source culture and customs, and also historical or factual information which the target audience would not be expected to know. Explain these in the text or by annotation, as appropriate to the text-type.
2. Text-type & Register	State the text-type and note the marker features. Often the text-type or genre is explicitly stated. If the text is hybrid, state the text-type for each section. Next, state the register; this can vary in two ways: formal-informal, and technical-nontechnical.
3. Text Function	What did the original author / editor / publisher intend to say? What influence did the original author / editor / publisher wish to exert on the reader / public? What will be the function of our translation in a different society? Why after all is this text being translated? What public is it intended for? What use will this public or this client make of the text?
4. Tone & Message	Note the objectivity-subjectivity of the text, its emotional content, and elements like persuasion / slanted information / implied criticism / satire or irony. What is the overall message?
5. Translation Priorities	Based on the above, the translator makes decisions about TRANSLATION PRIORITIES for this particular text (or each part of a hybrid text). Priorities will be very different for different text-types. List them in rank order. If priorities conflict, we accept the more highly ranked one.
6. Specific Translation Problems	What classic translation problems arise in the text? See IOL check list. Note and consider how to solve them.
7. Checking and Editing	If possible, wait a day before checking. What is the word and character count compared to the original? Edit and tighten text. Layout, numbers, dates. Have source text customs and unfamiliar information been explained? Are there "Unwanted echoes?"

Chapter 2

Russian amateur subtitling on YouTube: ideology and poetics revealed

(Varvara Christie[2])

Abstract

Ideology and poetics dominant in the target culture have long been considered the major determinants of the translation process. Recently, however, the monopoly of official institutions on the introduction of texts into the target culture has been challenged by the widespread use of the Internet and easier accessibility of specialised software. New agency has hence been established – that of amateur translation.

This paper studies subtitling, one of the most technically challenging types of translation, and focuses on the Russian language videos posted on YouTube by amateur subtitle producers. As representatives of the source culture who introduce certain texts into the target culture by sacrificing their own time and effort, these subtitle producers have a different ideological rationale to the state institutions, and this difference can be traced in the translation techniques employed in amateur translation.

Through the detailed analysis of the subtitles and available paratexts, this paper attempts to reveal the poetics and ideology that informs amateur translations of Russian music videos, showing how Russian language and Russian culture become more visible in translation of this kind.

2. 1   Introduction

Translation, being means of intercultural mediation, often presupposes the figure of the translator to be of a professionally educated native speaker of the target language (TL). This view has been shaped by the professional conventions of translation and taken as the starting point for discussions in the field of translation studies. Positing that it is in the nature of translation to substitute the source language (SL) with the TL, SL has been conceived of as 'invisible' and its influence on the audience as unapparent and hidden. This paper, quite on the contrary, aims to foreground the SL, showing how poetics and ideology of the source culture can reveal themselves in the translation outcome. Suggesting to explore English subtitling of Russian music videos carried out by amateur translators and posted on YouTube, I am bringing the discussion of translation methods and agency into the context of changing reality of the 21st century, which gives voice to languages and cultures in a variety of new ways.

There are two main factors that determine the 'visibility' of the SL in the translated texts analysed further. One of them concerns the translation type: subtitles, unlike most other translation types, can be described as being 'additive', which means that 'verbal material is added to the original, retaining the source-language discourse' [3]. This provides simultaneous access to the source (ST) and target texts (TT) which can then be consulted, compared, evaluated and learnt from by the audience. The second aspect that determines the position of the SL in the translation outcome stems from the changes that the technological progress of the past two decades (and in case of Russia it is probably more accurate to talk of one decade) has brought about with regards to the translation agency. The wider accessibility of technologically complex software like that of subtitling and recent rise of Web 2.0 have caused the emerging shift from the traditional situation where TL community summons translations of carefully chosen texts to the current conditions under which SL community produces an increasing number of translations of texts that are attributed specific source cultural values. This shift determines the inevitable changes to the representation that the SL and the source culture (SC) gain in the TL community through translation.

Professional translation, when considered from the point of view of introduction of SL texts into the target culture (TC), was traditionally studied in terms of rewriting and manipulation it is subject to[4] and consequential domestication vs. foreignisation of the ST[5]. For Lefevere, ALL translation is a rewriting of an original text and hence it 'reflect[s] a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate[s] literature to function in a given society in a given way'[6]. Since Lefevere considered the traditional way of introduction of texts into the TC, the ideology and poetics he refers to belong to the TC. Similarly, Venuti's domestication method, which he proves to be dominant in the Anglo-American domain, is described as 'ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values'[7]. It is hence possible to sum up that

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3   H Gottlieb, 'Quality revisited: the rendering of English idioms in Danish television subtitles vs. printed translations' in A Trosborg (ed.), Text Typology and Translation, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1997, p. 311.

4   A Lefevere (ed.), Translation / History / Culture: A sourcebook, Routledge, London and New York 1992.

5   L Venuti, The Translator's Invisibility: A history of Translation, Routledge, London and New York, 1995.

6   Lefevere, p. xi.

7   Venuti, p. 20.

traditionally TT – and especially so in the case of English-language target texts - is conceived of as the product of such influences as ideology, poetics, cultural values prevailing in the TC. However, the moment professional translator is substituted by the amateur SL speaking agent, the established picture falls apart. Amateur translators, free from the usual translation pressures provided by patronage, unconstrained by imposed ideology and ready to sacrifice their own time, in many aspects differ from their professional counterparts. Yet, as the following paper shows, their work is still determined by the influence of ideology and poetics, however, it is the ideology and poetics of the SC.

The data for the following analysis consists of music videos – the genre that is rarely translated professionally because of the little value held for the TC as compared to the presented translation difficulties. The corpus includes 110 music videos uploaded on YouTube between 2007 and 2010 by 46 users and it is analysed by looking at the uploaders' profile information, at the subtitles provided with the videos and finally at the commentaries and discussions that were sparked by these uploads. Translated by amateur translators, who can be defined as the ones who make their own translations accessible for the wider public without the goal of making profit[8], these subtitled videos provide intriguing ground for research into the representation of SL and SC in translation.

2. 2　Reasons for translation

The most distinct trait of amateur translation is its voluntary nature. Whereas for the professional translator motivation is most commonly associated with financial or employment reasons, for an amateur the choice of a particular text is never pre-determined. Song translation is a case of a rare and challenging endeavour even for a professional translator, and what is more it is the text-type where non-translation remains a valid and commonly used translation method[9]. Nevertheless, amateur translators opt for this complex type of translation voluntarily. The study of uploaders' profiles helped to uncover several principal motivations, which can be grouped under four categories:

Political motivation is determined by strong (and overt!) affiliation with some party or cause - from rather common sympathy for the Communism, resulting in the translation of military marches and war-time songs, to the extreme examples of Neo-Nazi propaganda - as well as pure patriotism exercised in somewhat militant and propagandistic manner. Translation for these users is linked imminently to propaganda.

Personal reasons include fandom as well as personal connections to the performer of the original video. For example, user LHaritonov uploads and subtitles videos of his father's performances. Leonid Haritonov is a bass singer of opera, lyrical and military songs who performed with the Red Army Choir and was popular in the Soviet times.

8　'Amateur - One who cultivates anything as a pastime, as distinguished from one who prosecutes it professionally' (OED). 'Professional – of a person or persons; that engages in a specified occupation or activity for money or as a means of earning a living, rather than as a pastime. Contrasted with amateur' (OED).

9　J Franzon 'Choices in Song Translation: singability in print, subtitles and sung performance', Translator, vol. 14, no. 2, 2008, pp. 373-399.

Cultural category includes the users who prioritise the cultural value of the songs they are subtitling. Typical example of a comment revealing the cultural motivation is: 'I hope it will help them understand my country just a little bit better' (businka1). In a way, the reasons are akin to the political in the patriotic affiliations the users have with their country, however, it is the cultural heritage rather than political significance that these users want to share with the target audience.

Finally, researched data shows one case of **educational** rationale, which is also unique because it has been performed by a TL speaker, a UK teacher of Russian, who states that 'The aim is to make various parts of Russian […] culture more accessible by having subtitles in English available. ' (Mr Banbury) .

2. 3   Translation strategies

The analysed corpus includes songs of various genres - military marches, contemporary pop songs, songs from the classical Soviet films, latest heavy metal etc. Similarly diverse are the translation strategies adopted by the subtitlers. With no classification available for translation strategies employed in song subtitling, I find it useful to adapt Franzon's list of translation techniques used for the dubbed (sung) versions of songs[10]:

1. Leaving the song untranslated.

2. **Translating the lyrics but not taking the music into account**

3. **Writing new lyrics to the original music with no overt relation to the original lyrics**

4. Translating the lyrics and adapting the music accordingly – sometimes to the extent that a brand new composition is deemed necessary

5. **Adapting the translation to the original music.**

Three of them are theoretically applicable to the chosen data, and research findings show that all of those are present in the studied pool of songs. It is now pertinent to turn to the discussion of these techniques as this is where the notions of ideology and poetics, mentioned in the beginning of this paper, will come in relevant helping to establish the links between the motivation and the adopted translation techniques.

2. 3. 1   *Translating the lyrics but not taking the music into account (2)*

Used extensively by translators of different ideological backgrounds, this method aims at close rendering of the text, assuming that musico-poetic qualities do not need to be transferred as they are readily available to the audience through the original performance. Here, the priority is given to words rather than music, and this focus on the verbal constituent combined with the line-by-line mode of translation typical of subtitling, foregrounds such SL features as syntax.

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10   Ibid

Original audio-track:

Дуэль не состоялась или перенесена,
А в тридцать три распяли, но не сильно.
А в тридцать семь - не кровь, да что там
          кровь - и седина
Испачкала виски не так обильно.

Translation by MrBanbury:

The duel didnt take place, or has been postponed,
And at 33 they crucified them, but not too hard,
And in 37 not blood, what blood was there?
          and even grey hair
Soiled the temples not too lavishly.
....
Example 1: 'Vladimir Vysotsky To poets' translated and uploaded by MrBanbury (15 March 2009)

Translator's aim at rendering the text as closely as possible in case of dense lyrics, like that of Vysotsky, results in rather cumbersome, not 'native-sounding' phrases which draw attention both to the syntactic differences between languages and to the distinctness of Vysotsky's prosodic style.

While the preceding example emphasises the poetics of the source language, this method is equally fruitful for the discussion of ideology, which can be revealed when the same items are being translated differently depending on the motivational background of the user. To take the most telling example, let us consider the use of the contested spelling of the word **[Р/р]одина** and the use of **[M/m]otherland** as its translation in the following examples:

Original audio-track:

За нашу Родину, огонь, огонь!

Translation by ogr2008:

For our **Motherland,** give fire, give fire!
....
Example 2: 'Russian Artellerists march' translated and uploaded by ogr2008 (15 July 2007)

Original audio track:

Ох сильна же наша Родина-мать

Translation by businka1:

Our **motherland** is oh so strong
....
Example 3: 'New Dawn \ Новая Заря' translated and uploaded by businka1 (06 January 2009)

In the Soviet times, the word **[Р/р]одина** was customarily spelt with the capital letter. This spelling appeared in the spelling dictionaries and was taught at schools. The ideological U-turn of the 1990s, however, reversed the situation and the revised guidelines on spelling stated that the word **родина** was to be spelt with the small letter, apart from the cases of 'special stylistic usage' [11]. The word **родина** henceforth became the index of the ideological stand of the author, which can be witnessed in the preceding examples. In ex.2 the word is spelt with the capital letter and belongs to the translator who was identified as driven by political motivation,

....

11 §109, Current spelling rules, published on 'Gramota.ru', <http://www.gramota.ru/spravka/rules/?rub=prop>

whereas the overtly patriotic song in ex. 3 constituted for the translator a piece of cultural curiosity and that informed his decision to treat the occurrence of the word **motherland** as a standard case, rather than that of 'special stylistic usage'.

2. 3. 2   *Writing new lyrics to the original music with no overt relation to the original lyrics (3)*

In describing this method, Franzon talks of it as the one that gives priority to music and suggests foreign versions of pop-songs and musicals as an example. Researched data, though, presents a clear example of ideological appropriation, where the song (admittedly, patriotic in itself) has been subtitled with overtly nationalistic and anti-American text.

Original audio-track:
Для славы со Христом мы были созданы
Никак нас враг чудовищный не съест
Кололи нас серпом, звездили звёздами
Но наше знамя есть и будет крест.

Translation by ogr2008:
We have been born for goodness and for glory
But we have been invaded from the West
They stick us their stars and their cola
But our cross was dwelled on the chest
………………………………..
Example 4: 'We are Russians' translated and uploaded by ogr2008 (02 May 2009)

Here, as characteristic of the singer Zhanna Bichevskaya, ST puts much emphasis on the religious affiliation of the Russian people, whereas the enemy remains covert. TT reverses the emphasis, doing away with the name of Christ but bringing in various anti-Western hints ('invaded from the West', reference to cola). Interestingly enough, the TT 'stars' when followed by 'cola' instantaneously change alliance as compared to the original. ST stars coupled with sickle point at the Soviet Union, whereas stars in the TT coupled with cola seem to point at the US.

Tellingly the only line of the song that in the TT is the direct translation of the ST is the second line of the refrain: Мы русские, мы русские, мы русские-> We're Russians, we're Russians, we're Russians.

2. 3. 3   *Adapting the translation to the original music (5)*

Considerably closer rendering of the ST is provided by user Ser841 (cultural motivation) which, however, compromises fidelity to the content in order to preserve the singability of the TT. This is what Franzon calls 'prosodic match'[12], realised through close adherence to the ST's syllable count, rhythm, intonation and stress. In the following example, the emphasis on the singability is further stressed by the fact that the TT is supplemented in the commentary of the upload with the chords for guitar.

Original audio-track:
Скоро рассвет. Выхода нет.

……………………………………
12   Understood, after Franzon, as 'the attainment of musico-verbal unity between the text and the composition' (Franzon, p. 375).

Ключ поверни и полетели
Нужно писать
В чью-то тетрадь
Кровью как в метрополитене.

Translation by ser841:

Let's don't pretend, this is dead end.
Just turn your key and fly away now.
Have to write in
Not with red ink
But with blood, like they write on the signboards

Example 5: 'Сплин - Выхода нет / Spleen - Dead End' translated by ser841 (24 April 2010)

With regards to the translation methods, then, method (3) can be assumed to be employed for ideological reasons, whereas method (5) enables the translator to preserve song-making conventions of the source culture. Method (2) gives priority to words and through this constitutes the most flexible approach to song translation, which can equally well be adapted to highlighting the poetics of the SL, as to creating an ideologically charged translation.

It is important to note here that SC comes to light in the translation of this type not only through the adoption of the abovementioned methods, but also because of the opportunities that YouTube provides to its users for expanding on their translation. Extra cultural information can be communicated through commentary, through discussions, inserted into the subtitles or provided in special blurbs, as done by Ilyakub (ex. 6).

Finally, I would like to say that translation on Youtube can provide intriguing field of enquiry for further research. This is where translation becomes a public affair, where other users are provided an opportunity to join in with the effort of making the outcome better, raising aware-

Example 6: 'Марк Бернес - Шаланды Полные Кефали' translated by Ilyakub (15 February 2010)

Example 7:   Comment to 'New Dawn \ Новая Заря' translated by businka1 (06 January 2009)

ness of the source language through this meta-linguistic debate. And although most common reference to the translation comes in terms of harsh criticism, some of the users get (well-deserved) praise for going into the hassle of translating the video and uploading it for the benefit of the wider public. After all, amateur translation is first and foremost the creation of the uploader, with his/her ideological background and his/her perception of poetical values shaping the outcome.

2. 4   Conclusion

As shown in this paper, a new translation agency has been established in the past few years prompted by the wider accessibility of specialised translation software and the shift towards interactive interface of Internet communication. Amateur translators differ from the professionals in being more often than not native speakers of the SL. Their motivations for undertaking the task of subtitling vary from political to cultural, and from personal to educational, in all cases revolving round the issues of SC representation albeit differing in the angle that is prioritised. A close look at the TT can hence reveal how the initial motivation determines the translation method employed by the users, foregrounding certain aspects of the SC. What also distinguishes this mode of translation is the density and importance of paratexts that provide viewers with additional information in form of upload introduction, user's profile messages, upload discussions and even explicatory blurbs inserted into the body of the video.

Placing my paper within wider discussions on the contemporary developments in the Russian language, I would like to point out that in the era when more and more people in Russia get concerned with the 'survival' of the language in spite of the massive inflow of foreignisms and potential latinization of the language, the paradox lies in the fact that the foreign audience is provided with a new channel through which it can familiarise itself with the poetics of the Russian language and the Russian culture. The material provided through this channel is often new for translation and is intrinsically linked to the cultural and ideological values of the Russian speaking community.

Videos used

Example 1: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=W3S2wHcCpGs
Example 2: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=0DA1y_s2D5M
Example 3, 7: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=Jaxg4VmDQF8
Example 4: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=W3S2wHcCpGs&cc=1
Example 5: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=MEbvkvES05w
Example 6: http://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=FDZSSdOnP4o

Section II

Table of contents

Chapter 1

Reading Minds: Cognitive Perspectives on *Anna Karenina*

(Brett Cooke[13]*)*

> "it was decided by the eyes, by smiles"
> Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina*

Late in his life my father requested that we stop sending him novels. An inveterate reader, he said he no longer had the energy to read fiction; we should give him non-fiction instead. Very likely this was a symptom of the congestive heart failure that would kill him some months later, but obviously it did not involve his literacy, rather another function. How is it that something he commonly did for pleasure, indeed paid for, was now beyond his powers? Does fiction consume more energy than fact? This raises the question of just what is it we do when we read high literature, as in the case of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*? Could it be that reading fiction is actually hard work? Do we have an adequate philosophy of what is involved? My suggestion is that recent developments in cognitive studies indicate that more is involved than we may have suspected. We should not take reading fiction for granted.

What I propose to do here is to take familiar observations about Tolstoy's novel and set them in the context of modern findings of cognitive science. This is not to say that these statements are only true of *Anna Karenina*—they describe art the world over for profound reasons—but it should interest us that they are found in this novel with a heretofore unprecedented intensity.

There has been much inquiry recently into how we infer meaningful information from literature. As Brian Boyd argues, the virtually automatic, usually subconscious, and often self-rewarding character of such cognition are all indications that it is the result of biological adaptations, here much supplemented by consequent cultural evolution.[14] It is also astonishingly efficient and effective. Consider likely responses to the two following questions. First,

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13   Brett Cooke is Professor of Russian, Texas A&M University. His books include *Pushkin and the Creative Process* (University Press of Florida, 1998), and *Human Nature in Utopia: Zamyatin's "We"* (Northwestern University Press, 2002). He co-edited (with Frederick Turner) *Biopoetics: Evolutionary Explorations in the Arts* (Paragon House, 1998) and (with Jan Baptist Bedaux) *Sociobiology and the Arts* (Rodopi, 1998). His articles also include studies of Dostoevsky, Zamyatin, science fiction, and dramatic music.

14   Brian Boyd, *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 155.

what might an extraterrestrial anthropologist learn about our species from a novel like *Anna Karenina* alone? If you give the matter some thought, the answer is obvious: very much indeed. The novel contains an immeasurable mass of information not just about social mores in nineteenth century Russia, but also about humankind in general, that we have conventions of sexual bonding, that most parents cherish their offspring, that we are ever alert to detect freeloaders and cheaters in our midst, and so on; in effect it conveys a large portion of what we term human nature, which helps account for international reception of the book as a classic. That projected alien would also learn much about how we think, merely by examining the demands that reading fiction makes on us.

We are still exploring how much valuable information *Anna* contains. This impression is supported by the likely response to my second question: what might constitute an error in fiction? Supposedly, given that fiction is fantasy at least in part, anything might be permitted, that there could not be an error other than in typography, etc. On the contrary as we read works of psychological realism we are ever vigilant to the slightest false note: our scansion of how species-typical behavior is represented is very sensitive and demanding. If, for example, at his luncheon with Levin early in the novel Oblonsky were to order a bowl of soup and spit in it neither he nor we would swallow it—in either sense of the word.[15] What kind of internal standard do we carry about human beings that immediately tells us that this is more than unlikely?[16] What would we learn from our reaction to such an authorial misstep? In other words, what sort of intelligence has Tolstoy, like other successful artists, sensed, albeit perhaps not in a fully conscious manner, that is highly informative of how we receive art?

It may well be that artists have always practiced a kind of science, at least in the sense that they have anticipated modern clinical findings. Aesthetic cognition may produce real knowledge. In *Proust Was a Neuroscientist* Jonah Lehrer argues that people like the author of *In Search of Times Lost* and the chef Auguste Escoffier developed insights into the workings of the mind that are properly understood only today.[17] All that mattered at the time when they worked was that their productions were aesthetically effective, but this still amounts to the achievement of some sort of psychological accuracy. In *Why Do We Care about Literary Characters?* Blakey Vermeule claims that "literary authors have often described cognitive heuristics and biases correctly, long before philosophy and science were able to do so."[18] Of course, virtually everyone possesses a sense of "folk psychology" that existed well in advance of clinical findings. One could argue that the process of narrative fiction has been to stretch our understanding of one another. Suspense depends on characters occasionally being able to transcend readers' expectations, but literary satisfaction commonly requires subsequent justification of their unpredicted behavior by means of a fuller understanding of the context and of our propensities for behavioral and emotional response.

15   Steven Pinker, *How the Mind Works* (New York: Norton, 1997).

16   Works that do not accord with psychological realism, such as fantasy, may nevertheless reflect emotional patterns typical of human beings. Authors probably find this much easier—and more meaningful to readers—than trying to devise another form of psychological consistency.

17   Jonah Lehrer, *Proust Was a Neuroscientist* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007).

18   Blakey Vermeule, *Why Do We Care about Literary Characters?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), p. 27. We have noted similar findings; see Brett Cooke, *Pushkin and the Creative Process* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), and Brett Cooke, "Natural Psychology in the Evolution of Russian Prose," unpublished paper presented to the Human Behavior and Evolution Society, 2006.

As further indication that reading entails a profound psychological process, we cite a class of people generally unable to appreciate novels: autistics. That their malady has a genetic origin suggests that something central to our reading is an evolved cognitive function. Autistics appear, with varying degrees, to lack what is termed Theory of Mind, the ability to imagine how other people think in a manner that differs from their own consciousness. Most children normally develop an ability which seems to resemble mind-reading: on the basis of physical and social cues, but nevertheless limited information, we are able to model the consciousness of other people. Sure, errors are made, as we see in *Anna Karenina*, when Dolly accepts Stiva's penitence as genuine, Levin thinks Kitty has fallen in love with Vasenka, and Anna believes Vronsky is about to abandon her. Meanwhile, few of us expect that Karenin will forgive Anna for her adultery; characters, like people, are capable of surprise.[19] These, however, are entirely understandable misapprehensions, given the other adaptive pressures involved. The point is that we develop largely dependable expectations of each other, a function that is claimed to account for much of the evolution of human intelligence. Furthermore, not only does participation in society depend on Theory of Mind, so does reading fiction. Notably, autistics have difficulty in reading fiction, albeit they may be otherwise intelligent. The opposite pertains to those suffering from Williams Syndrome, another genetic disorder.[20] Vermeule asserts as a result, "fiction is uniquely suited to show us the privacy of a character's consciousness."[21] Dorit Cohen refers to it as "the mind-reading experience."[22] In Robin Dunbar's words, the reader becomes "a voyeur of the intimate lives of other individuals."[23] Michelle Scalise Sugiyama says that the "function of character… is to illuminate the minds of our fellow human beings," that "characters give us special access to the human psyche that is not available to us in the real world."[24] In other words, our capacity to imagine other people, a basic task in fiction, like our social performance, is enabled by our genetic heritage. Permit me to outline how this is the case with five cognitive perspectives on *Anna Karenina*. These include body language, detection of gaze direction, life history modeling, play with pattern, and innovation in narrative style leading to the development of stream-of-consciousness.

A notable instance of Theory of Mind is our use of physical gestures to infer another person's subjectivity. This is the basis of acting, wherein false personalities are projected. Tolstoy has long been noted for his masterful use of body language. He properly makes a distinction between movements or states of the body that are voluntary and those over which we normally have little control. Of course, talented actors learn how to master the latter, which are otherwise more trustworthy, being difficult to fake. When Dolly's cheek twitches, or a leaf quiv-

19 О. В. Сливицкая, *Об эффекте жизнеподобия Анны Карениной* (Санкт-Петербург: Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет, 2004), p. 35.

20 Lisa Zunshine, 2006, *Why We Read Fiction; Theory of Mind and the Novel* (Columbus; Ohio State University Press, 2006), p. 9; Boyd, *Op. cit.,* p. 190.

21 Vermeule, *Op. cit.,* p. 14.

22 Cited in Vermeule, *Op. cit.,* p. 14.

23 Cited in Michelle Scalise Sugiyama, "Reverse Engineering Narrative: Evidence of Special Design," in Jonathan Gottschall and David Sloan Wilson, eds., *The Literary Animal: Evolution and the Nature of Narrative* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2005), p. 185.

24 Sugiyama, *Op. cit.,* pp. 185, 186.

ers in Anna's hand, we reliably infer that they are upset. (9, 117)[25] We cannot depend, however, on Stiva's tears as a sure sign of his sincerity, but it may also be the case that he lies to himself, much as he lies to others—an issue we shall return to. (11) A basis for body language was revealed in the discovery of mirror neurons; these fire both when an animal—tests were performed on macaques—either perform an action or witness another doing the same. Some neuroscientists believe that mirror neurons underline our Theory of Mind, while they are not functioning in autistics. They certainly contribute to our capacity for empathy. As Brian Boyd posits, "we are wired for emotional contagion… We know how [others] are feeling because we literally feel what they are feeling."[26] Furthermore, "mirror neurons… allow an effortless, automatic understanding of the intentions of others through an almost reflex inner emotion."[27] This also seems to apply to unseen states of the body. I expect that most of you feel your heart beating as Levin does when seeking out Kitty at the rink early in the novel. (25) We sense Anna's headaches, but, thanks to the achievements of modern dentistry, perhaps few of us can share Vronsky's toothache near the end. (707) Tolstoy uses such gestures to enlist our compassion. Who would not feel sorry for Kitty with her trembling lips, jilted by Vronsky at the ball, but notably little similar is said about the unsympathetic Karenin, at least until he first blushes almost halfway into the novel. (75, 290) Tolstoy was hardly the inventor of body language, but it is notable how he pushes the envelope such as when Kitty feels the rush of her milk, signaling that it is time to breastfeed their son. (708) Can male readers grasp this passage? Do male mirror neurons work for female experiences? Apparently Tolstoy thought so in this case. He also draws on our capacity for physical aversion—here usually connected with Karenin, whether this involves his prominent ears, his bad habit of cracking his knuckles, or the spot where he kisses Anna's hand. (97, 131, 188) Tolstoy extends this to psychological states. Does the reader not see the world through "rose-tinted spectacles" as the euphoric Levin does when he finally gets engaged? Note how his future parents-in-law immediately share his state of mind and, as Tolstoy puts it, lose track of who fell in love with whom—surely one of the happiest pages in the novel. (364) Later we gain the opposite point of view with the obviously depressed, indeed suicidal Anna, as she views the world with a very negative bias.

In his incisive study of the rendition of subjectivity in British novels, *Fictional Minds*, Alan Palmer insists that body language, such as we observe in *Anna Karenina*, can provide "reliable information" regarding a character's Theory of Mind.[28] Indeed, thanks to gestures, "our minds *can* be perfectly visible to others."[29] Perhaps his assertion begs the question of what might constitute the totality of our consciousness at any one particular moment, but it suggests an apparent consensus opinion that such insight is remarkably effective. One reason for this may be how much we depend on it. We are always attempting to link gestures to internal states of mind. Otherwise, as Palmer puts it, "behavior by itself is of no interest to us."[30] So, as we read *Anna*, we continually scrutinize her gestures and actions—as well as those of the other charac-

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25   References to the Maude translation of *Anna Karenina* are made by page number only in parentheses. Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina*, Aylmer Maude, trans., George Gibian, ed., (New York: Norton, 1995).

26   Boyd, *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

27   *Ibid.*, p. 142.

28   Alan Palmer, *Fictional Minds* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2004), p. 10.

29   *Ibid.*, p. 133.

30   *Ibid.*, p. 140.

ters—to infer what she thinks. As we shall see, Tolstoy increases the demands on this process.

Another cognitive perspective concerns the detection of a person's gaze. Part of body language, it is typically received as an important index of intention. Indeed, some species use eye spots—which imitate a predator's stare—as a form of aversion.[31] Simon Baron-Cohen posits that normally developing children have an "Eye Direction Detector," whereby "it is hard not to notice people's eyes, especially when they are pointed at us."[32] Attention-sharing is for Boyd one of the essentials of art; it is also a common deficit in autism. Sensing the direction of another person's eyes obviously contributes to what has been termed *Machiavellian Intelligence.* While *Anna Karenina,* being a prose creation, contains no eye spots, Tolstoy repeatedly indicates who is looking at whom. Note how at the horse race Karenin is alarmed to see how his wife's gaze is exclusively directed at Vronsky; he worries that others also notice how she directs her attention—and her sympathies. Gary Saul Morson describes this scene as "Watching Watching Watching."[33]

What are we watching for when we look at others looking? It seems the major issue in socalled "social monitoring" is the detection of cheaters. This, according to Vermeule, constitutes an insatiable source of narrative interest.[34] Certainly this pertains to a novel about marital infidelity. When Kitty attends the ball, expecting an offer from Vronsky, Tolstoy has her discern, possibly before Anna and Vronsky enunciate it to themselves, that they have fallen in love with each other. This supports Alan Palmer's assertion that "we [often] are more aware of others' feelings and intentions than our own."[35] Such interpersonal perception may also be more accurate than introspection. Consider how often people tell one another what the latter is really thinking. Such is one of the activities of sensitive reading, whereby we gain a grasp of a character's psychology, often superior to his or her sense of self, and quite possibly as a means of gaining insight into our own. For example, according to Morson, at the ball Kitty detects Anna's subconscious penchant for deceit.[36] Tolstoy casts the scene so that the reader also draws the same conclusion in much the same manner, rather than merely be informed by the narrator in so many words. Kitty will spend the next three hundred pages deducing that she is really in love with Levin. Obviously, Tolstoy wrote his novel so that we vicariously experience many of its events and therefore better learn from them. But this requires the exercise of our Machiavellian Intelligence.

When Tolstoy points out how people notice what other people are looking at, he is also asking us to model the consciousness of each participant in a metamental relationship. Count how many psychologies we imagine when

1. we read how

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31   See Nancy E. Aiken, *The Biological Origins of Art* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1998), pp. 90-91. Eye spots are also prominent in art. Christopher Tyler found that the vertical center of most European portraits over a six hundred year span ran directly through one of the subject's eyeballs. Cited in Vermeule, *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

32   Simon Baron-Cohen, "How to build a baby that can read minds: Cognitive mechanisms in mindreading," in Simon Baron-Cohen, ed., *The Maladapted Mind: Classic Readings in Evolutionary Psychopathology* (East Sussex: Psychology Press, 1997), pp. 212, 214.

33   Gary Saul Morson, *Anna Karenina in Our Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 108.

34   Vermeule, *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

35   Palmer, *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

36   Morson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-81.

2. Stiva thinks that

3. Levin should go ahead and propose to

4. Kitty, knowing that she is expecting an offer from

5. Vronsky, and, familiar with the last, possibly suspects that this won't happen.

Surely this is on Levin's mind as he scrutinizes Vronsky shortly after Kitty rejects his marriage proposal. Most of us can only juggle so many minds in our mind at once. Lisa Zunshine suggests that one of the reasons *Why We Read Fiction* is to exercise our metamentality. Tolstoy, unlike, for example, Virginia Woolf, stays within the limits of our capacity for multi-mental modeling. [37]

A related perspective is "life history modeling." According to Joseph Carroll, "the life history of every species forms a reproductive cycle."[38] Carroll proposes that we carry an internal model of expectations per species typical behavior to this end; we use this as a benchmark for evaluating fictional characters, a model that is, of course, conditioned by cultural context and individual experience. Palmer argues that such innate homeostatic processes reflect a wealth of "hidden wisdom" developed via natural selection, as must be the case for a large portion of what we *take for granted*.[39] Much of the novel is built on our correct sense that Kitty and Levin are ready for marriage, albeit at rather different ages. He is well into his thirties, while she is only eighteen; nevertheless she already fears becoming an old maid. (361) Clearly we also detect the appropriate consciousness for life history trajectories conducive to adaptive behavior. As Olga Slivitskaya observes, "the main events are internal."[40] Per this measure, Karenin should put up more resistance to cuckoldry—some contemporary readers may have expected him to challenge Vronsky to a duel. Instead he adopts their bastard daughter. More shocking is not only that Anna abandons both of her children, but that she almost never seems to think of little Annie. Here again Tolstoy stretches our ability to imagine other selves. We perform this by means of introspection. As John Searle puts it, "what we are studying is the *me* that is *him* or *her*."[41] Our knowledge of other people is largely based on our mental construction of their consciousness. We then measure our models of others against our internal norms, which are continually conditioned by updated information and shifting cultural contexts. Surely we sense in this case, as Dolly, a doting mother, detects during her visit to Anna's estate, that something is very, very wrong about the unmaternal Anna. As Slivitskaya points out. Anna's life is a lie she makes to herself; «лжизнь».[42] We cannot read the novel without sensing that she will destroy herself. Tolstoy thus increases her deviance from what Carroll and other evocritics would recognize as behavior consistent with *inclusive fitness*. *Anna Karenina* is written to meet the great challenge of providing plausible motivation for her suicide. He also builds in her portrait the necessary consciousness for such a dire action as hers.

Brian Boyd also proposes that the essence of art is "cognitive play with pattern," a defini-

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37   Zunshine, *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

38   Carroll, Joseph, 2008, "The Cuckoo's History: Human Nature in *Wuthering Heights*," *Philosophy and Literature* 32 (2008), p. 242.

39   Palmer, *Op. cit.*, 105.

40   Сливицкая, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

41   Cited in Palmer, *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

42   "lie-life"; Сливицкая, *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

tion that wonderfully suits *Anna Karenina,* wherein Tolstoy constructs an ingenious scheme of comparable romantic relationships. There is what seems to be a limitless array of plot rhythms: besides the various possible sexual bonds, the narrative is bounded by railroad deaths, comparable siblings—Stiva and Anna both adulterous, Kitty and Dolly solidly faithful—and contrastive—Levin and his brothers—and so on. Whereas most narrative attempts to avoid confused identifications, there are three Annas and two Alexeis in the limited cast of characters. The attraction of pattern, according to Boyd, is to make information efficient, an obvious adaptive benefit. Boyd argues that "One sign of a cognitive adaptation is that limited perceptual input yields rich conceptual output" a statement so true for this novel.[43] Morson's *Anna Karenina in Our Time* serves as sufficient evidence: a masterful commentary on Tolstoy's masterpiece and literature in general, as well as wise advice for all. Even so, I doubt that we'll ever cease learning useful things about other people and ourselves from this novel, as with any other great classic.

There is another cognitive perspective that Tolstoy and I save almost for the very last. Late in Book VII he introduces to literature what has been termed as "stream-of-consciousness" narration. Tolstoy was always one to push the envelope of metamentality by exposing readers to increasingly exotic states of mind; earlier in the novel some pages are narrated from the point of view of Levin's dog! In general his works suit Lisa Zunshine's notion that "our enjoyment of fiction is predicated—at least in part—upon… our 'trying on' mental states potentially available to us but at a given moment differing from our own."[44] He, of course, describes the sensation of being in battle in many scenes, especially in *War and Peace,* but much of his art was directed towards the internal experience of dying. In the second of the *Sevastopol Sketches* Tolstoy imparted the process of dying in battle; an important insight is his use of time dilation in his description of a nearly instantaneous death. In *War and Peace* Andrei fantacizes as he slowly dies of his wounds. The process is yet more prolix, indeed drawn-out, in *The Death of Ivan Illich.* Both passages anticipate the stages of dying, the commonly observed psychological states of the terminally afflicted, later described by Elizabeth Kubler-Ross. Although Anna's suicide is long in the making—one might trace it back to our first glimpse of her at a train station—Tolstoy reveals something novel and apparently accurate when he considerably accelerates the process with her sudden resolve to put her head under a train.

As Anna drives around in search of Vronsky, Tolstoy slips into unframed direct interior monologue by citing what pass for her unsifted thoughts, registering both what she sees on the outside and comes to her consciousness from the inside. What follows includes many but not all of the trademarks of stream-of-consciousness: disconnected, multivalent lines of internal discourse regarding various visual and social impressions, presented apparently in order of their occurrence in a polyphonic manner, replete with non-sequiturs, mnemonic associations, contradictions, and some truncated syntax.

> Sitting in the corner of the comfortable *caleche,* which rocked gently on its elastic springs to the rapid trot of the pair of greys, Anna—amid the incessant rattle of wheels and the rapidly changing impressions in the open air—again going over the events of the last days, saw her position quite dif-

43   Boyd, *Op. cit.,* p. 189.

44   Zunshine, *Op. cit.,* p. 17. Literary history can be read as a continuing process of exploring the mind. Alan Palmer views much of 20th century fiction "in terms of its evident desire to disrupt or problematize the sense of the unified nature of experience and to portray non-unified states of consciousness"; *Op. cit.,* p. 100.

ferently from what it had seemed at home. Now the idea of death no longer seemed so terrible and clear, and death itself no longer seemed inevitable. She reproached herself now with the humiliation to which she had descended. 'I entreated him to forgive me. I have surrendered to him. I have confessed that I am to blame. Why? Can I not live without him?' (684)

Perhaps just below the threshold of our consciousness as we read these passages is the realization that Anna is riding in a carriage, that her mental process is influenced by the jostling of her journey and consequent dominance of right-brain cognition, thereby lubricating the flow of her free association. Increasingly Tolstoy widens our view of her subjectivity by including sensations from other parts of her consciousness, now organized—if at all—by apparently illogical associations. These impart to us Anna's increasing agitation. Such is also effected by the sheer length and complexity of this passage, unprecedented for its time, creating a sense of tension in the reader, more and more abandoned by the omniscient narrator:

> She began reading the signboards. '"Office and Stores... Dental surgeon…" Yes, I will tell Dolly everything. She is fond of me and I will follow her advice. I won't submit to him; I won't let him educate me... "Filippov, Bakery…" It is said that they send dough to Petersburg. The Moscow water is so good. Oh, and the wells in Mytishchi, and the pancakes!...' And she remembered how, long, long ago, when she was only seventeen, she visited the Troitsa Monastery with her aunt. 'We drove with horses, for there was then no railway. Can it really have been I, that girl with the red hands? How many things that then seemed to me excellent and unattainable have since become insignificant, and things that then existed are now for ever unattainable! Should I then have believed that I should descend to such humiliation? How proud and satisfied he will be to get my note! But I will show him… How nasty that paint smells! Why are they always painting and building? "Dress-making and Millinery,"' she read. (685)

Significantly, her interpretations of passing phenomena are increasingly vague and pessimistic. What she has in mind regarding the advice she anticipates from Dolly is unclear. This passage recalls her earlier interaction with her sister-in-law earlier in the novel when she came to Moscow to save the Oblonsky marriage. It is not clear but nevertheless likely that she recognizes how the tables have now turned. Her thoughts regarding dough are motivated by the signs she is evidently reading in passing, but no other basis is cited for her recollection of wells and pancakes. These do suggest the strength of memories with olfactory associations. Meanwhile her thoughts regarding her memory are contradictory, both happy and agitating, while the reference to her "red hands" remains obscure. It is already evident that her mind is racing with a great variety of impressions.

> A man bowed to her. It was Annushka's husband. 'Our parasite,' she remembered how Vronsky had said the words. 'Our? Why "our"? It is dreadful that one cannot tear out the past by the roots. We cannot tear it out, but we can hide the memory of it. And I will hide it!" At this point she recollected her past with Karenin and how she had effaced the memory of him. [...] But she immediately began to wonder what those two girls could be smiling at. 'Love, probably! They don't know how far from joyous it is, how low… The boulevard and children. Three boys running about playing at horses. Serezha! And I shall lose everything if he does not return. He may have missed the train and be back already. Wanting to humiliate yourself again!" she said to herself. 'No, I shall go to Dolly's, and will tell her frankly: "I am unhappy, I deserve it; I am guilty, and all the same I am unhappy. Help me!" ... These horses, this carriage, how horrid it is of me to be in this carriage—they are all his, but I shall not see them anymore.' (684-85)

Remarking on the three boys, Tolstoy appears to confuse Anna's thoughts with narra-

tion, while the syntax, let alone the logic, becomes fragmentary. The connection between Annushka's husband and "Our parasite" is elusive. She comments on thoughts unuttered. We can only imagine them if we model her frame of mind on the basis of what we read earlier; in other words, we depend on our memory to grasp this passage. This is not particularly difficult, since the preceding chapters, for one example, have long informed us regarding her continual obsession with her son. And we readily recognize the "He" at the end of this passage as Vronsky, accompanied by the words she expects him to say—probably recalling what he said to her on earlier occasions.

Anna's mentation, here and subsequently when she continues her wanderings, is short of being telegraphic, but a hairdresser's advertisement quite nonsensically keeps coming to her attention. Leaving Dolly's house unadmitted, Anna's thoughts continue their downward trajectory. Note how she models in her mind the likely responses of Dolly and Kitty—and almost confesses to herself her attempt to seduce the latter's husband, accompanied by an unuttered recollection of how she once stole Vronsky from her:

> 'How they looked at me, as at something dreadful, incomprehensible, and strange!… What can he be telling that other man so warmly?' she thought, glancing at two pedestrians. 'How is it possible to tell another what one feels?' I meant to tell Dolly, but it's a good thing I didn't. How glad she would have been at my misfortune! She would have concealed it; but her chief feeling would have been joy that I am punished for the pleasures she has envied me. Kitty would have been still more pleased. How well can I read her! She knows I was more than usually amiable to her husband. She is jealous of me and hates me, and she also despises me. In her eyes I am an immoral woman. If I were immoral I could make her husband fall in love with me… if I wanted to. And I did want to. There is someone satisfied with himself!' she thought, seeing a fat ruddy man who was driving past in the opposite direction, and who, taking her for an acquaintance, lifted his shiny hat above his bald and shiny head, but then discovered that he was mistaken. 'He thought he knew me. But he knows me as little as anyone else in the world. I don't even know myself! "I know my appetites," as the French say. Those boys want some of that dirty ice-cream; they know that for a certainty,' she thought, as she saw two boys stopping an ice-cream vendor, who lifted down a tub from his head and wiped his perspiring face with the end of the cloth. 'We all want something sweet and tasty; if we can get no bonbons, then dirty ice-creams! And Kitty is just the same; if not Vronsky, then Levin. And she envies and hates me. And we all hate one another: Kitty me, and I Kitty! Now that is true. "*Tyutkin, Coiffeur.*" … *Je me fais coiffer par Tyutkin…*.' (687-88)

Anna's subjectivity, like our own, is polyphonic; responses to other phenomena and impulses keep interrupting, such as her reactions to passersby. This accords with Daniel Dennett's view that "what we experience as consciousness is merely an amalgam of the various 'multiple drafts' that are produced across all of the different regions of the whole brain."[45] For example, do cited billboards like "'Tyutken, Coiffeur'"—a reference to heads—signify something that she won't enunciate to herself? Meanwhile her emotions become more distinctly negative with her expression of mutual hatred. We are only minutes away from what Morson says is "perhaps the most psychologically acute suicide in world literature."[46]

Certainly there have been other suicides in narrative—one might argue that, being non-accidental, suicide is the quintessential literary denouement. But here Tolstoy has a reader experience it here in an unprecedentedly intimate matter. Suicide, especially by a heroine, is a fixture in opera. At the end of *Les Troyens,* for example, Hector Berlioz exploits vocal music's po-

45   Cited in Palmer, *Op. cit.*, 245.

46   Morson, *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

tential for lyric expression by having Dido describe her state of mind before mounting her fu-neral pyre.[47] But in *Anna Karenina* the necessary consciousness is imparted *silently*. Only Anna's actions exteriorize her thoughts. He slips into her state of mind unobtrusively by mixing her visual impressions with her ongoing worries about her untenable position in society, indeed, citing her thoughts in a conventional manner but also at unconventional length and in detail.

Introducing stream-of-conscious narration here, Tolstoy probably shocked the novel's first readers by their unexpected proximity to Anna's mind. As late as the eighteenth century au-thors questioned whether it was decent to look into a character's mind.[48] Moreover, he has Anna kill herself a full book before the end of the novel—when, to paraphrase the opening pages of Nabokov's *Invitation to a Beheading*, readers still feel with relief an abundance of pag-es in their right hands. In other words Anna surprises herself and us with her sudden resolu-tion. Although her suicide is satisfyingly inevitable, only moments before the train approaches Anna thinks of "how happy life might still be." (692) Nevertheless,

> Suddenly remembering the man who had been run over the day she first met Vronsky, she re-alized what she had to do. [...] She looked at the bottom of the trucks, at the bolts and chains and large iron wheels of the slowly-moving front truck, and tried to estimate the middle point between the front and back wheels, and the moment when that point would be opposite her.
> 'There!' she said to herself, looking at the shadow of the car on the mingled sand and coal dust which covered the sleepers. (694-95)

Once again Tolstoy refers to Anna's and the reader's memory of their first encounter at the station. The connection of the worker's accidental death to her own is telegraphic. Meanwhile, she calculates her suicide in a surprisingly logical fashion.

Tolstoy adds time dilation as Anna throws herself onto the tracks: in the course of what could only be a matter of seconds, she protects her purse, crosses herself, recalls "a whole se-ries of girlish and childish memories"—evidence for Morson of her "body memory"—tries to reverse her action, and regrets it.[49] Note how much is narrated in the final paragraph of Book VII, which describe Anna's last *moments*.

> She wanted to fall half-way between the wheels of the front car, which was drawing level with her, but the little red handbag which she began to take off her arm delayed her, and then it was too late. The middle had passed her. She was obliged to wait for the next truck. A feeling seized her like that she had experienced when preparing to enter the water in bathing, and she crossed herself. The familiar gesture of making the sign of the cross called up a whole series of girlish and childish mem-ories, and suddenly the darkness, that obscured everything for her, broke, and life showed itself to her for an instant with all its bright past joys. But she did not take her eyes off the wheels of the ap-proaching second car, and at the very moment when the midway point between the wheels drew lev-el, she threw away her red bag, and drawing her head down between her shoulders threw herself for-ward on her hands under the car, and with a light movement as if preparing to rise again, immediate-ly dropped on her knees. 'Where am I? What am I doing? Why?' She wished to rise, to throw herself back, but something huge and relentless struck her on the head and dragged her down. 'God forgive me everything!' she said, feeling the impossibility of struggling... (695)

47   Brunnhilde does much the same at the denouement of Richard Wagner's *Das Ring des Niebelungen*. See Brett Cooke, "Cliches Worth Singing: Narrative Commonplaces in Opera," *The Evolutionary Review* 1 (2010): 76-81.

48   Palmer, *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

49   Morson, *Op. cit.*, 138.

One imagines that at such a fateful moment the mind is racing. And she acts in contradictory ways; as if on an involuntary impulse, her body tries to reverse her plunge. Somehow there is time for her to pose three questions to herself, express a final prayer, and make one last observation. Morson identifies the "something" that strikes her as being her word, her sensation of the train. (695)[50] But this is not enough for Tolstoy, who then takes us where none of us have ever been, at least not yet.

> The candle, by the light of which she had been reading that book filled with anxieties, deceptions, grief, and evil, flared up with a brighter light than before, lit up for her all that had before been dark, flickered, began to grow dim, and went out for ever. (695)

We sense a jolt of adrenalin in the sudden brightening of Anna's internal vision—something only she could have experienced.

Of course, stream-of-conscious can only work insofar as it strikes us as a plausible rendition of how people actually think. Precisely how we think is matter probably still well beyond our clinical, let alone narrative, reach. But it is difficult to believe that our natural or folk psychology, such as is reflected in the novel, is far wide of the mark.[51] The value of this device stems not so much from its stylistic novelty as from our perception that it is psychologically incisive and accurate.

Another important feature of Theory of Mind is that it is largely devoted to intraspecific competition and cooperation; as a result, we expect that pressure to develop metamental insights will wax over time. Vermeule properly observes that "Innovations in narrative technique are driven by the need to ratchet up pressure on our mind-reading apparatus."[52] Many other authors were quick to follow Tolstoy's lead in developing stream-of-conscious narration and, indeed, all of the other cognitive devices I have outlined here. After all, these cognitive proclivities all help us respond to the "vast question of what other people are like," the central issue of all fiction.[53] In reading *Anna Karenina*, we read not only fictional minds, but also our own. It is hard but rewarding work.

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50   *Ibid.*, p. 138.

51   The Soviet linguist Lev Vygotsky insisted that inner speech is "practically wordless"—a statement which would seem to clash with the rendition of Anna's final moments, as well as most depictions of stream-of-consciousness. Cited in Palmer, *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

52   Vermeule, *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

53   *Ibid.*, p. 129. Palmer cites the philosopher Alain (the pseudonym of Emile Chartier), "the peculiarity of the novel is its intimacy"; *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

Chapter 2

Andrei Belyi on Lev Tolstoi[54]

(Anna Ponomareva[55])

2010 was a special Tolstoi year. It was a centenary of Tolstoi's death. This gives us a chance to look at Tolstoi's work from a distance and to understand the importance of his teachings in the new millennium. Using my work on Andrei Belyi I decided to look at his perception of Lev Tolstoi's teachings because Belyi made contributions to the development of Tolstoi scholarship but this topic has not been previously researched in detail. My article highlights important dates and events in Belyi's work on Tolstoi as well as illustrates Belyi's perception of Tolstoi's teachings using the examples of his unpublished work on Tolstoi, in particular his manuscript *Lev Tolstoi i kultura soznaniya.*[56]

Belyi, a poet, writer and theoretician of the second generation of Russian Symbolist movement, sets up an example of dealing with Tolstoi's heritage. He significantly contributes to the perception and distribution of Tolstoi's ideas in Russia at the turn of the 20th century. Belyi's work on Tolstoi is varied in time and medium.

It has two periods, one is before Tolstoi's death in 1910, and the second is after this event, starting from Belyi's contribution to mark the 10th anniversary of Tolstoi's death in 1920. The first period is more connected with Belyi's perception of Tolstoi as a father, a person who belongs to another generation. Belyi's ideas since 1920 and onwards clearly exemplify the turn in his thinking: Tolstoi appears as a teacher. There are indeed some similarities between the images of father and teacher, but there are some differences too. Tolstoi as a teacher is a spiritual guide to Belyi, an omnipotent guardian who supports and shows ways out of difficult situations in life. In the teacher's image, there are no elements of any generation gap. They are more associated with a father's image, the illusory bravura hostility and superiority of sons are not part of the relationship between a teacher and a student.

Belyi's activities related to Tolstoi scholarship are varied, published books and articles, pub-

56   Belyi, A. 'Lev Tolstoi i kul'tura soznaniya', RGALI f.53 op.1 n.81.

lic lectures, fiction, memoirs, letters and manuscripts. For example, Tolstoi appears in Belyi's *Simfoniya (2-aya dramaticheskaya)* as a minor character, Emel'yan Odnodum.[57] The family name emphasises the narrow mind of the character. This image, in general, is blank. It highlights the physical and spiritual simplicity of peasants as well as points to the eccentricities of Tolstoi at the end of his life. This description is largely based of Belyi's visits to Tolstoi's house in Khamovniki, where he played with Tolstoi's children, in particular with Misha, who was at some point at the same school as Belyi. The mentioned characteristics are preserved in Tolsoi's image of Belyi's memoirs, *Na rubezhe dvukh stoletii*.[58] The book is written during the second period of Belyi's work on Tolstoi, but it is about the events at the turn of the 20th century. The memoirs are based on Belyi's ideas at that time; he intentionally puts them in this style trying to avoid Soviet censorship.

Tolstoi's death in 1910 marks a turn in Belyi's perception of Tolstoi's teachings. Their strong religious and humanistic components become more and more evident to Belyi. *Tragediya tvorchestva. Dostoevskii i Tolstoi* and his article *Lev Tolstoi i kul'tura* in the collection *O religii L'va Tolstogo* published immediately after Tolstoi's death provide evidence of this new development in Belyi's thinking.[59] However, the new Tolstoi, a spiritual teacher, solidly and boldly appears in Belyi's scholarship on Tolstoi only a decade later.

In 1919-1920 Belyi resumes his work on Tolstoi preparing to take part in celebrations dedicated to the tenth anniversary after Tolstoi's death. This time he extensively reads Tolstoi's later work, *O zhizni* and *Dnevnik Tom 1* (1895-1899) in order to plan and deliver lectures at Vol'naya Filosofskaya Akademiya as well as to write articles on his new understanding of Tolstoi's teachings.[60]

Tolstoi reappears in Belyi's fiction too. Professor Ivan Korobkin, the main character of *Moskva*[61] and *Maski*[62] has plenty of the characteristics of Lev Tolstoi after 1880. Tolstoi also comes back to Belyi's theoretical work. There is the whole chapter dedicated to Tolstoi in Bely's later philosophical work *Istoriya stanovleniya samosoznayushchei dushi* which he started to write in 1926 and would not complete.

In Belyi studies, there are publications related to Belyi's work on Tolstoi. Ozerov published Belyi's memoirs on Tolstoi, part of *Andrei Belyi Problemy tvorchestva,* the collection of articles by Belyi scholars which appeared in the USSR in 1988.[63] Muller-Cooke translated and published Belyi's article *Teacher of Consciousness* with her commentaries in Tolstoy Studies Journal.[64]

57   Belyi, A. *Simfoniya (2-ya dramaticheskaya).* Moskva, Skorpion, 1902, p.129.

58   Belyi, A. *Na rubezhe dvukh stoletii.* Moskva, Zemlya i fabrika, 1930.

59   Belyi, A. *Tragediya tvorchestva. Dostoevskii i Tolsto.* Moskva, Musaget, 1911.
Belyi, A. 'Lev Tolstoi i kul'tura' in *O religii L'va Tolstogo.* Moskva, Put', 1912, pp.142-171. Available online http://az.lib.ru/b/belyj_a/text_0200.shtml Accessed on 5 September 2010.

60   Tolstoi, L. *O zhizni.* Moskva, 1911. Available online http://psylib.org.ua/books/tolsto3/index.htm Accessed on 5 September 2010. *Dnevnik L'va Nikolaevicha Tolstogo. Tom I (1895-1899)*, publ V.G. Chertkov, Moskva, 1916. For more information see *Andrei Belyi i Ivanov-Razumnik Perepiska.* Publ. by A. Lavrov and J. Malmstad, St Petersburg, Atheneum Feniks, 1998, pp. 179-180.

61   Belyi, A. *Moskva.* Moskva, Krug, 1926.

62   Belyi, A. *Maski.* Moskva, GIHL, 1932.

63   *Andrei Belyi Problemy tvorchestva.* Edited by S. Lesnevskii and A. Mikhailov. Moskva, Sovetskii pisatel', 1988.

64   Muller-Cooke, O. "Teacher of Consciousness (Leo Tolstoy) by Andrey Belyi" in Tolstoy Studies Journal,

Lavrov and Malmstad collected scholarly data on Belyi's activities related to his work on Tolstoi and used it in their commentaries on Belyi's letters of correspondence with Ivanov-Razumnik[65]. Chistyakova published Belyi's late philosophical work, including *Istoriya stanovleniya samosoznayushchei dushi,* together with her article in the collection *Dusha samosoznayushchaya*.[66]

Two Belyi's manuscripts *Lev Tolstoi i kultura soznaniya* and *Krizis soznaniya*[67], which belong to the second period of Belyi's work on Tolstoi, are still unpublished. They, however, are partly discussed in the following articles: *Filosofiya dukha svyatoi kultury* and *Indiya i simvolizm Andreya Belogo*.[68] Using the texts of these manuscripts, which Belyi wrote in 1919-1920, the current article tries to consider why Tolstoi became a teacher for Belyi in 1920 and why there are similarities in Tolstoi's later teachings and Belyi's later philosophical work.

As has been mentioned above, Belyi resumes his studies on Tolstoi in 1919 preparing for various activities to commemorate Tolstoi's work and life in 1920. Belyi made a speech *Lev Tolstoi kak uchitel' soznaniya* at a gala at the Moscow Conservatoire on 20 November 1920 that marked the 10th anniversary of Lev Tolstoi's death.[69] The title of the Belyi's presentation points clearly to his new perception of Tolstoi, Tolstoi as a teacher. To him, Tolstoi is also not an ordinary teacher but a teacher who is a specialist in *soznanie. Consciousness*, a possible translation of the term in English, is a calque, not a conceptually equivalent term. To me, *cognition* and *critical thinking* are more appropriate, however, they make the description of the teacher's subject in English sound complex and not as straightforward as in Russian.

The terminological complexity reflects the complexity of Belyi's interest in Tolstoi after the revolution of 1917. Tolstoi appears to Belyi as a teacher because he is desperately looking for one at that time. In 1919-1920 Belyi is psychologically and ideologically lost. It is too difficult to survive in the War Communism, a new economic regime of the Soviet Russia. It is too lonely to live without Asya, his wife who stays in Dornach, the headquarters of Anthroposophical Society. It is too stressful not to have the spiritual guidance which Belyi used to have in Rudolf Stiener, his Teacher since he joined the Society. Belyi mentions all these circumstances in his correspondence with Ivanov-Razumnik, in particular in his letter of 26 August 1919.[70]. Instead of food, warmth, love and succour Belyi finds support in reading late Tolstoi's work and *The Bhagavat Gita*, an Indian philosophical epic poem.[71] According to the letter to Ivanov-Razumnik, he perceives Tolstoi's *O zhizni* as solid truth, nearly a revelation.[72] The book opens new horizons

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vol.2: 1989: pp.61-69.

65   *Andrei Belyi i Ivanov-Razumnik Perepiska.* Publ. By A. Lavrov and J. Malmstad. St. Petersburg, Atheneum, Feniks, 1998.

66   Belyi, A. *Dusha samosoznayushchaya.* Moskva, Kanon+ Reabilitatsiya, 2004.

67   Belyi, A. 'Krizis soznaniya'. RGALI, f.53, op.1, n.64.

68   Ponomareva, A. "Filosofiia dukha svyatoi kultury". Przegled Rusycystyczny, 2 (90): 2000: pp.30-39.
Ponomareva, A. "Indiya i simvolizm Andreia Belogo" in *Andrei Belyi v izmenyayushchemsya mire: k 125-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya.* Moskva, Nauka, 2008, pp.253-262.

69   Lavrov, A. "Khronologicheskaya kanva zhizni i tvorchestva" in *Andrei Belyi Problemy tvorchestva*. Moskva, Sovetskii pisatel', 1988, p. 794.

70   *Andrei Belyi i Ivanov-Razumnik Perepiska,* pp.177-182.

71   In particular, Belyi read the following edition of the poem: *Bhagavad gita ili pesn' gospodnya.* Transl. by A. Kamenskaya and I. Mantsiarli. Kaluga, 1914. *Perepiska* also argues Belyi's reading of the poem, please see *Andrei Belyi i Ivanov-Razumnik Perepiska,* p.188.

72   *Andrei Belyi i Ivanov-Razumnik Perepiska*, p.178.

in front of him, explains clearly the current situation and points to possible solutions:

> "In order to save himself from the horrors of being overwhelmed by the attractions of his fatal life, a human being must understand that his movements on earth, i.e. his spartial and temporary existence, are not his life, but that his life is constant movement upwards. Well-being and life are possible only if one submits one's personality to the laws of reason. A human being must understand that he has wings to fly above the abyss. If it were not for these wings, he could never ascend to the sky and could never see the abyss. The human being must trust his wings and fly wherever they take him."[173]

Belyi is ready to share his discovery of Tolstoi as a spiritual leader and writes a few articles devoted to him.[74] One of them, his manuscript *Lev Tolstoi i kultura soznaniya*, can be easily juxtaposed to Tolstoi's *O zhizni.* To me, in comparing two writers, it is more relevant to talk about the existing juxtaposition between them rather than arguing the influence of one over the other. The nature of creativity is more complex. It is not only borrowing from another. It is also a twist, turn or accommodation of one's ideas for the benefits of another's work.

Today juxtaposition is a framework in dealing in a politically correct manner with issues of similarities in the Arts. Art exhibitions in particular set up the instances of juxtaposition. For example, there was *Turner and His Masters* exhibition at Tate Britain in 2009 that elegantly deals with the issues of influences on Turner by his contemporaries and teachers from the past. Each of Turner's painting was positioned on walls next to his master who may have inspired this work. In opera, Rimskii-Korsakov and Tchaikovskii use the same source for their librettos, which is Gogol's story from his collection *Evenings upon Dikan'ka River.*[75] In literature, Seth's novel in verse, *The Golden Gate*[76] juxtaposes Pushkin's novel in verse, *Engene Onegin.*

The comparison of Tolstoi's and Belyi's texts provides the examples of juxtaposition. The following quotes from their work illustrate that there are parallels in their train of thought as well as identical patterns of thinking.

> **Tolstoi's *O zhizni***
> "Death and suffering like scarecrows, knock a person around and drive him toward the only way of life open to him, the one that submits to its own law of reason and manifests love. Death and suffering are merely the overcoming of a person's law of life. To a human being, living according to his law, there is no death and no suffering."[77]

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73   Tolstoi, L. O zhizni. Part XIV. Available online http://psylib.org.ua/books/tolst03/index.htm. Accessed on 5 September 2010. It is my translation of the following paragraph: "…[человеку - AP] для того, чтобы спастись от ужаса перед увлекающим его движением погибельной жизни, ему надо понять, что его движение в плоскости – его пространственное и временное существование – не есть его жизнь, а что жизнь его только в движении в высоту, что только в подчинении его личности закону разума и заключается возможность блага и жизни. Ему надо понять, что у него есть крылья, поднимающие его над бездной, что если бы не было этих крыльев, он никогда и не поднимался бы в высоту и не видал бы бездны. Ему надо поверить в свои крылья и лететь туда, куда они влекут его."

74   *Andrei Belyi i Ivanov-Razumnik Perepiska*, pp.206-207.

75   Rimskii-Korsakov, N. *Noch' pered rozhdestvom.* St Petersburg, Mariinskii teatre, 1895. Tchaikovskii, P. *Cherevichki.* St Petersburg, Mariinskii teatr, 1906.

76   Seth, V. *The Golden Gate.* London, Faber and Faber, 1986.

77   Tolstoi, L. O zhizni. Part XIV. It is my translation of the following paragraph: "Смерть и страдания, как пугалы, со всех сторон ухают на него и загоняют на одну открытую ему дорогу человеческой жизни, подчиненной своему закону разума и выражающейся в любви. Смерть и страдания суть только преступления человеком своего закона жизни. Для человека, живущего по своему закону, нет смерти и нет страдания."

> **Belyi's *Lev Tolsytoi i kul'tura soznaniya***
> "…The image of Humankind today is the image of the Beast. It is an octopus smothering us with its thousand tentacles. In our conscious mind, it is the unfathomable image of re-emerging *Manas*. Only Love is able to perceive the image of horror correctly… The dawning of a new type of Love is occurring now through fire… Only this Love can perceive the image of our time with its true Voice: this Voice perceiving the symbols of fate, is Wisdom, or *Manas*."[78]

Timewise, although the quoted works of Tolstoi and Belyi is nearly a third of century apart, conceptually they are very close. They see the identical horrors of contemporary life oriented towards materialistic standards. They praise the presence of love and reason in life. They argue the necessity of overcoming the illusory perception of life with the help of wisdom. Perhaps "the voice of wisdom" is strictly Belyi's expression but it incorporates everything which Tolstoi suggests in his work. Moreover, it is Tolstoi's voice, the teacher's voice that Belyi hears in 1919-1920.

Belyi also points that this voice is wisdom, or *manas*. He borrows this term from an Indian philosophical system and uses it to underline the high level of consciousness that is required from human beings in order to preserve their dignity in stressful life situations. *Manas*, an Indian philosophical concept, is associated with the special advanced level of consciousness, on which a human mind is able to understand its divine nature and to perceive its identity with the divinity. To be at the stage of *manas* a human being should develop his or her mental abilities.[79] Again, here is evidence of the same complexity which has been roughly explained when it was a search for the appropriate term describing *soznanie* as the area of Tolstoi's expertise as Belyi's teacher.

Belyi makes attempts to describe what *manas* is in the manuscript. He perceives it as "the life of consciousness in full", as "the unity of reason and heart", as "the unity of reason and spiritual love", etc. He also argues that all Tolstoi's life is evidence of the existence of *manas* because Tolstoi's mind is highly trained and managed to reach this stage, the stage of manas, in his development.

Among the techniques which help to develop human mental abilities Belyi names meditation. Again, meditation is an Indian concept, but it also part of Tolstoi's vocabulary too. In the given above quotation from Tolstoi's *O zhizni,* he metaphorically describes meditation when he advises a human being to rise above the spatial and temporary restrictions of his or her life and to move to the skies.

Following Tolstoi's recommendations Belyi believes that "he has wings which help him to fly above the abyss". Belyi's work on Tolstoi is evidence of his ability to meditate and live not in the material world of the Soviet Russia but in his own spiritual world. Belyi creates this world as Tolstoi, a great Russian thinker who managed to develop his consciousness up to the level

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78   Belyi, A. 'Lev Tolstoi i kul'tura soznaniya', RGALI f.53 op.1 n.81, list 24. It is my translation of the following paragraph: " …Лик Человечества теперь – Лик Чудовища; тысяченогий, нас душащий спрут – восстающий в сознании нашем, непонятый образ входящего Манаса; только Любовь высветляет Лик Ужаса…Сошествие новой Любви совершается ныне в огне, …Любви лишь доступно прочесть образ нашего времени подлинным Голосом; Голос, читающий знаки судьбы, и есть Мудрость, иль Манас."

79   Belyi's bibliography on Philosophy consists of several pages of books on Buddhism by various Oriental scholars. See, in particular Belyi, A. 'Bibliografiya po filosofii'. RGALI, f.53, op.1, n.80, lists 95-98. Working on his article on Tolstoi in 1919-1920 Belyi uses information from Rozenberg's book that has been currently published in 1918. – Rozenberg, O. *Problemy buddiiskoi filosofii.* Petrograd, 1918. For more information on this subject please see Ponomareva, A. "Filosofiia dukha sviatoi kultury". Przeged Rusycystyczny, 2 (90): 2000: pp.30-39.

of *manas,* suggests in his later philosophical work*. O zhizni* and *Lev Tolstoi i kul'tura soznaniya* being perceived as juxtapositions, highlight important elements of Tolstoi's scholarship, such as spiritual guidance and the powerful image of a teacher who sees his mission as making the issues of meditation and developing one's cognition and critical thinking accessible and useful to people.

Chapter 3

Out from Under Andrei Belyi's Overcoat: Writing the "Moscow Text"

(Olga M. Cooke[80])

Although best known for his classic novel, *Petersburg,* Andrei Belyi's major influence on Russian literature may be found in how he inspired a number of Moscow texts with his *Moscow* novels, especially his impact on Mikhail Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita.* This depends on the strange notion that cities in the same country could have such discernibly different personalities. Yury Lotman explained the semiotics of cities, such as St. Petersburg, as complex generators of culture, functioning because they possess a melting pot of texts. The city, according to Lotman, "being a place where different national, social and stylistic codes and texts confront each other, is the place of hybridization, recodings, semiotic translations, all of which makes it into a powerful generator of new information."[81] Vladimir Toporov also studied the "City-Text," especially the "Petersburg Text;" in differentiating between St. Petersburg and Moscow, Toporov acknowledged the existence of a Moscow counterpart to the "Petersburg Text."[82] Both Lotman and Toporov agree that the city's mythology is inseparable from its history. Cities are also the subject of broadly envisioned literary themes, *topoi* and intertextualities. In both cultural and literary frames, they coalesce into distinctive myths.

To most the polarity between Moscow and St. Petersburg will be familiar. St. Petersburg represented the foreign and cosmopolitan forces that flowed through Russian life, while Moscow signified the indigenous traditions of old Rus'. In contrast with Lotman's perception of Petersburg as an "eccentric" city, frequently attended by apocalyptic myths, Moscow rep-

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81   Yury Lotman, "The Symbolism of St. Petersburg," Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture, trans. Ann Shukman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 194.

82   Vladimir Toporov, *Mif. Ritual. Simvol: Issledovaniia v oblasti mifopoeticheskogo: Izbrannoe* (Moscow: Izdatel'skaia gruppa Progress, Kul'tura, 1995), p. 272.

resented a "concentric" city, seeming to embody the center of the universe.[83] St. Petersburg stood for the Enlightenment and for the West, while Moscow, in keeping with its sacred incarnation as the Third Rome, the destined capital of Christianity, stood for anti-Enlightenment and a faith in the messianic mission of Russia. St. Petersburg represented the secular and profane, Moscow the sacred and heavenly. These antipodal distinctions were persistently reinforced by Russian writers. Nikolai Gogol declared that: "Moscow is female, Petersburg is male. All in Moscow is brides, whereas all in Petersburg is grooms."[84] Tolstoy in *War and Peace* contributed to the feminine essence of Moscow by attributing her power to that of a queen bee: "Moscow was empty. [...] It was empty in the sense that a dying queenless hive is empty."[85] Naturally, the feminine gender of the toponym "Moskva" encourages representations of the feminine nature of the city. In addition to Alexander Pushkin stating that Moscow was a fading, dowager empress in "The Bronze Horseman,"[86] Belyi in *Moskva* continued the feminine personification by also likening Moscow to an old woman:[87] "Moscow is an enormous old woman, knitting her thousand year old fatal stocking,"[88] but one with rapacious and calamitous potential: "Moscow reared a worldwide whirlwind on her own breast."[89]

According to Ian Lilly the "Moscow Text," especially pre-20th century Moscow, consists of three strands. The first entails its folkloric association with everything feminine, like *Matushka Moskva (Mother Moscow)*. The second strand is related to Moscow's convivial inclusiveness, which is epitomized in scenes from Boris Kustodiev's festive Moscow cityscapes. The third strand is religious in nature, and is confirmed by Moscow's standing as the Third Rome.[90] In her essay on the "Moscow text" in the 20th century, Nina Mednis elaborates on these strands, by perpetuating the image of Moscow as the Third Rome, the center of festivity and convivial topography, while introducing the myth of Moscow harboring diabolical forces.[91] I would like to suggest two additional layers in this equation, which combine all the above with a heavy dose of satire, and which may elucidate Belyi's role in inspiring a plethora of "Moscow texts," partic-

83   See Caryl Emerson, *The Cambridge Introduction to Russian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 180. See also Sidney Monas, "St. Petersburg and Moscow as Cultural Symbols, in *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia,* ed. Theofanis Stavrou (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

84   Nikolai Gogol, *Petersburg Notes,* VIII (Moscow, 1836).

85   In Book 11, Chapter 11, see Lev Tolstoy, *War and Peace,* trans. Louise & Elmer Maude (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1966), p. 974.

86   See Alexander Pushkin's Prologue to *Bronze Horseman* in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v desiati tomakh*, IV (Moscow: Akademiia nauk, 1963), p. 381. See also Pushkin's comparison of Moscow with a "market of brides" in the seventh chapter of *Evgenii Onegin* in Vol. V, p. 151.

87   Sara Dickinson maintains that during Napoleon's occupation of Moscow, depictions of the city entailed that of "suffering mother, elderly woman, abandoned widow and/or virginal maiden." See her essay, "Representing Moscow in 1812: Sentimentalist Echoes in Accouns of the Napoleonic Occupation," *Moscow and Petersburg: The City in Russian Culture*, ed. Ian Lilly (Nottingham: Astra Press, 2002), p. 15.

88   «Москва огромная старуха, вяжущая тысячелетний и роковой свой чулок.» See
 Andrei Belyi, *Moskva,* Moscow, 1926, I, p. 52 (reprint: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1968; henceforth, all citations will be followed by part and page number—all translations are mine).

89   «Москва вскармливала на груди своей: вихрь мировой,» *Ibid.*

90   Ian Lilly, "Female Sexuality in the 'Moscow Text,'," in *Moscow and Petersburg: The City in Russian Culture*, ed. Ian Lilly (Nottingham: Astra Press, 2002), p. 33.

91   Nina Mednis, *Сверхтексты в русской литературе* (Novosibirsk, 2003), p. 52. Mednis has in mind the juxtaposition of the sacred and profane, when relating the Third Rome to the diabolical level of Moscow.

ularly in the 1920s and 30s. In addition to the notion of Moscow as a center of diabolical powers, Moscow also possesses the capacity for healing, incarnation, and transcendence.

Belyi sees Moscow as a world center in which Biblical texts are routinely profaned, where the spiritual is in a constant battle with the material, where the forces of good and evil are depicted in a topsy-turvy, subversive manner. Moreover, his "Moscow" novels resonate with the rich and polyphonic aspects of the carnivalesque.[92] In his preface to *Moscow* Belyi called his novels "50% historical and 50% satirical,"[93] a propensity already seen in the preface to his 1902 "Second, Dramatic Symphony," also set in Moscow, in which satire plays a significant role.[94] Carnival, as Mikhail Bakhtin reminds us, is a turning upside down of normal everyday reality, where all authority and fixity are relativized and the norms of accepted order are temporarily reversed. Unlike the earlier pre-Soviet versions of the "Moscow myth," which entailed a harmonious social environment, the city in Belyi's *Moscow* is not a benign world center. Threatened with destruction by diabolical forces, indeed foreshadowing the end of the world, Belyi's city text becomes the locale within which traditional authority is questioned, and established norms of social behavior are challenged.

Through the mock crucifixion of Belyi's Ivan Korobkin, one discerns a connective thread with other satirical carnivalesque "Moscow texts," such as Boris Pilnyak's "Ivan Moskva," Yury Olesha's *Envy,* several of Andrei Platonov's works, and especially Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita.* Korobkin bears a striking resemblance to a host of other "Ivanushki-durachki," fools in Christ all, from Ivan the Homeless in *Master and Margarita* to Ivan Moskva in Pilnyak's tale to Ivan Kavalerov in Olesha's *Envy.* Moreover, these works all entail the carnivalesque technique of doubling: characters spill in and out of each other, such as the doubles Ivan/Master, Pilate/Master, whom we encounter in *Master and Margarita.* In the hands of Belyi and subsequent mythmakers of the "Moscow text," the city plays out as a world center, from which the polarities of the sacred and profane are not only inextricably interwoven, but take on a new meaning. The cosmic/comic forces which are at work in all of the treatments of the Moscow myth share an uncanny preoccupation with transcendence and spiritual transformation. A glance at the connective threads between Belyi's "Moscow" novels and Bulgakov's "Moscow text" will reveal that Moscow represents the New Jerusalem. It will also bear out the observation made by Mandelshtam, namely, that none of writers of the 1920s and 30s were independent of Belyi. Indeed, Mandelshtam observed that: "Russian prose will only move forward when the first prose writer shows he is independent of Belyi's influence."[95]

While Belyi is most famous for his novel about St. Petersburg, the city with which he is most associated is Moscow, where he was born. He was the son of one of Moscow's most prized professors of mathematics and deans of Moscow State University, Nikolai Bugaev. Furthermore, Belyi situated virtually all of his plots in Moscow. This goes for his stories, as well as his symphonies, memoirs, and his anthroposophical novels, *Kotik Letaev* and *The Christened*

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92   See my "Humorous Profanation of the Sacred in Andrei Belyi's Moscow Novels," *Russian Literature,* XXI, 1987, pp. 217-232.

93   *Moskva, Op. cit.,* p. 8.

94   See Dagmar Burkhardt, "K semiotike prostranstva: 'moskovskii tekst' vo 'Vtoroj (dramaticheskoi) simfonii' Andreia Belogo," *Moskva i 'Moskva' Andreia Belogo,* ed. M. Spivak & T.V. Tsivian (Moscow, 1999), pp. 72-89

95   Osip Mandelshtam, *Sobranie sochinenii v trekh tomakh,* ed. G. Struve and B. Filipoff (Washington: Interlanguage Literary Associates, 1971), II, p. 335.

Chinaman, in which Kotik perceives Moscow as the center of the world. It is especially true for his "Moscow" novels. Peopling his Muscovite interiors are "chudaki," or "iurodivye," eccentrics based partially on his father and principally on Belyi himself. As his autobiographical writings attest, Belyi hid behind the mantle of a "chudak," a role he reveled in unabashedly: "the role of the holy fool, anarchist, decadent, jester has been sent to me from on high. I accept it obligingly."[96] The first volume of *Moscow* is subtitled *Moskovskii chudak (The Muscovite Fool),* illustrating Belyi's propensity for such figures, as he titled another work, *Zapiski chudaka (The Notes of a Fool).* Long before the appearance of his most lovable character Ivan Korobkin, the jolly fool-in-Christ who nearly brings about the explosion of the universe, Belyi based his father figures, like Professor Letaev of *Kotik Letaev* and even aspects of Apollon Apollonovich from *Petersburg,* on eccentrics like his own father and himself.

In light of all the setbacks and heart aches that Belyi had experienced, one cannot ignore the period of the 1920s as a factor in situating Korobkin's drama, although the events in the novel take place on the eve of World War I. The final period of Belyi's creativity, embracing approximately 1924-1933 and associated with the writing of his *Moscow* novels, was replete with disappointments and crushing defeats.[97] Upon his return to Moscow from Berlin in 1923, Belyi was prevented from publishing his *Recollections of Blok.* This coincided with Leon Trotsky's blasphemous denunciation of Belyi in *Literature and Revolution,* in which he maintained that "Belyi is a corpse and he will not be resurrected in any shape or form."[98] While Soviets were suspicious about Belyi's short stay abroad, not to mention his vague position *vis à vis* the Revolution, Russian *émigrés* questioned his political loyalties: he was later unjustly considered a Communist and traitor, particularly after the publication of his memoirs. As the tenets of Socialist Realism were fast encroaching on the arts in the Soviet Union, Belyi was more and more out of touch with Russian readers, especially with official literary circles.

Belyi wrote the *Moscow* novels over a period of six years and then it took another two for the last volume to be published. Begun in 1924 and appearing in 1926, volume I, *Moskva* is divided into two parts: *Moskovskii chudak* and *Moskva pod udarom.* The second volume, *Maski,* was completed in 1930 and published in 1932. The first volume focuses on the struggle of Professor Korobkin, a renowned mathematician, to keep his potentially dangerous invention out of reach of the spy and arch-villain Mandro. If abused by the wrong party, the invention could obliterate the universe. Mandro schemes to sell Korobkin's mathematical equations to a European firm with the intention of starting a world war. When Korobkin refuses to part with his secret, Mandro culminates his evil purposes by burning Korobkin'e eye with a candle and tearing his mouth with a hammer. A secondary plot entails Mandro's rape of his own daughter, Lizasha. The first volume ends with both Korobkin and Mandro going insane. In *Maski* the half-blind Korobkin sees the errors of his devotion to science and gains insight into the nature of his guilt. This awareness brings about a complete metamorphosis, with Korobkin forgiving Mandro and reconciling Lizasha with her father.

The topography of Belyi's Moscow is fraught with apocalyptic imagery; as if echoing the Last Judgment, Moscow "hangs over the abyss of Tartarus." In Greek mythology Tartarus rep-

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96   Andrei Belyi, "Letter to Alexander Blok," *A. Blok. A Belyi. Perepiska* (Moscow, 1940), p. 37.

97   See my "'Koznojazycie' in the Final Decade of Andrej Belyj's Artistic Life," *Russian Literature,* LVIII-I/II, 1 July-15 August, 2005, pp. 47-60.

98   Lev Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution* (Moscow, 1924), p. 37.

resents a gloomy pit, the lowest rung of Hades. Indeed, sundry images of decay, mortality and disintegration emphasize the demise of Moscow, the most notable of which plays on the sound orchestration of «ad,» meaning Hell:

> -- *Да удар над Москвой!*
> Что такое сказал Коробкин, совсем неожиданно; и осмотрелся: проперли со*ставы фасадов:*
> уроды природы; дом – каменный ком; дом за домом – ком комом; *фасад* за *фасадом – ад адом;*
> а двери—как трещины.
> Страшно!
> Свисает *фасад* за *фасадом* под бременем времени; время, удав душит; бремя—обрушится:
> ру*шатся* старым со*ставом* и он, и Москва, провисая н*ад* Тар*тар*ом.
> Рой-рой… Роется…*Старое-старое…тартарараровое…*
> *Тарта*-мантор…мандор…Командор…грохо*тала* пролетка.
> А все выходило Мандро! [99]

Various portents of approaching dissolution are witnessed in the widespread incidence of rot, in the repulsive odors of eroding houses and in dust-laden landscapes. Clouds, lightning and storms, as we shall see in Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita*, forecast disaster, and peopling this cityscape are noseless syphilitics, hunchbacks, tubercular victims, sexual perverts, all of whom have their attendants from the insect and animal worlds. Moscow is trapped in a spider web: "Moscow is exactly like a spider's web; in the center hangs the spider Gribikov [one of Mandro's retinue who spies on Korobkin], just like a pitiful immortal Kaschei."[100] Indeed, as Nina Mednis points out, Belyi's contribution to the "Moscow city-text" resides in his depiction of the city as a body with chaotic spiderlike tentacles, emphasizing the city's winding streets, which conspire to become "curves, turns, and corners, [ ] creating a Muscovite labyrinth."[101]

Whereas Belyi's novels take place on the eve of World War I, a period rife with espionage conspiracies, Bulgakov's Moscow is plunged into the NEP reality of a new world government.[102] Just as Ivan Korobkin becomes homeless and spends protracted time in an insane asylum, so Ivan the Homeless, also a professor, meets the Master in a mental asylum, where, in keeping with literary tradition, those pronounced insane are, of course, much wiser than their normal denunciators. Just as Belyi targeted the vapid professorial environment in which Korobkin waged daily battles with the obscurantist Zadopiatovs of the world,[103] especially in his scandal scene of the Society of Free Aesthetics, so Bulgakov incorporated similar debunkings in his depiction of MASSOLIT literary hacks at the Griboedov House. In both worlds, Belyi and Bulgakov employ vicious satire in order to poke fun at a host of society's most cherished institutions.

Into this profane space of Moscow as world center Belyi inserts the Christ figure Ivan, whose battle for the soul of Russia is waged with the Devilish Mandro, a battle which anticipates Bulgakov's novel. Bulgakov's Woland bears uncanny similarities with Belyi's arch-villain Mandro. To name only a few of the most obvious similarities which Bulgakov borrowed in de-

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99　*Moskva, Op. cit.,* p. 255 (italics are mine)

100　«Она же Москва—точно сеть паучиная; в центре паук повисающий – Грибиков, жалким кащеем бессмертным.» *Ibid.,* p. 219.

101　Nina Mednis, *Op. cit*., p. 58.

102　Beginning with Belyi's "Symphonies," Bulgakov had long been inspired by Belyi.

103　In *Moskva* Zadopiatov, Korobkin's university colleague, represents shallow professorial narrow-mindedness.

picting his Devil with descriptions from Belyi's *Moscow* novels, take for example the physical attributes of Belyi's Mandro: «Мандро—«гладко выбритый брюнет, его лицо кривит гримаса... вскинул он брови, показывая оскалы зубов.»[104] Bulgakov's Woland bears an uncanny resemblance to Mandro: «рот какой-то кривой. Выбрит гладко. Брюнет. Брови черные, но одна выше другой...»[105] Belyi's Mandro possesses the following satanic traits: «съехались брови—углами не вниз, а наверх, содвигаясь над носом в мимическом жесте, напоминающем руки, соединненые ладонями вверх, между ними слились три морщины трезубцем, подъятым и режущим лоб.»[106] And Bulgakov was clearly influenced by Belyi when describing Woland's grotesque features, just before the Satan's Ball: «Ёицо было скошено на сторону, правый угол рта оттянут книзу, на высоком облысевшем лбу были прорезаны глубокие параллельные острым бровям морщины.»[107] Mandro enlists as spies a suite of grotesque dwarfs and hunchbacks to help trap the professor. Let us compare the passages. In Belyi: «Карлик был с вялым, морщавым лицом, точно жеванный, желтый лимон, без усов, с грязноватеньким, слабеньким пухом, со съеденной верней губою, без носа ... вовсе не было глаз... »[108] In an early draft of *Master and Margarita* Bulgakov described Azazello as a noseless dwarf: «Один глаз витек, нос провалился. Одета была рожа в короткий камзольчик.... Кроме того горб.»[109] Bulgakov's Azazello is noseless like Belyi's dwarf Yasha and a hunchback like Gribikov. In all, these human gargoyles accompany the diabolical designs of our respective Devils, Mandro and Woland. Moreover, both dwarfs lost their noses to syphilis. Another coincidental similarity entails the resemblance between Belyi's Korobkin and Bulgakov's Hella. We learn that the hat which Hella turns over to the barman at the Variety Theater turns into a black cat: «В то же мгновение берет мяукнул, превратился в черного котенка и, вскочив обратно на голову Андрею Фокичу, всеми когтями впился в его лысину.»[110] Again, Bulgakov unabashedly borrows this scene from *Moskovskii chudak,* in which Korobkin, in the presence of Mandro dons a cat instead of a hat: «"кота вместо шапки надел."»[111] At the end of *Moskovskii chudak,* Korobkin, in imitation of a mocked Christ figure, metaphorically dons a crown of thorns: «надел на себя не кота, а терновый венец.»[112]

While these similarities may seem superficial, and clearly both authors owed their uncanny dark humor to Gogol, they, nevertheless, emphasize a bond between Belyi and Bulgakov that is forged by a landscape in which mystery is superimposed upon geography. While the city in both authors' novels engenders a panoply of mental diseases, violence and entropic destruction, incorporating grotesque satiric targets of scorn, Belyi and, consequently, Bulgakov, propose a new source of energy which brings us back to the fifth strand mentioned earlier, in which Moscow is the locale that entails transcendence and spiritual recovery. Belyi implements

104 *Moskva, Op. cit.,* p. 74

105 Mikhail Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literature, 1973), p. 427.

106 *Moskva, Op. cit.,* p. 76.

107 *Master i Margarita, Op. cit.,* p. 769.

108 *Moskva, Op. cit.,* p. 71.

109 See Boris Sokolov, *Entsiklopediia Bulgakovskaia* (Moscow: LOKID –MIF, 1998), p.73.

110 *Master i Margarita, Op. cit.,* p. 627.

111 *Moskva, Op. cit.,* p. 252.

112 *Ibid.,* p. 256.

the profanation of the sacred by incorporating features from the carnival which utilize figural events from Christ's life, only in reverse, again a feature of Bulgakov's novel. By humorously profaning that which is considered sacred, Belyi compels his audience to experience extreme conditions, such as life and death, as a unity. Professor Korobkin is equally home in the sacred and the profane worlds, but he prefers the profane, where he can defy taboos and suspend all expectation. The "Moscow" novels exhibit ambivalent humor of the carnival type which transforms everyday tensions into matters of play.

Korobkin poses a different problem for the "fictional transfiguration" of Christ. Although Belyi seizes upon certain details from the archetypal Christ as drawn from the Gospels in his characterization of Korobkin, he likewise draws from the tradition of carnival in which the Christ figure is mocked. Never before the "Moscow" novels had Belyi created a character who so thoroughly embodied both traditions. Rich in scriptural echoes, Korobkin's persecution and trials are belittled. His Golgotha may be authentic in that he proceeds through various levels of suffering before attaining enlightenment, but, nonetheless, Korobkin is blind to the follies of his own dependence on rationality. Only in *Masks* does Korobkin undergo a thorough change of heart by rejecting the wisdom of the world and by becoming a holy fool.

Much has already been said about the mock Christology of Ivan the Homeless[113] in *Master and Margarita*, incorporating his baptism in the waters of Moscow River, the similarities between Mandro and Woland, the incorporation of Scriptural texts, the battle between the forces of materialism and spirituality, the attacks on literary hacks, the respective incarcerations in the insane asylum, police arrests, and outright devilry. Both Belyi and Bulgakov used the language of the marketplace to bring everything down to earth, even death, and in the process created new types of heroes, where the victim is also the torturer, and vice versa. The carnivalesque in both novels occurs outside of the norms of official speech; hence, everything is permissible. Although Belyi had hoped that his "new Soviet man" would, with the aid of anthroposophy, develop new spiritual organs of perception, Bulgakov proposed not an anthroposophical alternative to Soviet reality, but a worldview with the aid of Gnosticism. No wonder Mandelshtam complained that writers could not get out from under Belyi's overcoat.

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113   Edward W. Ericson, *The Apocalyptic Vision of Mikhail Bulgakov's Master and Margarita* (San Francisco: Edwin Mellen, 1991).

Chapter 4

Jewish-Russian Poets Bearing Witness to the Shoah, 1941-1946: Textual Evidence and Preliminary Conclusions[114]

(Maxim D. Shrayer[115])

Early versions of sections of this paper were presented at the 2008 Conference of the Association of Jewish Studies (AJS) in Washington, DC (December 2008), the 30th Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, Millersville University (April 2010), the VIII World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies in Stockholm, Sweden (July 2010), and the 2010 Conference of the Association of Jewish Studies (AJS) in Boston (November 2010). I thank the organizers of these conferences for giving me a chance to participate and present my early findings.

Anglicized, reader-friendly spellings of Russian personal and geographical names are used in the main text of the paper; if a name has already gained a common spelling in English, this spelling is then used (e.g. Ehrenburg, not Erenburg). In the bibliographical references, a simplified version of the US Library of Congress transliteration system is used.

In some cases, preference is given to literary, not literal English translations of poetic texts. Even though the literary translations I quote are metrically precise and otherwise relatively close to the Russian originals, one cannot rely on the English texts alone to draw accurate conclusions about the poem's structure, meaning and significance. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations from the Russian are mine. Literary translations of verse are printed as verse, whereas literal translations of verse are printed as prose.

Unless stated otherwise, in the bibliography I list only the publications I have examined de visu, the latter circumstance being particularly significant in the case of original wartime publications in regional or army newspapers, some of which are very difficult to locate.

115 Maxim D. Shrayer (www.shrayer.com) was born in 1967 in Moscow, immigrated to the United States in 1987, and holds a Ph.D. from Yale University. A bilingual author and translator, Dr. Shrayer is Professor of Russian, English, and Jewish Studies at Boston College. Among his books are *The World of Nabokov's Stories* and *Russian Poet/ Soviet Jew*. In 2007 Shrayer received the National Jewish Book Award for *An Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature*. Shrayer's most recent books are the literary memoir *Waiting for America: A Story of Emigration* and the collection of stories *Yom Kippur in Amsterdam*.

4. 1   Introduction

For much of the first three years of the war against Nazi Germany, known in Russia as the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Union fought the enemy on its own territories. About 3 million of all the total Soviet wartime losses at present estimated at nearly 27 million were Jews. Nearly half of the almost 6 million victims of the Shoah were Jews who had been living on the territory of the Soviet Union at the time of the Nazi invasion on June 22, 1941. I mention this not to divide the dead by refusing to commit lip service to the old Soviet rhetoric on Jewish wartime victimhood, but rather to represent a legacy of the Shoah in the Soviet Union, a legacy with which the country did not deal on the national level until its very last years. Jews and Roma were the only ethnic groups that the Nazis targeted for complete annihilation in the occupied Soviet territories. While the horrors of Auschwitz-Birkenau or Treblinka are widely known, to this day there is much less popular awareness of the countless *yars*, ravines, outskirts, ditches, and vacant lots throughout the occupied Soviet territories where the death squads, *Eizatsgruppen*, assisted by individuals recruited from the local populations, murdered Jewish people. The Shoah by bullet is the term now used to describe a low-tech stage of the Holocaust occurring in the first months of the occupation of the Soviet territories, before the industrialization of the Holocaust, the gas chambers, the *Aktion Reinhard* death camps in Poland.[116] The Shoah became the Shoah in the weeks and months following the broad Nazi advances all along the Soviet border, from the Baltics in the northwest to the Crimea and Black Sea in the south. Decimated were Jewish populations of entire countries, such as Lithuania, of entire regions, towns, and villages in Belarus, Ukraine, the Crimea, and writers bearing witness to such devastation frequently groped for words. Consider this point of comparison. As Isaac Babel traveled with the Red Army troops in 1920, during the Polish-Soviet war, he witnessed and lamented the destruction of traditional Jewish life in Ukraine. "There are no bees left in Volyn," Babel wrote in the story "The Way to Brody" from *Red Cavalry*. Such an allegorical mourning, with bees substituted for the Jews of Volyn, was central to Babel's artistic method and vision. In "Ukraine without Jews," an essay composed almost twenty years later, another Jewish-Russian writer,[117] Vasily Grossman, disavowed artistry in the name of bearing witness. "There are no Jews in Ukraine," reads a sentence in the opening section of his essay. Grossman came to Ukraine in 1943 with a pitch perfect memory, an aching Jewish conscience, and immeasurable guilt over not having saved his own mother, who had been murdered in Berdichev, in September 1941, along with 20,000 other Jews. In order to write about the Shoah, Grossman temporarily rejected all tropes.[118]

The Western mind—and the Israeli mind, for that matter—still views the representation of

116   See, for instance, the recent book by Father Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest's Journey to Uncover the Truth Behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). For a standard history, see Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009).

117   An overview of the concept and history of Jewish-Russian literature may be found in Maxim D. Shrayer, "In Search of Jewish-Russian Literature: A Historical Overview," *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach* 61 (2008): 5-30.

118   On Grossman as a witness to the Shoah, see Maxim D. Shrayer, "Vassily Grossman," in Maxim D. Shrayer, ed., *An Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature: Two Centuries of Dual Identity in Prose and Poetry*, 2 vols. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2007), 1: 539-541; Shrayer, "Bearing Witness: The War, the Shoah and the Legacy of Vasily Grossman," *Jewish Quarterly* 217 (Spring 2011): 14-19.

the Shoah in the Soviet Union under the following mantra: Nazi genocidal atrocities and specified Jewish losses were obscured by Soviet historiography and silenced in the Soviet media and culture. Depending on what sources one is looking at, this is quite true, not quite true, or quite untrue. The Holocaust literature created and published in the Soviet Union in 1941-1946 remains largely unknown and severely understudied. Western students of Holocaust literature tend to be familiar with the journalism, non-fiction and fiction of Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, and also with their work on *The Black Book*. [119] On the whole, Holocaust historians and students of modern Jewish literature are much less aware of literary works written and published in the Russian language, and especially uninformed about wartime Jewish-Russian poetry. I learned this firsthand as I worked on an *Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature*. A section titled "War and Terror, 1939-1953," concludes the first volume of the anthology and features works by Jewish-Russian authors who wrote and published about the Shoah in 1941-1946. During those years Jewish-Russian poets created a highly significant body of texts based on the poets' firsthand experiences as witnesses, on-site investigators, and interviewers of survivors and eyewitnesses of genocide committed by the Nazis, their allies, and local collaborators—on the occupied Soviet territories and in the death camps of Eastern and Central Europe. The earliest texts written and published about the Shoah were poems by Jewish-Russian poet-soldiers and military journalists bearing witness to the immediate aftermath of the killings.

I am curently at work on a book about the experience of Jewish-Russian poets during the Shoah, and this paper sums up some of the principal textual evidence while also attempting to draw preliminary conclusions.[120] With my research I seek to highlights an important albeit virtually unexamined dimension of the Soviet peoples' awareness and understanding of the Shoah. By probing key Holocaust literary texts in the Soviet cultural mainstream, I hope to add a new perspective to the pioneering work of scholars of the Shoah in the Soviet Union, among them Zvi Gitelman (official and unofficial Soviet policies on discussing the Shoah), Carol and John Garrard (Vasily Grossman reporting on the Shoah and making "art from agony"), Joshua Rubenstein (Ilya Ehrenburg, the Jewish Antifascist Committee, and *The Black Book*), Ilya Altman (of the memory of the Shoah in the USSR), Kiril Feferman (the Shoah in the Soviet mindset), David Shneer (Soviet Jewish photographers documenting the Shoah), Karel C. Berkoff (the coverage of the Shoah in Soviet newspapers), Arlen Blium (the Shoah and Soviet censorship)

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119   See the relevant sections in Joshua Rubenstein, *Tangled Loyalties: The Life and Times of Ilya Ehrenburg* (New York: Basic Books, 1996); John Garrard and Carol Garrard, *The Bones of Berdichev: The Life and Fate of Vasily Grossman* (New York: Free Press, 1996); Helen Segall, "Introduction," in Ehrenburg, Ilya and Vassily Grossman, eds. *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, tr. and ed. David Patterson (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), xiii-xv; Ilya Altman, "The History and Fate of *The Black Book* and *The Unknown Black* Book," in Rubenstein, Joshua, and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), xix-xxix; Shrayer, "Ilya Ehrenburg," in Shrayer, *An Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature: Two Centuries of Dual Identity in Prose and Poetry*, 2 vols. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2007), 1: 180-182; 277; 529; "Vassily Grossman," in Shrayer, *An Anthology*, vol. 1: 539-541; "War and Terror," in Shrayer, An *Anthology*, 1: 509-512.

120   I am not focusing on the Holocaust writings by Yiddish Soviet authors or the work of Jewish poets writing in Ukrainian, Belarusian or Lithuanian. For an excellent overview of the representation of the Shoah in the Soviet Yiddish press, see Dov-Ber Kerler, "The Soviet Yiddish Press: *Eynikait* during the War, 1942-1945," in Robert Moses Shapiro, ed., *Why Didn't They Shout? American and International Journalism during the Holocaust: A Collection of Papers Originally Presented at an Interdisciplinary Conference Sponsored by the Elia and Diana Zborowski Professorial Chair in Interdisciplinary Holocaust Studies, Yeshiva University, October 1995* (Hoboken, NJ: Yeshiva University Press/ Ktav Publishing House, 2003), 221-249.

and others, while also building on my own previous investigations of Holocaust memory in Soviet culture.[121]

For many Jewish-Russian poets, the Nazi invasion was both a rude awakening and a double call to action. Many Jewish-Russian authors served as military journalists during the war, becoming voices of the Soviet people fighting both at the war front and at the home front. Some of them viewed the war and their calling not only in Russian and Soviet, but also in markedly Jewish terms. Consider the case of the poet and translator Arkady Shteynberg (1907-1984), born in Odessa and mentored in his youth by the illustrious Eduard Bagritsky. Shteynberg volunteered in 1941 and was a major by the end of the war. Having previously written with subtlety and power of his Odessan Jewish youth, Shteynberg did not reflect on the Shoah in his literary work. He served in the army's Seventh Department, whose task was to "demoralize the enemy," and subsequently headed a special occupation political unit in Romania until his arrest, in October 1944, on fabricated charges of spying. In a 1979 interview (published in 1997), Shteynberg referred to the war as "his happiest years" because he knew that "if we do not win [the war], that would be the end of the world, and, God knows, what else…"[122] Although the new sense of mission (and commission) was liberating to some of the Jewish-Russian authors,

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121   Zvi Gitelman, "Soviet Reactions to the Holocaust, 1945-1991," in Lucjan Dobroszycki and Jeffrey S. Gurock, eds., *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941-1945* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), 3-27; Gitelman, "Politics and Historiography of the Holocaust in the Soviet Union," in Zvi Gitelman, ed., *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 14-42; Gitelman, "What Soviet People Saw of the Shoah and How It Was Reported," US Holocaust Museum, Fellow Seminar, 22 March 2006, modified 11 December 2007, unpublished manuscript; I am grateful to Zvi Gitelman for sharing the manuscript with me; Rubenstein, *Tangled Loyalties*; Rubenstein and Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book*; John Garrard, "The Nazi Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Interpreting Newly Opened Russian Archives," *East European Jewish Affairs* 25.2 (1995): 3-40; Carol and John Garrard, *The Bones of Berdichev*; Carol and John Garrard, "Art from Agony: Vassily Grossman and the Holocaust," paper presented at the 30th Annual Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, Millersville University, 16 April 2010; Kiril Feferman, *Soviet Jewish Stepchild: The Holocaust in the Soviet Mindset, 1941-1964* (Saarbrücken, VDM Verlag, 2009); Il'ia Al'tman [Ilya Altman], *Kholokost i evreiskoe soprotivlenie na okkupirovannoi territorii SSSR* (Moscow: Fond "Kholokost"; Kaleidoskop, 2002), http://jhistory.nfurman.com/shoa/hfond_100.htm, accessed 15 July 2010; Al'tman, "Memorializatisia Kholokhosta v Rossii: istoriia, sovremennost', perspektivy, *Neprikosnovennyi zapas* 2-3 (2005), http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2005/2/alt28.html, accessed 8 April 2010; David Shneer, "Soviet Jewish War Photojournalists Confront the Holocaust," *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union, Symposium Presentations* (Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Museum, 2005), 21-32; David Shneer, *Through Soviet Jewish Eyes: Photography, War, and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010); Karel C. Berkhoff, "'Total Annihilation of the Jewish Population': The Holocaust in the Soviet Media, 1941-45," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 10.1 (Winter 2009): 61-105; Arlen Blium, "Otnoshenie sovetskoi tsenzury (1940-1946) k probleme kholokosta," *Vestnik evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve* 2 (1995): 156-167; Lukasz Hirszowicz, "The Holocaust in the Soviet Mirror," in Dobroszycki and Gurock, 29-59; Hirszowicz's paper makes scant reference to Russian-language literary prose and no reference to poetry.

I have previously discussed the representations of the Shoah in Jewish-Russian literature. See, in particularly, Shrayer, "War and Terror" [Editor's Introduction], Shrayer, ed., *An Anthology*, 1: 509-512, as well as my introductions to the individual authors, including "Ilya Ehrenburg," *An Anthology,* 1: 180-182; 529-531; "Ilya Selvinsky," *An Anthology,* 1: 226-227; "Pavel Antokolsky," *An Anthology* 1, 580-581; "Lev Ozerov," *An Anthology* 1, 573-575. See also Shrayer, "The Shoah in Soviet Popular Imagination: Rereading Anatoly Rybakov's *Heavy Sand*," in *Jews and Slavs*, vol. 17: *The Russian Word in the Land of Israel, the Jewish Word in Russia,* ed. Vladimir Khazan and Wolf Moskovich (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Center for Slavic Languages and Literatures, 2006), 338-347; "Lev Ginzburg, Soviet Holocaust Memory and Germanophilia," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies (AJS), Toronto, 17 December 2007; "The War, the Shoah and the Legacy of Vasily Grossman," *Jewish Quarterly* 217 (Spring 2011), 14-19.

122   See Shrayer, "Arkady Shteynberg," In Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 1: 413-414.

it expressed itself in different ways, not all of them literary.

I commence my examination of Jewish-Russian poets bearing witness to the Shoah in 1940-1941 and subsequently zoom in on the years 1944-45, during which the Soviet people's direct and indirect knowledge of the Shoah expanded, while a remembrance of the Jewish victims was still tolerated in official Soviet culture. Historians have previously examined the presentation and treatment of the Shoah in Soviet media, specifically in the central civilian and military newspapers.[123] Yet to the best of my knowledge, no one has studied poetry published in 1941-1945 as a source of knowledge and information about the Shoah, even though poems routinely appeared in Soviet newspapers and magazines alongside the journalistic coverage of Nazi genocidal atrocities. In some cases, Jewish-Russian poets were able to speak of specified Jewish losses with greater openness and clarity than did many of their cohorts in Soviet wartime journalism and prose fiction. The poets' triple consciousness—Soviet, Russian, and Jewish—was nowhere as explicit as in their mournfully militant lyrics about the Shoah. In surveying the Jewish-Russian literary response to the Shoah, one needs to account at least for these five factors: 1) the representation of the facts and details of the Shoah, 2) the articulation of specific Jewish losses, 3) the presence or absence of overt Jewish and/or Judaic references, 4) the poetic voice and the poets' use of the collective pronoun's ambiguity: "we" Soviets, "we" Russians, "we" Jews, "we" poets, "we" Jewish-Russian poets and so forth, 5) significant differences in the specificity of language in the poems originally published during and right after the war and in subsequent reprintings.

Poems are a special medium of art and of transmitting information, a medium in some ways less susceptible to censorship or self-censorship, and also one that is capable of saying more in fewer lines—and saying it more openly and overtly. Furthermore, the censorial and self-censorial framework of each Jewish-Russian Holocaust poem tells its own powerful story. As I will argue below, the Jewish-Russian poets, Ilya Ehrenburg (1891-1967), Ilya Selvinsky (1899-1968), Pavel Antokolsky (1896-1978), and Lev Ozerov (1914-1996) most prominently, were successful at resisting official Soviet tendencies to obfuscate and silence the Shoah.

4. 2   Ilya Selvinsky, 1941-1944

The Nazi invasion and the war on Soviet territories put to the test not only the talents and voices of the Jewish-Russian poets, but also their very sense of historical and cultural identity. None other than Ilya Ehrenburg, the writer who became a principal voice of anti-Nazi resistance, set the tone on August 24, 1941, when he read the essay "To the Jews" at a rally of Jewish people in Moscow—a rally at which Boris Pasternak was also invited to speak, but declined to attend.[124] (Pasternak apparently explained his refusal as his unwillingness to limit his antifascist

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123   See Berkhof; Yitzhak Arad, "The Holocaust as Reflected in Soviet Russian Language Newspapers in the Years 1941-1945," in Robert Moses Shapiro, ed., *Why Didn't They Shout?* 199-220; Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, "The Holocaust in the Soviet Press," in *"Zerstörer des Schweingens": Formen künstlerischer Erinnerung an die nationalsozialistische Rasse- und Vernichtungskrieg in Osteuropa*, ed. Frank Grüner et al. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), 34-55.

124   Katsis, Leonid. "'Doktor Zhivago' B. Pasternaka: ot M. Gershenzona do Ben-Guriona," *Evreiskii knigonosha* 8 (2005), http://echo.oranim.ac.il/main.php?p=news&id_news=47&id_personal=9, accessed 24 February 2011.

feelings to the Jewish question.) "My mother tongue is Russian," Ehrenburg said at the rally. "I am a Russian writer. Like all Russians, I am now defending my homeland. But the Hitlerites have reminded me of something else: my mother's name was Hannah. I am a Jew. I say this with pride. Hitler hates us more than anything. And this adorns us" (tr. Joshua Rubenstein) .[125]

The wartime career of another Ilya, Ilya Selvinsky, is emblematic of the experience of Jewish-Russian poets bearing witness to the Shoah.[126] A famous poet and a professor at the Literary

125   Ehrenburg, "To the Jews," in Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 1: 532; cf. Erenburg, "Evreiam," *Izvestiia*, 26 August 1941; in Erenburg, *Staryi skorniak i drugie proizvedeniia*, ed. M. Vainshtein, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: 1983), 2: 251-252. This motif, and the specific mention of the name of the poet's mother, Hannah, is also found in Ehrenburg's poem "Rachels, Hayims, and Leahs wander…" ("Brodiat Rakhili, Khaimy, Lii…," an earlier version of which originally appeared in Ehrenburg's 1941 collection *Loyalty* (*Vernost'*); see Erenburg, *Vernost' (Ispaniia. Parizh). Stikhi* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1941), 52.

126   Selvinsky's wartime poems with references to the Shoah include: "Evreiskomu narodu" ("To the Jewish People," 1941), "Ia eto videl" ("I Saw It!" 1942); "Kerch'" (1942); "Otvet Gebbel'su" ("A Reply to Geobbels," 1942); "Sud v Krasnodare" ("A Trial in Krasnodar," 1943); "Krym" ("Crimea," 1944); "Kandava" (1945) and others. For an overview of Jewish themes in Selvinsky's life and art, see Shrayer, "Ilya Selvinsky," in Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 1: 226-227; Shrayer, "Selvinskii, Ilia Lvovich," in: *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. Gershon David Hundert, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008): 2: 1684-1685; "Sel'vinskii, Il'ia L'vovich," in *Kratkaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 7 (Jerusalem: Obshchestvo po issledovaniiu evreiskikh obshchin; Evreiskii universitet v Ierusalime, 1994), 742-743 [unsigned]. For a detailed, albeit not exhaustive bibliography of works by and about Selvinsky, see "Sel'vinskii, Il'ia L'vovich," in *Russkie sovetskie pisateli. Poety (Sovetskii period). Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, vol. 23 (St. Petersburg: Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka, 2000), 5-50. Here and hereafter I am drawing on V. S. Babenko's discussion of Ilya Selvinsky's war years in *Voina glazami poeta: Krymskie stranitsy iz dnevnikov i pisem I. L. Sel'vinskogo* (Simferopol': Krymskaia Akademiia gumanitarnykh nauk; Dom-muzei I. L. Sel'vinskogo, 1994); Babenko published and commented on extensive excerpts from Selvinsky's wartime diaries and some of his letters; the volume also includes Eduard Filat'ev's article "Taina podpolkovnika Sel'vinskogo," 69-82. I am also drawing on Liudmila I. Daineko's article "Sel'vinskii i Kerch. Noiabr', 1941-mai, 1942," in *Vestnik Krymskikh Chtenii I. L. Sel'vinskogo*, vol. 1. (Simferopol: Krymskii Arkhiv, 2002). 63-71.

To the best of my knowledge, Selvinsky's experiences as a witness to and writer about the Shoah have not been previously investigated, not even in Osip Reznik's lengthy biography. For additional sources of information on Selvinsky's wartime years and Crimean connections, see "Sel'vinskii, Il'ia L'vovich," in *Kratkaia evreiskaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 7 (Jerusalem: Obshchestvo po issledovaniiu evreiskikh obshchin; Evreiskii universitet v Ierusalime, 1994), 742-743 [unsigned]; M. F. Arkharova, "Vmeste s nami shli v nastuplenie stikhi Sel'vinskogo," in Ts. A. Voskresenskaia and Sirotinskaia I. P., eds., *O Sel'vinskom: vospominaniia* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1982), 106-112; "Avtory 'Boevoi Krymskoi," *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 6 May 1970: 5 [selection of interviews]; Vera Babenko and Vladislav Gavriliuk, "'Net, ia ne legkoi zhizn'iu zhil…," *Krymskie penaty* 2 (1996): 88-107; D. Berezin, "Oruzhiem stikha," in Voskresenskaia, Ts. A., Sirotinskaia I. P., eds., *O Sel'vinskom*, 101-105; I. A. Dobrovol'skaia, *"Eshche moi brig ne trogalsia s prichala…": O iunosti poeta Il'ia Sel'vinskogo* (Simferopol': Krymskaia akademiia gumanitarnykh nauk, 1999); Vera Katina, "'Kazhdyi chelovek imeet pravo na tumannyi ugolok dushi' (evreiskaia tema v zhizni i tvorchestve Il'i Sel'vinskoogo)," in *Dolia evreis'kikh gromad tsentral'noita skhidnoi Evropi v pershii polovine XX stolittia. Materiali konferentsii 6-28 serpnia 2003 p., Kyiv*, http://www.judaica.kiev.ua/Conference/Conf2003/46.htm, accessed 26 February 2011; Iakov Khelemskii, "Kurliandskaia vesna," in Voskresenskaia, Ts. A., Sirotinskaia I. P., eds., *O Sel'vinskom*, 125-175; Evdokiia Ol'shanskaia, "Mne zhizn' podarila vstrechi s poetom," *Zerkalo nedeli* (1998), http://www.litera.ru/stixiya/articles/397.html, Accessed 7 April 2010; Lev Ozerov, "Stakan okeana," in Voskresenskaia and Sirotinskaia, *O Sel'vinskom*, 366-396; "Il'ia Sel'vinski, ego trudy i dni," in Il'ia Sel'vinskii, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh*, ed. Ts. Voskresenskaia and I. Mikhailov, 2 vols. (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1989), 1: 5-20; Osip Reznik, *Zhizn' v poezii: Tvorchestvo I. Sel'vinskogo* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1981); L. A. Rustemova, "Krymskii 'kontekst' I. Sel'vinskogo," in *I. L. Sel'vinskii i literaturnyi protsess XX veka. V mezhdunaroidnaia nauchnaia konferentsiia, posviashchennaia 100-letiiu I. L. Sel'vinskogo. Materialy* (Simferopol': Krymskii arkhiv, 2000), 73-80; Margarita Shitova, "Neiasnaia bol' nadezhdy," *Krymskie izvestiia*, 4 November 2006, http://www-ki.rada.crimea.ua/nomera/2006/205/bol.html, accessed 7 April 2010; Mikhail Solomatin, "My eto videli," *Zhurnal Mikhaila Solomatina*, 21 October 2009, http://mike67.livejournal.com/261554.html, accessed 29 June 2010; David Shraer-Petrov, "Karaimskie pirozhki. Il'ia Sel'vinskii," in David Shraer-Petrov, *Vodka s pirozhnymi: roman s pisateliami* (St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 2007), 272-282; P. P. Sviridenko, "Stroka poeta v boevom stroiu (Iz frontovykh vospominanii)," in Voskresenskaia

Institute in Moscow, he volunteered at the start of the war and was assigned to a newspaper at the Crimean Front. Selvinsky wanted and saw action, not just newsroom, in the Crimea, on the Black Sea coast, in the North Caucasus. He joined the Communist Party in 1941, showed personal bravery in battle, and was twice wounded and decorated. In November 1943, soon after the Soviet troops had liberated Kiev, he was summoned to Moscow. Both Selvinsky and his commanders assumed he was to be decorated again. Instead he was brought to appear at the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and chastised for writing "harmful" and "anti-artistic" works. Stalin himself allegedly made an appearance at the meeting. A draft of a resolution of the Secretariat stated that "Selvinsky slanders the Russian people [...] and offers a slanderously perverted treatment of the war."[127] Two resolutions targeting both the publications where Selvinsky's work had appeared and Selvinsky's works were passed on December 2, 1943 and December 3, 1943, respectively.[128] An unprecedented thing happened: lieutenant-colonel Selvinsky was punitively "demobilized" from the army. On February 10, 1944 the Secretariat of the Central Committee issued a separate, and even more devastating, resolution, "About I. Selvinsky's Poem 'To whom Russia sang a lullaby...'": "[I]n the poem 'To whom Russia sang a lullaby...' ["Kogo baiukala Rossiia..."] by I. Selvinsky, published in the magazine *Banner* (nos. 7-8 for 1943), egregious political errors are contained. Selvinsky in his poem slanders the Russian people. [...] Comrade Selvinsky shall be relieved of his duties as a military journalist until comrade Selvinsky has proven with his creative work that he is capable of understanding the life and struggle of the Soviet people."[129] This resolution on Selvinsky might have been the only wartime resolution of the Central Committee to single out and punish one Soviet poet. Although the Selvinsky poems which were formally targeted in the resolutions, "To Russia" ("Rossii"), "To whom Russia sang a lullaby...," and "Episode" ("Epizod"), referenced Jewishness and the Shoah in a rather opaque fashion as compared to "I Saw It!" ("Ia eto videl!") or to "Kerch'," Selvinsky's principal poems about the Shoah in the Crimea, there is reason to believe that his case was meant to intimidate other writers into silence about specific Nazi crimes against the Jews. In retrospect it seems rather suggestive that Selvinsky's troubles began to surge in the summer of 1943, when, within several months from the Soviet victory at Stalingrad, one distinctly observes a general shift in the official, if not publicly annunciated, Soviet policy on writing about both specified Jewish losses and Jewish valor.

I will now turn to some of the evidence from the poetry Selvinsky wrote and published in 1941-43. The Crimean peninsula, owing to its strategic position, was the site of some of the

and Sirotinskaia, *O Sel'vinskom*, 115-121. For a useful overview of Selvinsky's political troubles and censorial difficulties in 1943-1946, see Reifman P. S. "Glava piataia: Vtoraia mirovaia. Chast' vtoraia," in Reifman, P. S., *Iz istorii russkoi, sovetskoi i postsovetskoi tsenzury.* http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/History/reifm/16.php, accessed 6 April 2010. To the best of my knowledge, Herman Ermolaev was the first Western scholar to discuss Selvinsky's wartime trouble in the context of Soviet censorship; see Ermolaev, *Censorship in Soviet Literature, 1917-1991* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), 73-74.

127   See Arlen Blium, "Index librorum prohibitorum russkikh pisatelei. Chast' 4," *NLO* 62 (2003), http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2003/62/blum.html, accessed 6 April 2010; see also Babenko, 1994, 5; Filat'ev, 79-81. It is unclear whether Selvinsky knew of the unsigned derogatory article about his poetry, which appeared in *Izvestiia* in the summer of 1943: "Nerazborchivaia redaktsiia," *Izvestiia* 13 July 1943: 4.

128   See Artizov, Andrei, and Oleg Naumov, eds., *Vlast' i khudozhestvennaia intelligentsia: dokumenty TsK RKP(b)-VKP(b), VChK-OGPU-NKVD o kul'turnoi politike, 1917-1953 gg.* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnyi fond "Demokratiia", 1999), 507-508.

129   Artizov and Naumov, 510.

bloodiest fighting in World War II. At the end of December 1941 Soviet troops mounted a land-ing operation in the areas of Kerch and Feodosia. By January 1 1942 the Kerch peninsula had been liberated; it remained under Soviet control until the middle of May 1942, when the Nazis retook it.[130] In the words of David Shneer, "On December 31 [1942], the city was one of the first areas with a significant prewar Jewish population to be liberated from Nazi occupation, which meant that it was one of the first places where Soviet soldiers, journalists, and photog-raphers saw with their own eyes the effects of Nazi occupation and the war against European Jewry."[131]

In the first week of January 1942 Selvinsky arrived in the area of Kerch with the staff of the newspaper. Soon thereafter the poet came upon the aftermath of the then recent Nazi atroc-ities and responded with the poem "I Saw It!" ("Ia eto videl!"). In January 1942 Selvinsky re-corded in his diary: "I got to Kerch with the landing troops of the second echelon. The city is half-destroyed. That's that—we'll restore it. But near the village of Bagerovo in an anti-tank ditch—[were] 7000 executed women, children, old men and others. And I saw them. Now I do not have the strength to write about it in prose. Nerves can no longer react. What I could—I have expressed in verse."[132] Selvinsky writes of the mass murder of Jews outside Kerch in the course of several days at the end of November and beginning of December 1941.[133] The Bagerovo (Kerch) massacre received worldwide publicity. On January 6, 1942 Soviet Premier Vyacheslav Molotov pointed to it, alongside references to the Babi Yar massacre and mass ex-ecutions of Jews in Lvov, Odessa, Kamenets-Podol'sk, Dnepropetrovsk and other Ukrainian cities, in a note on German atrocities—perhaps the only such official Soviet wartime note to speak more or less openly of specified Jewish losses on Soviet territories.[134]

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130   See, for instance, S. A. Androsov, "K 60ti-letiiu osvobozhdeniia Kryma. Arkhivy Kryma v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (1941-1945), in *Respublikanskii komitet po okhrane kul'turnogo naslediia Avtonomnoi Respubliki Krym. Zhurnal* 8 (2004), http://www.commonuments.crimea-portal.gov.ua/rus/index.php?v=5&tek=87&par=74&art=324, accessed 7 April 2010; see also Vsevolod Abramov, *Kerchenskaia katastrofa 1942* (Mocow: Iauza; Eksmo, 2006), http://militera.lib.ru/h/abramov_vv/index.html, accessed 9 June 2010.

131   Shneer, *Through Soviet Jewish Eyes*, 100-101.

132   Babenko, 1994, 25.

133   According to a recent account by the historian Mikhail Tiaglyi, "After the occupants entered Kerch, an or-dinance dated 24 November 1941 required that all Jews register in the course of 3 days in the offices of the Gestapo and City Hall, and also wear six-pointed stars. On 28 November the Jews were ordered to appear on the following day at Sennaia [Haymarket] Square, having 3 days worth of food supplies. According to witness accounts, about 7000 people of all ages were gathered. [...] In the course of several days all the Jews were executed beside an anti-tank ditch near the small town of Bagerovo 4 kilometers outside Kerch." See Mikhail Tiaglyi, "Kholokost evreiskikh obshchin Kryma," http://www.holocaust.kiev.ua/bulletin/vip1/vip1_2.htm, accessed 7 April 2010; also see Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, 346. A debate about the number of victims continues.

134   See "Nota narodnogo komissara inostrannykh del tov. V. M. Molotova o povsemestnykh grabezhakh, razorenii naseleniia i chudovishchnykh zverstvakh germanskikh vlastei na zakhvachennykh imi sovetskikh terri-toriiakh." *Pravda*, 7 January 1942: 1-2; "Nota narodnogo komissara inostrannykh del tov. V. M. Molotova o povs-emestnykh grabezhakh, razorenii naseleniia i chudovischnykh zverstvakh germanskikh vlastei na zakhvachen-nykh imi sovetskikh territoriiakh, 6 ianvaria 1942 g.," in *Dokumenty obviniaiut. Sbornik dokumentov o chudovish-chykh zverstvakh germanskikh vlastei na vremenno zakhvachennykh imi sovetskikh territoriiakh*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1943). Nazi atrocities in the Crimea, including the Bagerovo massacre, were investigated in 1942 and 1944-45, and some of the original findings, testimonies, and eye-witness accounts, including photographic materials, were gathered in two books: *Zverstva nemetskikh fashistov v Kerchi* (Sukhumi: Krasnyi Krym, 1943); this volume included the text of Selvinsky's "I Saw It!"; Chursin, P. A., and R. M. Vul', eds., *Nemetskie varvary v Krymu* (Simferopol': Krasnyi Krym, 1944). The reports on the Nazi atrocities at Kerch were

According to eyewitnesses, Selvinsky took notes for and began to compose the poem "I Saw It!" at Bagerovo while standing over an anti-tank ditch filled with executed victims. The poem was printed on January 23, 1942 in *Bolshevik*, the party newspaper of the Krasnodar region.[135] It was immediately reprinted in *Red Star*, the army's central organ, on February 27 1942, and in the January—February 1942 issue of *October* (*Oktiabr'*), a leading Moscow literary journal, and a number of times throughout 1942-1943, gaining wide acclaim.[136] "I Saw It!" was also distributed on leaflets and reached a mass audience of Soviet military men. Goebbels attacked Selvinsky in a radio address, disputing Selvinsky's account and promising "the so-called Soviet writers […] a noose."[137] Selvinsky responded with the poem "A Reply to Goebbels."

In the opening quatrain of "I Saw It!" Selvinsky introduced himself as an eye-witness: "You could disregard people's stories,/ Or disbelieve newspaper columns./ But I saw it! With my own eyes!/ Do you get it? Saw it! Myself!" ("Можно не слушать народных сказаний,/ Не верить газетным столбцам. Но я это видел! Своими глазами!/ Понимаете? Видел! Сам!") .[138] In what was arguably the first Russian-language poem about Nazi atrocities against the Jews published in the Soviet Union, Selvinsky faced a number of challenges and made compromises. In giving the real victims lying in the ditch imaginary identities, he fashioned some as Slavs and others as Jews. He conjured up the image of a "pug-nosed" ("kurnosyi") eleven-year-old boy by the name of "Kol'ka" (diminutive of Nikolay). Later in the poem Selvinsky described a "mauled Jewish woman" ("rasterzannaia evreika") lying in the ditch with her small child. In a letter to his wife, Selvinsky wrote about "I Saw It!" that he "hadn't expressed even one hundredth of what [he] should have expressed."[139] How excruciatingly difficult it must have been to witness truthfully while complying with the demands of military censorship and one's internal censor:

. . . .

apparently among the materials gathered by the Extraordinary State Commission but never made public, this making the accounts gathered and published in early 1942 especially valuable. The Extraordinary State Commission (Chrezvychainaia gosudarstvennaia komissiia, GChK) for the investigation of the crimes of the Nazis and their accomplices on the occupied territories was founded in November 1942. Drawing on the research of Niels Bo Poulsen, Karen C. Berkhoff notes (84-85) that "fully half of its reports—including those on Crimea, Moldavia, western Ukraine, and Leningrad—never appeared at all." According to Mikhail Tiaglyi, the Crimean commission functioned from June 1944 to May 1945 with 25 city and district branches, including a Kerch branch. The historian of Crimean Jewry Gitel' Gubenko, whose parents and other family members perished in the Bagerovo massacre, has devoted her life to memorializing the Bagerovo victims; some of her work is gathered in Gubenko, *Kniga pechali* (Simferopol: Redotdel Krymskogo upravleniia po pechati, 1991). For more information, see "Bagerovskii rov g. Kerch," http://forum.j-roots.info/viewtopic.php?f=26&t=144, accessed 7 April 2010 [community forum]; "Kerchenskie evrei otmetili godovshchinu Kholokosta," http://www.kerch.com.ua/articleview.aspx?id=10066, accessed 7 April 2010.

135   "Il'ia L'vovich Sel'vinskii," in *Russkie sovetskie pisateli. Poety*, 40. I have not examined the publication in *Bolshevik* (Krasnodar) *de visu*.

136   See, for instance, Lev Ozerov's article "Sila slova," *Moskovskii bol'shevik*, 11 December 1942.

137   Babenko, 30; see also I. L. Mikhailov and N. G. Zakharenko's commentary in Il'ia Sel'vinskii, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia*, 1972, 900-901.

138   See Sel'vinskii, "Ia eto videl!" *Krasnaia zvezda* 27 February 1942: 3; *Oktiabr'* 1-2 (1942): 65-66; in *Ballady, plakaty i pesni* (Krasnodar: Kraevoe izdatel'stvo, 1942), 87-92; *Zverstva nemetskikh fashistov v Kerchi. Sbornik rasskazov postradavshikh i ochevidtsev* (Sukhumi: Krasnyi Krym, 1943), 33-38; Sel'vinskii. *Ballady i pesni* (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1943), 42-45; Sel'vinskii, *Voennaia lirika* (Tashkent: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo UzSSR, 1943), 18-22; Sel'vinskii, *Krym Kavkaz Kuban'. Stikhi.* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1947), 7-12; Sel'vinskii, *Lirika i dramy* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1947), 51-55. See Works Cited for information on the publication history of "I Saw It!" I quote the text of Sel'vinskii's "I Saw It!" from its publication in *Oktiabr'* 1-2 (1942): 65-66. A detailed comparison all the versions of the poem goes beyond my purposes in this paper.

139   Quoted in Babenko, 25.

"The ditch… Can one speak about it in a long poem?/ 7000 corpses… Jews… Slavs…" There was something tortured in the way, in some of the post-Stalinist editions, Selvinsky changed "Jews" to "Semites" in this line (or restored "Semites"), as if to evoke Nazi racist ideology in the context of the historical legacy of antisemitism. The change from "7000 tysiach trupov… Evrei… Slaviane…" to "7000 tysiach trupov… Semity… Slaviane…" did not alter the line metrically, but it did change the meaning significantly.

In 1998 the poet Evdokia Olshanskaya reminisced about the early spring of 1944: "My sister […] had already returned to Kiev from evacuation. […] One time she sent me a poem by Ilya Selvinsky. It was called 'I Saw It!' […] It told about the execution of Jews in the Crimea. But Kievans received it as a description of the tragedy of Babi Yar […]. Therefore in Kiev the poem "I Saw It!" was passed from hand to hand, people copied it, memorized it, which is how it had reached me."[140] Olshanskaya's comment testifies to the way Selvinsky's poem about the Nazi atrocities in his native Crimea spoke to the readers of the Shoah by bullet on all of the occupied Soviet territories.

Later in 1942, Selvinsky revisited the Bagerovo massacre in the poem "Kerch," a much more complex literary text, if such comparisons are worth anything, given the gravity of the matter. "Kerch" would remain unpublished until December 1943, when it ran in *Forward for the Motherland* (*Vpered za Rodinu*), the newspaper of the Separate Maritime Army, and would not reach a wider Soviet audience until February 1945, when it was published in the prominent Moscow monthly *Banner* (*Znamia*). Unlike "I Saw It!" the poem "Kerch" makes no mention of the identity of the victims. Selvinsky renders the victims in ethnically non-specific terms, bestowing upon the thousands of victims of the Bagerovo massacre the collective identity of "the dead" ("mertvetsy"). At the same time, official rhetoric is notably absent from "Kerch." That Selvinsky was content with the results may also be inferred from the fact that he made no substantive changes in the text of the poem—this as compared to the extensive changes in the published versions of "I Saw It!"[141]

The poem opens with a reminiscence of Selvinsky's Crimean youth. As Selvinsky looks at Kerch liberated by Soviet troops in 1942 (temporarily, as it turned out to be), he is reminded of its ancient Greek name, Panticapaeum. Then follows a particularly gorgeous description of ancient Mount Mithridates, and of life in the ancient Greek city as Selvinsky envisioned it:

> В лиловом и оранжевом тумане
> Над морем воспарил амфитеатр
> Пленительного города. Гора
> С каким-то белым и высоким храмом
> Курилась облаками. Дальний мыс
> Чернел над хризолитовым заливом.
> А очертанья зданий на заре

---

140 Ol'shanskaia.

141 As evidenced by a comparison of the version published in 1945 in *Banner* and the texts reprinted in his posthumous collections of 1984, 1989 and 2004: Cf. Sel'vinskii, "Kerch'," *Znamia* 2 (1945): 78-79; *Stikhotvoreniia. Tsarevna-lebed': tragediia*, ed. Ts. Voskresenskaia (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1984), 108-11; *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh*, 2 vols., ed. Ts. Voskresenskaia, I. Mikhailov (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1989), 1: 193-196; *Iz pepla, iz poem, iz snovidenii*, ed. A. M. Revich (Moscow: Vremia, 2004), 150-154. According to the commentary in Sel'vinskii, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh*, 1989 (1: 585), "Kerch'" originally appeared in the army newspaper *Vpered za rodinu* on 2 December 1943; I have not been able to verify this information, but have no reason to think that is it incorrect.

Подсказывали портики, колонны
И статуи на форуме. Эллада
Дышала сном. Один туман, как грезы,
Описывал громады парусов,
Орду козлов или толпу сатиров, —
И я был старше на пять тысяч лет.

In lilac and orange fog, above the sea
An amphitheater of a resplendent city
Soared, while some white and lofty temple
Rose from a mountain into the sky
Amid smoking clouds. A distant cape
Shone black over the bay of chrysolite.
And silhouettes of buildings at daybreak
Suggested porticoes and columns
And statues in the forum, while Hellas
Breathed in her deep slumber. Only the fog,
Like reveries, encircled colossal sails,
A horde of billy goats or a crowd of satyrs,
And I was older by five thousand years.
(*tr. Maxim D. Shrayer*)

It would be tempting to suggest that Selvinsky implicitly equates the devastation of Bosporus by Goths and Huns, whom representatives of Graeco-Roman civilization regarded as hordes of barbarians, with the destruction brought upon modern Crimea by the Nazis, whom the Soviet press commonly labeled as barbarians and ruffians. I suspect however, that Selvinsky's point is not to equate the Nazis with the tribes whom the Greeks viewed as wild and uncivilized. He rather wanted to establish that Nazism had developed in culturally refined Germany, in the lap of Western civilization, an apparent to Greece and Rome. Selvinsky's point, then, was to suggest, preemptively, before he described the site of the Bagerovo massacre, that the legacy of high culture and beauty had not prevented the Nazis from committing their crimes.

The heart of the poem focused on the problem of bearing witness to the Shoah. A survivor of the massacre who has lost his mother, wife, and two daughters points Selvinsky and his colleagues to the site:

Далеким голосом (таким далеким,
Что нам казалось, будто бы не он,
А кто-то за него) — он нам поведал
Пещерным слогом каменного века,
Рубя на точках:
"В десяти верстах
Тут Багерово есть. Одно село.
Не доходя, направо будет ров.
Противотанковый. Они туда
Семь тысяч граждан.

In a faraway voice (so faraway
That we felt it wasn't he who spoke,
But someone else spoke for him) — he told us
In caveman's speech of Stone Age intonations,
Incising the full stops: "Six miles from here.

There's Bagerovo. A small town.
Before you get there, to the right there's a ditch.
Anti-tank. They took over there
Seven thousand folks […].

In Selvinsky's account, the poet's individual I, both the voice of identity and the point of view, morphs into a collective "we" of the witnesses:

Мы тут же и пошли. Писатель Ромм,
Фотограф, я и критик Гоффеншефер.

We set out right away. The writer Romm.
The photographer, myself, and the critic Goffenshefer.[142]

All three literary practitioners in the poem (Ilya Selvinsky, Aleksandr Romm, and Veniamin Goffenshefer) were Jews, and in light of David Shneer's research it appears that the photographer Selvinsky refers to was also a Jew.[143] This is crucial evidence for our understanding of the role Jewish littérateurs and photographers played in bearing witness to the Shoah.

The military journalists approach the site of the recent mass murder:

Под утро мы увидели долину
Всю в пестряди какой-то. Это были
Расползшиеся за ночь мертвецы.
Я очень бледно это описал
В стихотворении "Я ЭТО ВИДЕЛ!"
И больше не могу ни слова.
Керчь…

By sunrise we had come upon a valley
All covered in some dappled cotton fabric. Those were
The dead who had crawled out during the night.
I have described this very hazily
In the poem "I SAW IT!"
And I cannot add even a single word.
Kerch…

I find it particularly moving that Selvinsky acknowledges the limitations of his previous poem about the murder of Jews at the Bagerovo anti-tank ditch. A Soviet photographer takes pictures of the massacre and reports (and, under pressure, manipulates) the truth through images. Selvinsky and his literary colleagues, Jews all three, find themselves at a loss:

142   As evidenced by a comparison of the version published in 1945 in *Banner* and the texts reprinted in his posthumous collections of 1984, 1989 and 2004: Cf. Sel'vinskii, "Kerch'," *Znamia* 2 (1945): 78-79; *Stikhotvoreniia. Tsarevna-lebed': tragediia*, ed. Ts. Voskresenskaia (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1984), 108-11; *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh*, 2 vols., ed. Ts. Voskresenskaia, I. Mikhailov (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1989), 1: 193-196; *Iz pepla, iz poem, iz snovidenii*, ed. A. M. Revich (Moscow: Vremia, 2004), 150-154. According to the commentary in Sel'vinskii, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh*, 1989 (1: 585), "Kerch'" originally appeared in the army newspaper *Vpered za rodinu* on 2 December 1943; I have not been able to verify this information, but have no reason to think that is it incorrect.

143   See Shneer, 2010, 21-32; see Mark Redkin [phot.], "Strashnye prestupleniia gitlerovskikh palachei," *Ogonek* 4 February 1942: 4. At the Bagerovo trench Selvinsky might have encountered the photographers Dmitrii Bal'termants, Leonid Iablonskii, Izrail' Ozerskii, Mark Redkin, or Mark Turovskii.

“Какое зверство!” — говорит писатель,
И эхом отозвался критик: “Зверство”.
Их ремесло — язык. Стихия — речь.
Они разворошили весь словарь
И выбрали одно и то же: “Зверство”.

“What beastliness!” the writer slowly says.
And then the critic echoes: “Beastliness.”
Language is their trade. Their element, speech.
They have rummaged through the whole dictionary
To choose the selfsame word: “Beastliness.”

The word “beastliness” (zverstvo) does not cut it for Selvinsky. If not beastliness, then what? “Kerch,/ You are the mirror, in which the abyss has been reflected” (“Керчь!/ Ты — зеркало, где отразилась бездна”) writes Selvinsky. What common or uncommon words is the Jewish-Russian poet-soldier to choose in order both to witness and to describe the “abyss”?

With this question in mind, I would like to turn to Jewish-Russian Holocaust poetry written and published between the summer of 1944 and the summer of 1946.

During those two years the issue of Jewish historical memory—and, specifically, of Holocaust memory—became acutely significant to many Soviet Jews. The wartime surge of Jewish-Soviet patriotism coupled with a publishing window of opportunity during the victorious year and the year following it sometimes engendered a curious blend of Soviet and Judaic rhetoric. For a number of poets the years 1944-46 were the peak of their lifetime engagement with Jewish topics. Very indicative of this tendency is the story of chapter 18 of the epic poem *Your Victory* (*Tvoia pobeda*) by Margarita Aliger (1915-1992) .[144] In 1944 Aliger prepared the materials on the destruction of Brest-Litovsk’s Jewish community for the Ehrenburg-Grossman *Black Book*. Composed in 1944-45, *Your Victory* originally appeared in Moscow, in the September 1945 issue of *Banner*. In a section of the poem, Aliger’s lyrical protagonist visits her mother, evacuated to a small town on the Kama River in the Urals. In the midst of their reunion, the daughter dialogues with her mother about her Jewish reawakening in the context of both the war and of the Shoah:

“[…] Who is coming to pursue us, mama?
Who are we, to whom do we belong?”
Stoking fire to warm her cold fingers,
arranging everything to live anew,
mother answered me, “So you forgot it?
How dare you let yourself?! We are Jews.”
(here and hereafter tr. Sibelan Forrester)
The daughter, a Jewish-Russian poet, continues:
“[…] Mama, it’s true, I knew but had forgotten,
couldn’t yet imagine or allow,
think that one could only glance in passing,
in secret, on the sly, to see the sky,
as behind us they are coming, chasing,
drive us to Treblinka barefoot, smother
us with gas, right there as we stand,
burn and shoot and hang us—they murder,
tread our blood into the dirt and sand.

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144 . See Shrayer, “Margarita Aliger,” Shrayer, An Anthology, 1: 561-564.

"We are a people prostrate in the dust.
We are a people trodden by our foe.. ."
Why? And what for? Is that truly *us*?
My people, there is something else I know.
I recall the scholars and the poets
from other countries, dialects, and years,
who loved life as little children know it,
noble jokers who through all their tears
were generous with talents and ambitions,
didn't hoard the best strength of their soul.
I know the doctors and musicians,
laborers—the great as well as small,
of the Maccabees the brave descendants,
flesh and blood sons of their ancestors,
thousands of Jews went into battle,
Russian commanders, Russian soldiers too [...].[145]"

The first authorized version of Aliger's Holocaust poem was reprinted twice in 1946–1947. Its subsequent publishing history, which lies outside the scope of this paper, is a history of obfuscating Jewish and Holocaust references to the point of their utter obliteration—and of contradicting the messages of the original version.

Why are the years 1944-1946 so remarkable for our understanding of the history of both Jewish-Russian poetry and Holocaust memory in the Soviet Union? Although as early as 1942 Jewish-Russian poets decried atrocities committed against the Jews on the occupied territories, in the summer of 1944 Soviet troops began to liberate Nazi death camps. Military journalists and writers traveled with the advancing Soviet troops beyond the pre-1941 Soviet borders. Just how much of a shock the sight of the Nazi death camps must have been even for the best-informed among the writers and journalists, who had already witnessed the aftermath of the Shoah by bullet, can be gleaned from Ehrenburg's famous memoir *People, Years, Life*. Ehrenburg included an account of visiting the site of the Trostyanets death camp in Belarus: "[...] I saw Trostyanets. There Hitlerites buried Jews in the ground—Jews of Minsk and Jews brought from Prague, Vienna. The doomed ones were brought here in mobile gas chambers [...]. I saw charred women's bodies, a little girl, hundreds of corpses. [...] Then I did not yet know about Majdanek, Treblinka, or Auschwitz. I stood there, unable to move [...]. It is hard to write about this—no words."[146] Seeking and being unable to find words fit to document the aftermath of the Shoah becomes a leitmotif in the works by poet-witnesses.

In early 1944 Ehrenburg's short essay "Nationkillers" ("Narodoubiitsy") was published in *Banner* as a preface to a selection of testimonies about Nazi atrocities.[147] Note also that by the summer of 1944 the work of the *Black Book* project was in full swing, and Ehrenburg managed to involve a number of Jewish-Russian poets, among them Margarita Aliger, Pavel Antokolsky, Vera Inber, and Lev Ozerov, in preparing the eyewitness accounts and writing about the Shoah. In July 1944 the Soviet troops came to Majdanek, which the Nazis had attempted to demol-

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145   Margarita Aliger, "From *Your Victory*," tr. Sibelan Forrester, in Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 1: 566-568; cf. Aliger, "Tvoia pobeda," *Znamia* 9 (1945): 1-28. For information on the publication history of Aliger's *Tvoia pobeda* (*Your victory*), see Works Cited.

146   Il'ia Erenburg, *Liudi, gody, zhizn'. Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1990), 2: 337.

147   Il'ia Erenburg, "Narodoubiitsy," *Znamia* 1-2 (1944): 185-186.

ish in haste, leaving the gas chambers standing.[148] In the summer of 1944 the Soviet troops also came to the *Aktion Rheinhard* death camps, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, all three camps having been nearly dismantled in 1943. Vasily Grossman was with the Soviet troops in August 1944 when they came upon the fields of powdered bones on the site of the Treblinka death camp. In November 1944 Grossman's documentary tale "The Hell of Treblinka" ("Treblinskii ad") appeared in *Banner*, publicizing the truth about the Nazi genocide of the Jews. In his article "To Remember!" ("Pomnit'!") published in *Pravda* on December 17, 1944, Ehrenburg put an accurate number, almost 6 million Jews, on the toll of the Shoah. And he presented the murder of Jews on the occupied Soviet territories and in the death camps in Poland as part of the same genocidal Nazi plan. In January 1945, with the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Soviet troops and the writers traveling with them encountered overwhelming evidence of the Nazi extermination industry and the so-called "Final Solution." After Auschwitz-Birkenau came the other death and concentration camps in Poland, in the Baltic lands, and in Germany.

In the remaining pages I will focus on the Holocaust poems by Ehrenburg, Selvinsky, Ozerov, and Antokoly written in 1944-45. In my closing remarks, I will discuss the price the Jewish-Russian poets paid for bearing witness to the Shoah. These poems were originally published in 1945-46 in three leading Moscow-based magazines. By the standards of the time—and by any standards—their official print runs were large: 30,000 for *Novyi Mir* in January 1945, when Ehrenburg's cycle of six Holocaust poems appeared there; 60,000 for *Banner* in 1945, when Selvinsky's "Kerch" and Antokolsky's "Death Camp" ("Lager' unichtozheniia") were published there, in February and October, respectively; 60,000 for *October* in 1945-1946, when Selvinsky's "Kandava" and Ozerov's long poem *Babi Yar* appeared there, in January-February 1945 and March-April 1946, respectively. These publications spoke of the Shoah to a mass and diverse audience of Soviet readers. They owed themselves mainly to the historical context of the war moving beyond the Soviet borders in 1944-45 and the liberation of the Nazi death camps, but to same extent to a brief cultural liberalization in 1945 and early 1946. The window of opportunity lasted from 1944 the late summer of 1946. *Zhdanovshchina*, the onslaught of ideological and cultural reaction so known after the party's secretary for ideology Andrey Zhdanov, began in August 1946, to be followed, in 1948, by the onset of the so-called anticosmopolitan campaign. The brief interlude of publishing about the Shoah came to halt by 1947, with the steamrolling of *The Black Book*.

4.3   Ilya Ehrenburg

In January 1945 Ilya Ehrenburg published a cycle of six poems about memory, mourning, and artistic response to catastrophe, in the flagship Moscow literary monthly *Novyi mir*.[149] Ehrenburg's voice of anti-Nazi resistance was nowhere as ruthless as in his wartime journalism and nonfiction read and heard by millions. While fighting the Nazis with his quill pen, Ehrenburg arguably did more than any other writer to bring to the world the truth about the Nazi atroc-

148   For a brief overview, see "Liberation of Nazi Camps," http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article. php?ModuleId=10005131, accessed 1 March 2011.

149   Il'ia Erenburg, "Stikhi," *Novyi mir* 1 (1945): 16 [a cycle of 6 untitled poems, numbered 1-6].

ities. Throughout the war, Ehrenburg worked tirelessly as a journalist and leading Soviet anti-Nazi propagandist, while continuing to compose lyrical poetry. We know quite a bit about Ehrenburg's experiences at reporting the Shoah in his articles, speeches, and works of fiction, as well as about the key role Ehrenburg played in the *Black Book* project. Much less has been made of the significance of his wartime poetry in disseminating the facts of the Shoah, and yet in 1941-1946 Ehrenburg wrote and published an astonishing number of poems with explicit and coded references to the Shoah by bullet on the occupied territories and to the industrialized murder of Jews in the Nazi death camps.[150] Ehrenburg's experience as a witness to the war and Shoah differed from the experience of his colleagues such as Vasily Grossman, who spent much of the war's four years as a posted frontline correspondent in the trenches, or Ilya Selvinsky, who took part in military action from the summer of 1941 through the autumn of 1943, was punitively removed from the front, and allowed back to the front only in the spring of 1945. Many of Ehrenburg's wartime articles and dispatches were based on the information that reached Ehrenburg in Moscow. So more valuable, for the purposes of my investigation, are Ehrenburg's writings on the war and Shoah that were directly informed by his visits to the then recently liberated occupied Soviet territories in 1943-1944.

Of the six poems published in *Novyi mir* in January 1945, Ehrenburg had composed at least two in 1944, and the rest in early January 1945.[151] Originally, the cycle that Ehrenburg had submitted consisted of at least seven poems, the earliest composed in 1943. As of early January 1945, Soviet troops had not yet liberated Auschwitz-Birkenau. They would approach the complex in the middle of January and liberate the camp on January 27, 1945. The minutes of the January 16, 1945 meeting of *Novyi mir*'s editorial board have preserved some details of the cycle's publication history: "Discussed: About Ehrenburg's poems. [K.] Fedin: The poems are publicistic. They are suitable for publication. [...] [V.] Shcherbina: To drop the poem "Byl chas odin—dusha oslabla...." ["There was an hour when the soul had grown weak..."]. In this poem the author appears to be taking upon himself some blame for the world war."[152]

Among the six short poems in the cycle was Ehrenburg's poem about Babi Yar ("K chemu slova i chto pero..." ["What use are words and quill pens..."]), indispensible to students of Holocaust memory. Yet Ehrenburg's *Novyi mir* cycle has never been examined as a whole or properly contextualized and historicized. In *Novyi mir* the cycle bore the nondescript title "Stikhi" ("Poems"); the six poems printed there in January 1945 were all untitled and bore the

150   See Shrayer, "Ilya Ehrenburg," Shrayer, *An Anthology*; Altshuler, Mordechai [Mordekhai Al'tshuler], "Erenburg i evrei (Nabrosok portreta)," in Altshuler, Mordechai et al., eds. *Sovetskie evrei pishut Il'e Erenburgu: 1943-1966* (Jerusalem: The Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, 1993), 61; see Boris Frezinskii's discussion of the war and Shoah in Ehrenburg's life and writings, B. Ia. Frezinskii, "Iz slov ostalis' samye prostye... (Zhizn' i poeziia Il'ia Erenburga)," in Il'ia Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. B. Ia. Frezinskii (St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt [Novaia biblioteka poeta], 2000), 43-61; see also Shrayer, "Ilya Ehrenburg."

151   Here and hereafter, I am indebted to Boris Frezinskii's commentary in his academic edition of Ehrenburg's poetry, Il'ia Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. B. Ia. Frezinskii (St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt [Novaia biblioteka poeta, Bol'shaia seriia], 2000); see especially 736-745. See also N. G. Zakharenko's commentary in Erenburg, 1977, 436-440.

152   Quoted in Frezinskii, 740. The dropped poem, "Byl chas odin—dusha oslabla..." ("There was an hour [when] the soul had grown weak..."), was composed in 1943 and would be published in the Leningrad-based magazine *Zvezda* (*Star*) in the summer of 1945: Erenburg, "Stikhi voennykh let," *Zvezda* 7 (1945): 5; also see Erenburg, ed. Frezinskii, 743.

numbers 1-6.

During the Soviet period, some but not all of the individual poems in the *Novyi mir* cycle were subsequently reprinted. Even though Poem 1 appeared—in modified form and under the title "Babi Yar"—in several of Ehrenburg's lifetime collections and editions and became one of his most famous texts, the cycle has never since been reprinted in its entirety, either in Ehrenburg's life or subsequently.[153] Both circumstances speak to the cycle's paramount signif-

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153   Following their original publication in January 1945 in *Novyi mir*, the cycle's six numbered poems appeared in Ehrenburg's principal collections, volumes, and editions as follows: 1 (K chemu slova i chto pero…): as "K chemu slova i chto pero…," in Il'ia Erenburg, *Derevo: Stikhi 1938-1945 gg.* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1946), 45-46; "Babii Iar" in Il'ia Erenburg, *Sochineniia* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1953), 4: 605; "Babii Iar" in Il'ia Erenburg, *Stikhi 1938-1958* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1959), 72-73; Babii Iar," in Il'ia Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia*, ed. B. M. Sarnov and N. G. Zakharenko (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1977 [Biblioteka poeta]), 187; "Babii Iar" in Il'ia Erenburg, *Sobranie sochinenii v deviati tomakh* (Moscow, 1964), 3: 455; "Babii Iar" in Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. Frezinskii, 512; 2 ("Rakety saliutov…"): as "Rakety saliutov…" in Erenburg, *Derevo*, 83; "Rakety saliutov…" in Erenburg, *Stikhi 1938-1958*, 76; "Rakety saliutov…" in Erenburg, *Sobranie sochinenii v deviati tomakh*, 3: 458; "Rakety saliutov…" in Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. Frezinskii, 518; 3 ("Chuzoe gore, ono, kak ovod…"): as "Chuzoe gore, ono, kak ovod…," in Erenburg, *Derevo,* 81; "Chuzoe gore, ono, kak ovod…," poem 3 of an 8-part cycle in Erenburg, *Sochineniia*, 1953, 4: 634; "Chuzoe gore, ono, kak ovod…," in Erenburg, *Stikhi 1938-1958*, 85; "Chuzoe gore, ono, kak ovod…," in Erenburg, *Sobranie sochinenii v deviati tomakh*, 3: 470; "Chuzoe gore, ono, kak ovod…," in Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. Frezinskii, 518; 4 ("Budet solntse v tot den' ili dozhd', ili sneg…"): as "Budet solntse v tot den' ili dozhd', ili sneg…," poem 4 of a 4-part cycle, "V fevrale 1945," in Erenburg, *Derevo,* 84; "Budet solntse v tot den' ili dozhd', ili sneg…," poem 1 of a 4-part cycle, "V fevrale 1945," in Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. Frezinskii, 519; 5 ("Den' pridet, i slavok gromkii khor…"): as "Den' pridet, i slavok gromkii khor…," poem 2 of a 4-part cycle, "V fevrale 1945," in Erenburg, *Derevo*, 84-85; "Den' pridet, i slavok gromkii khor…," poem 1 of a 2-part cycle, "V fevrale 1945," in Erenburg, *Sobranie sochinenii v deviati tomakh*, 3: 464; "Den' pridet, i slavok gromkii khor…," as poem 2 of a 4-part cycle, "V fevrale 1945," in Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. Frezinskii, 519; 6 ("Proshu ne dlia sebia, dlia tekh…"): as "Proshu ne dlia sebia, dlia tekh…," poem 4 of a 4-part cycle, "V fevrale 1945," in Erenburg, *Derevo: Stikhi,* 85-86; "Proshu ne dlia sebia, dlia tekh…," poem 3 of a 3-part cycle, "9 maia 1945," in Erenburg, *Sobranie sochinenii v deviati tomakh*, 3: 466; as "Proshu ne dlia sebia, dlia tekh…," poem 4 of a 4-part cycle, "V fevrale 1945," in Erenburg, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. Frezinskii, 520.

Ehrenburg's own arrangement of the cycle's six poems in his subsequent lifetime editions may have added to the textological confusion. In volume 4 of his 5-volume *Sochineniia* (1953), Poem 1 is published as "Babi Yar," whereas Poem 3 appears under the same number in a selection of eight numbered poems, which does not feature any other poems from the January 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle. In *Stikhi 1938-1958* (1959), three of the cycle's six poems are reprinted, but neither one appears as part of a numbered cycle or selection. In volume 3 of Ehrenburg's 9-volume *Sobranie sochinenii* (1964), four of the *Novyi mir* cycle's six poems are reprinted, two as stand-alone poems, and two in different cycles: Poem 5 as the first of two numbered poems in a cycle titled "V fevrale 1945" ("In February 1945"), and poem 6 as the third of three numbered poems in a cycle titled "9 maia 1945" ("9 May 1945"). Note also that in *Stikhi 1938-1958* (1959) Ehrenburg published, under the title "In February 1945," only the first of the two poems he would later group into the cycle "In February 1945" in volume 3 of the 9-volume *Sobranie sochinenii* (1964). In *Poems 1938-1958* (1959), the cycle of two numbered poems titled "9 May 1945" does not include Poem 6, whereas in 1964 Ehrenburg (and his editors) would include Poem 6 as the last of the three poems in the cycle also titled "9 May 1945."

A major landmark in the publication history of Ehrenburg's poetry was the 1977 edition of his *Poems* in Biblioteka poeta (Poet's Library). Prepared and edited by the Jewish-Russian critic Benedikt Sarnov, who would later write a book about Ehrenburg, and by the bibliographer N. G. Zakharenko, who had coedited the 1972 Poet's Library edition of Ilya Selvinsky's poetry, the 1977 volume took stock of Ehrenburg's many lifetime volumes and periodical publications and also referenced Ehrenburg's archival manuscripts and typescripts. In the Sarnov/Zakharenko edition, Poem 2 precedes Poem 1, but is followed by Poem 3 and Poem 4, all four appearing as stand-alone texts, with other stand-alone poems placed between them, without any indication that Poems 1, 2, 3, and 4 might be connected or related. At the same time, Poem 5 appears as 1 in a two-poem cycle "In February 1945," exactly as it was published in vol. 3 of *Sobranie sochinenii* (1964), whereas Poem 6 is included as No. 3 in the cycle "9 May 1945," the same way as it stands in the 1964 volume. As Zakharenko notes in his commentary (440), Ehrenburg's papers contained a typescript with a selection of poems titled "Stikhi fevralia 1945" ("Poems of February 1945"); this selection includ-

icance in the canon of Holocaust literature, for which the original publication of the six poems in the January 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle remains a defining circumstance. Soviet readers were originally exposed to Ehrenburg's poems about the Shoah through the *Novyi mir* cycle.

As published Ehrenburg's poems were not arranged in simple chronological order. Both the versification in the individual poems and their order and structural arrangement reveals a deliberateness of arrangement, an internal logic which augments the cycle's rhetorical structure. One way of experiencing the cycle's compositional unity is to identify some of its recurrent verbal motifs. For instance, the word *yar*, repeated twice in a row in Poem 1 and pointing to Babi Yar in Kiev, finds a not so distant echo in the adjective *yarkii* (bright) in Poem 5; "yar" ("ravine") and "yarkii" ("bright") are not etymologically related. One of the most striking motifs is that of the Shoah as "someone else's" legacy—"memory," "path," and "woe." Forms of the adjective "chuzhoi" ("someone else's"; "another's") punctuate Poems 1-3: "I carry someone else's memory" (1); "You light someone else's path with yourself" (2); "Someone else's woe—like a gadfly"; "And what to do with it—someone else's" (both in 3). Another recurrent verbal motif has to do with the physicality of the memories of desire and love. A reference to the poet's imagined kissing of the hands of a woman who had died in the Shoah ("The hands of this beloved woman/ I used to kiss, a long time ago") travels from Poem 1 to poem 5, where the poet sounds out a promise of physical enactment of desire: "There will be hands to hold and embrace,/ There will be lips to kiss…." Both the noun *ruki* ("hands) and the verb *tselovat'* ("to kiss") appear in Poem 1 and Poem 5 in exactly the same grammatical forms. Then there is the motif of fireworks, signaling an imminent celebration of victory over Nazism; this motif notably connects Poem 2 and Poem 4.

As Russia's leading Ehrenburg scholar Boris Frezinskii remarked, referencing Poem 3 ("Chuzhoe gore, ono, kak ovod…" ["Someone else's woe—like a gadfly…"]), Ehrenburg understood perfectly well that to "the [Soviet] state the Holocaust was 'someone else's woe.'"[154] Indeed, we should take stock of the absence of the word "Jew" and its cognates from the cycle. Ehrenburg withheld an explicit reference to Babi Yar, communicating it through the use and repetition of the word *yar*, and broadened the scope of memorialization of the Shoah.

Kiev and Babi Yar occupied a special place in Ehrenburg's wartime writings. With great difficulty, Ehrenburg was able to speak in print about the fall of Kiev to Nazi armies, in a short *Red Star* article published on September 27, 1941: "We will liberate Kiev. The enemy's blood will wash the enemy's footprints (tr. Joshua Rubenstein)."[155] Kiev—and Babi Yar—was also a personal wound for Ehrenburg. Ehrenburg was born in Kiev in 1891 but grew up in Moscow, where his father, an engineer, moved the family in 1894. Following the February 1917 Revolution, Ehrenburg returned to Russia. He did not accept the Bolshevik coup and moved to Kiev, where he witnessed civil-war violence, including a pogrom. In Kiev Ehrenburg met and married Lyubov Kozintseva.

At Babi Yar outside Kiev, over 33,000 Jews were murdered on September 29-30 1941, and altogether as many as 100,000 people, about 90,000 of them Jewish, were killed through-

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ed Poem 4, Poems 5, and Poem 6 of the 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle along with other texts. B. Ia. Frezinskii's 2000 edition of Ehrenburg's poetry supersedes all previous academic editions; yet it does not reconstruct Ehrenburg's January 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle. Further textological considerations go beyond the scope of this paper.

154 Frezinskii, 57.

155 Rubenstein, 191; cf. Erenburg, "Kiev," *Krasnaia zvezda* 27 September 1941.

out the Nazi occupation.[156] One of the best informed Soviet figures, Ehrenburg had known of Babi Yar early on. But he had to wait two years before he was able to visit Kiev and bear witness—soon after the Soviet troops liberated it on November 6, 1943.[157] Before setting foot on Babi Yar in 1943, Ehrenburg had been making references to it in his articles, and he continued to do so throughout 1943-1945. Notably, in the reports on the Kharkov Trial, he spoke of the "dead [who] would rise from ditches and ravines [iz rvov i yarov]" to bear witness—in the liberated Soviet cities.[158] Echoes of Babi Yar resound through the text of Ehrenburg's article "To Remember!" ("Pomnit'!") published in *Pravda* on December 17, 1944, only weeks before the completion of the *Novyi mir* cycle: "In the countries and areas that they occupied the Germans murdered all the Jews [even] old peolpe and infants. Ask a captured German, why his countrymen annihilated six million innocent people, and he will answer: 'They are Jews. They are black (or red-haired). They have different blood.' This started with vapid jokes, with street urchins' yelling, with graffiti on the fences, and it led to Majdanek, Babi Yar, Treblinka, to ditches filled with corpses of children.…"[159] In the article Erhenburg put an accurate number on the toll of the Shoah and presented the murder of Jews on the occupied Soviet territories and in the death camps in Poland as part of the same genocidal Nazi plan and steeps the Shoah in the history of antisemitism. Having previously written about Babi Yar in his news reports and articles, Ehrenburg did not commemorate the victims of Babi Yar in poetry until 1944. This deferral of poetic commemoration of Babi Yar must have had something to do with an imperative to witness the aftermath before writing about it in poetry. Additionally, one should consider the disgust and horror with which Ehrenburg reacted to what he heard regarding a surge of antisemitism in Kiev during and after the occupation. Hirsh Smolar, a partisan commander from Minsk, recalled visiting Ehrenburg in Moscow in 1944: "Ehrenburg had just returned from Kiev and he was in a rotten mood […]. 'This was my hometown,' he told me, 'and I will never go back there.'"[160] Other eyewitnesses previously, and Holocaust historians recently, have written about the shock of recognizing—really not recognizing—Kiev after the Naxi occupation.[161]

The extensive cultural legacy of Babi Yar has received previous critical attention.[162] Let me

156 Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, 175; Yaacov Ro'i, "Babi Yar," *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. Gershon David Hundert, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Babi_Yar, accessed 22 February 2011.

157 For details, see Rubenstein, *Tangled Loyalties,* 209-210.

158 Erenburg, "Svideteli," in Erenburg, *Voina (Aprel' 1943-mart 1944)* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1944), 160.

159 Erenburg, "Pomnit'!" *Pravda* 14 December 1944.

160 Quoted in Rubenstein, *Tangled Loyalties*, 208-209.

161 For a new assessment, with a particular focus on Kiev, see Victoria Khiterer, "We Did Not Recognize Our Country: The Rise of Anti-Semitism in Ukraine before and after World War II (1937-1947)," forthcoming in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*. I am grateful to Victoria Khiterer for sharing with me the manuscript of her article.

162 Ideological and cultural issues surrounding the commemoration of Babi Yar in postwar Soviet culture and society are considered in Richard Sheldon's essay, "The Transformations of Babi Yar," in *Soviet Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Vera S. Dunhan*, ed. Terry L. Thompson and Richard Sheldon (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 124-161. See also a more recent study by Boris Czerny, "Babij Jar. La mémoire de l'histoire," in *Génocides: lieux (et non-lieux) de mémoire*, ed. Georges Bensoussan (Paris: Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, 2004), 61-77. Of note is an anthology of Holocaust poetry, featuring Russian- and Ukrainian-language poetry, as well as translations, published in Kyiv (Kiev) in 2001, Il'ia Levitas, ed., *Babii Iar v serdtse. Poezia* (Kyiv: Golovna spetsializovana redaktsiia literatura movami natsional'nykh menshin Ukraini, 2001).

note in passing that Soviet authors, both Jewish and not, turned to the subject of Babi Yar during the wartime years, several as early as 1942–44. Among the early examples are the Ukrainian poem "Abraham" (1943) by Sava Holovanivskyi (1910–19??), a 1944 article and a 1947 story in Yiddish by Itsik Kipnis (1896–1974), episodes in the Yiddish-language epic *Milkhome* (*War,* first complete book edition 1948) by Perets Markish (1895–1952) .[163] In the postwar years, the commemoration—or, rather, the official non-commemoration—of the Babi Yar massacre became a *cause célèbre* of Soviet culture; in the West the public awareness of Soviet artists' response to Babi Yar still tends to be limited to Evgeny Evtushenko's poem "Babi Yar" (1961) and Dmitry Shostakovich Sympony No. 13 (1962) based in part on Evtushenko's poem, and, to a lesser degree, to Anatoly Kuznetsov's docunovel *Babi Yar* (1966). Ehrenburg's record was to *publish* the first Russian-language poem about Babi Yar in January 1945. While Lev Ozerov, Ehrenburg's younger contemporary, composed his *Babi Yar,* a long and detailed account of the September 1941 massacre, in 1944-45, it was not published until the spring of 1946. Ehrenburg would subsequently return to the subject of Babi Yar in a scene in his novel *Storm* (1947) .

As I argue in these pages, Jewish-Russian writers paid a price for being able to tell the world in print about the Shoah on occupied Soviet territories. In the wartime years, as the official position shifted from a partial obfuscation of the Holocaust to a virtual ban on discussing Jewish victims apart from generalized Soviet victims, the price tended to be a compromistic rhetoric mixing historical truth with some historical fiction. In Selvinsky's landmark poem "I Saw It!" (1942), murdered "Jews" and "Slavs" lie side by side in the Bagerovo ditch, a site where thousands of Jews were murdered by bullet. In Grossman's short story "The Old Teacher" (1943), Ukrainian collaboration with the Nazis is an exceptional, singular occurrence, whereas the vast majority of the local population on occupied Ukrainian territories display empathy or support for the Jews who are being annihilated.[164] One of the most remarkable aspects of Ehrenburg's *Novyi mir* cycle of January 1945 is that Ehrenburg spoke of the Shoah in code: the word Jew is nowhere mentioned, while obvious signs of the victims' identity are missing throughout the cycle's six poems. And yet, Babi Yar served as the historical, moral and aesthetic tuning fork of Ehrenburg's January 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle. Consider the opening poem of the cycle:

> 1.
> К чему слова и что перо,
> Когда на сердце этот камень,
> Когда, как каторжник ядро,
> Я волочу чужую память?
> Я жил когда-то в городах,
> И были мне живые милы,
> Теперь на тусклых пустырях
> Я должен разрывать могилы,
> Теперь мне каждый яр знаком,
> И каждый яр теперь мне дом.
> Я этой женщины любимой
> Когда-то руки целовал,

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163   The poetic cycle "Kirillovskie Iary" (1942) by the half-Russian, half-German Olga Anstei (1912-1985), who was in Kiev during the September 1941 Babi Yar massacre and left the occupied USSR during the war, was first published in 1948 in Munich. Note also that Liudmila Titova had apparently written about Babi Yar in 1941, but her poem was not discovered and published until the 1990s.

164   On this subject, see Shrayer, "Bearing Witness."

Хотя, когда я был с живыми,
Я этой женщины не знал.
Мое дитя! Мои румяна!
Моя несметная родня!
Я слышу, как из каждой ямы
Вы окликаете меня.
Я говорю за мертвых. Встанем,
Костями застучим — туда,
Где дышат хлебом и духами
Еще живые города.
Задуйте свет. Спустите флаги.
Мы к вам пришли. Не мы — овраги.

1.

What use are words and quill pens
When on my heart this rock weighs heavy?
A convict dragging his restraints,
I carry someone else's memory.
I used to live in cities grand
And love the company of the living,
But now I must dig up graves
In fields and valleys of oblivion.
Now every *yar* is known to me,
And every *yar* is home to me.
The hands of this beloved woman
I used to kiss, a long time ago,
Even though when I was with the living
I didn't even know her.
My darling sweetheart! My red blushes!
My countless family, kith and kin!
I hear you calling me from the ditches,
Your voices reach me from the pits.
I speak for the dead. We shall rise,
Rattling our bones we'll go—there,
Where cities, battered but still alive,
Mix bread and perfumes in the air.
Blow out the candles. Drop all the flags.
We've come to you, not we—but graves.
(here and hereafter, tr. Maxim D. Shrayer)

The power of the poem comes from the construction of the poet's physical connection to the victims of Babi Yar, and especially from the devastating note of desire, imagined, re-envisioned, reconstructed. The language of desire burns the lips of the mourning Jewish-Russian poet—and of the reader that whispers along. Yet the victims in the poem are unmarked in either ethnic or religious terms. In the original publication, line 19 of Poem 1 reads: "Ia govoriu za mertvykh, vstanem" ("I speak for the dead, let's rise" or "I speak for the dead. We shall rise." In the version of the poem published in the collection *Poems 1953-1958* (1959) and subsequently, Ehrenburg restored the title "Babi Yar." However, line 19 now read as: "My podnatuzhimsia i vstanem" ("We shall gather strength and rise"). I think the change cuts both ways. In one respect, it makes for a more Jewishly articulated call for action, consistent with Ehrenburg's previous calling on the Jews murdered in the Shoah to rise and bear witness to Nazi crimes. Yet the absence of the bluntly programmatic words "I speak for the dead" signals an economy of loss in Ehrenburg's republication of his "Babi Yar" poem. According to Ehrenburg's po-

em, the rite of mourning demands that the lights be turned off and the flags lowered, and this could also be read to mean that there is no nationality or citizenship for those lying in Babi Yar, only their victimhood. Is this Ehrenburg's necessary allegiance to the official Soviet refusal to "divide the dead" or the opposite, a bestowal onto the dead Jews lying at Babi Yar of a poetic *matzevah* in place of a missing physical marker or monument? The final spark of Ehrenburg's poetic imagination occurs in the second half of the final line: "My k vam prishli, ne my — ovragi" ("We've come to you, not we—but graves [literally, "not we—but ravines," although Ehrenburg uses not *yar* but *ovrag*, a different word for ravine]"). Paronomastically, the poem suggests an alternative phrasing and reading: *ne my* (not we) can also be reimagined as *nemy* ([are] mute). Mute—or muted—are the voices of the victims lying in Babi Yar, but in the USSR the voice of the Jewish-Russian poet is also muted in the devoiced Jewishness of the response to the Shoah. Despite the deeply personal, lyrical tone, and despite its evocation of desire, a woman's body, past love, in this poem the Jewishly personal is depersonalized and made outwardly not Jewish, and especially so if you can imagine the act of reading this poem by a mainstream Soviet audience in 1945: an untitled poem numbered "1" in a selection of six heart-rending poems about response to loss.

Poem 2 of the cycle negotiates between a heady rhetoric of Soviet victory, then still several months and hundreds of thousands of lives away in January 1945, and a subdued reckoning of losses. While "fireworks" illuminating a black sky metonymize celebrations of victory over Nazism, the "passion of those ravaged days" directs the reader away from jubilation. Referring to the brutally murdered victims, the Russian adjective "rasterzannykh" (ravaged, harrowed, literally "torn apart"), also occurs in Ehrenburg's wartime articles; even the same grammatical structure, genitive plural, of the adjectives and nouns underscores the parallelism between the "ravaged children" (rasterzannykh detei) at Babi Yar and the "ravaged days" (rasterzannykh dnei), as does also the echoing rhyme of the nouns (*dnei-detei* [days-children]) .

The burning rockets not only celebrate victory, but also invoke the burning corpses at the sites of Nazi massacres. Ehrenburg's diction in line 2 of Poem 2 is couched in the language of Christ's passion and martyrdom. In 1911 Ehrenburg had gone through a phase of fascination with Catholic medieval mysticism. Echoes of a Christian—specifically Catholic—sensibility continued to inform Ehrenburg's poetic vocabulary. It is quite possible that the invocation of the passion of Christ in Ehrenburg's poem about the Shoah compensates for his inability to introduce specifically Judaic references.

Poem 3 shows that a major change in Ehrenburg's perspective on Holocaust memory had occurred by the end of 1944. The visits to the liberated Soviet territories had expanded and darkly animated Ehrenburg's knowledge of the Shoah. At the same time, another major factor, which Poem 3 registers with layered precision, was Ehrenburg's growing bitterness over the rise of popular antisemitism during the war, in the occupied territories and elsewhere in the USSR, and by the concerted official efforts to conceal both Shoah by bullet and local collaboration with the Nazis. In conjuring up a tumultuous, feverish image of Soviet memory of the Shoah, Ehrenburg saves the best for last in this poem of eight lines:

3.
Чужое горе, оно, как овод,
Ты отмахнешься — и сядет снова,
Захочешь выйти, а выйти поздно,

Оно — горячий и мокрый воздух;
И как ни дышишь, все так же душно.
Оно не слышит, оно — кликуша,
Оно приходит и ночью ноет,
А что с ним делать — оно чужое.

3.
Someone else's woe—like a gadfly;
You wave it off, but it gets right back at you,
You'd like to go out but it's late already,
The woe's hot and muggy air,
No matter how you breathe, suffocating.
The woe doesn't hear, a nagging hysteric,
It comes at night, moaning, aching,
And what to do with it—someone else's.

In the original Russian *gore* ("woe"), a noun of the neuter gender, is likened to a *klikusha*, a feminine noun with a complex meaning and pedigree. First, "someone else's woe," here contextually understood as Jewish Holocaust woe, is compared to a "gadfly" ("ovod") —something of a popular cliché, in which an unrelenting insect attacking and biting horses and cattle is transformed into a person unhinging the status quo. Used figuratively and applied to society, the term gadfly occurs in cornerstone religious and philosophical texts. Plato, in the *Apology of Socrates*, has Socrates comment during his trial that a dissenting person or opinion is like a gadfly.[165] (In the Soviet imagination, the term gadfly gained much popularity with the widely read Russian translation of the 1897 novel *The Gadfly* by Ethel Lilian Voynich.) Ehrenburg presents the memory of the Shoah as a popular irritant, peddled by Jews yet unwanted by the rest of the Soviet population now focused on victory and jubilation. In keeping with the cycle's close reliance on images of weather and atmospheric conditions, the poem's second tier renders the Soviet memory of the Shoah as "hot and muggy air." Here Ehrenburg's subtlety lies not only in suggesting that one can never do justice to the memory of the Shoah as the void can never be undone, just as the authorial persona cannot catch enough air and keeps suffocating with the knowledge of the Shoah saturating his memory. But likening the memory of the Shoah to "hot air" might also underscore its irrelevance to the lives of the indifferent Soviet mainstream.

At the same time, the Russian folk term *klikusha* may be literally translated as "shrieker." According to various Russian popular beliefs, *klikushi* are females possessed by the demons; blessings and other religious rituals have the power to drive the unclean spirit out of them. The term *klikusha* (and its cognate *klikushestvo*) may have referred to what was once termed "feminine hysteria," to a spectrum of neurological conditions, and to psychic conditions resulting from trauma or abuse.[166] Figuratively, in the Russian language the term *klikusha* may refer to speakers and polemicists who are viewed as intemperate and unstoppable. Ehrenburg sounds one of the cycle's most disturbing notes: You cannot get away from the memory of the Shoah, yet no public options are available to deal with this someone else's (read: Jewish) woe in the Soviet Union of 1945.

165 See "Social Gadfly," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_gadfly, accessed 20 February 2011.

166 See "Klikushi," http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Кликуши, accessed 11 December 2010. Russian writers, notably Dostoevsky in connection with Alesha's mother in *The Brothers Karamazov*, have drawn on *klikushi* to explore complex linkages between illness and sainthood, idiocy and power of clairvoyance, abuse and victimization of the victims themselves.

Both Poem 4 and Poem 5, when read outside the context of the January 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle as stand-alone texts, are the least marked by obvious yet coded references to the Shoah. This is not surprising. Here Ehrenburg outwardly addresses a topic, to which many other Soviet writers turned in late 1944 and 1945: the soldier's return from the war. In Poem 4, the most general and abstract of terms, *chelovek* ("person"; "human being") figures in reference to a returnee from the war and its horrors. This returnee, a Soviet every (service) man, could be anybody. In the cycle's semiotic system, the absence of his or her ethnic markedness brings home the idea that memory of the Shoah inadvertently rests in all of the Soviet survivors of the war: soldiers and generals, former prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews et al. All of them, whether they know it or not, are witnesses to the Shoah and bearers of its memory, and they are all in need of nature's idyllic setting—both as a refuge of peace and a source of consolation. A key motif pulsing through Poem 4 is human silence and nature's voices and sounds as a respite from human rhetoric:

> О, победы последний салют! Не слова
> Нам расскажут о счастье — вода и трава,
> Не орудья отметят сражений конец,
> А биение крохотных птичьих сердец.
> Мы услышим, как тихо летит мотылек,
> Если ветер улегся и вечер далек.

> O, victory's last fireworks! Not words
> Will tell us of happiness—water and grass.
> Not guns will mark the conclusion of battles—
> But the beating of bird hearts, those tiniest of bells.
> We'll hear the quietness of moth wings in flight,
> If the wind has subsided and young is the night.

The failure of the victorious Soviet grandiloquence to make room for the Shoah troubles Ehrenburg, as it also troubles other Jewish-Russian poet-witnesses, among them Selvinsky, Antokolsky, and Ozerov. It seems incredible that the censors let stand Ehrenburg's daring juxtapositions of victory's gunfire and the healing silence cloaking the minds of the returnees. That the happiness of having survived is coached not in words but in "water and grass," in nature's primordial elements, negates the ability of a brandishing rhetoric to accord a modicum of peace after four years of war. By pointing to the vulnerability of both birds and especially of butterflies and moths (souls of the dead, images which, as Elisabeth Kübler-Ross observed, Jewish children depicted on the antechambers of death), Ehrenburg strikes an otherworldly note while also underscoring the fragility of the memory of the Shoah.

This triple motif—silence, defiance of rhetoric, and nature's embrace of both the victims and the rememberers—continues in the opening part of Poem 5. Ornithological and entomological references—warblers and dragonflies—carry over from Poem 4 into Poem 5. Furthermore, a euphonically rich tautology in line 6 of Poem 5 carries implied references to bees and beekeeping: "A Medyn' dlia zvonkikh medunits." The name of Medyn', a district center in the north of the Kaluga Province, is derived etymologically from the word *med* ("honey"), for which the area had probably once been known. During the war the area was briefly occupied in October 1941-January 1942 and heavily destroyed. *Medunitsa*, the Russian name of the flower "lungwort," also derives etymologically from the Russian word for honey. Thus, both the place and

the flower communicate connections to honey; it would be impossible to do this line justice in translating it in verse both literally and figuratively. In rendering it as "And the honey meadows—for lungworts," I sought to pick up on the poem's hint that the war destroys such traditional rural professions as beekeeping. Ehrenburg relies on bees as a trope for Jews, a trope familiar to Jewish-Russian authors describing the destruction of Jewish life.

Ehrenburg, like Babel writing of Ukraine in 1920, refused to disavow artistry when speaking about the decimation of the Jewish population in the occupied territories. The second half of Poem 5 calls on the cycle's opening poem by bringing back memories of desire, love, and the body's physicality:

> Будут только те затемнены,
> У кого луна и без луны,
> Будут руки, чтобы обнимать,
> Будут губы, чтобы целовать.

> Only those will be dimmed at noon,
> Who are moonlit even without the moon,
> There will be hands to hold and embrace,
> There will be lips to kiss and taste.

There is mystery in the lines connecting the opening of Poem 5, with its trappings of an idyll and a semblance of a poem for children, to the poem's latter half. Who are the ones who are "moonlit even without the moon"? The victims themselves? The survivors? The bereaved ones performing the rituals of mourning? Ehrenburg does not tell the reader. But the logic of the poem links those who are "dimmed at noon" with memories of their prewar—and pre-Shoah—living. That which in Poem 1 Ehrenburg's lyrical voice recalled through the prism of his individual destiny in the past tense ("The hands of this beloved woman/ I used to kiss, a long time ago") is now presented as a collective promise and reassurance to all the readers, whom the poem positions as survivors of catastrophe ("There will be hands to hold and embrace,/ There will be lips to kiss…"). It is specifically under the terms of this vague promise that poetry itself is textualized, for the first time in the entire cycle:

> Даже ветер, почитав стихи,
> Заночует у своей ольхи.

> Even the wind, after reciting poetry,
> Will fall asleep under its alder tree.

These Holocaust verses of consolation and sorrow are recited by the wind, textualized yet unprinted—unprinted along with much of what Ehrenburg and fellow Jewish-Russian poets could not say in public.

Ehrenburg's exceptional status enabled him to speak softly, in those loudspeaking days, about victims and survivors. The opening line of Poem 6, the conclusion of the cycle, throws a bridge of memory to Poem 1 (known later as "Babi Yar") by restoring the I/eye-witness identity of the lyrical voice:

> 6.
> Прошу не *для себя, для тех,*

Кто жил в крови, кто дольше всех
Не слышал ни любви, ни скрипок,
Ни роз не видел, ни зеркал,
Под кем и пол в сенях не скрипнул,
Кого и сон не окликал.
Прошу для тех: и цвет, и щебет,
Чтоб было звонко и пестро,
Чтоб, умирая, день, как лебедь,
Ронял из горла серебро.
Прошу до слёз, до безрассудства,
Дойдя, войдя и перейдя,
Немного смутного искусства
За лёгким пологом дождя.

6.
I beg you not for me, but those
Who lived in blood, whose mirrors froze,
Who hadn't heard love's violins,
For the longest, who forgot the smell
Of roses and the lilt of sleep—
Beneath them no floor will tilt.
I beg for them: both color and singing,
Please give them ringing, motley sounds,
So that the dying day, like a cygnet,
Will drop tongue-trilling silver sighs.
I beg you senselessly, my heart
Approaching, stopping, crossing again,
For just a bit of tremulous art
Behind a dainty curtain of rain.

Poem 6, the most artistically accomplished in the cycle, is also the one to articulate Ehrenburg's plea for art: great art, pure art, tremulous art. The epithet *smutnoe*, which modifies the word *iskusstvo* ("art") in the penultimate line, means or can mean "tremulous," "vague," "uncertain," and "inarticulate." But Ehrenburg also invokes the idea of art at the time of troubles (*smutnoe vremia*, in the Russian), a term specifically referring to the period in the history of Russia (Muscovy) at the very end of the 16th and the start of the 17th century, with Russia overwhelmed by the Polish and Swedish invasion and in the midst of dynastic crisis. With his gift of historical clairvoyance (consider the terrifying prophesy of the Shoah in *Julio Jurenito*), Ehrenburg may have been alluding to a dynastic uncertainty of late Stalinism while also anticipating a time of troubles for Soviet Jewry.

Echoing Joshua Rubenstein's characterization of Poem 1 as a "Kaddish," Boris Frezinskii referred to Poem 6 of the *Novyi mir* cycle as a "prayer" and suggested that after Stalin's death this prayer "could [finally] become a program of action" for the commencing Thaw, in which Ehrenburg was a key figure.[167] Nazism, the war, and the Shoah had put to the final test Ehrenburg's principal métier: a polemicist and a witness to his times. In a sense, both the deceiving simplicity of the cycle's classical prosody and Ehrenburg's self-contorting plea for "tremulous art" in a "time of troubles" represents something of a break with his artistic past by calling for art to be free of stylistic obligations, read: ideological commitments. In the con-

167   Frezinskii, 2000, 61. There is probably a misprint in the text of Frezinskii's introduction as Frezinskii dates the poem, published in the January 1945 issue of *Novyi mir*, as "May 1945."

text of late Stalinism and official Russo-Soviet chauvinism, such a plea for tremulous art, voiced in a cycle of poems about the Shoah, was Ehrenburg's open challenge to Soviet culture.

4. 4   Lev Ozerov

The story of Jewish-Russian poets bearing witness to the Shoah reaches its apogee with the publication Lev Ozerov's long poem *Babi Yar*. Ozerov, who was born Lev Goldberg in Kiev in 1914, wrote poetry from the age of fifteen, and studied philology at the Moscow Institute of Philosophy, Literature, and History (MIFLI) in 1934–39.[168] Peers identified his aesthetics of the time with the Lakes School of English romanticism (*ozernaia shkola*), hence his flight in 1935 to the (illusive) safety of the non-Jewish pseudonym Ozerov (literally "of the lakes"). Ozerov's first collection, *Environs of the Dnieper*, appeared in Kiev in 1940. Soon after the Nazi invasion, Ozerov was dispatched to the Northern Caucasus as part of a Komsomol "labor troop." He contributed to the newspaper *Pobeda za nami* (*Victory Shall Be Ours)* and to the radio broadcasts of the political department of the Separate Mechanized Brigade for Special Tasks (OMSBON), as well as for the national civilian newspapers *Literature and Art* (*Literatura i iskusstvo*), *Labor* (*Trud*) and others. Recalled to Moscow to defend his dissertation in literature in 1943, Ozerov stayed to teach creative writing at the Literary Institute.

Ozerov apparently visited his native Kiev soon after its liberation in November 1943.[169] His article "Kiev, Babi Yar," based on collected eyewitness testimony and other documents, opened Part 1 ("Ukraine") of the Ehrenburg–Grossman (derailed) *Black Book*.[170] Ozerov composed his *Babi Yar* in 1944–45, and it appeared in the April–May 1946 issue of *October*, where Ozerov served as poetry editor in 1946-1948. In 1947 it was reprinted in his collection *Liven'* (*Downpour*), edited by Pavel Antokolsky himself. Reprinted for the first time twenty years later in Ozerov's 1966 *Lyric: Selected Poems* (and again in 1974, 1978, and 1986), it endured as the longest and the most historically extensive treatment of Babi Yar in all of Soviet poetry.[171] In Ozerov's "Babi Yar," a documentary imperative of an eyewitness to the Nazi atrocities gains its heart-stopping power from the mournful lyricism of the authorial voice. As the last great poem about the Shoah written and published by a Jewish-Russian poet in the immediate aftermath of the liberation of the occupied Soviet territories and the Nazi death camps, Ozerov's *Babi Yar* owed its creation not only to Ozerov's greatest moment of Jewish self-awareness or his private

168 See Maxim D. Shrayer, "Lev Ozerov"; for an extensive, albeit not exhaustive bibliography of works by and about Ozerov, see "Lev Adol'fovich Ozerov," in *Russkie pisateli. Poety (Sovetskii period)*, vol. 16 (St. Petersburg: Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka, 1994), 89-179.

169 Beyond what implicitly follows from Ozerov's research and contribution to the *Black Book*—and what third parties mentioned elsewhere—I am not aware of Ozerov's own discursive accounts of visiting Babi Yar immediately after Kiev's liberation; see, for instance, Il'ia Sel'vinskii, "Poeziia L. Ozerova [rev. of *Liven'* by Lev Ozerov], *Oktiabr'* 8 (1947): 178.

170 See Ozerov, "Kiev: Babi Yar," in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*, 3-12.

171 Ozerov, "Babi Iar," *Oktiabr'* 3/4 (1946): 160-163; "Babii Iar," in Lev Ozerov, *Liven'*, ed. P. Antokol'skii (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1947), 25-32; "Babii Iar," in Ozerov. *Lirika: 1931-1966* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1966), 57-62; "Babii Iar," in Ozerov. *Izbrannye stikhotvoreniia* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1974), 449-45; "Babii Iar," in Ozerov, *Stikhotvoreniia* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1978), 45-55; "Babii Iar," in Ozerov, *Istochnik sveta. Perevody i stikhotvoreniia* (Alma-Ata: Zhazushy, 1986), 80-84; see Works Cited.

connection to Kiev, but also to Ozerov's generation and literary pedigree and his greater reliance on the experience of teachers and mentors, among them Selvinsky and Antokolsky. Furthermore, Ozerov's precise and unambiguous articulation of Jewish victimhood might have been a polemical response to the then recent publication of Ehrenburg's January 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle, with its coded poetic commemoration of the victims of the Shoah and its plea for *tremulous art*.

As a young Jewish man and an aspiring poet in Kiev in the 1930s, Ozerov admired the early Soviet modernists (Eduard Bagritsky, Ilya Selvinsky, and Nikolay Zabolotsky). By the early 1930s, Ozerov was enthralled by Boris Pasternak. In terms of Soviet literary dynamics and verse aesthetics, Ozerov belonged to the generation that took the torch from the hands of the generation to which Selvinsky, Ehrenburg, and Antokolsky, the other three protagonists of this paper, had all belonged. Although a student and disciple of the poets of the Russian Silver Age and of the early Soviet modernists, in his Holocaust poem Ozerov did not resort to mythology, be it the poet's personal mythology of artfully "making life" or Judeo-Christian biblical mythology. In contrast to the classical prosody of Ehrenburg's and Antokolsky's Holocaust poems, Ozerov's poem employs a nonclassical, tonic meter. The poet's Jewish-Russian poetic voice reverberates with traditions of Soviet modernism, while the rhetoric of the poem is one of historical documentation, remembrance, and…revenge. A remarkable clarity of diction combined with a historical reconstruction of the September 1941 Babi Yar massacre makes this poem especially valuable for historians. Also notable is the fact that in its subsequent publications in Ozerov's collections, the poem was virtually spared editorial changes and remained almost identical to the original publication. The only major change concerned the following lines in the original 1946 publication of Ozerov's poem in *October*:

И выстрелы.
Выстрелы.
Звезды внезапного света.
И брат обнимает последним объятьем сестру…
Если есть бог и он видел и слышал это,
Зачем не хотел он со всеми погибнуть в Яру?![172]

(Literally)
And shots.
Shots. Stars of sudden light.
And a brother embraces a sister with a final embrace…
And if there is a God and he saw and heard all of this
Why did he not wish to perish with all of them in the Yar?!

In the 1947 publication in Ozerov's collection *Downpour* and subsequently, this section appeared as follows:

И выстрелы.
Выстрелы.
Звезды внезапного света.
И брат обнимает последним объятьем сестру…
И юркий эсэсовец лейкой снимает все это.
И залпы.

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172   Ozerov, "Babi Iar," *Oktiabr'*, 161.

И тяжкие хрипы лежащих в Яру.[173]

(Literally)
And shots.
Shots. Stars of sudden light.
And a brother embraces a sister with a final embrace...
And a furtive SS man keeps taking snapshots with a Leica,
Volley [of fire] after volley,
And heavy gasping of those lying in the Yar) .

The deletion of "God," while by itself a tribute to the censorial climate of *zhdanovshchina*, also obliterates Ozerov's reference to *Skazanie o pogrome*, Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky's translation of Hayyim Nahman Bialik's long poem *Tale of a Pogrom* (Heb. orig. title *Be Ir HaHaregah* [*In the City of Slaughter*], 1904), which Selvinsky had previously echoed in "I Saw It!" (which Ozerov admired and praised in print) .

The tri-partite structure of Ozerov's poem corresponds to the three principal tasks the poet's persona undertakes: to visit Babi Yar so as to bear witness to the aftermath of the massacre; to attempt a poetic reconstruction of the massacre; and to give the victims a voice to speak their last will and testament. In the first section of the poem, set in 1944, the key note is one of breaking the silence, especially significant following a general shift toward silencing the Shoah that had become unwritten policy around the spring-summer of 1943, when Soviet troops went on a broad offensive and began to liberate and began to liberate large swaths of the occupied territories in Russia and Ukraine:

Я пришел к тебе, Бабий Яр.
Если возраст у горя есть,
Значит, я немыслимо стар.
На столетья считать — не счесть.
Я стою на земле, моля:
Если я не сойду с ума,
То услышу тебя, земля, —
Говори сама.

I have come to you, Babi Yar.
If grief were subject to age,
Then I would be too old by far.
Measure age by centuries?—too many to gauge.
Pleading, here at this place I stand.
If my mind can endure the violence,
I will hear what you have to say, land—
Break your silence.[174]
(here and hereafter tr. Richard Sheldon)

This protest against unremembrance would become a leitmotif in subsequent Soviet works about Babi Yar, including Evtushenko's "Babi Yar" and Kuznetsov's novel of the same title.

So as to coexperience the massacre with the victims, in the middle section of the poem Ozerov reenacts the events in the historic present. Photographic or cinematic details (including a rueful reference to snapshots taken by an SS officer) assist the poet in his efforts

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173   Ozerov, *Liven'*, 28.

174   Ozerov, *Babi Yar*, tr. Richard Sheldon, Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 1: 575-579.

at reimagining Babi Yar:

Сегодня по Львовской идут и идут.
Мглисто.
Долго идут. Густо, один к одному.
По мостовой,
По красным кленовым листьям,
По сердцу идут моему.
Ручьи вливаются в реку.
Фашисты и полицаи
Стоят у каждого дома, у каждого палисада.
Назад повернуть — не думай,
В сторону не свернуть,
Фашистские автоматчики весь охраняют путь.

Today they keep coming down Lvov Street.
The air is hazy.
On and on they come. Packed together, one against the other.
Over the pavement,
Over the red maple leaves,
Over my heart they go.
The streams merge into a river.
Fascists and local *Polizei*
Stand at every house, at every front yard.
Turning back? Impossible!
Turning aside? Not a chance!
Fascist machine gunners bar the way.

A reference to a "Jewish cemetery"—the most explicit reference to the victims' Jewishness—renders unambiguous the identity of the victims:

За улицей Мельника — кочки, заборы и пустошь.
И рыжая стенка еврейского кладбища. Стой…
Здесь плиты наставлены смертью хозяйственно густо,
И выход к Бабьему Яру,
Как смерть, простой.
Уже все понятно. И яма открыта, как омут.
И даль озаряется светом последних минут.
У смерти есть тоже предбанник.
Фашисты по-деловому
Одежду с пришедших снимают и в кучи кладут.

Beyond Melnik Street are hillocks, fences, and vacant land.
And the rusty-red wall of the Jewish cemetery. Halt.. .
Here the gravestones erected by death are parsimoniously dense,
And the exit to Babi Yar,
Like death, is simple.
It's all clear to them now. The pit gapes like a maelstrom,
And the horizon is brightened by the light of final minutes.
Death, too, has its dressing room.
The Fascists must get down to business.
They divest the newcomers of their clothes, which they arrange in piles.

Furthermore, Ozerov's representation of the topography, of the route which the Jews

followed on their way to their execution, makes crystal clear that the poet telling the story of the Babi Yar massacre has personally investigated it and has interviewed the survivors and eyewitnesses. Ozerov, of course, prepared the report "Kiev: Babi Yar" for the Ehrenburg-Grossman *Black Book*, where several narrative sections read parallel to the poem: "The city had fallen silent. Like streams flowing into a river, crowds flowed onto Lvov Street from Pavlovskaya and Dmitrievskaya, from Volodarskaya and Nekrasovskaya. After Lvov [Street] they came to Melnik Street and then went up a barren road through stark hills to the steep ravines known as Babi Yar. As they approached Babi Yar, a murmur mixed with moans and sobbing grew louder and louder."[175]

Especially devastating are Ozerov's evocations of the atrocities committed against children:

> Девочка, снизу: — Не сыпьте землю в глаза мне... —
> Мальчик: — Чулочки тоже снимать? —
> И замер,
> В последний раз обнимая мать.
> А там — мужчин закопали живыми в яму.
> Но вдруг из земли показалась рука
> И в седых завитках затылок...
> Фашист ударил лопатой упрямо.
> Земля стала мокрой,
> Сровнялась, застыла...

> A girl, from below:—Don't throw dirt in my eyes—
> A boy:—Do I have to take off my socks, too?—
> Then he grew still,
> Embracing his mother for the last time.
> In that pit, men were buried alive.
> But suddenly, out of the ground appeared an arm
> And gray curls on the nape of a neck.. .
> A Fascist struck persistently with his shovel.
> The ground became wet,
> Then smooth and hard.. .

In the context of Jewish-Russian poems written and published in the immediate aftermath of the Shoah, the words said by the Jewish children in Ozerov's poem recall Ehrenburg's essay "Nationkillers," published in early 1944. Ehrenburg invoked the image of a little Kievan girl, who says, after having been thrown by the Nazis into a grave: "'Why are you pouring sand in my eyes?'"[176]

The last two lines of the middle part return the poet's persona to the poem's present, 1944, as he stands over the mass grave to say the poem's coda, a Jewish-Russian commemoration and a plea for the post-Shoah Soviet times. Among the voices of the dead calling for both memorialization and revenge are the poet's intmates (here, it seems, historical personalities rather that the imagined relatives in Ehrenburg's "Babi Yar") :

> Мой племянник захочет встать,
> Он разбудит сестру и мать.
> Им захочется руку выпростать,

....

175   Ozerov, "Kiev: Babi Yar," 7.
176   Erenburg, "Narodoubiitsy," Znamia 1-2 (1944), 185.

Хоть минуту у жизни выпросить.

My nephew will want to get up.
He will awaken his sister and mother.
They will want to work loose their arms,
And beg life for just a minute.

In the last two stanzas, the collectivized Jewish voices of the dead lying in the *yar* become personalized as they entrust their testament to the poet:

И ребенок сказал: — Не забудь. —
И сказала мать: — Не прости. —
И закрылась земная грудь.
Я стоял не в Яру — на пути.
Он к возмездью ведет — тот путь,
По которому мне идти.
Не забудь...
Не прости...

And a child said:—Don't forget.
And a mother said:—Don't forgive.
And the earthen breast swung shut.
I was no longer at the Yar but on my way.
It leads to vengeance—that way
Along which I must travel.
Don't forget.. .
Don't forgive.. .

The imperative structure of the closing two lines, "Ne zabud'…!/ Ne prosti!.." ("Don't forget…/Don't forgive…") grammatically reaffirms the role that the poet takes upon himself and the commission he must carry out. This double commission—not to forget and not to forgive—is the most Jewish of commandments a Soviet poet might be able to carry out, and the Shoah urged Ehrenburg, Selvinsky, Ozerov, and Antokolsky to bear poetic witness.

4. 5   Pavel Antokolsky

Pavel Antokolsky was already a minor classic by the end of the 1930s. A wartime correspondent of *Komsomol'skaia Pravda* (*Komsomol Pravda*) and other national newspapers, Antokolsky joined the Communist Party in 1941 immedeately following the Nazi invasion. He responded to the death of his son, a junior lieutenant, in battle with the long poem *Son* (1943), which was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1946. As was the case with other Soviet writers of Jewish origin otherwise disinclined to discuss Jewishness, Antokolsky was compelled to turn to Jewish themes by the war, the Shoah, and especially the experience of traveling with the troops to the previously occupied Soviet territories.[177] Antokolsky spent most of October 1943 traveling

177   See Shrayer, "Pavel Antokolsky," *An Anthology* 1: 580-581. For an extensive, albeit not exhaustive bibliography of literature by and about Antokolsky, see "Pavel Grigor'evich Antokol'skii," in *Russkie sovetskie pisateli. Poety. Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Kniga, 1977), 225-298. Information about Antokolsky's experience as an author traveling with the troops and encountering the aftermath of the Shoah in 1943-1944 is diffi-

across the Kharkov, Chernigov, and Poltava provinces of Ukraine and contributed articles to civilian newspapers, returning to Moscow just days before the liberation of Kiev. Antokolsky's reports from the newly liberated occupied territories were free of references to Jewish victimhood.[178] As a specific point of reference, consider his poem "Hatred" ("Nenavist'"), which was published in *Banner* in February 1945—in the same issue as Selvinsky's "Kerch." In projecting a path of Soviet vengeance and victory going all the way to Berlin, Antokolsky speaks of hatred that would lifts human remains "from ditches, crematoria and gas chambers" ("iz rvov, pechei i dushegubok"), thereby invoking circumstances of both Shoah by bullet and the death camps. Furthermore, Antokolsky also describes a "little skeleton" of a ten-year-old "bound by rusty barbed wire" and "murdered by a Western nation." Yet nothing in the poem points directly to Jewish victimhood. In the autumn of 1944 Antokolsky traveled with the troops liberating Belarus and entered Poland. The second trip provided raw material for "Death Camp" ("Lager' unichtozheniia"), a masterpiece of Holocaust poetry. However, what has survived of Antokolsky's wartime journals bears no mention of the aftermath of the Shoah. Perhaps nothing clues us to Antokolsky's internal turmoil better than an entry in his journal, dated October 25, 1943. Here notes of a father's grief are enmeshed with notes of a poet's inability to find the right words[179]—any words—to describe catastrophe: "With my poems—a total and complete failure. I am not only incapable of writing them, but I also do not want to: any language seems approximate, poor, alien. And rhyme and rhythm irritate me as a convention. I cannot say in verse anything that has not been said a thousand times before."[180] Antokolsky would find the words, the rhythm, and the rhymes after seeing the death camps in Poland.

Antokolsky's poem "Death Camp" gains its haunting quality from two factors. One is Antokolsky's use of anapaestic tetrameter with all masculine, alternating rhymes, which creates an initial intonation of hurried chanting discordant with the poem's subject matter. The other is Antokolsky's decision to begin his reportage *in medias res*, as though any opening or exposition had been unwarranted:

> И тогда подошла к нам, желта как лимон,
> Та старушка восьмидесяти лет,
> В кацавейке, в платке допотопных времен –
> Еле двигавший ноги скелет.
> Синеватые пряди ее парика
> Гофрированы были едва.
> И старушечья в синих прожилках рука
> Показала на оползни рва.
> "Извините! Я шла по дорожным столбам,

....

cult to locate, even in Lev Levin's lengthy study of the poet's life and art *Chetyre zhizni. Khronika trudov i dnei Pavla Antokol'skogo* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1978). See also Pavel Antokol'skii, "Avtobiografiia," in *Russkaia sovetskaia poeziia 50-70kh godov. Khrestomatiia*, ed. I. I. Rozanov (Minsk: Vysheishaia shkola, 1982),http://www.litera.ru/stixita/articles/113.html, accessed 10 January 2011; Lev Ozerov, "Bol'shie rasstoianiia," in L. I. Levin, S. S. Lesnevskii, A. L. Toom, eds., *Vospominaniia o Pavle Antokol'skom: sbornik* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1987), 175-202.

178   See, for instance, this article Antokolsky filed just days before the liberation of Kiev: "Na pravom beregu," *Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, 5 November 1943; see also the short article commemorating the liberation of Kiev, "Slaven naveki," *Literatura i iskusstvo*, 7 November 1943.

179   Antokol'skii, "Nenavist'," *Znamia* 2 (1945): 82; in Antokol'skii, *Izbrannoe*, 172.

180   See Antokol'skii, "Ukraina I-II" [October 1943-July 1944], unpublished journal. I am deeply grateful to Anna and Andrei Toom for sharing this material with me.

По местечкам, сожженным дотла.
Вы не знаете, где мои мальчики, пан,
Не заметили, где их тела?
Извините меня, я глуха и слепа,
Может быть среди польских равнин,
Может быть, эти сломанные черепа —
Мой Иосиф и мой Веньямин…
Ведь у нас под ногами не щебень хрустел.
Эта черная жирная пыль —
Это прах человечьих обугленных тел”, —
Так сказала старуха Рахиль.

And then that woman came, distressed,
Eighty, with lemon-sallow skin,
Wearing a shawl and quilted vest—
A feebly hobbling skeleton.
Her bluish wig of straggly strands
Must have been made before the Flood.
She pointed her thin blue-veined hands
Down at a ditch of oozing mud.
"Excuse me. I've walked very far
Through shtetls burnt down to the ground.
Sir, do you know where my boys are,
Where their dead bodies may be found?
"Excuse me. I've gone deaf and blind,
But maybe in this Polish glen
Among these broken skulls I'll find
My Joseph and my Benjamin,
"Because your feet aren't crunching stones
But blackened ashes of the dead,
The charred remains of human bones,"
Rachel, that ancient woman, said.[181]
(*tr. Maxim D. Shrayer and J. B. Sisson*)

By giving the old Jewish-Polish woman the name Rachel (Rakhil') and naming her murdered "boys" Joseph (Iosif) and Benjamin (Veniamin), Antokolsky refashioned the Biblical story of Jacob and his sons in the context of the Shoah. Rachel is said to be "v tri tysiachi let" ("three thousand years old") in the original 1945 publication in *Banner* and his *Selected Works* (*Izbrannoe*, 1946); in the subsequent reprintings, Antokolsky changed the old woman's age to "eighty"—perhaps in order to increase the sense of history at the expense of Biblical mythopoetics. Antokolsky reactivated the Joseph story yet transmogrified it to reflect the horror of the catastrophe and the burdensome poetic duty of bearing witness. In conflating some of the characteristics of Rachel and Leah, Antokolsky attempted a post-Biblical incarnation of the Jewish myth. Rachel, for instance, is said to have gone "deaf and blind," and her blindness also recalls Leah's "weak" eyes (Genesis 29: 16). Rachel the matriarch, here an old Jewish-Polish woman, is said to be wearing a shawl that "must have been made before the flood"; in this English translation, the poet J. B. Sisson and I rendered Rachel's wig (Russian *parik*; Yiddish *sheytl*), rather than her shawl, as dating before the Flood. Rachel is ancient; confounded by

181   Antokolky, "Death Camp." In Maxim D. Shrayer, *An Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature: Two Centuries of Dual Identity in Prose and Poetry,* 1801-2001, 2 vols. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2007), 1: 582-583; cf. Antokol'skii, "Lager' unichtozheniia," *Znamia* 10 (1945): 34.

the aftermath of the Shoah, Antokolsky's post-Biblical imagination resurrects her to live out a mother's—foremother's—worst nightmare: surviving her sons and wandering the fields in search of the "dead bodies" of her beloved Joseph and Benjamin.

What camp site does Antokolsky have in mind? We cannot answer this question precisely on the basis of the text alone, but this much we do know: this is a camp in Poland, and the time is the fall of 1944. Twice the poem identifies the site of the camp as located in Poland. Rachel speaks of having walked, in search of her sons, "through shtetls burned down to the ground" ("po mestechkam, sozzhennym dotla"). Given what we know, extratextually, about Antokolsky's familiarity with the death camps in Poland, Sobibor comes to mind. Antokolsky investigated the history of this camp and coauthored with the Jewish-Russian writer Veniamin Kaverin the essay "The Uprising in Sobibor" for the Ehrenburg-Grossman *Black Book.* We should also consider that at the liberation of Majdanek the stellar Soviet author and military journalist Konstantin Simonov had been assigned to write a story for *Red Star*; Simonov's three-part report, titled "Death Camp" ("Lager' unichtozheniia"), exactly like Antokolsky's poem, appeared there in August 1945.[182] At the same time, we should not seek complete correspondences between the camp site in Antokolsky's poem and a specific historical antecedent such as Sobibor. "Cans of gas," which Antokolsky specifically mentions in the poem, were not used at Sobibor, where the inmates were killed by carbon monoxide supplied to the gas chamber from engine exhaust pipes. Through the persona of its Jewish-Polish protagonist Rachel—and through the eyewitnessing experience of the Soviet liberators—the site of the camp in Antokolsky's poem represents the collective fate of European Jews murdered in the Nazi death camps in Poland. In fact, the term "in the death camps in Poland during the war in 1941-1945" ("v lageriakh unichtozheniia Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941-1945") figures directly and prominently in the subtitle of the *Black Book.*

It is especially significant that in "Death Camp" Antokolsky takes the Shoah beyond the Soviet borders. The old woman and her murdered sons are Polish Jews. Rachel addresses Antokolsky in Polish or, perhaps, in a mixture of Polish, Yiddish, and Russian. A faint echo of a Jewish intonation can be heard in old Rachel's speech. If we take the poem on its own terms, it is not clear whether the old Jewish-Polish woman can identify Antokolsky's persona as a fellow Jew, although she knows he is a Soviet. Antokolsky weaves together disparate threads of the mythic story of Jacob, Leah, Rachel and their children to achieve a macabre version. One wonders what Antokolsky might have meant by this transmogrification of the relationship of the other children of Jacob (Israel) to their murdered brothers.

A change of tone occurs halfway though the poem, where a new collective emerges: no longer the "we" of the Soviet liberators of the death camp, but a "we" of voices of the Jewish dead speaking with an otherworldly pathos of lofty poetry (cf. the "we" in Selvinsky's "Kerch"):

И пошли мы за ней по полям. И глаза
Нам туманила часто слеза.
А вокруг золотые сияли леса,
Поздней осени польской краса.
Там травы золотой сожжена полоса,

....

182   Simonov, Konstantin, "Lager' unichtozheniia," *Krasnaia zvezda* 10 August 1944; 11 August 1945; 12 August 1945. Consider also Boris Gorbatov's report, "Lager' na Maidaneke," published in Pravda in August 1944; see Gorbatov, "Lager' na Maidaneke," "http://bibliotekar.ru/informburo/115.htm, accessed 22 February 2011.

Не гуляют ни серп, ни коса.
Только шепчутся голоса, голоса,
Тихо шепчутся там голоса:
"Мы мертвы. Мы в обнимку друг с другом лежим,
Мы прижались к любимым своим,
Но сейчас обращаемся только к чужим,
От чужих ничего не таим.

We followed, grievously aware
These were the fields of her despair.
The golden woods glowed bright and fair
In the late autumn Polish air.
A swath of grass was scorched and bare.
No scythes or sickles lingered there
But voices, voices everywhere,
Voices that whispered to declare,
"We're dead. We lie still and embrace.
To these loved ones and friends we cling,
But we tell strangers of this place.
To strangers we tell everything.

Why did Antokolsky end the poem with a note of resurrection in terms concordant with both Jewish and Christian metaphysics of the afterlife? I believe he aimed for his bicultural poem to be understood by both a mainstream Russian (Soviet) audience and an audience of Jews:

Банки с газом убийцы истратили все.
Смерть во всей ее жалкой красе
Убегала от нас по асфальту шоссе,
Потому что в вечерней росе,
В трепетанье травы, в лепетанье листвы,
В очертанье седых облаков, —
Понимаете вы! — мы уже не мертвы,
Мы воскресли на веки веков.

"The killers used their cans of gas.
Death in its beauty would soon pass
Down the highway from this morass,
Because in the new waving grass,
In evening dew and in birdsong,
In gray clouds over the world's grime,
You see, we are not dead for long
We have arisen for all time."

To a Jewish-Russian deeply acculturated person of Antokolsky's age and upbringing, a Judaic knowledge—rather a memory of a past knowledge of Judaism—might amount to a version of Maimonides's Shloshah-Asar Ikkarim (the Thirteen Articles of Faith) drawn from the Torah's 613 commandments. Article 13, the last of the Articles of Faith, postulates, as does the ending of "Death Camp," that there *will* be resurrection of the dead. In the same period Antokolsky wrote another Shoah text about the memory of the Jews murdered in the Shoah. His cycle "No Memory Eternal" ("Ne vechnaia pamiat'"), which was published in the July 1946

issue of *Banner* and mourned the destruction of much of Jewish civilization.[183] Through the evocation, in the last stanza, of the opening of the Shema (Hear, O Israel; Sh'ma Yisrael', spelled in Russian transliteration and furnished with an explanatory footnote), Antokolsky called on the survivors to remain Jewish against all odds.

4. 6   Ilya Selvinsky in 1945

Consider this telling footnote to the the story of Selvinsky as a poet-soldier-witness. Following his punishment and forced demobilization, Selvinsky kept petitioning the authorities to allow him to return to the war front. In 1944 Selvinsky composed the poem "Reading Stalin" " (Chitaia Stalina"). Some of his biographers believe that Selvinsky did this to earn back official favor. Back in 1941-1942 Selvinsky had praised Stalin in poetry and articles; in 1942-1943 his poem "Stalin at the Microphone" ("Stalin u mikrofona") had been printed in *October* and in Selvinsky's books of poetry.[184] In March 1945, following Selvinsky's formal letter to the Central Committee, his request to return to the army was finally granted. His military rank was restored, and in April 1945 he was finally sent to the war front, the Second Baltic Front, at the time one of the very few areas of the war theater without military action. [185] In his exile of a sort in Kurland (Latvia), Selvinsky continued to reflect on his firsthand experiences of the Nazi atrocities against the Jews going back to his service in the Crimea, on the Black Sea coast of Russia, and in the North Caucasus, in 1941-43. Selvinsky's long poem *Kandava* (1945) appeared in January-February 1946 in *October* as part of the selection titled "Spring of 1945" ("Vesna 1945 goda") .[186] At the heart of the long poem lies Selvinsky's first-hand account of the surrender of a Nazi division at Kandava (Kandau) to the Soviet troops on May 8, 1945, right on the eve of the Nazi capitulation in Berlin. As the poem opens, Selvinsky places a nightmarish dream in which he and his wife Berta "walk somewhere in Auschwitz/ or Majdanek" before a "formation/ of fascist grey-blue soldiers/ and thousands of icy eyes,/ contemptuous, mocking, vicious,/ or just plain curious, looking/ at us walking to our death." The mode then shifts from oneiric vision to reconstructed reality, and Selvinsky describes being in a group with a Soviet general and seven Soviet officers accepting the surrender of the Nazi troops. As Selvinsky's eyes scan the rows of soldiers and officers, he recalls his recent nightmare about being mur-

183   Pavel Antokol'skii, "Ne vechnaia pamiat'," *Znamia* 7 (1946): 64-65. Subsequent reprintings and expurgated versions are listed in Works Cited.

184   See Sel'vinskii, "Stalin u mikrofona," *Oktiabr'* 12 (1942): 3; see Works Cited for subsequent reprintings. See also Selvinsky's article "Golos Stalina," *Literaturnaia gazeta* 6 July 1941. "Chitaia Stalina" apparently did not appear until 1947, in Sel'vinsky's collection *Krym, Kavkaz, Kuban': stikhi* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1947), which came out with a delay of over two years.

185   I note in passing that the official displeasure with Selvinsky's wartime and Holocaust poems, including his poems about the Shoah in Crimea, would continue to haunt the poet throughout the postwar Stalinist years. Specifically, as early as the summer of 1946, when the anticosmopolitan campaign was being launched, Georgy Malenkov admonished Leningrad's literary journals: "You've made it cozy for Selvinsky!" (quoted in Ozerov, "Il'ia Sel'vinskii: ego trudy i dni", 9). During the summer of 1946, Selvinsky was chastised in a number of Party documents and discussions about Soviet literature, by Zhdanov, Malenkov and Stalin himself; see Artizov 563-564; 568.

186   Sel'vinskii, "Kandava," *Oktiabr'* 1-2 (1946): 3-6; cf. "Kandava," in Il'ia Sel'vinskii, *Krym Kavkaz Kuban'. Stikhi* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1947), 209-217; see Works Cited for reprintings of the poem.

dered, alongside his wife, in a Nazi concentration camp: "There! There they are, those same eyes,/ which started at me and my beloved. I recognized/ This one! And that one! And those,/ The ones…the ones standing in the second row…/If I were I to say to them: 'Majdanek,' 'Auschwitz,'/ 'Treblinka,' or 'Kerch,' they would understand./ They were there!" Having previously written and published two key poems about the Bagerovo massacre of 1941 ("I Saw It!" and "Kerch"), Selvinsky now places the Bagerovo massacre of the Crimean Jews in the same row with the Nazi death camps in Poland. In a particularly powerful, cinematic twist of imagination, Selvinsky describes noticing that a Nazi captain wears a brass emblem of the Crimean peninsula, Selvinsky's homeland; such decorations were given to participants of German campaign in the Crimean: "I made out the stamped shape/ of the executed Crimea. Oh God!/ On it, incised was the dot of Simferopol…/ (I was born there.) Sebastopol! (Here/ I learned military honor.) / The coast of Eupatoria — coast of Muses./ Where my love and song had taken root./ I don't remember myself, how this all happened…/ Like a somnambulist, I approached him/ And looked him in the eyes. I swear/ That I had seen them. Just seen them/ in Majdanek. And my beloved, too,/ Would have probably recognized them [i.e. the captain's eyes] right away." In the lyrical notes taking the poet back to his youth in the Crimea, and also to the wartime years of personal bravery and bearing witness to the Nazi atrocities in the occupied territories, Selvinsky repeats, word for word, some of the phrases from "Kerch," the greatest achievement of his poetry about the Shoah. Selvinsky ends up ripping the brass emblem of his native Crimea off the Nazi captain's uniform. This gives him the kind of pleasure he "had never experienced before." But having done so, Selvinsky reads in the terrified eyes of the Nazi captain another nightmarish fantasy: eight Soviet prisoners are walking before a Nazi formation in Auschwitz, and one of the inmates suddenly comes up to him and rips off his chest—"from him, an SS member, an Aryan,/ the emblem of the subjugation of the Crimea." But in reality, the Nazi captain stands silently. In his "furious silence" Selvinsky hears: "the hum of Red Army unfurled banners,/ the bravado of trumpets and the thunder of drums/ and the jubilation of thousands of voice/ from ashes, from poems, from night visions!" This motif of victims of the Shoah mourned, remembered, and memorialized through poetry unites Selvinsky's finale with the conclusions of the Holocaust poems by Ehrenburg, Ozerov, and Antokolsky. This, in turn, gives further validity to the idea that in 1944-45 the excruciating historical context of the Shoah elicited something of a concordant response from different poetic sensibilities.

4. 7   The Silence of the Witnesses

As we reflect on the achivement of Selvinsky, Ehrenburg, Ozerov, and Antokolsky, we should also take stock of the experiences of Jewish-Russian authors, some of them military journalists and commissioned officers during World War II, who encountered evidence of Nazi atrocities firsthand yet chose either silence or else dwelt in the comfort of Soviet non-specificity. A number of notable Jewish-Russian poets of the older generation who had written about Jewish identity in the 1920s, among them Iosif Utkin (1903-1944) and Mikhail Svetlov (b. Sheinkman, 1903-1964), worked as military journalists and witnessed the aftermath of the Shoah on the occupied territories and Nazi death camps. However, in their wartime poetry

they resorted to the nondescript pathos of Soviet patriotism. Probably following in Selvinsky's footsteps, Utkin titled a short 1942 poem "I Saw It Myself" ("Ia videl sam"). In it he spoke of the "beasts" who killed "innocent" little children with bayonets and burned their mothers, but did not even attempt to signal what was behind his act of witnessing. In the poem "Poplars of Kiev" ("Topolia Kieva," 1943) Utkin called for vengeance on the "executioners" yet failed to say anything specific about the murder of Jews at Babi Yar.[187] To take one more example, the wartime career of Boris Pasternak (1890-1960) throws into relief the challenges and choices that Jewish-Russian poets faced in responding to the Shoah. Any traces of a Jewish response were absent from Pasternak's poetry until the spring of 1944, when he was commissioned by the main Soviet navy newspaper *Krasnyi flot* (*Red Navy*) to commemorate the liberation of Odessa. Pasternak composed the poem "Odessa," and it appeared on April 12, 1944, two days after the liberation of the city, under the title "The Great Day" ("Velikii den'").[188] The poem paid faint tribute not only to the victims of the Nazi and Romanian atrocities during the occupation but also to the destruction—by Soviet history and by the war—of the Jewish-Russian Odessa that had nurtured Pasternak's parents and numerous other artists. Consider stanzas 5 and 6 of Pasternak's "Odessa":

> But all's not well; a skull expressively
> Leers from a nearby gulch. A savage
> Cudgel here has mauled aggressively;
> It's a waste Neanderthals have ravaged.
> Small heads of immortelles peer cheerily
> Through empty sockets, nod and caper,
> Inhabit the air with faces eerily,
> Those of the dead mowed down last April.[189]
> (tr. Maxim D. Shrayer and J. B. Sisson)

Stanza 6 of the poem, which very mutedly and metaphorically evoked the faces of Jewish children murdered in Odessa without identifying them as Jewish, was missing in the wartime newspaper publication of Pasternak's poem. The examples of Selvinsky, Antokolsky, and Ehrenburg probably represent exceptions, however prominent in the Soviet mainstream, to the otherwise eerie silence about the Shoah by the Soviet poets of their generation.

Of the generation of Jewish-Russian poets born in the late 1910s and early 1920s, a number of whom entered the war as young men and were shaped by their wartime experiences, the majority avoided poetic discussion of the Shoah throughout their careers. Several poets from the generation of Lev Ozerov did not begin to reflect on the Shoah until after Khrushchev's Thaw of the late 1950s and early 1960s. And in the few known cases—and at least in theory others have yet to come to light—the poets penned Holocaust poems for the desk drawer in the

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187 Iosif Utkin, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. A. A. Saakiants (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1966), 220; 240. About Utkin, see Shrayer, "Iosif Utkin." in Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 1: 319-320. See also a selection of Mikhail Svetlov's wartime poems in: Mikhail Svetlov, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. E. P. Liubareva (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1966).

188 See Maxim D. Shrayer, "Boris Pasternak," in Shrayer, ed., *An Anthology,* 1: 591-594; 597-598; Nik. Zhdanov, "Boris Pasternak—'Krasnomu flotu,'" *Druzhba narodov* 11 (1979): 268-269; Boris Pasternak, "Velikii den'," *Krasnyi flot*, 12 April 1944 [a shorter version of "Odessa"]; "Odessa," in Boris Pasternak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, ed. L. A. Ozerov (Moscow–Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1965), 422–23.

189 Pasternak, "Odessa," in Pasternak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, 422–23; Pasternak, "Odessa," tr. Maxim D. Shrayer and J. B. Sisson, in Shrayer, An Anthology, 1: 596-597.

1940s yet deferred their submission and publication until safer times.

Consider the following representative scenarios. The poets David Samoilov (b. Kaufman, 1920-1990) and Aleksandr Mezhirov (1921[or 1923]-2009), both of them former servicemen and both dominant figures in postwar Soviet poetry and literary translation, circumvented the subject of the Shoah in their poetry, either during or after World War II.[190] Yuri Levitansky (1922-1996), another visible figure of the postwar Soviet literary scene, started the war as a private and finished it in Prague as a decorated lieutenant, while also contributing to military newspapers. Levitansky avoided Jewish topics and wrote nothing about the Shoah, even though he had certainly been in the position to bear poetic witness.[191] Also noteworthy is the case of the Odessa-reared Semyon Lipkin (1911-2003), something of a generational anomaly because of his age. A military reporter during the war who saw action at Stalingrad, Lipkin started publishing original verse after a long hiatus in the 1950s, but did not turn to Jewish and Judaic subjects until the 1960s. One of Lipkin's most powerful poems, "Zola" ("Ashes," dated 1967 and published, notably, in the Moscow annual collection *Poetry Day* [*Den' poezii*]), speaks in the first person about a victim of the Shoah. Having been burned in the crematorium of a concentration camp, Lipkin's poetic protagonist "whispers": "They've incinerated me./ How can I now reach Odessa?"[192] Another intriguing story is that of Yan Satunovsky (1913-1982). An artillery company commander at the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, Satunovsky was injured in 1941 and spent the rest of the war contributing journalism as well as political poetry to an army newspaper. Satunovsky wrote about the Shoah during the war yet did not seek the publication of his "serious" poetry, either then or subsequently, as most of his poems were much too controversial, as this poem from around 1943 shows:

> Who are you,
> Repatriated widows?
> I wanted to make a caustic joke
> at their expense, but
> I choked.
> Mortally tired after Hitler's raids,
> atrocities, killings, bombings, and rapes,
> they come to the officers' club
> not to be lectured but loved.[193]
> (Tr. Maxim D. Shrayer)

Having circulated in Soviet samizdat, Satunovsky's texts were independently collected and published, in Russia and in Germany, in the 1990s.[194] Also intriguing is the case of the Kiev-born Naum Korzhavin (b. 1925). Korzhavin, whose first poem was published in 1941, did not qualify for the draft and was evacuated after the Nazi invasion. He came to Moscow in 1944 and attended the Literary Institute. Korzhavin was arrested in December 1947 for having written

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190   See Shrayer, "Aleksandr Mezhirov," *An Anthology*, 2: 879-882.

191   See Shrayer, "Yuri Levitansky," Shrayer, *An Anthology* 2: 875-876.

192   See Shrayer, "Semyon Lipkin, in Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 2: 773-775.

193   Yan Satunovsky, "Who are you,/ repatriated widows…?" tr. Maxim D. Shrayer, in Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 2: 747; cf. Ian Satunovskii, *Rublenaia proza*, ed. Wolfgang Kazack (Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner in Kommission, 1994), 36.

194   See Shrayer, "Yan Satunovsky," in Shrayer, *An Anthology,* 2: 744-745.

and publicly read poems against Stalin, spent eight months in prison and the next four years in administrative exile in Siberia and Kazakhstan, and was officially rehabilitated in 1956. His poems, after having been passed around in samizdat, began to appear in the USSR during the Thaw. They included "Of the world of shtetls/ almost nothing remains…" ("Mir evreiskikh mestechek…/ Nichego ne ostalos' ot nikh…") originally written in 1945 but not published until 1966. Korzhavin's best known Holocaust poem, "Children in Auschwitz" ("Deti v Osventsime," 1961), appeared in his collection *Years* (*Gody*, 1963) .[195]

Finally, there is the case of Boris Slutsky (1919-1986), which defies most patterns and paradigms. Born in Slavyansk (now Donetsk Province of Ukraine), Slutsky grew up in Kharkov. In the late 1930s he joined Selvinsky's seminar at the Moscow Literary Institute and became a leading member of a circle of young poets that included Semyon Gudzenko, Pavel Kogan, Mikhail Kulchitsky, Sergey Narovchatov, and David Samoylov (poets Kogan and Kulchitsky would perish in battle). In 1941 a poem of Slutsky's appeared in *October*; he waited twelve years for his next publication of poetry. Slutsky volunteered right after the Nazi invasion and spent 1942–44 at the southern fronts; in 1943 he learned of the murder of his family members in the occupied Ukraine. He wrote virtually no poetry during the front years and did not bear poetic witness to the aftermath of the Shoah. At the same time, Slutsky completed a book of documentary prose about his experiences in 1944–45 as a Soviet Jewish military officer in Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria. In the chapter "The Jews," Slutsky interspersed authorial observations with survivors' testimony. Slutsky's book remained unpublished until the post-Soviet years. A Jewish war veteran and a party member—and an heir-designate to the 1920s Left Art—in 1956 Slutsky was lauded by Ehrenburg and became an icon of the Thaw; he remained a cardinal Soviet literary figure until the late 1970s.

Some of Slutsky's earliest poems (1938–40) have been lost, but the surviving ones reveal that the poet's self-consciously Jewish response to Nazism and the ensuing catastrophe of European Jewry dated to 1938. Having witnessed the immediate aftermath of the Shoah in 1944–45 and written nonfiction about it, Slutsky returned to poetry as the postwar anticosmopolitan campaign gained speed. Memories of the destruction of European Jewry became enmeshed in Slutsky's acutely political imagination with the antisemitic crimes of late Stalinism, giving rise to a conflation of Jewish questions that Slutsky put in verse in the 1950s and 1960s and later revisited in the 1970s. The most outspoken of Slutsky's poems about the Shoah and antisemitism did not appear in the USSR until the reform years, although several circulated in samizdat and appeared in the West. In the 1950s–70s Slutsky steered into print more poems where the Shoah was memorialized, the Jewish question was explicitly debated, and the word "Jew" was unabashedly used than any of his Soviet contemporaries. David Shrayer-Petrov called Slutsky's "Horses in the Ocean," first published in 1956 and dedicated to Ehrenburg, a "requiem for the murdered Jews."[196] A tetrade of Slutsky's Jewish poems appeared in Soviet magazines as the Thaw peaked and entered its downward spiral. Three of them, "Birch Tree in Auschwitz" (published 1962), "How They Killed My Grandma" (published

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195 See Shrayer, "Naum Korzhavin, in Shrayer, ed. *An Anthology*, 2: 661-662. See Naum Korzhavin, Naum, "Mir evreiskikh mestechek…," in *Den' poezii 1966* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1966), 169; "Deti v Osventsime," in Korzhavin, *Gody* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1963), 20-21.

196 David Shrayer-Petrov, "Ierusalimskii kazak. Boris Slutskii," in David Shraer-Petrov, *Vodka s pirozhnymi: roman s pisateliami* (St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 2007), 232.

1963), and "Burdened by familial feelings.. ." (published 1964), following in the footsteps of Ehrenburg's wartime writings and Vasily Grossman's story "The Old Teacher" (1943), transgressed the unspoken Soviet taboo on singling out the Jewish Holocaust. Slutsky's close friend and literary executor Pyotr Gorelik reported that in 1975 Slutsky had told him he had about five hundred unpublished poems—and this turned out to be a conservative assessment. Party functionaries and the KGB kept a watchful eye on Slutsky, especially in respect to his treatment of the Shoah and antisemitism, and his poems printed in the 1950s–70s reveal censorial corruptions. Slutsky, who did not bear poetic witness to the Shoah during his years at the front, returned to the themes of the Shoah and antisemitism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He was able to publish a few of the poems with Jewish themes, including "Now Auschwitz Frequently Appears in My Dreams…" ("Teper' Osventsim chasto snitsia mne…") in his collection *Contemporary Stories* (*Sovremennye istorii*, 1969). A quintessence of Slutsky's Jewish concerns, the poem "The rabbis came down to the valley… " ("Ravviny vyshli na ravninu… .") was penned in the 1970s and appeared in the USSR only during the reform years; it belongs with the greatest poems about the Shoah.[197]

Lev Ozerov and his *Babi Yar*, the longest Russian-language Holocaust poem written and published in Stalin's time, thus represents an exception to the absent or delayed response to the Shoah by representatives of Ozerov's—and Slutsky's—literary generation.

4. 8   In Closing

To conclude: By bearing witness to the immediate aftermath of the massacre of Jews by Nazis and their allies and accomplices on occupied Soviet territories and to the murder of Jews in Nazi death camps, Jewish-Russian poets simultaneously committed acts of great civic courage and Jewish zealotry. The contributions of Selvinsky, Ehrenburg, Antokolsky, and Ozerov to Holocaust literature are so more significant because their poems appeared in the Soviet mainstream during and immediately after the Great Patriotic War and also on the cusp of the bleakest years for Jewish culture in the poets' homeland. Jewish-Russian poets, even though working under the doubly harsh conditions of Stalinism and antisemitism, managed to respond to the Holocaust much earlier than did their counterparts in the Anglo-American world, where, a few exceptions aside, the Shoah did not become a literary topic in the mainstream until the 1960s and 1970s.

Given the dearth of official Soviet information about the Holocaust, these poems were—or immediately became—much more than literary texts. One of the challenges is to understand

197 See Shrayer, "Boris Slutsky," Shrayer, *An Anthology*, 2: 639-642; 794. In briefly discussing Slutsky's poems about the Shoah, Lazar' Lazarev makes an essential point: even those poems about the Shoah that Slutsky managed to place in Soviet publications would subsequently be subjected to censorship; see Lazarev, L[azar']. I., "Vo imia pravdy i dobra. O poezii Borisa Slutskogo," in Boris Slutskii, *Bez popravok…* (Moscow: Vremia, 2006), 5-8; 64-65. Based on what I have read of Marat Grinberg's published articles on Slutsky, I expect that Slutsky's Holocaust poetry will be analyzed in Grinberg's forthcoming book which I look forward to reading. See Grinberg, "'All the Young Poets Have Become Old Jews': Boris Slutsky's Russian Jewish Canon," *East European Jewish Affairs* 1 (2007): 29-49; "Sorvavshiisia v eres': o tragedii Borisa Slutskogo," *Slovo/Word* 50 (2006), http://magazines.russ.ru/slovo/2006/50/gr16.html, accessed 12 January 2011; "Loshadi Slutskogo: metapoeticheskoe prochtenie evreiskogo poeta," *Slovo/Word* 61 (2009), http://magazines.russ.ru/slovo/2009/61/gr34.html, accessed 12 January 2011.

precisely how Jewish-Russian poets coopted, subverted or circumvented the Soviet rhetoric on Jewish wartime losses. Another challenge is to be able to tease out historical facts from the poem's partial truths and silences. At the same time we should not over-read these poems as historical or political documents at the expense of their artistry and aesthetics. But there are other complicating factors as well. By proceeding in a reverse chronological order, I would like to identify three such factors.

The first factor has to do with the Soviet afterlife of the Jewish-Russian Holocaust poems written and published in 1941-1946. After 1945, Antokolsky's "Death Camp" would be reprinted a number of times during the Soviet years with small emendations, whereas "No Memory Eternal" would not be reprinted in the USSR until 1966. When it was next published in 1971, the poem's Judaic references were either omitted or completely obfuscated, changing and confusing the meaning of the poem. After 1945, Ehrenburg's January 1945 *Novyi mir* cycle has never been reprinted in its entirety. In the USSR the cycle's opening poem was published, with some changes and omissions, under the title "Babi Yar" in 1946, 1953, 1959, and 1964, respectively. After the original publication in 1946, Ozerov's "Babi Yar" was reprinted in 1947, after that not until 1966, and subsequently four more times during the Soviet years. With changes and emendations, after 1942 Selvinsky's "I Saw It!" kept appearing in various editions of his work and collective volumes, becoming one of his best known texts, whereas "Kerch," after its original newspaper publication in 1943 and magazine publication in 1945, would not be reprinted in the Soviet Union until 1984. Simplistic causal explanations based on official taboos and censorial demands, as well as on the poets' own instincts of self-preservation, fail to do justice to these undulations and obliterations—and to the consistencies in the poems' publication histories.

The second factor has to do with what an ex-Soviet reader of European literature might call the "the ashes of Klaas" ("pepel Klaasa") effect. The expression comes from *The Legend of Thyl Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak* (1867), a novel by the Belgian writer Charles de Coster (1827-1879), which became very popular in Russia and the USSR, the Russian translation apparently published in 1915, and which was further popularized by the 1976 screen adaptation by Aleksandr Alov and Vladimir Naumov. The novel's protagonist, the young Flemish man Thyl Ulenspiegel, becomes a fighter against the Spanish invaders during the Dutch War of Independence, after the inquisition burns his father, Klaas, as a heretic. Following the auto da fé, Thyl and his mother take a bit of ashes from the execution site; the widowed mother sews a small sacket, puts the ashes into it and hangs it on Thyl's neck, to serve as a reminder of his father's death and of his mission as an avenger. As he fights for the freedom of Flanders, Thyl keeps repeating to himself: "The ashes of Klaas are knocking at my heart."[198] The ashes of the murdered Jews knocked at the hearts of Selvinsky, Ehrenburg, Antokolsky and Ozerov as they bore poetic witness to the Shoah. Both Antokolsky and Ozerov wrote the most Jewish-conscious poems of their careers in the immediate aftermath of the Nazi genocidal atrocities and would never again come close to writing something as Jewishly articulate as they did between 1940 and 1946. Not even during the Thaw, when the ideological conditions were generally more favorable, while the risk of official reprisal lower, would the main heroes of this investigation, Selvinsky, Ehrenburg, Ozerov, and Antokolsky, write new poems based on their

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198 "Pepel Klaasa stuchit v moem serdtse," in Vadim Serov, *Entisklopedicheskii slovar' krylatykh slov i vyrazhenii*, http://www.bibliotekar.ru/encSlov/15/19.htm, accessed 14 February 2011.

wartime experiences as witnesses to the Shoah.[199] Selvinsky and Ehrenburg passed away within a year of each other, in 1967 and 1968, respectively, whereas Antokolsky would live until 1978, and Ozerov, who died in 1996, would even see perestroika and witness the collapse of the USSR. In the 1970s-1980s, the ageing Soviet laureates who had created and published key Holocaust poetic texts in 1942-1946 would show an indifference to the problem of the Jewish Exodus from the Soviet Union. For reasons that remain to be understood, the persecution and suffering of tens of thousands of Jewish refuseniks did not knock at these poets' hearts or push them to howl either militant or mournful Jewish-Russian verses.

The third factor bears directly on the historical context of World War II and of the Shoah, as well as on the ideological conditions of Soviet culture in the 1940s. This factor challenges us to reflect on the price the poets paid for bearing witness to the Shoah. Selvinsky's 1943 collection *Ballads and Songs* opened with the poem "Stalin at the Microphone" ("Stalin u mikrofona"), and this dithyrambic text was reprinted in his volume *Wartime Lyric*, where "I Saw It!" also appeared. In Antokolsky's 1946 volume *Selected Works*, his poem "Death Camp" was sandwiched between the poem "23 February 1944" that ends with "Long live the glorious Soviet people!/ And therefore—long live Stalin" and the poem "Glory" where one finds the lines "Glory to Stalin's word,/ Inspiring in struggle./ "Stalin! Stalin! To you/We give the oath of loyalty again!"[200] In January 1947 Ozerov published the opening part of a projected long poem called *Stalin* in the popular magazine *Soviet Woman*; to the best of my knowledge, he never completed the poem.[201] Ehrenburg's relationship with Stalin has of course been a popular subject with the critics—the end of World War II and the late 1940s constituting the peak of Ehrenburg's favor with Stalin.

What do the Stalinist dithyrambs by these talented and heroic poets tell us about the literary and ideological cost of bearing witness to the Shoah? It is not to sour the mood of gratitude and solemnity, but to honor the achievement of Jewish-Russian Holocaust poetry written and published in the USSR, that I pose my final question. Was praising the dictator through poetry the price that Antokolsky, Selvinsky, Ehrenburg, Ozerov and other Jewish-Russian authors paid for being able to mourn the victims of the Shoah—to mourn them as Soviets, as Russians, and as Jews?

Boston College
2008-2010

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199   Selvinsky revisited the subject of the Shoah in the poem "Strashnyi sud" ("Last Judgment"), which he had trouble placing in central Soviet periodicals and published in the Tajikistan-based Russian-language magazine; see "Strashnyi sud," *Guliston* 3 (July-September 1960): 5-7. It was reprinted only once in Sel'vinskii, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia*, ed. I. L. Mikhailov and N. G. Zakharenko (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel' [Biblioteka poeta], 1972), 310-313. The poem commemorates the victims of the Shoah yet strikes, at least on the surface of it, a stark antireligious note.

200   In Antokol'skii's *Izbrannoe* (1946): "23 February 1944" ("Dvadtsat' tret'e fevralia sorok chetvertogo goda") (169-171) is followed by "Hatred" ("Nenavist'") (171-173), by "Death Camp" (174-175), by "Glory" ("Slava") (180-181).

201   Ozerov, "Stalin. Vstuplenie k poeme," *Sovetskaia zhenshchina* 1 (1947): 18.

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Chapter 5

Poetic ecphrasis of Joseph Brodsky

(Tatsiana Autukhovich[202]*)*

The article deals with the specific features of poetic ecphrases in the creative art of Joseph Brodsky. The article also discloses the role of painting in the characteristic of Brodsky visual structure of perceiving the world. Basing the interviews is examined the character of painting preferences of the poet, the most important of which was Italian Renaissance painting. The analyses of poetic ecphrasis fulfilled in the given paper allowed concluding that Brodsky's poetry is characterized by self denying of the genre. The article also proves that painting term the poem «At the exhibition of Charles Veilink» and the represented range of genre definitions one could consider as a kind of self description by Brodsky his own literary and philosophical evolution. We also prove that Brodsky's dialogue with paintings and culture as a whole presented for Brodsky the source for constant improving his poetic language.

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Attention to the phenomenon of poetic ecphrases is a notable fact in the last century literary criticism. Among the majority of reasons that predetermined such interest one can distinguish tendency to the interdisciplined synthesis in the methodology of literary research and original complexity of the phenomenon of ecphrases itself. As a rule the given phenomenon becomes topical in transitional epochs and reflects searching of new artistic language in all fields of arts, demonstrates tension between art and reality, that is extremely characteristic in the periods of epoch shifts.

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Really metaliteral of ecphrases that is based on comprehension the interrelation between art and reality (in this context L. Geller proposes the following: «As multilaterally and at the same time high technical and rhetorical degree of ecphrases, its ability to form different levels of text constitutes the peculiarity of the ecphrases. These its qualities supplement <…> principal doubleworld, disclosing its building structure and «doubletness». This leads to autotopicality, to his experience in the process of creativity and its borders. Renewed function of descriptions converted from statics to dynamics. Unvividness of ecphrastic gesture <…> its «apophatity» connected with an ancient idea - that became very popular nowadays - of principal disability to express the phenomenon of the world [1, с. 17]), allow to consider it as an indicator of literary epoch, as just the literary epoch, its aesthetic preconditions predetermine both understanding of arts hierarchy and domineering of descriptive or emotional entry in literature and interrelations between the word and the image. As the result studying of the phenomenon of ecphrases inevitably presupposes comprehension of semiotic problems (ecphrases as a notion of intersemiotic translation), psychology of art creation, theoretical and historical poetics, narration and etc. The problem of creation of the history of ecphrases, in particular of Russian one, is comprehended as one of the most important. In this field some new works have recently appeared [2], however this process is too far to be considered complete.

The most significant part of that history constitutes creative art of Joseph Brodsky, whom L. Geller called «the most ecphrastic poet of the XX century» [1, p. 17]. Peculiarities of poetic ecphrasis of Joseph Brodsky is characterized by the situation called «fin de siècle», when «all the words have been yet said» (S.S. Averintsev) and Brodsky's concentration on comprehension the triad time-memory-word. Such philosophical categories as time and space, nature and culture, death and immortality, memory and literary work constitute vectors of poet's dialogue with culture. In this context arises the problem of how «metaphysical mystery» of Brodsky (I.I. Plekhanova) reflected in the peculiarity of his poetic ecphrases.

The problem declared in the title of the report is multisided, that's why I intend to concentrate only on its most significant aspects.

The first one is devoted to the problem of sources of predominantly visual character of world perception in Brodsky's poetry. It is known that music was highly appreciated by Brodsky, but he preferred painting to music («I adore painting» [3, p. 628]). He was a skillful painter, he even felt himself as a painter, realizing his model of thinking as visual («I suppose I am a man of vision» [3, p. 611]). Hierarchy of arts in his perception was determined by his biographical factors: Brodsky's father, a professional photographer, taught him to view outward world as artifact. This also was preconditioned by the image of poet's native city - Saint-Petersburg-Leningrad. According to Brodsky, «space influences way of thinking greatly» [3, p. 429] and as according to Brodsky «Petersburg is the school of non-exaggeration, the school of composition»his attention to the problem of artistic space, visual character of his thinking and ability to perceive the world in the frame as a certain artifact inevitably should constitute the specific distinctive feature of Brodsky's mentality. This is proved by his answer about his favorite season: «I presume that nonetheless it is winter. You know, it presupposes something great: actually it means professionalism. Winter is a black and white season, namely a page with letters. That's why I prefer black and white film [3, p. 628-629]. Great influence upon Brodsky was made by his companionship with M. Basmanova, a daughter of an artist. She made him acquainted with riches of Hermitage, studied albums on painting [4]. Consequently she worked as a painter-

illustrator. Domination of optical, visual plan in his poems is originated here. Moreover, the whole world and he himself is viewed by Brodsky as a creation of time as an artist:

> я, иначе – никто, всечеловек, один
> из, подсохший мазок в одной из живых картин,
> которые пишет время, макая кисть
> за неимением, верно, лучшей палитры в жисть… [5, IV, p. 52].

> Me am otherwise – nobody, the all-power person, one
> from, a dried up dab in one of alive pictures / paintings
> Which / that time paints dipping a brush
> For the lack of, truly, the best palette in a life… («In the cafe», 1988)

An important aspect of the problem is represented by the problem of artistic preferences of the poet and their influence on the character of the world image in his poems. In his multiple interviews Brodsky willingly said about his painting preferences. He was indifferent to the contemporary art, except for the painters who were «infected by Classicism» as he was. During different periods these preferences changed. This is reflected in Brodsky's interviews of different periods. In 1974 he mentioned the names of such XX century painters as Georges Braque and Raul Dufay, but he preferred before- Renaissance Italian art – paintings of Cassette in whose art he found some similarity with Dufay («the same lightness but depth and strength at the same time»[3, p. 21]). Considering the French Art «the most interesting kind of painting of the current century» Brodsky even later at the end of 80-s would mention the names of Braque, Dufay. He also mentioned Bonnard and Vuillard. His reasoning is of special interest: «Painting of French artists constitute a special interest for him because of the fact that their painting calls up with poetry, «fine literature that nowadays is of extreme interest for me <…> That means combination of a certain kind of out-dated stuff, common space and figures, etc., as is characteristic of Bonnard with the effect of simultaneous insight which we found in the paintings of Dufay – something buddhistic, the type of satori, and magnificent reconstruction of the world, a dramatic one but without any exaggeration, any pressing as in the paintings of Braque» [3, p. 491]. In one of his latest interviews he stated his great preference to Vuillard: «Among the artists of the XX century I greatly appreciate the French painter Vuillard. I also like Bonnard, but Vuillard I like more» [3, p. 628].

Shifting of Brodsky's accents in these statements could be explained by Brodsky's movement from avant–garde painting – cubism with its interest in subjectivity of the world and laconicism of geometrical forms (Georges Braque) to the more reserved manner of Pierre Bonnard and to the poetizing of daily life of Edouard Vuillard.

In his interview of 1988 he underlined American painting: «I adore Frederick Church. Itchiness, of course, and John Marine. And Hopper who, to my mind, resembles Robert Frost». Answering the question of Ann Lauterbah on his attitude towards abstractionism Brodsky exclaimed: «Pollock! … is the hero of my youth. And Rothko and Arshile Gorky» [3, p. 311]. Emotional appreciation of Jackson Pollock by Brodsky is probably explained by the spirit of freedom and liberal values that was associated by the generation of 60-s - to which Brodsky belonged - with expressional abstractionism.

But the most important property of his artistic world constitutes Italian Renaissance Art, Piero della Francesca, Giovanni Bellini, Andrea Mantegna. Brodsky was not wordy in explaining

his painting preferences. As a self-reflection one can consider his following words: «I always feel interest in the painters underlining certain vision of space, certain vision of background. Painting of della Chirico is extremely interesting from this point of view because of the special sizes, too big or too small, because of a particular type of closed space» [3, p.429].

In another interview characterizing the manner of Piero della Francesca he expressed his view even more precisely: «for him the background and architecture that accompanies the main event which is depicted by him is more important than the event itself or is at least of the same interest. Let us say the frontage against the background of crucifying Christ is not of the less interest than Christ himself or the process of crucifying» [3, p. 491].

These statements show Brodsky's deep understanding of Renaissance art and the most important detail –its coincidence with the poet's searching. This coincidence is explained by the similarity of the epochs: Renaissance - the first «attack» on Christian world view – marked the beginning of the process that would lead humanity to the situation of «God's leaving» at the end of XX century. «Ontological comfortless» (formula of I. Danilova [6, p. 112]) of quattro-cento artists was very close to Brodsky who in his creative work comprehended a type of psychological state of the XX century man, being in the situation of «the crisis of spiritual identity of human existence and wholly human existence», who undertook the mission of being «the guide to the mysteries of converting of tragic into freedom» [7, p. 290].That's why artistic discoveries of Italians were of special interest to Brodsky, primarily their discoveries in the field of composition, metaphysical meaning and exaggerated semiotic of subjective background in their works. Brodsky's preferences in painting ground his concentration on materialistic objects of outward world in the aspect of their semiotic validity.

Visual model of Brodsky's perception of the world expresses in peculiarities of his creative process. Composing of poems was accompanied by drawing on the margins. Brodsky said that drawing on margins stimulates artistic intention that «often shows up as a conjoint effect for some of such illustrations» [3, p. 611]. «Except from this these drawing scrabble reveal certain sense of space, certain graphical setting according to the inane space of the paper» [3, p. 612]. Lastly, according to Brodsky, a word is «a certain contour of the given phenomenon that determines and marks the meaning» [3, p. 611].

It is natural that paintings created peculiar prism of perceiving poetry – own and alien (so the poem of B. Pasternak «Christmas star» evoked a wide range of associations in Brodsky – where in one row are Italians Mantegna and Bellini, the Dutchman Bruegel, Russian Savrasov [3, p. 563]) .

Cultural artifacts inspired creative work of Brodsky greatly. For example, it is known that his first Christmas poems were inspired by reproduction of the painting called «Idolatry of magi» which he found in one of polish newspapers called «Pshekruy». This painting aroused in Brodsky not religious feelings, but aesthetic reflection, affected by «all in one concentration – what is represented by the scene in the cave» [3, p. 561]. This «technological» interest of the poet to the artist is demonstrated in one more Brodsky's statement: «when I was nineteen or twenty I fancied Bocconi. I even composed a poem in which I tried to convey his natural feeling of motion» [3, p. 21]. One more example of the fact is represented by the poem «Candlemas» inspired by Rembrandt's «Simeon in the temple». Moreover, Brodsky himself stated that «passage with a ray is in Rembrandt's manner» [3, p. 628]. At the same time he thought that such analogies arouse unconsciously, apart from poet's intention.

So in such a way painting determined Brodsky's point of view of the world, domineered in his individual hierarchy of arts and artistic preferences, characterized his understanding of the creative process and associated background of his perceiving other poet's works. In this context not numerous quantity of properly poetic ecphrasis of Brodsky referring to some original artifacts is amazing. To my mind, this could be explained by two reasons. First of all, by Brodsky's skeptical attitude towards the possibility of physical objects of culture to resist destructive action of time, secondly, and what is of the main importance for us, by the general particularity of Brodsky's poetics, his tendency to nontransparent discourse because of which the creation of poetic ecphrasis in his poetry consequently gives its way to the poetry of ecphrastivity.

Properly to poetic ecphrasis one can refer some poems of Brodsky. One of the first is the poem «Illustration (L. Cranach «Venus with apples»)»:

В накидке лисьей – сама
хитрей, чем лиса с холма
лесного, что вдалеке
склон полощет в реке,
сбежав из рощи, где бог
охотясь вонзает в бок
вепрю жало стрелы,
где бушуют стволы,
покинув знакомый мыс,
пришла под яблоню из
пятнадцати яблок – к ним
с мальчуганом своим.
Головку набок склоня,
как бы мимо меня,
ребенок, сжимая плод,
тоже смотрит вперед [5, II, p. 26].

In a fox's cloak
cape – herself
more artful than the fox from a wooden hill
that in the distance
rinses a slope in the river
having run away from a grove where the god
hunting sticks an arrow sting into a wild boar's sideways
where trunks storm
having left the familiar cape
came under an apple-tree from
fifteen apples – to them
with her little boy.
Having inclined the Head awry
as though by me
the child compressing a fruit
is also looking forward.

Here we want to admit that so characteristic of Brodsky range of angambemans transfers continuity of viewer's vision along the ground of the painting and interconnection of all details of the ground and rising of continual motion to the final verse – to the central element of Cranach's painting. This acute contrast between dynamics and statics in Brodsky's ecphrases

predetermines the whole effect of the poem.

The poem « Illustration (L. Cranach «Venus with apples») » constitutes the only clear case of artistic description of original artistic text by Brodsky. Later his ecphrasis would always emphasize not the painting itself, but the impression aroused by the picture. It means that communicative chain would be reduced. As a result in order to understand the essence of Brodsky's dialogue with the given artist the reader is to recreate the image of the painting himself. Herewith such ecphrases turns in the form of metatext, where semiotic reflections of the poet could be revealed and are stated principles of his immanent poetics with its evolutional character.

In this case we refer to the one of the most interesting and the least studied aspect of the problem of poetic ecphrases as its functioning in the form of mechanism of self-consciousness and self-description of creative art. The given mechanism constitutes the immanent part of culture. But in the works of some painters usually living in the period of epoch shifts it becomes deeply comprehended and widely used poetic technique. Undoubtedly it is characteristic to the creative art and behavior strategy of Brodsky in whose poetry every new text functions as a kind of summing up, serves as «a code, a key to the interpretation of the whole, yet composed biography» [8].

The example of such self-consciousness through poetic ecphrases represents the poem «At the exhibition of Charles Veilink». In 1985 in Amsterdam (Holland) Brodsky bought a collection of cards describing reproductions of Ch. Veilink's paintings. In consequence of that appeared the poem «At the exhibition of Charles Veilink», in which Brodsky expresses his own perceiving of time as a process of entropy and destruction, felling of space as «the top point of despair, is given – through the impression of Veilink's paintings – as implicit description of his own metaphorical language, when metaphor-capsule appears as «composition in miniature».

The most important fact is that the poem is composed as a consequent selection of definitions attributed to the paintings of Veilink. From the first sight it produces the impression that such a consequence characterizes specific traits of genre represented during the exhibited paintings of the Dutch artist. At the same time a range of such definitions can be regarded as a final auto description of world view of Brodsky himself in his interrelations with time and space. This self description is very precise. This proves the fact that the poet himself c realized the progressive character of dramatic irony and scepsis in his own attitude to life, the process of his dropping-out and desertion from the space and his transition to the position of existence beyond reality.

Not by chance in the poem «At the exhibition of Charles Veilink» the evolution of author's outward reality is comprehended in terms of art, when movement of genres symbolizes the process of gradual dying of the world and its individual perceiving. Crucial importance in this context belongs to the poetical representation of the logical chain: landscape – aspect of vision – still life – scenery – portrait – self-portrait. Through these categories Brodsky actually views his life.

Indeed, early Brodsky's poetry - up to 1962 - is deliberately nonecphrastic. Here dominates music. Melodiousness determines poem's rhythm, which reflects his romantic perceiving of the world as harmony. This world is rather sounded, heard, and singed; it is the world of romance, jazz, ballad or elegy. Even tragic essence of the world that is gradually revealed to Brodsky takes the form of harmony because of his eternal felling of beauty. The image of the world is primarily associated with nature; cultural notions are harmoniously joined with natu-

ral world on the rights of details.

The word «landscape» is characteristic to the period of Brodsky's great interest in the poetry of J. Donne, but landscape is viewed by Brodsky in baroque style as a cause, inspiration for arousing metaphorical feelings.

The word «aspect of vision» marks the beginning of a short period of neoclassicism in Brodsky's creative art. In this period rises the quantity of graphical associations in his poems, the verse itself becomes more strict and literal, more often works of ancient sculpture («Bust of Tiberius») serve as an object of poetic ecphrases. In poetic viewing of the world city displaces nature, sculptures displace the man, images of the past prevail, arises the motif of culture dying and drying of poetic voice. The poem «Fountain» (1967) is interesting as a visual image of its verse represents the movements of fountain flow, fixes the moment of fragile balance between nature and culture in Brodsky's vision: an old dried fountain revives in the play of night shadows and drops of the rain. Nature/time defeat culture:

> Пересохли уста,
> и гортань проржавела: металл не вечен.
> Просто кем-нибудь наглухо кран заверчен,
> хоронящийся в кущах, в конце хвоста,
> и крапива опутала вентиль… [5, II, p. 206]

> Lips have dried up
> and the throat has rusted: metal is not eternal.
> Simply somebody has tightly twirled the crane
> buried in bushes at the end of a tail
> and the nettle has entangled the gate …
> but it also evokes human creations back to life at least in the poet's imagination.

The key word of Brodsky's poetry of 70-s became «still life». Let's undertake more precise analyses of the poem «Still life» (1971). The title of the poem states Brodsky's new connotations towards the universe and human history. If according to E.Farino still life from semiotic point of view manifests «destructive atemporality of the present» [9, p. 378] then the most important motives of Brodsky's poem reveal the tendency to the liquidate of time and triumph of the thing over the word, the space over the time, ash and dust over the thing, death over life. Poetic image of the world, self viewing of the lyrical figure in the space and time represented in the poem disclosed the upper degree of despair on the verge of life and death:

> Вещь. Коричневый цвет
> вещи. Чей контур стерт.
> Сумерки. Больше нет
> ничего. Натюрморт.
> Смерть придет и найдет
> тело, чья гладь визит
> смерти, точно приход
> женщины, отразит [5, II, p. 425].

> The Thing. Brown color
> things. Whose contour is erased.
> Twilight. There is nothing anymore.
> A still-life.
> The death will come and find the body,

whose smooth surface
will repulse the death visit
as a woman's arrival.

Metonymically the lyrical hero correlates with the Christ – as the Christ is also «nailed to the cross», suffering for the whole sinful mankind. As the Christ he is also «dead or alive». He feels himself as a thing contours of which are determined only by his place in space, the thing apt to the destructive influence of time which turns everything into dust.

The poet himself gave the following comments to the poem: «Christ is still life. Frozen life. <…> I perceive Christ as a subject and as a man simultaneously» [3, p. 28-29]. The above mentioned Brodsky's statement could be viewed as specific reflection of his philosophy, which from the beginning of 70-s is characterized by the tendency of denying the time and domineering of the thing into anthropomorphic still life. At the same time if the thing in the poetic picture of the world fulfilled a kind of pneumonic function and serves as a «pure sign» according to M. Krieger «our semiotic appealing to the pure sign reflects our ontological melancholy, our worried desire to find the order or the structure, displayed objectively, «in a natural way» beyond of society, beyond ourselves and this way giving authority to the signs and forms which we take from our subjectivity <…> [10, p. 112]. «Ontological melancholy» of Brodsky leads him to the searching of the new poetics.

In the given context one should mention the statements of Y. M. Lotman: «the interest to the genre of still life, as a rule, coincides with the periods when the question of studying one's own language by art becomes a reflected problem» [11, p. 348]. Such, to Lotman's mind, were epochs of baroque and the beginning of the XX century. We add: the same is the period of transition from Middle Ages to Renaissance, when real world was discovered and was changed interrelation between sign and thing, between a word and the word as a sign of thing and the thing as a sign of word and the time of Brodsky for whom the problem of Time and Space, the problem of ontological foundations of Existence was connected with the problem of the word, Speech.

At least two facts become clear respectively: painting preferences of Brodsky, his interest in the works of artists who paid much attention to the semiotic value of the thing as he did (in this context metaphorical significance of details is characteristic to the paintings of G. Bellini. This has typological analogies with Brodsky's figurative metaphor and transition of Brodsky from properly poetic ecphrases to the poetics of ecphrasity.

As a kind of «twin»-comment to the poem «Still life» may be regarded the poem «Sketch» (1972):

Холуй трясется. Раб хохочет.
Палач свою секиру точит.
Тиран кромсает каплуна.
Сверкает зимняя луна.
Се вид Отечества, гравюра.
На лежаке – Солдат и Дура.
Старуха чешет мертвый бок.
Се вид Отечества, лубок.
Собака лает, ветер носит.
Борис у Глеба в морду просит.
Кружатся пары на балу.

В прихожей – куча на полу.
Луна сверкает, зренье муча.
Под ней, как мозг отдельный, туча...
Пускай Художник, паразит,
другой пейзаж изобразит [5, III, p. 26].

The toady shivers. The slave laughs loudly.
The executioner grinds a pole-axe.
the Tyrant cuts to pieces a capon.
The winter Moon sparkles.
That is the view of Fatherland, the print.
The Soldier and the Silly woman are in a plank bed.
The old woman scratches a dead side.
That is the view of Fatherland, the cheap popular print.
The Dog barks, the wind carries.
Boris asks Gleb for his giving a slap in the muzzle.
Couples dance at the ball.
There is a heap on the floor in the hall.
The Moon sparkles tormenting eye-sight.
There is a cloud like a separate brain under it ...
Let the Artist, parasite,
present the other landscape.

The text refers to two genres – engraving and splint. The engraving represents dreary but high reality. At the same time splint expresses its farcical and theatrical variant. Concurrence in one context of two depicting forms produces the effect of burlesque decrease of the myths on Russian statehood. But referring to the tradition of carnival doesn't produce the sense of relief; on the contrary, it exaggerates the feeling of despair and absurdity of the history that is confirmed by poet's usage of present tense.

At the same time mentioning of two genres of engraving and splint proves the fact that searching for new artistic language to express the idea of hauled time Brodsky referred to various artistic pretexts, including folklore ones. In our case the fact that still life, engraving and splint produce the effect of disclosing different time levels on the picture (engraving and splint are marked by narration, what was stated by Lotman referring to splint: «graphical image of splint itself is predetermined by the laws of archaic (and childish) function of the picture when different figures and various parts of the picture should be «read» as displayed in different moments of time» [12, p. 326]) was important for Brodsky who tried to find his own equivalent of postmodernist «spacefulness of time».

The idea of hauled time where is presented only imitation of movement and development in artistic verses of Brodsky is referred to the term of «decoration»: in his poem «Performance» (1986) Brodsky uses the devise of parody dramatization when on the background of still decoration does revived gallery of figures from Russian history and literature.

The key word of the next period in creative art of Brodsky's poetry became «portrait». In the poem «Dedicated to Piranesi» (1993-1995) he displaces a double in the background of mystic landscape. The title of the poem refers to the name of the great Italian painter of the XVIII century whose creative heritage consists of three series: hundreds of engravings depicting ruins of Ancient Rome due to which Piranesi came into history as a founder of «ruins topic»; series of so called architectural landscape with descriptions of never existed constructions image of which predetermined the place of Piranesi as the beginner of neoclassicism of the XIX centu-

ry; and a famous series called «Prisons», where fantastic mazes of stairs that lead to nowhere reflect artist's attempt to get into the depth of his own consciousness.

The poem of Brodsky could hardly be rendered to a concrete painting by Piranesi. It is a conventional ecphrases, inspired by poet's own reflections on the power of time that turns everything into ruins, but loses the struggle with space:

Очарованный дымкой, далью,
глаз художника вправе вообще пренебречь деталью, -
то есть моим и вашим существованием. Мы –
то, в чем пейзаж не нуждается [5, VI, p. 146].

Fascinated by a haze, a distance,
the eye of an artist has the right to neglect a detail on the whole, -
that is my and your existence. We are the thing
that a landscape does not need.

According to Brodsky, the landscape of space represents in itself «past in its pure form».

At the same time the poem dedicated to Piranesi functions as a code, signalizing about its metonymical poetics and philosophical context, about «ruins text» of the Russian and world literature that underlines innovative character of Brodsky's poetry and principally new perceiving of time and space at the end of XX century. As a rule, states T. Zvereva, «ruins texts» of the XVIII and even XIX century are lack of formally expressed «I am»: «"The viewer" is situated beyond the portrayed painting being for this side of the canvas which had depicted the process of destruction <…> poet's glance «glides» along the ruins, but never enters their «womb» as if avoiding meeting something that is originated to destruct enquired balance of the world forever» [13, p. 265-266].

Brodsky defiantly inserts in his ecphrases never existing painting of Piranesi (in this case he gives general, total idea about painter's works, so called «quasi- Piranesi») depicting two figures in one of which («the man in the coat») one can distinguish the poet himself, the other («pilgrimage») can represent any man, including or, which is more probable, the second "I" of the poet. Indication on the fact that there is only one man depicted on the picture but in his various time representations and his different mental states is read in the words of «the man in the coat»

Ах, мы всего лишь два прошлых. Два прошлых дают одно
настоящее [5, IV, p. 146]

Ah, we are just two pasts. Two pasts equal one
present.

besides the opportunity of such an interpretation is proved by the existence of poet's earlier poem called «Pilgrimages» in which the author correlates himself with the romantic image of the generation of truth searching. Different time perspectives of lyrical «I am» according to laws of callisthenic's image is reflected in the form of two figures on the conventional canvas. Literary devise of splitting of the hero evokes various associations, in particular referring to «The Diary» by Dostoevsky and to the twin myth in the poetry of Brodsky himself «Gorbunoff and Gortchakoff» and in the whole to the literature and art of the XX century where mytholo-

gy is widely used.

The poem of Brodsky in such a way became the portrait of his soul all details of which should serve to represent symbolically the dialogue in author's consciousness - the dialogue about the essence of time and his place in it. At the same time it is the dialogue about values - ways of perceiving the meaning of life («presented»paradise and or «personal eagerness» towards truth) and about attitude to reality («conciliatory» of the pilgrimage or confrontation of «the man in the coat» what is rendered by his crossed hands) .

Double portrait on the background of mystic scenery evokes two time and estimate measurements in the poem. From one side a portrait, according to Lotman, is the most mythological and philosophical genre of painting as in it «the ultimate essence of the person is reflected in the most concrete historical forms is sublimated to the philosophical problem «this is a man» [14, p. 365]. So problems depicted in the poem presuppose universal character to the mankind of «the end of the century».

From the other side situation depicted in the conventional ecphrases of Brodsky may be interpreted as a situation of a deep individual existence insight of the author himself.

The situation of the poem reflects subjective perceiving of the world by Brodsky, whose unlinear conception of time, proposed by modern physics and philosophy coincides with absolute time, precisely its absence. This is an apocalyptical Time-After-All or time preceding new creation. Portrait on the background of mystic scenery signals about subjective movement of the poet into the category of eternity, his parting from modernity. «Dedication to Piranesi» doesn't exclude the fact that the nuclear of Brodsky's ecphrastic technique in the given poem is based on the Renaissance model of composition and time represented in the mysterious painting of his favorite artist G. Bellini called «Laky Madonna». Like Bellini as a place of action Brodsky chooses a kind of theater of the universe where heroes of different epochs meet together. In the result «the time is covered, time perspective is pressed acquiring its "single momentary" feature» [6, p. 86]; the feeling of fear of the man of Renaissance before nature as destructive power threatening human's cultural and reforming activity that in Bellini's painting reflected in the oppositional combination of architectural space and natural environment, in Brodsky's poem represents its final solution as apotheosis of entropy, transformation of culture into «ruins» and triumph of natural chaos; at last, characteristic of postmodernism specific «spatial expansion» of time which is expressed by Brodsky just characteristic for painting of Renaissance device – through the movement from the depth of the painting, from the horizon with the help of which is transferred the idea of motion of time against the background of motionless landscape».

Playing with different point of views stated in «Dedication to Piranesi» comes to an end during the next and the last period of Brodsky's creative art which was prophesied called «Self portrait». His last poems are characterized by focalization that as described earlier by Tyutchev:

Брала знакомые листы
И чудно так на них глядела,
Как души смотрят с высоты
На ими брошенное тело... [15, p. 156].

Took familiar sheets
And looked at them so wonderfully,

As souls look from height
at the body abandoned by them …

In Brodsky's poems comparative structure of Tyutchev is transformed in kind of subjective organization when the lyrical hero within one text serves as a object and a subject simultaneously: «Poet examines himself from his inner organization <…> and from side at the same time as if he belongs to different time and space world» [16, p. 121]. Such kind of poetry is referred to the painting of European baroque with its principle of a mirror, but in the poetry of Brodsky it reflects the supreme degree of self frustration of the lyrical hero. This is evidently in the poem called «At the blast of the Cold War» (1994) .

Summing up we say that ecphrases usually functions as mechanism of cultural memory against entropy. In Brodsky's poetry occurs self-denying of genre. Dying of culture and memory comprehended by Brodsky, the most dramatic poet of the XX century, reflected in the form of genre dynamics in his creative art. Just Brodsky was able to use poetic ecphrases as an instrument of self description and self consciousness of the poet. Poetic ecphrases, in particular the dialogue with international painting and art in the whole presented for Brodsky the opportunity to improve his poetic language.

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Section III

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Chapter 1

От оккультизма серебряного века к советской науке: случай Александра Богданова

(Михаил П. Одесский[203])

В конце XIX – первой трети XX в. чуткие аналитики диагностировали кризис традиционного общества в области социально-экономических отношений, в области науки, искусства. Этот кризис выявил крах позитивистской картины мира и закономерно сопровождался широким интересом к оккультизму. И если в цивилизационном плане «серебряный век», согласно тем же аналитикам – «вырождение» или «закат», то в оккультном плане – «Ренессанс».

Для этого хронологического промежутка, по удачной формуле Н.А. Богомолова, под оккультизмом продуктивно понимать «самые различные явления, от эзотерических концепций космической и человеческой истории до вегетарианства и вообще систем правильного питания, от Элевсинских мистерий до полтергейста, от алхимии до расплывчатой убежденности, что все в мире должно быть хорошо и правильно…»[204].

Оккультный Ренессанс выражался в культуре и литературе разными способами: прямое участие в тайных обществах; использование искусства для пропаганды оккультных идей; обращение к оккультным темам в поисках обновления поэтики или как элементарное следование актуальной моде и т.д. Русская культура также внесла достойную лепту в Оккультное Возрождение. После трагических событий 1917 г. ситуация изменилась. Официальная коммунистическая идеология отрицала оккультизм, а государство преследовало любые тайные общества. Тем не менее, культурная актуальность вопроса не только не была отменена, но – в условиях Мировой войны и послевоенного революционного кризиса – приобрела большую настоятельность.

Вот несколько примеров того, как писатели пытались реализовать оккультное поведение в условиях построения социализма.

Первый случай: советские (по месту проживания) писатели продолжали «работу» в

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204 Богомолов Н.А. Русская литература начала XX века и оккультизм: Исследования и материалы. М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 1999. C.6–7.

традиционных мистических обществах (имеются в виду хорошо изученные в последние десятилетия ветви тамплиеров, антропософов и т.п.). Принимая в расчет высокий уровень авторов, которые отваживались продолжать оккультную деятельность при агрессивно-позитивистском тоталитаризме, естественно, что ими создавались масштабные произведения, без которых адекватное описание советской культуры оказывается некорректным. Так, Андрей Белый в 1926 г. составил трактат «История становления самосознающей души» – грандиозную попытку антропософского толкования мировой культуры и ее движущих сил.

Напротив того, роман Ильи Эренбурга «Необычайные похождения Хулио Хуренито и его учеников» (1922 г.) отнюдь не оккультный текст. Заглавный персонаж изрекает афоризмы, созвучные тогдашнему «нигилистическому» авторскому видению, и одновременно эффективно функционирует как «прием» выстраивания сюжета. Вместе с тем Хулио Хуренито – мистический Учитель, в котором можно угадать Георгия Гурджиева[205].

Отсюда – **второй случай**: использование мистической топики в чисто-литературных, иногда – в паралитературных текстах, т.е. в авантюрных и фантастических романах[206]. Такого рода схождение оккультных текстов с массовой литературой настолько закономерно, что, похоже, имеет статус не индивидуальных поисков отдельных авторов, но некоего генерального закона.

Например, геолог, путешественник В.А. Обручев (1863–1956) в 1924 г. опубликовал фантастический роман «Плутония», где путешественники обнаруживают под землей доисторический мир, с «правдоподобной» фауной и флорой, с населяющими его аборигенами.

Обручев позднее настаивал, что роман был написан в 1915 г., но, похоже, это – мистификация. Если предположение о мистификации верно, то можно угадать и намерение автора. «Плутония» – реакция на Гражданскую войну. В частности, обращает внимание, что самые опасные противники героев Обручева – не гиганты, саблезубые тигры или динозавры, а муравьи. Путешественники безжалостно убивают их, травят газом, сжигают муравейник, однако все тщетно – перед примитивным, но организованным сообществом люди вынуждены отступить. Трудно избавиться от впечатления, что неуничтожимость агрессивных насекомых, коллективизм которых традиционно было принято сравнивать с коммунизмом, отчетливо напоминает большевиков. А Обручев, со временем сделавший удачную карьеру академического ученого и литератора, первоначально не сочувствовал новой власти.

В фантастическом произведении Обручева кошмар современной политики интерпретируется или компенсируется при помощи оккультных паранаучных концепций. С этой точки зрения симптоматично заглавие романа, которое сигнализирует о причастности к определенной традиции: «В этой стране всегда господствует день. Центральное светило, скрытое в недрах нашей планеты, как бы соответствует представлениям древних народов о боге огня, таящемся под землей. Я предлагаю назвать светило Плутоном, а страну –

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205 Ср.: *Одесский М.П.* Борьба магов: Необычайные похождения Гурджиева в романе Эренбурга// Литературное обозрение. 1998. №2. С.3–8.

206 См. подробнее: *Одесский М.* Москва плутоническая // Солнечное сплетение. Иерусалим. 2003. № 5–6 (24–25).

Плутонией…»[207].

Это любопытным образом перекликается с книгой «Миссия Индии в Европе» французского оккультиста Александра Сент-Ив д'Альвейдра (1842–1909). Сент-Ив изобразил таинственную подземную страну Агартху, неисчерпаемые с технической и паранаучной точки зрения информационные ресурсы которой откроются «в день, когда Европа возведет на престол Триединую Синархию, вместо ныне царствующей Анархии. <…> Но пока что горе любопытным, которые стали бы рыть землю; они ничего бы не нашли в ней, кроме неизбежной смерти!»[208]. Согласно характеристике Юрия Стефанова, Агартха «виделась Сент-Иву чем-то вроде земного рая, населенного, однако, не святыми в обычном понимании этого слова, а скорее просвещенными технократами»[209]. Среди прочего Сент-Ив допускает именование Агартхи царством Плутона: «Агартта не единственный храм, сообщающийся с недрами Земли, ибо жрецы и жрицы Кельтиды делали то же самое, что и дало друидической Европе название империи Плутона, сына Аменти»[210].

Превращение оккультного топоса Агартхи в сюжетный ход авантюрного романа – отнюдь не эксклюзивное изобретение Обручева. Р. Генон напомнил об упоминании Агартхи в романе Л. Жаколио «Покоритель джунглей», а «шумиху» вокруг книги путешествий Ф. Оссендовского (участника Гражданской войны) «И звери, и люди, и боги» (1924) назвал «подходящим поводом, для того чтобы прервать заговор молчания вокруг вопроса об Агартхе»[211].

Наконец, поклонником книги Сент-Ива выступил близкий к НКВД ученый-естественник А.В. Барченко (1881–1938). Позднее, на допросах у ежовских следователей, он рассказывал: «В период 1920–1923 гг. в Петрограде я добыл книгу Сент-Ив де Альвейдера <…> В этой книге Сент-Ив де Альвейдер писал о существовании центра древней науки, называемого Агартой и указывал ее местоположение на стыке границ Индии и Тибета, Афганистана. По возвращении из Мурманска я поселился в конце 1923 года в ламаистском дацане в Ленинграде. Здесь я установил непосредственные отношения с тибетскими ламами, приехавшими из Лхасы <…> К этому времени у меня оформилось представление, что «кровавый кошмар современности» есть результат молодости исторического опыта русской революции, который вместе с возникновением и развитием марксизма насчитывает каких-нибудь семьдесят лет. А где же пути и средства бескровного решения возникающих вопросов? В этот же период происходит обогащение сведениями об Агарте у Сент-Ива де Альвейдера, о Шамбале от тибетцев из Лхасы, как о центре «Великого Братства Азии», объединящем все мистические общины Востока…»[212]. Информация о подземной Агартхе побудила Барченко заняться изучением телепатии и организацией тайного общества, стремившегося установить связи с Агартхой-Шамбалой в целях распространения и коррекции идей большевизма. Эволюция этого идейного комплекса, равным образом – его связь с деятельностью в Азии Н.К. Рериха, обстоятельно

207 *Обручев В.А.* Плутония. Земля Санникова. М.: Детская литература, 1958. С.82.

208 *Сент-Ив д'Альвейдр А.* Миссия Индии в Европе: Миссия Европы в Азии. Пг., 1915. С.31–32.

209 *Стефанов Ю.* Скважины между мирами: Литература и традиция// Контекст-9: Литературно-философский альманах. М., 2002. С.312.

210 *Сент-Ив д'Альвейдр А.* Миссия Индии в Европе: Миссия Европы в Азии. С.47.

211 *Генон Р.* Царь Мира// Вопросы философии. 1993. №3. С.97.

212 Цит по: *Шишкин О.* Битва за Гималаи: НКВД: магия и шпионаж. М.: ОЛМА-ПРЕСС, 1999. С.358, 366.

рассмотрены в монографии Олега Шишкина.

Фигура Барченко позволяет перейти к **третьему случаю**. Это – «случай» Александра Богданова, большевика, писателя, философа. Будучи марксистом, он тем не менее считал целесообразным опираться на оккультный опыт, обратив его в инструмент строительства коммунизма[213].

Еще до революции Богданов опубликовал два фантастических романа о цивилизации Марса – «Красная звезда» (1907; на титульном листе – 1908) и «Инженер Мэнни» (1912; на титульном листе – 1913) .

Действие «Инженера Мэнни» развертывается в обстановке марсианского «развитого капитализма»: заглавный герой руководит строительством пресловутых каналов, он честен, но слишком жесток в стремлении учитывать исключительно организационный аспект общественных отношений. Инженеру Мэнни идеологически противостоит его сын Нэтти, так же приверженный строгой организованности, но в первую очередь защищающий интересы рабочих. При помощи социальной доктрины «великого ученого» Ксарма (прозрачная анаграмма Маркса). В финале жестокий организатор добровольно уходит из жизни, потому что Нэтти, с точки зрения общественной пользы, уже вполне способен его заменить, а с точки зрения идеологии – Мэнни воплощает прошлое.

Инженер Мэнни осознал необходимость ухода, усвоив уроки старинной «легенды о вампирах». Идейно-сюжетный ход, казалось бы, не подходит автору-атеисту. Нэтти объясняет отцу: «Взятое буквально, это, разумеется, нелепая сказка. Но у народной поэзии способы выражать истину иные, чем у точной науки. На самом деле в легенде о вампирах воплощена одна из величайших, хотя, правда, и самых мрачных истин о жизни и смерти». Согласно Богданову-Нэтти, «вреден и обыкновенный, физиологический труп: его надо удалять или уничтожать, иначе он заражает воздух и приносит болезни». Так же, как труп, вреден для окружающих человек, «когда он начинает брать у жизни больше, чем дает ей. <…> Это – не человек, потому что существо человеческое, социально-творческое, уже умерло в нем; это труп такого существа».

Рассуждения Нэтти восходят к первому роману «марсианской» дилогии. В «Красной звезде» Богданов изложил программу «обновления жизни» – способ отвоевать у природы дополнительное время для «социально-творческой» активности человека, способ, применение которого возможно только в условиях «коллективистского строя», т.е. коммунизма. Ради получения этого дополнительного времени необходимо «одновременное переливание крови от одного человека другому и обратно путем двойного соединения соответственными приборами их кровеносных сосудов. При соблюдении всех предосторожностей это совершенно безопасно; кровь одного человека продолжает жить в организме другого, смешавшись там с его кровью и внося глубокое обновление во все его ткани».

Обобщая «рецепты» обоих романов, можно сказать, что если человек «слишком долго живет, рано или поздно переживает сам себя», то в коллективистском обществе он «обновится» кровью товарищей, а в обществе индивидуалистическом превратится в «социального» вампира. Причем «вампир, живой мертвец, много вреднее и опаснее, если

213 См. подробнее: *Одесский М.П.* «Физиологический коллективизм» А.А. Богданова: Наука – политика – вампирический миф// Проектное мышление сталинской эпохи. М.: РГГУ, 2004; *Михайлова Т.А., Одесский М.П.* Граф Дракула: опыт описания. М.: ОГИ, 2009.

при жизни он был сильным человеком». Руководствуясь подобной логикой, Богданов в 1910 г. (статья «Вера и наука») причислил Плеханова и Ленина к жертвам «социального» вампиризма.

После 1917 г. Богданов, вытесненный Лениным из других сфер деятельности, сосредоточился на организации Института переливания крови. По его воспоминаниям, в 1922 г. удалось «добыть необходимые средства и кое-какие приборы для этих опытов»[214]. Оборудование было получено из Англии – похоже, при содействии большевистского руководства. Используя в качестве лаборатории частные квартиры, Богданов с группой врачей-энтузиастов приступил к медицинским экспериментам.

В основу медицинского проекта была положена та же комплексная философская идея, что и в «марсианских» романах. Богданов считал, что путем переливания крови можно не только сделать людей здоровыми, но и создать истинный коммунизм – общество граждан, связанных кровью.

Экстравагантная идея явно восходила к вампирическому мифу, который, по-видимому, был извлечен Богдановым не столько из фольклора, сколько из оккультно-авантюрного романа Б. Стокера «Дракула». Что, впрочем, есть отдельный научный сюжет[215].

В 1923 г. Богданов был арестован ГПУ по обвинению в причастности к антипартийным пролетарским организациям, однако смог убедить следствие (в лице Ф.Э. Дзержинского) в своей невиновности. Богданов, в частности, писал: «Благодаря исследованиям английских и американских врачей, делавших многие тысячи операций переливания крови, стала практически осуществима моя старая мечта об опытах развития жизненной энергии путем «физиологического коллективизма», обмена крови между людьми, укрепляющего каждый организм по линии его слабости. И новые данные подтверждают вероятность такого решения. <...> И этим рисковать, этим жертвовать ради какого-то маленького подполья?»[216].

В итоге был создан Институт переливания крови. «В конце 1925 г., – вспоминал Богданов, – тов. Сталин предложил мне взять на себя организацию Института, причем обещал, что будут предоставлены все возможности для плодотворной работы»[217]. В 1926 г. Институт разместился на Большой Якиманке – в бывшем особняке купца Игумнова (позднее был передан французскому посольству) .

В 1927 г. Богданов, суммируя в специальной монографии многолетние исследования, почти дословно воспроизвел формулировку «Красной звезды»: сопоставление «разного рода жизненных сочетаний привело меня к мысли, что и для высших организмов возможна «конъюгация» не только половая, но и иного рода – «конъюгация» для повышения индивидуальной жизнеспособности, а именно в форме обмена универсальной тканью организмов – их кровью»[218].

Богданов снова прибег к мифологическим «аналогиям», на этот раз серьезно назвав

214 *Богданов А.А.* Борьба за жизнеспособность. М.: Новая Москва, 1927. С.123.

215 *Одесский М.П.* Миф о вампире и русская социал-демократия: Очерки истории одной идеи// Литературное обозрение. 1995. № 3.

216 *Богданов А.А.* Пять недель в ГПУ/ Вст. ст., комментарии М.П. Одесского, Д.М. Фельдмана // De visu. 1993. №7. С.28.

217   *Богданов А.А.* Борьба за жизнеспособность. С.40.

218   Там же. С.122.

среди предшественников «физиологического коллективизма» – Жиля де Ре, который в XV в. заслужил славу чернокнижника и обвинялся в магическом использовании крови.

Богданов мечтал связать узами «кровного родства» все человечество, победив старость и избавившись от вампиризма «жизни». Но коль скоро коллективистский строй в России – из-за ошибок большевиков-ленинцев – не установлен, объективные условия для полной реализации спасительной методики пока отсутствуют: «В нашу эпоху господствует культура индивидуалистическая; ее атмосфера неблагоприятна для нашего метода и точки зрения, лежащей в его основе. Трудовой коллективизм еще только пробивается к жизни. Когда он победит, тогда будут устранены трудности и препятствия, стоящие теперь на пути коллективизма физиологического, тогда наступит его расцвет»[219].

В ожидании коммунистического будущего Богданов ограничился проведением исследовательских работ и решением прикладно-медицинских задач. Среди исцеленных посредством обменного переливания крови был сын экспериментатора; особую категорию пациентов составляли «ветераны партии»: В.А. Базаров, давний товарищ по марксистскому движению; М.И. Ульянова, сестра Ленина, и др.

Богданов не просто включил «физиологический коллективизм» в систему специальных услуг высокопоставленным номенклатурным работникам, а одновременно практиковал, так сказать, научную магию.

Согласно принципам «обменного переливания крови», операция в идеале требует участия старика и юноши, а значит, «партнерами» ветеранов должны быть молодые люди. Ветераны партии передают свою «голубую кровь» подрастающему поколению, преодолевая недолжное настоящее и связывая «кровными узами» молодежь псевдокоммунистического государства Ленина/ Сталина с проверенными борцами за истинный коллективизм. Вместе с тем ветераны партии, получая кровь, «причащаются» массам, что могло придать им сил жить «по-человечески», т.е. «социально-творчески». Иными словами, Богданов надеялся, что «старая гвардия» получит шанс в борьбе с вампиризмом жизни, а может, и с вампиризмом «идеи».

В 1928 г. Богданов умер. Вскоре его идеи были официально объявлены антиленинскими. В 1935 г. один из руководителей Института переливания крови, каясь, писал, что «теория т.н. «физиологического коллективизма» и теория борьбы со старостью являются методологически ошибочными, чуждыми марксизму установками»[220]. Институт сохранился как «корректное» медицинское учреждение (которое ныне носит имя его основателя), а сам проект Богданова – адаптация «вампирического мифа» к условиям научной и социальной революции – был табуирован.

Итак, оккультная топика серебряного века продолжала функционировать в советской культуре. Это происходило как в «откровенном» варианте – для «своих», так и в «прикровенном» – в авантюрной и фантастической литературе. Ее литературное функционирование осложнялось политическими импликациями: и анти-, и прокоммунистическими. Наконец – что логично в условиях глобального мировоззренческого кризиса – оккультная тематика реализовывалась в сциентистских проектах. В частности, «дракулическая» идея магического вампиризма была преобразована

219   Там же. С.154.

220 Переливание крови как научный метод. М.; Л., 1935. С.90.

Богдановым в своего рода эзотерическую доктрину, которая предполагала укоренение общества будущего в «физиологическом коллективизме», где индивиды соединены цепью «кровавых» взаимообменов.

Chapter 2

The Novgorod Occupation Archives: experiences from a catalogue project

(Elisabeth Löfstrand[221])

2. 1   Background

In the beginning of the 17th century Russia experienced one of its most difficult times ever, known as the Time of Troubles. Both Sweden and Poland interfered in the chaotic course of events. The Swedish interference ended up with a six years long occupation of the north-western city of Novgorod and the surrounding areas. However, during the occupation the Russian Novgorodian administration continued to function in its usual way, but under the supervision of the Swedes. The Governor was the Swedish general Jakob De la Gardie, and the Chief Secretary Måns Mårtensson Palm. At the same time, each Russian chancellery was conducted by a Russian secretary, a mighty *djak.* Under their guidance several hundreds of so called under-secretaries and ordinary scribes were working.

In 1617 the treaty of Stolbova was concluded, which made Sweden the leading power at the Baltic for the rest of the century. When the Swedish army evacuated Novgorod, the city archives, consisting of about 30 000 pages, were packed up in a red trunk and were brought to De la Gardie's estates in Estonia. For about a decade the archives were useful to the Swedes, before the borderline was finally settled in all its parts. In the end of the 17th century the whole collection of documents was taken to Stockholm and ended up in the State Archives at the Royal Palace.

It is, furthermore, worth noting that if the archives had remained in Novgorod, they probably would not have been preserved. Normally, account books of all kinds were sent to the central archives in Moscow. These archives were ravaged by fires in the 17th century, and enormous quantities of documents were destroyed. As a matter of fact, the Novgorod Occupation

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221 Elisabeth Löfstrand, associate professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Stockholm University.

archives in Stockholm are the greatest collection of this kind that has survived to our days.

In Stockholm the documents sank into a long period of oblivion. It took until 1837 before the archives were rediscovered by a Russian professor at Helsinki University, Sergej Solovjov, who was travelling around Scandinavia in search for old documents related to Russia. Thus, Solovjov was the first person to draw attention to the Occupation Archives.

In the end of the 19th century the first attempts to catalogue the archives were made by Konstantin Jakubov, a Russian scholar living in Finland. He made an initial, incomplete listing of the archives. The documents he omitted were catalogued at the beginning of the 20th century by Samuel Clason and K. Poliektov. Clason's catalogue was, nevertheless, regarded by scholars as too general and superficial.

From 1951 to 1964, the Russian refugee Sergej Dmitrievsky devoted himself to cataloguing and translating some extensive documents of the Occupation Archives. The result was a two-volume typewritten catalogue in Swedish, the most comprehensive one produced up to that point, supplemented by an extensive biographical commentary in one volume.[222] Dmitrievsky's catalogue was in many aspects incomplete. However, it made it possible for scholars to use the Occupation Archives for research, and a number of articles and two doctoral thesises appeared; significantly, most of them were written by Swedish slavists. During the Soviet period very few Russian scholars were allowed to go abroad for studies.

The fall of the Soviet Union was the starting point of a new era of the Novgorod Occupation Archives. At an international symposium in Novgorod in 1993, the question was raised on how the Occupation Archives might be made more accessible to scholars. Two years later, the project *Novgorodiana Stockholmiensia* was launched, involving the National Archives of Sweden, the Slavic languages departments of Stockholm, Uppsala and Lund Universities, and the Russian Academy of Sciences. The aim was to compile a complete scholarly catalogue of the Occupation Archives. The first volume was published in 2005, and the second and final volume appeared in 2009.[223]

The main contributors to the catalogue have been the slavists Elisabeth Löfstrand from Stockholm University and Laila Nordquist from Uppsala University, but also the Russian historians Anatolij Turilov and Adrian Selin have contributed to the two volumes.

2. 2   An overview of the Occupations archives

The Occupation archives mirror the administration of the city of Novgorod as well as the Novgorod area during the Swedish occupation 1611-1617, and they give a wide picture of the Russian economical and social life during the Time of Troubles. The archives are divided into two series: 143 books make up Series I, and 375 rolls make up Series II. The books are mainly

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222 Dmitrievsky, S. *Ockupationsarkivet från Novgorod 1611–1617, I, II. Personregister III.* [Typewritten], Swedish National Archives, Stockholm 1955–61.

223 Löfstrand, E., Nordquist, L. *Accounts of an occupied city. Catalogue of the Novgorod Occupation Archives. Series I* (Stockholm, 2005) .

Löfstrand, E., Nordquist, L. *Accounts of an occupied city. Catalogue of the Novgorod Occupation Archives. Series II* (Stockholm, 2009) .

fair copies, due to be sent to the central archives in Moscow. The contents of the rolls are far more heterogeneous, which can be seen by the size of the second volume of the catalogue, which consists of 606 pages, to be compared with the 298 pages of the first volume. It is worth noting that the first volume describes about 25 000 pages, and the second only about 7 000 sheets.[224]

The main contents of Series I are

- account books from state institutions such as the taverns, the sauna, the law court;
- provision books;
- inspection (taxation) books;
- land grant books;
- contracts of different kinds, e. g. real estate deeds.

As mentioned before, the contents of Series II are more heterogeneous:

- grants of land: petitions, cadastre extracts, decisions, instructions;
- requisition of provisions, money and workers;
- correspondence between the governor's chancellery in Novgorod and officials working in the surrounding areas outside the city;
- petitions from individuals on various matters;
- accounts in draft;
- personal guarantees;
- contracts in draft.

2. 3   Work procedure

All the documents are written in a cursive script called *skoropis',* which can be translated as "rapid writing". It contains numerous abbreviations and superscript characters. If the scribe was unschooled, it can be very difficult to read. Thus, the first task the contributors encountered, was to master this type of handwriting. In addition, another task to solve was how to find the optimal model of description of every item in the archives. A reference group was set up, within which this problem was discussed. The following catalogue headings were chosen:

Type of text
For instance: account book, inspection book, petition, instruction.
20 types were distinguished for Series I and 17 types for Series II. The generally accepted

224 At the National Archives the documents making up Series I have been given page numbers, in accordance with Swedish archiving principles, whereas those of Series II are foliated, with a number plus *v* on the verso where this side also carries text

Russian terms were used. They were either kept or translated into English, if they had a clear equivalent.

Pages (Series I)

The number of pages in one single book differ from 4 to 1541 pages.

Sheets (Series II)

The number of sheets in one single roll differ from 1 to 573 pages.

Year (s)

The year (s) mentioned in the item.

Area

Under this heading the most important toponyms, mentioned in the document, were listed.

Summary

The initial intention with the summaries was to give a brief and comprehensible description of the contents of each item. However, this part of the process turned out to be the most complicated. First of all, which information must absolutely be included? After consulting the reference group, it was decided that every representative of the state bureaucracy must be mentioned, as, of course, the "chief characters" of each item. Secondly, to which extent should Russian terms be used? We decided that many Russian words and terms were better kept in Russian and were defined in a glossary.

As the work went on, the summaries tended to be more extensive than was intended from the beginning. For instance, it often turned out that many details had to be included in the description in order to create a coherent text.

Notes

Under this heading you find additional information from other sources than the Occupation archives.

Extracts

In volume 1 of the catalogue every item is supplied with a short text, taken from the document. The texts are chosen more or less randomly, however, they are all represent this special type of document. A new font was created, which would reflect the original spelling in the closest way, still being legible. In volume 2 there are no text extracts, due to lack of space. To compensate for this, a special chapter was included with complete text samples from three representative types of documents.

2. 4   Indexes

The catalogue is supplied with different kinds of indexes, such as content headings, geographical names, personal names, subjects, functions and occupations. It is a difficult task to create indexes, and in the working process you meet many unforeseen problems. Confining to

the index of geographical names, this can be illustrated by a few examples. There are several *pogosts* (parishes) with the same name, located in different parts of the Novgorod area. For instance, there are five *Michajlovskoj pogosts.* There is no need to say that mistakes are easily made at this stage, especially if the original document is very short. In addition, the *pogosts* often have double-barrelled names: usually one geographical, e.g. named after a river and one connected with the church of the parish, for example Rozhdestvenskoj-Megerskoj pogost. Such a pogost may occur under two different names: Rozhdestvenskoj pogost and Megerskoj pogost. A single name can also occur in different spellings, for instance Pirozhskoj pogost wich has the variants Pirovskoj, Piroskoj, Piromskoj pogost.

2. 5   Publications on the web

The two volumes of the catalogue of the Novgorod Occupation Archives can be found on the web, as well as the archive documents in original.

The catalogue can be accessed on the website of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Stockholm University: http://www.slav.su.se/pub/jsp/polopoly. jsp?d=12712&a=60571

The original documents can be accessed on the Swedish Archive Information website: http://www.svar.ra.se

Chapter 3

Socio-cultural space as a determinant of the mass-media axio-sphere (on the material of the Ukrainian mass-media)

(Tetyana Kuznyetsova[225])

It is well known, that the phenomena that happen in various areas of public life are always reflected in mass-media texts. Political conflicts, economic, cultural and valuable crisis, natural disasters are broadly enlightened by journalists. All these messages cause feeling of danger, fatigue syndrome, aggression, uncertainty, discontent with life, frustration and pessimism. Mass-media messages are turned into set of negative news. They have overwhelmed the television, radio, Internet, the press of many post-soviet countries. Thus, the rate of negative news reaches 50-80% at news blocks of Ukrainian TV and radio, newspaper columns. A modern viewer watch scenes of aggression at the television screen every 16 minutes averagely. The frequency of the negative news is even higher from 19.00 to 23.00 (prime-time). It is the time when the television gathers the largest audience and people watch aggressive pictures every 12 minutes.

In January, 2010 we made a content-analysis of the Ukrainian TV channels. According to it, the Ukrainian TV-space is overwhelmed with programs and news that contain negative evaluative dominant. In particular, we analyzed 300 programs at most popular TV channels: UT-1, Inter, Novy Kanal, «1+1», TRK «Ukraine», STB, ICTV, TET, Tonis, NTN (each channel was viewed twice per day for one week in November 2009). We revealed that part of negative informational in the programs came up to 62.4%, and the part of positive information is only 37,6 % (see Table 1). The most frequent broadcasting antivalues are consumerism, aggression, crime, death, stealing, disease, natural disasters. Typically, they occur in blocks of news, feature films,

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TV series and cartoons. The positive information usually refers to cultural values (culture, science and national traditions), promotion of healthy lifestyle (sport, health), aspiration for knowledge (education, intellect) .

Positive dominants	Number of fragments	Negative dominants	Number of fragments
Motherland	1	Aggression	13
Welfare	2	War	6
Good	4	Selfishness	1
Friendship	3	Greed	2
Spirituality	3	Envy	2
Health	3	Crime	10
Beauty	3	Betrayal	2
Culture	12	Disaster	5
Love	4	Economic crisis	6
Science	5	Lie	6
National traditions	5	Violence	6
Education	3	Natural disasters	8
Respect	1	Divorce	1
Industriousness	3	Altercation	6
Nature	5	Death	8
Family	2	Consumerism	23
Intellect	5	Murder	7
Sport	8	Diseases	8
Generosity	3	Depredation	8
Total	**77 (37, 6%)**	**Total**	**128 (62,4%)**

Table 1.   Valuable dominants at the Ukrainian television

The press shows the same rage of negative dominants. It recently turned into the so-called "press of disasters", because it contains many negative and sensational information. A review of nationwide newspapers rubrics reveals that the information space is overwhelmed with aggressive information.

Thus, making an analysis of a newspaper "Young Ukraine" for year 2007, we found that five rubrics from nine are always negative, namely: "Politics", "Crime", "Economy", "Health ", "I write to you …." For example, the rubrics "Politics" (September, 2007) presents materials related to bribery, negligence, destructiveness, lying Ukrainian authority. Compare: *Crowd scene for Moroz (YU. - 2007. - № 164.- 1 September), Lie in a socialists way (how the Party of Moroz fools people) (YU. - 2007. - № 171. - 20 September), Pink sunglasses from the Cabinet of Ministers (YU. - 2007. - № 159. - 4 September), Lie and chat (YU. - 2007. - № 168. - 15 September), About "matryoshka" from Moroz which destabilizes the authorities (YU. - 2007. - № 171. - September 20), Donetsk Mafia: "glitches" at the start (YU. - 2007. - № 174. – 25 September) .*

The "Economics" contains materials about energy problems, inflation, business crime: *After the election - gas war (YU. - 2007. - № 161. - 6 September), And these prison beds - for men in*

black (YU. - 2007. - № 164.- 11 September) .

The rubric «Health» typically contains materials related to epidemics, disease, and death: *Hot dog with "cancer" (YU. - 2007. - № 166. - September 13), Drink a glass, fall under bench (YU. -2007. - № 091. - 24 September) .*

Letters from readers, given under the heading "I write to you ...", usually relate to social and economic problems: *No to the Council, which sits on the neck of the people (YU. - 2007. - № 053. - September 20), How and which social "holes" should be stopped? (YU. - 2007. - № 166. - September 13) .*

Rubrics "Inforum", "Political information", "Ukraine and World", "Regions" include various valuable information that is mostly negative. That is revealed in the names of subrubrics. Thus, "Inforum" contained the following subrubrics: "Epidemic", "Suicide", "Fire!", "Tragedy", "Blast", "Accident", "Impudence", "Problem", "Life," "Protest", "Failure", "Till Blood", "Scandal", "Steal!", "Court and case", "Catastrophe", "Fraud", "Protest Note". Under "Political information" often appears the subrubric "Parade of marasmus"; the "World" includes subrubric "Hot areas", "War", "Terrorism", " Conflict", "Danger", "Losses", "Horror!"; the "Regions" - "Disaster zone", "Emergency", "Atrocity".

The sector of positive infosphere appears to be much smaller than negative one. And materials related to positive moments of life (culture, education, sport) are often negatively colored. Thus, the rubric "Culture" contains the subrubric "There is a problem", that presents information about reasons of the decline of the domestic arts.

The "Education" usually prints materials about higher prices for educational services, problems between teachers and students, low quality of education, etc. (see more details in Monograph, Part III) .

Mass-media include publications that negatively interpret positive facts. For example, the article with a title, which has hints of contempt, tells about the Ukrainian tennis player, who went to the 1/8 final of the Open Championship of USA for the first time.

The contemporary press is characterized with unreasoned negative value dominants. They are often found in texts as verbal formulas that discredit good realities: *Shevchenko is "overboard" (YU. - 2007. - №. 43. - September 19); "Extra" children (YU. - 2003. - № 232.- 30 December), "Inconvenient" children (YU. - 2008. - № 189. - 21 October) .*

The didactical task of unreasoned negativism is obviously to make a reader get used to ironic and cynic view at life. It works on the principle «there are no saint people». It is a kind of manipulation that propagates a habit of aggressive speaking behavior in society. Such representation of the world picture may form a radical change in audience perception, distorted picture of the system of values to prevail in society.

Electronic networks, even so-called positive portals, are negatively saturated. For instatnt: (ukr.) «Time for positive!», (ukr.) «Portal of positive policy», (rus.) «Positive day», «Antistress», «Positive Portal», «Positive stuff», «Pages of positive». Their main rubrics often contain offensive information. Thus, the rubrics «Pictures», «Photo» are filled with pornographic images. The «News» presents specific boom-massages as «Man with burning ass,» «Almost porno...» and so on. We also distinguished some adds among the announcements of concerts and entertainments, that trigger negative emotions and feelings. For example, the announcement of a concert of a rock band (see below) was saturated with aggressive language units (rus.): mad show, garage-retro basement rockers, insane racing, rock hell presentation. These lexical unites ex-

press the notion of «madness», «insane», «hell» and make basis of the text, which must have been neutral or positive. Maybe, such concepts are positive for some modern young people. In particular, the organizers ironically call this event «happiness»: «Price for happiness: 150 rubles (200 rubles per concert day) «. However, active replication of such information makes the recipient get used to the aggressive communication, resulting in distortion of perception of ideas HAPPINESS - UNHAPPINESS, BEAUTIFUL - UGLY, GOOD - EVIL.

Positive developments of axiological vectors in media are clearly traced only in recent years. Glut of negative information in infospace generates urgent need for positive that is felt today not only by information consumers, but also by mass-media workers. On April 14, 2009, a round-table was held at the press-center Ukrinform. The theme of the discussion was «Mass-media, economy and society in a trap of negativism». The discussion touched problems of social responsibility of media and the impact of negative media messages on society. The participants concluded that the state should intervene the work of the media in order to harmonize spreading information, mass-media workers should be more responsible for submitted materials and do not ignore good news.

The problem is actively discussed also in foreign journalism. Chairman of the Federal Organization of German Union Z.Vaischenberg indicates a certain paradox of «bad news»: in ancient times, those who brought bad tidings were executed. Today, at the era of continuous commercialized media, there is rather the opposite picture ... Accidents, tragedies and disasters get much more attention in the media than positive news.

On the pages of the printed media the journalists stress on the necessity to fill the infospace with positive information. In particular, Mr. Tarnarutskyy, coordinator of the Association of good news that was created in 2009 noted that «we can not avoid bad news in our lives. Nevertheless, if we only focus on them and refuse to see the positive messages, we sin against journalistic objectivity» (YU. - 2009. - № 63. - 7 April). Mr. Nyankin, a correspondent of the Sumy paper «Panorama» notes in his article «Human happiness»: *"People stopped visualizing positive image of the future ... We, small people, can not overcome the crisis using economic methods of the All-Ukrainian scale. Our chance is to demolish this wall of negativism piece by piece and to build a monument of positive emotions. Happy emotions of small people"* (Panorama. - 2009. - № 11 (535). - 11-18 March) .

This monument of positive emotions is being gradually built in the modern information environment.

Thus, there was started a morning program at "Inter" on September 2008. Its main task, according to its presenter Mr. Pannoty, is to "charge viewers with positive, good mood and assure them that today will be better than yesterday» [htpp://www.inter.ua/ua/media]. On March 2009 there was broadcasting the television series "Territory of positive" on the channel "1+1". The series emphasized the value of good, happiness, faith. According to the author of this project, correspondent Mr. Dyachuk, its main goal was to help dreams come true. On April 2008, channel "1+1" has launched a social project under the general motto "Happiness is next to you": a series of news stories about ordinary Ukrainians, who could change their lives, a series of special views on the interpretation of the term "happiness" and Internet-competition of positive pictures. By the way, the respondents were actively involved in this contest: during two weeks there were sent 25 000 positive images. In 2009 ICTV channel started broadcasting "Good News", stating charity, honesty, humanity. Challenging cognitive information can

be found today not only in the Western Channel "Discovery", "National Geographic", "Via set History", but also Ukrainian ones: STB is broadcasting a weekly program "Around the World", "Tonis" - "Hit-Parade of wild life", ICTV - "About-intresting.ua". Positive messages are viewed in the projects "I love Ukraine", "Dance for you", "Ukraine has a talent", "People's talent" and so on. They should be amplified with children's educational television, which promotes intellectual development and socialization of children, advances imagination, deepens knowledge, forms problem-solving skills. The First National Channel started broadcasting a new children's program "Antivirus for Children" on November 2, 2008. According to its authors, it was "based on deep moral values", "offers good and safe decisions for solving children's mental problems, promoting the development of positive psychological stereotypes", "provides the basis for formation of the modern child's true life goals" [htpp://www.kreschatic.kiev.ua]. In 2009, there appeared an educational and entertainment programm at Discovery channel "While parents are still asleep". Together with the First National, TRK "Ukraine" started its own production for children. In particular, it successfully combined entertainment and educational features in the program "The silver orange".

There were traced certain positive rubrics in some press editions. "The Young Ukraine" had a page "A good deed" that related to charity for a few years. "Personnel Plus" has the rubric "Charity"; "Education" - "Sincere Letters", "Education of Ukraine" - "A good word about a good deed". Positivity is a distinguished feature of all printed materials on historical and cultural heritage, historical figures, famous people, and science.

Another project - "Seven Natural Wonders of Ukraine" - started in 2008. It described cultural heritage of our country. The attention of printed media texts was focused on the unique natural landscapes, natural wonders of Ukraine.

Positive materials on historical issues, stories of the eminent and ancient architectural monuments of Ukraine dominated there, namely: *Lomonosov from Mogilyanka (YU. - 2008. - № 162.- 2 September), Saga about Kachaly (MW. - 2008. - № 2 (681). - 19-26 January), Poltava hetman (YU. - 2008. - № 004.- 6 January)* .

There are distinguished positive media-texts about art exhibitions, presentations, cultural festivals, etc.: *See the touch (YU. - 2008. - № 092. - May 21), "Theatre - King of Art" (YU. - 2008. - № 194. - 16 October), "Heroes Return" (YU. - 2008. - № 29.- 13 February)* .

Positive materials also relates to new technologies, research projects, discoveries and achievements, both domestic and foreign scientists.

However, materials that describe the achievements of science often are accompanied with negative narration of the author. For example, article of A. Rozhen "The God's plan will be tested at CENTER " (MW. - 2008. - № 5 (684) .- 9-16 February) provides description and analysis of a new research project - starting of the collider. After a positive presentation on the prospects of development of modern science and essential support of the Governments of European countries, the author notes: *"This all is so much different from the situation in Ukraine. By the way, it is felt even in the CENTER far from Kyiv. A tiny office with the inscription "Kharkiv-Kyiv" with two old computers inside (they were given to a poor Ukrainian group by colleagues who throwed the electronic junk) adjoins to many well-equipped offices, representing research institutes in Shanghai, Beijing, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore ...";* "Ukraine is the only European country which has remained outside the experiment!". And here is the reader's feedback toward that: *"Rozhen (the author) can not help pouring another bucket of mud on the NASU. Shame!".*

The information about contemporary artists, scientists and athletes usually appears in the positive context.

It should be noted that there is recently appears more positive materials about ordinary people who help others to overcome life's difficulties.

These materials evoke positive emotions in readers, and their characters become role models. One response to such material stated: *"The modern press lacks positive, thanks to the author, it describes the simple positive people who are worthy of life, who help other people to see their example" (Lesya)* .

Positive information started to appear in electronic networks. In early 2009, there appeared a Ukrainian information portal "Good News". Authors of this project set a goal to provide qualitive and useful materials about the most positive, exciting events in society. The main rubrics of the portal - "Economy", "Politics", "Society", "Events", "Science", "Culture" –highlighted the achievements and successes in various spheres of life, scientific facts, art and culture. For example, on June 2009 there were placed information about solving problems with non-visa regime between Ukraine and Belarus under the rubrics "Politics". The "Society" published a material on student's self-development, opening rehabilitation centers, etc. The rubric "Culture" contains interesting information on top Ukrainian unusual museums: *The most Water Museum, The most money Museum, The most toys Museum, The most sexappeal Museum, The most Bulhakov Museum, The most drink Museum, The most medical museum, The most people's museum, The most pysanka Museum, The most military museum.* The words "crisis" and "negative", which became key words in many other publications, were not found on this website at all. Nevertheless, the information did not contain any excessiveness and positivism, inherent for Soviet mass-media.

The "Portal of the Ukrainian humanists" is extremely positive as well. There you can find positive messages about public life, politics, and culture. The main messages tell about help, success, charitable, campaigns. For example: *Germany is ready to assist Ukraine in addressing environmental problems; Number of AIDS Cases Impoverished families will get free legal aid; How to give children a fairy tale.*

Bright positivism became recently notable at entertainment portals: "Youth portal of positive mood", "Positive world", "Photo project "Positive +", whose purpose is to form an upbeat look at life and the world.

So-called magazines of positive thinking can be found in electronic networks. For example, since 2004 there was published the magazine "The Seventh race", that, according to the editorial board, "wants to be a beacon in the information ocean". The pages of this issue offer specific information on psychology, philosophy, esoteric, which helps some people to tune in to a positive outlook. Lots of the Internet sites are devoted to the active goodness: *"Hurry up to do goodl", "good without borders".*

Apparently, the Ukrainian media space is started to be filled up gradually with positive information. However, this segment is still a small part of the infosphere: it is inherent for the infosphere to keep the information asymmetry of positive and negative information, displacement of axiological vectors toward the negativism.

This situation is caused not only by destructive tendencies in the political, economic, social values and society. Significant role is played by cultural and philosophical concept of the modern era - aesthetics of postmodernism, which embraced all spheres of human activity.

Postmodernism is essentially a denial of any manifestations of totalitarianism. It promotes the release of "ideal-idols", which in any way hinder self-identity, running out from all forms of monism, unification and totalitarization. It does not suggest a single mandatory and hidden utopia of despotism. Instead of that it moves to the proclamation and plurality, diversity and competition paradigms, coexistence of heterogeneous elements. Postmodernists abandon the search for objective truth. They challenged the hierarchical organization of the world. Things that seemed standard and stereotyped were unacceptable for them. Postmodernism in any way is trying to get rid of traditional values, social norms and customary habits. It opposes the standardization of all styles and cultures. Its positive trends revealed in looking for liberation from archaic, which prevented the progressive development of society, and from the stark traditional environment.

On the other hand, the postmodernism expression justifies manipulation strategies, restrictions and violence. The cultural situation of post-modern pluralism removes any cultural limits and is defined as the spiritual terrain. Now it is obvious that low mass culture is actively promoted. It is characterized with commercial success, the cult of hedonism and consumption; facilitate all aspects of life, lack of taste, sometimes lack of form and content. Postmodern aesthetics is characterized with constant balancing between the trivial and unique, aggressive and sentimental, vulgar and refined. Today any boundaries between "high" and "low" culture, between the so-called highbrow and lowbrow are erasing. A new mass culture is formed.

This phenomenon of mass-culture cannot be promptly estimated. Most researchers consider it to be a negative phenomenon, because it is a mean of manipulation with public consciousness, social exclusion mechanism. H. Marcuse studied this feature of mass-culture in his "One-dimensional man" (1964) in detail. The scientist comes to the idea that the modern Western culture is repressive and creates one-dimensional (consumer) trends in the general population. The Spanish explorer H.Ortega-i-Gasset noted that mass culture is a framed limited consciousness, vainly, scalps, ignorant masses, which claimed the society's mission to impose their low cultural standards, low level of their spiritual life. Philosophers-postmodernists, such as R. Barts, G. Deleuze, F. Hvattari, J. Bodriyar, J. Derryda, U. Eco, were concerned about the expansion of visual forms and genres, which overwhelmed "literary" culture in order to create "controlled supply". According to the authors of the Doctrine of Living Ethics (the Reryhivs), mass culture is a pseudo-culture, which, unlike the present high culture, does not promote humanisticly oriented social progress and spiritual development of a man. The phenomenon of mass culture is critically treated by the soviet scientists. V. Hlazychev, J. Davidov, V.Shestakov spoke about mass culture as a phenomenon caused by the crisis of the capitalist system. Its main features were considered to be hedonism and consumerism (the detailed analysis of mass culture as a phenomenon of industrial society, see, for example: [1; 2; 4; 6; 7; 8]) .

Optimistic views on compliance of mass-culture are revealed in works of D. Bell, J. Helbreyt, H. Bloomer, A. Turen. They claimed that this phenomenon plays a positive role in society because it gives the opportunity to supply the mass audience with works of traditional culture, creates a semiotic space which brings together members of high society, reflects the growth in living standards.

To our opinion, mass culture is an ambiguous phenomenon that may have huge influence. Modern culture scholars singled out three conventional levels of mass culture: kitsch-culture, mid-culture and art culture. All the levels are characterized by various degrees. The kitsch-cul-

ture is low, sometimes even vulgar. It simplifies representation of typical problems, relays on stereotypical images. The mid-culture stands a little higher. It combines some features of high and popular culture. Art culture is the highest level of mass culture, designed for educated audience. That means that mass culture may have some inherent features of high culture and denies some views about the unique primitivism. Another thing is that the kitsch-culture dominates in industrialized countries. This culture departs from the most basic values, which creates a negative impact on the axiological orientation of society. The value system and settings of the audience are changed due to influence of entertainment.

Today the media used to attract public attention mostly by bright "fashionable" materials about the show business. Numerous publications on "cultural hangouts" "artists" often shock not only readers, but also the authors of these materials.

Covering so-called "cultural affairs", reporters often pay attention to the tabloids details of the life of modern pop-stars and show-men using the appropriate style of presentation of information.

Today it is acknowledged that the core principle of mass-media communication is a golden rule of economy: demand creates supply. However, it is known that offer may significantly affect demand as well. Broadcasting of interesting cognitive information and the best examples of cultural and scientific achievements can make better a viewers' taste, even for the generation that was "fed" with tabloid culture for a long time. It seems that there already exists a need in carrying out ideological and semantic transformation of mass culture by filling it with socially relevant subjects, value ideas.

The specific of modern information environment is greatly determined by global processes that affect all spheres of human activity. Globalization as an ambiguous phenomenon that has both positive (e.g., dialogue of cultures) and negative (clash of civilizations) effects, generated opposite movements of value trends in the communication space.

On the one hand, the global change increases the amount of information flow. And that enables today's recipient to receive the greatest number of different information, to join the best achievements of the world culture, technology, science. And therefore it increases people's awareness of various issues. According to J. Stiglitz, who received the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2001, *"Globalization has reduced the sense of isolation ... and opened access to knowledge much more than the richest people had a century ago in any country"* [3]. The information revolution showed the following facts: during the last three decades people have produced more information than in the past five thousand years; the information increases in two times every four to five years; only one weekly newspaper "The New York Times" contains more information than an average resident of England could learn for the whole his life in the XVII century. It seems that more than four thousand books are published every day in the world. The 18-year teenagers from the United Kingdom have already viewed about 140 thousand TV commercials. An average Swedish citizen "consumes" not less than three thousand commercial messages per day. Each year there appear about 100 thousand magazines (60 languages), 5 million books and scientific papers, 250 thousand theses and reports. The World Book Foundation has 1.5 billion titles. Number of publications in the world raises in two every 10-15 years, the number of telephone channels raises in two every 11 years. And what is the most important: the number of automated databases has increased in 10 times for 10 years [5, p. 174].

On the other hand, globalization, unfortunately, leads to the unification of national cultures

based on the Western mass culture, destroying forms of national identity. Instead of being a mean of enriching the cultures in the process of dialogue, it gradually turns into a form of depersonalization of many cultures, destroys some of the national cultural traditions, imposes values of the Western world, recognized as the cultural core of globalization.

Dominated principles of the globalized world are the principles of the American consumerism, individualism, success, that is vividly revealed in the mass media. These are the Western brands that occupied leading positions not only in economic, but in social and political space. Their creators managed to implement in mass consciousness borrowed myths associated with the relevant consumer stereotypes. There are a lot of currently popular stories about the rich opportunities through their own perseverance, despite the moral and ethical values and virtues.

The "local" mass culture is formed due to the influence of foreign actively imitated media-production (TV series, music videos, adds). It incorporates features that were introduced from "alien cultures". For example, the Ukrainian TV serials, advertising, shows, TV-games were made according to samples of the American and European media-production. This leads to the appearing new global mass culture, which combines the various meanings, ideas and values that not only affect the way of human life, but also generate a crisis of cultural identity value.

Thus, the Ukrainian information space is unbalanced in terms of its saturation with evaluative information. Today we can speak of axiological information asymmetry in the ratio of positive and negative information. The most mass-media products promote negative norms and standards of behavior. The political, economic and cultural crisis, processes of globalization of the postmodern era made information aggressive, angry, and absolute.

The Ukrainian infosphere is saturating with positive information recently. These are the first positive messages from the sphere of so-called "human interest": human relationships, entertainment, culture, science, sport. For now these ideas fill a small part of the information space, but a gradual increase of the positive trends is already noticeable. And that may lead to axiological balance in mass-media in some time.

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Chapter 4

Two languages in contact: evidence from Russian – Swedish bilingual acquisition

(Natasha Ringblom[226])

4. 1   Introduction

4. 1. 1   Background

Young children usually acquire two languages directly and without confusion (De Houwer, 2009, Meisel, 2004; Grosjean, 2010). Yet it is recognized that acquiring two language systems requires more time and therefore delays speech (McCarthy, 1954; Goldstein, 2004). Medical researchers still postulate that bilingual home may cause a temporary delay in the onset of both languages, even though the child usually becomes proficient before the age of five years (Leung and Pion Kao, 1999) .

Yet, the argument that bilingualism slows the child's linguistic or cognitive development does not get much support in modern linguistics (Lightbown and Spada, 1993). Romaine demonstrates a lack of evidence for this argument (Romaine, 1998) .

It is nonetheless obvious that even the most proficient bilingual children are not immune to the influence of one language on the other. One language is usually weaker and contains a number of peculiarities not common among monolingual speakers. Code-switching, borrowing and language mix are the unavoidable consequences of bilingual development and occur as a result of the child's familiarity with more than one language. Sharwood-Smith & Kellerman (1986) adopt the term ''cross-linguistic influence'' when taking into account cases where one language influences another.

226 Natasha Ringblom was born and raised in Russia where she obtained her BA in English and German. She moved to Sweden where she obtained her Master degrees in International Education and in Slavic Languages at the University of Stockholm. She has also received her Teacher Degree and worked as a teacher at all levels: both in secondary school, upper secondary school, in adult education teaching Swedish as a second language and teaching Russian and English at the University of Stockholm.

Elsewhere (Ringblom, 1998) I observed nine Russian-Swedish bilingual children and found their Swedish often as good as that of their monolingual Swedish counterparts, but that their knowledge of Russian differed considerably from that of monolingual Russian children. It was neither as idiomatic nor as grammatical as that of a typical Russian child at that age. Because of limited contact with each child, the study mentioned only a small number of language contact phenomena.

Unfortunately, the literature seldom describes the subjects' linguistic history, input and exposure patterns (De Houwer, 1990; 2009), and many researchers have noted the need for more case studies describing families with distinct backgrounds (Lion, 1966, Zimmerman, 1999). I believe that observing just a few children in detail will allow me to find as many deviations from Standard Russian as possible and illustrate a broader range of cross-linguistic influences. The second step may be testing the universality of these mistakes with a specially designed questionnaire for parents. If the mistakes resulting from cross-linguistic influence are typical for other bilingual children as well, it may be necessary to create an appropriate methodology for their correction.

Describing language pairs among various children is also an important basis for making generalizations and cross-language comparisons. Russian and Swedish exemplify a language pair new in the field of case studies. This combination is interesting because of the different nature of the languages, and it is hoped that this study will contribute to an understanding of child bilingualism.

4. 1. 2   *The purpose of the study*

This investigation describes the Russian output of two bilingual siblings - Susie, 4 years old, and Victoria, 8 years old, born and raised in Sweden, at a specific period of time (Susie 3.6 - 4.5 years old; Victoria 7.8 - 8.7 years old) .

The study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How do bilingual children cope with two different linguistic realities in their surroundings and what strategies do they use to solve everyday communication problems?

2. Are there any deviations in their Russian characteristic of non-native speakers?

3. Is their Swedish different from that of monolingual Swedish counterparts?

I intend to describe all major deviations that mark their Russian as that of non-native speakers. The linguistic history of the informants will be presented as an important precondition for the language outcome of the siblings, with special emphasis given to the parental strategy. It is hoped that the present study will provide some understanding about one of the variants of Russian used by Russian-Swedish bilingual children in Sweden. The study is heuristic (hypothesis-generating) since it does not start with a certain hypothesis in mind.

4. 2   Previous research

4. 2. 1   *Simultaneous versus successive language acquisition*

Studies on child bilingualism usually deal with children who either learn two languages from birth (simultaneous language acquisition) or acquire them successively. Simultaneous language acquisition can also be referred to as "bilingualism as a first language" (Swain, 1972). Even though some researchers (McLaughlin, 1978) believe that acquisition of more than one language before the age of three should be considered simultaneous, not everybody shares this view. Romaine (1988) considers that this instead belongs to the field of second language acquisition. Lindholm and Padilla (1978) argue that we should speak of simultaneous acquisition only when a child has been exposed to two languages from birth onwards. Their view will be adopted in this paper.

4. 2. 2   *Studies carried out by linguists investigating other people's children*

Studies on childhood bilingualism may be divided into two broader categories:

1. studies carried out by linguists who investigated *other people's* children

2. studies carried out by parents who investigated *their own* children

As early as 1935, Smith (1935) used the mother's diary to study eight English-Chinese bilingual children and found that it was important for the bilinguals to receive their languages from separate sources to minimize confusion. Swain and Wesche (1975) investigated the speech of a French-English bilingual child and found that mixing was the most frequently observed phenomenon. This largely involved isolated words from one language inserted into the other language.

Lindholm and Padilla (1978) investigated 18 bilingual children in the US ranging in age from 2 years to 6 years and 4 months to determine whether they were able to differentiate between their two language systems. The interactions were categorized as mixes, switches or translations. They observed that lexical mixing was the most frequently noted consequence of cross-linguistic influence between English and Spanish, with the majority of mixes occurring as English words inserted into the Spanish environment. The most common inserted element was a noun. However, the overall mixed utterance level was very low – less than 2%. The participants were the main factor in determining the language a child would use. Redlinger and Park (1980) studied the language mixing of four bilinguals living in Germany and also concluded that nouns were the most frequently substituted words. However, as the present investigation is based on my own children, I find it more important to describe other studies done by parents in more details.

4. 2. 3   *Previous studies on child bilingualism done by parents*

Many parents have investigated their own children and described different language pairs, having followed the example of Ronjat (1913), who observed the linguistic development of his own son Louis in one of the earliest bilingual studies. Ronjat consistently used the one

person-one language strategy (see 2.4) and spoke only French to Louis while Louis' mother spoke German. His child could distinguish between the two languages before the age of two. However, he mastered the phonemes of both languages at 3.5, which was a bit later than monolingual children. Louis became a balanced bilingual with just a few signs of interference between the languages, and at the age of 15, still maintained equal fluency in both languages.

Another early study was done by Leopold (1939-49). He kept notes on his daughter Hildegard, who grew up mostly in the US and heard German from her father and English from her mother. Hildegard was not able to separate the two languages in her vocabulary by the time she was two years old, nor associate the languages with specific persons, even though her parents were consistent in speaking different languages to her. In her third year, however, Hildegard treated the two languages as separate linguistic systems and could translate between them. Nonetheless, English became her dominant language.

A more recent study on childhood bilingualism was done by Taeschner (1983) with German and Italian. The mother spoke the minority language and, in order to encourage her daughters to respond in German, she consistently applied the so-called "*wie? strategy*" pretending not to understand Italian. The girls started using equivalent vocabulary items at around 13 months. Taeschner emphasized the importance of the acquisition of synonyms by bilingual children because children usually learn their different equivalents in different contexts; they have two pragmatic-semantic fields and have to generalize across them. When children are capable of doing this, they understand that the names for things are arbitrary.

Saunders (1983) raised his three children Frank, Thomas and Katarina bilingually by consistently speaking German to them even though it was not his own language. They lived in Australia and the mother spoke English to them. The children used English when playing with each other. Frank always addressed his father in German while Thomas did not speak German at the kindergarten. However, Thomas' discomfort with German disappeared when he began school and met other bilingual children.

Fantini (1985) described the language development of his English-Spanish bilingual son Mario in the United States. The mother's native language was Spanish and that was the language spoken in the family. Fantini describes Mario as a coordinate bilingual as he acquired each language from separate speakers. However, his earliest English words were said with a Spanish accent, and his mixing at the lexical and morphological level went on until he was 2.8. His parents knew many other languages and that interest was passed on to the child, who loved to try phrases in a new language. By the age of 5, Mario became fully bilingual and bicultural and had positive feelings about his identity. He was Spanish-dominant when he entered the kindergarten and his English deviated from that of his monolingual classmates, which attracted the attention of a teacher who wanted to send him for speech therapy. Later on, however, Mario became a balanced bilingual and speakers of English and Spanish considered him to be a native speaker of their respective languages.

These studies by linguists who investigated their children thus show that bilingual children are capable of learning two languages relatively easily and are on par with monolingual children's acquisition of one language (Lindholm and Padilla 1978) .

Yet the results were not entirely positive in every case. Leopold reported that he was much less successful with his second daughter, who became a passive bilingual. Yukawa (1997) reported three cases of L1 Japanese loss and recovery by two siblings who grew up as Japanese-

English bilinguals from birth and had different pre-attrition proficiencies in Japanese. The study describes the lexical and syntactic changes in their Japanese and discerns the nature of the language loss. However, the amount of research in this field is still limited, and new informants with new language combinations are needed in order to identify additional patterns and make better generalizations.

4. 2. 4   *Different parental strategies*

There are many different theories on the most effective way to raise a child as a bilingual. Most researchers agree that a child exposed to two languages simultaneously and at an early age will naturally learn to use both. However, the literature defines four main strategies implied in bilingual families (Romaine, 1998) :

- ¤ *One person-one language strategy* - each person involved with the child uses one language when speaking to the child to create a bilingual environment. The parents mostly speak their native language, but some parents choose to speak a non-native language (Saunders for instance) .

- ¤ *An initial one-language strategy* - the child is exposed to only one language until he or she begins speaking.

- ¤ *A mixed strategy* - the languages are used interchangeably by the parents.

- ¤ *A home-language-different-from-the-majority-language strategy* - the majority language is spoken outside the home and the minority language at home.

Arnberg (1981) studied language strategy in twenty Swedish-English families living in Sweden and found that the "English at home strategy" seemed to be the only strategy in which the children consistently used English.

Judging from other studies, however, the one person-one language strategy appears to be the most effective one. Zimmerman (1999) has described a Swedish-Hungarian bilingual family with a special emphasis on the one person - one language strategy used at home. The teenage girls under investigation were fluent bilinguals, but their Swedish was somehow stronger. Neither parent was a linguist, and their choice of strategy was mostly intuitive.

Döpke (1992) studied the degree of language competence in six German-English bilingual children in Australia. The parents of the children who achieved the highest degree of proficiency in German were very consistent in their language choice and insisted that the child spoke German when speaking to the German-speaking parent. Döpke found two main factors necessary for the child to become bilingual:

1. The parents' consistency in their choice of language.

2. The parents' insistence that the child respects the one parent-one language principle.

These factors, however, may sometimes be difficult to apply. It would take a great deal of control and patience from the parents to speak Russian in every situation. Having gained greater proficiency in Swedish, a person will find it easy to switch to it in certain situations, especially when monolingual Swedish speakers are present. Yet with willpower and control it is possible

to limit oneself to one language only. Still, the question is whether it is necessary all the time. Once the child has developed metalinguistic awareness, it may be possible to speak Swedish to him or her in some situations, especially outside the home.

Peer pressure should not be forgotten either. Many children do not want to appear to be different from their friends and can refuse to speak Russian. Some children may want their parents to speak Swedish to them when they are being picked up from school or from kindergarten. It is thus important to find an individual model that fits a particular family, without producing confrontations with the child.

I believe it is best to try to avoid such situations by being consistent in using only Russian at all times from the very beginning. Then the child will associate every person with a certain language and will not speak a different language to him or her. However, if the child is very sensitive to peer pressure and reluctant to speak Russian in some stages, his or her language choice should be respected.

4. 2. 5   *One - and two-system theories of linguistic development*

There are many points of disagreement among scholars on the subject of child bilingualism. One of them is whether bilingual children have one or two systems for acquiring their languages. The literature describes two different theories of language acquisition in bilingual children: *the gradual differentiation hypothesis* and *the initial differentiation hypothesis*.

Supporters of *the initial differentiation hypothesis* claim that children can distinguish between two separate systems from the very beginning. The majority of studies, however, seem to present evidence that during the initial stage the child develops only one lexicon that contains elements from both languages (Saunders, 1982; Leopold 1939; Ronjat, 1913). Those who support *a gradual differentiation hypothesis* believe that bilingual children can only gradually differentiate between the two languages. They suggest that children younger than 3 years old are not able to differentiate their languages. Crystal reports, that, "the child builds up a list of words, as does a monolingual child, but the list contains words from both languages. It is rare for these words to be translation equivalents of each other." (Crystal, 1997) .

Arnberg argues that the strategy at home for raising the child bilingually may increase the child's attention to dual language presentation. Strategies in which the languages are connected with a specific person seem to be more helpful than those where parents use the two languages interchangeably (Arnberg, 1992). Children who appear to mix languages minimally or not at all have nearly always been raised according to a one-person-one language strategy. However, they may separate the languages because they strictly associate each language with a specific person, i.e. they use elementary mental functioning (Arnberg, 1992) .

Thus, speaking "the right" language to "the right" person implies early language differentiation, according to Arnberg. She considers language awareness to be the main factor in early language separation. She takes a different approach in investigating language separation and suggests that two types of learning processes are involved – one involves elementary and the other involves higher mental functioning (Arnberg, 1992). For further description of these approaches see Vygotsky, 1978. However, one should not forget that there are other factors that may be considered important: for instance imitation and observational learning (Bandura, 1977) .

According to Volterra and Taeshner (1978), the child applies the same syntactic rules to both languages until about the age of three, when the bilingual process of learning is practically complete. Volterra and Taeschner identify three developmental stages in the language of a bilingual child:

1. The child has one lexical system, which includes words from both languages. A word in one language almost always lacks a corresponding word with the same meaning in the other language.

2. The child develops two different lexicons, but only one set of syntactic rules.

3. The child learns to differentiate between two separate codes, each with its own lexicon and syntax, but associates each language rigidly with individual interlocutors.

These stages are of course very controversial, for no independent criterion is mentioned and there is no information whatsoever about the child's age or the length of utterances. Meisel (1986) argues that the definition of these stages, especially the second stage, is vague and the arguments given by Volterra and Taeshner are based on data from only one child. The authors give no convincing evidence in favor of an early phase of mixing through which all children would have to go. Meisel (1986) suggests the following age ranges instead:

- ¤ Stage 1: 1.6 – 1.11 years old

- ¤ Stage 2: 2.5 – 3.3 years old

- ¤ Stage 3: 2.9 – 3.11 years old

According to this gradation, 4 years should be the point at which the third stage is over and the child has learned to differentiate between the two codes. Thus, one should investigate the children older than 3 years and 11 months in order to minimize the risk of mistaking a developmental error for an interference-like mistake (see 5.2) .

4. 3   Material and method

4. 3. 1   *The informants of this study*

The informants of this study are my own two children, Susie and Victoria, 4 and 8 years old, born in Stockholm, Sweden, to a Russian mother and a Swedish father. The mother worked as a teacher and the father ran a small building company. At the time the first child, Victoria, was born, the mother spoke no Swedish and the father spoke no Russian, so the choice of the one person – one language strategy was the only alternative.

When the second child, Susie, was born, Victoria was 4 years old and had already become a balanced bilingual with equally developed languages. Thus, the question of how to raise the second child was not an issue. The parents used the same strategy with both children, even though by that time the mother was a fluent speaker of Swedish. Both girls were recorded on

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tape from the very first days of their lives, and careful notes about their linguistic development were made by the mother.

4. 3. 2   Methods of data collection

Observational qualitative research was the method adopted in this study. The primary data consists of 6 minidisc recordings with a series of conversations – Susie/mother, Victoria/mother, Susie/Victoria – made during a seven-month period, April 2002 – November 2002. The total time of the recordings is 450 minutes or 7.5 hours. In addition to the primary data, the secondary data used consists of the mother's diary notes about children's speech with monolingual Russian speakers and of "post-it" stickers noting deviations and occasional mistakes.

Notes were especially important in situations where it was impossible to have a mini disc recorder present. Switching occurred practically all the time in all situations, which made it impossible to record everything. Post-it stickers glued all over the house served equally well for the purposes of the investigation. Susie showed no interest in what was written on them. Victoria, on the other hand, kept asking about them all the time. The answer was that especially clever thoughts were written down. Once when her phrase "*Вот в ней никакой хорошести нет, зато во мне очень много хорошести*" (*there is no goodness in her, but there is a lot of goodness in me*) was noted, she simply wondered "What was so clever about that?"

According to my previous findings, the tape recorder had almost no effect on the linguistic performance of the bilinguals after 10-15 minutes (Ringblom, 2001). Moreover, the children in this study have been used to being recorded since their early childhood and do not alter their linguistic performance when the recorder is present. All data was carefully listened to and looked at, and all instances of deviant language use were extracted from the corpus and analyzed separately. This paper will make an attempt to categorize them and illustrate each category with a series of examples from both children (when possible) .

4. 3. 3   Pros and cons of using the researcher's own children as subjects

A study that fully describes the speech of a certain person implies a great deal of contact with the informant. Tape-recording sessions are not enough to capture all the peculiarities one intends to describe. Having one's own children as informants, the researcher can keep records of all the subjects' significant activities and comments at home. The researcher also has greater access to the subjects' lives at their kindergarten/school than anybody else (Yukawa, 1997). Thus, having one's own children as informants must be a most welcome opportunity. The researcher can observe them continuously and create a holistic view of each child's linguistic development. Furthermore, by speaking to a familiar adult, the children are not affectatious in their linguistic performance.

On the other hand, studies that are carried out by parents may lack objectivity. Such researchers are so close to children that they can manipulate the input (Cox-Eriksson, 1997). They can either tell them what word to pronounce and how to do so in a language test, simply record things that were never said, or eliminate incorrect utterances. In comparing their own children with others, parents may easily become partial.

This study includes neither language test or any comparison with other children. It concentrates entirely on Susie's and Victoria's linguistic performance in different situations, on their

deviations from Standard Russian and aims to categorize and describe them. Constant contact with the informants gives the researcher a good opportunity to note as many different situations as possible. For this kind of study, it is not only an advantage but almost a necessity to have one's own children as informants. Once the children become proficient in their languages, it may take a long time before a mistake is noted. Sometimes a dialogue between the mother and Victoria would take more than 10 minutes before a deviation appeared. The same is true for Susie, who often communicates with body language, like nodding for agreement or shaking her head for disagreement, or simply gives short answers that are impossible to categorize.

Moreover, when the children are observed by unknown adults, they may demonstrate a totally different linguistic performance, or might not demonstrate any at all, as in the case of Susie, who never speaks to people she does not know and sometimes decides not to speak at all.

4. 4   The linguistic background of the informants

4. 4. 1   *The language situation of the family*

The child faces enormous difficulties if his or her upbringing does not guarantee the development of separated spheres for every language. Bilingualism cannot be developed on its own; it should be guided and corrected (Vigotsky, 1980). Thus the role of a parent becomes of crucial importance. The language in Susie and Victoria's home has always been restricted depending on the interlocutor. Russian is spoken by the mother addressing the children and by the children addressing their mother. The mother tries not to mix the languages with the children. Unfortunately, when she is angry or is in a hurry, she may occasionally use the Swedish word, momentarily having forgotten the Russian equivalent. It must be noted that it became more difficult to stick to Russian in every situation as the mother's proficiency in Swedish increased.

Swedish is normally used only by the father addressing the children and by the children addressing him. For fun, he may use a Russian word once in a while in his discourse, but otherwise he speaks almost no Russian. English is sometimes used by the parents when the information is not meant to be understood by the children. Many "family words" understood only by the members of the family are adopted and widely used. The original meanings of these words are changed on purpose and used in a totally different meaning within the close family circle. The children intuitively understand the new meanings of the new words and use them widely - but only within the family, even though no formal restrictions have ever been given to them. However, they may use other stylistically colored words in inappropriate situations, for example "*мужик*" *jerk* instead of "*мужчина*» *man* or "*молодой человек* "*a young man.*

The children regularly speak to each other in Swedish (with some exceptions; see 4.3) .

4. 4. 2   The children

In order to understand the preconditions for the girls' linguistic outcome, a brief description of their linguistic development is necessary and will allow me to make certain comparisons between the informants of this study and the children described in previous studies.

- **<u>Victoria</u>**

- Ой, мама, я просто в отчаянии!
- А ты хоть знаешь, что такое быть в отчаянии?
- Нет, я знаю только то, что я в нём!
- Oh, mom, I am so desperate!
- Do you have any idea what it is to be desperate?
- No idea. I just know that I am!

From the very moment of Victoria's birth, it was agreed by the parents that the child would speak both languages. The mother spoke Russian to her everywhere, even when no other Russian speakers were present. Utterances intended for the father or other Swedish people were translated. It is well known that the attitudes of family and friends can affect the development of children's bilingualism, and some researchers also mention that their attempts to raise their children bilingually failed because of the objections of the monolingual members of the family to the child's bilingualism on the ground that the child would suffer from it (see Romaine, 1988 for further discussion) .

However, in this study the parents' attempts to be consistent were fully approved of by relatives and friends. Victoria was even treated in a special way because of her "extraordinary" ability to understand two languages, and she said her first words as early as at the age of ten months. This "extraordinary" ability was emphasized over and over again, which probably made Victoria feel like she was superior to others. Her first words, however, were regular, *"mamma"* and *"pappa"* (which are pronounced almost the same in Russian and Swedish). At the age of two and a half, she was already able to verbalize her "extraordinary ability" herself: *"My mom is so big, but can only speak Russian, my dad is also big, but can only speak Swedish, but sweet Victoria is so little and yet can speak two languages!"*

Victoria's mother and Russian grandmother took care of her during the day until she was 2 month old, and Victoria has listened to Russian songs and fairy tales ever since she was born. She was then cared for by her father during the day until she was 6 months old and by her Swedish Aunt Linda from 6 to 10 months.

During the first months of her life, Victoria met people from both counties and heard two languages equally often. When she was 11 months, she took a two-week trip to Cyprus together with her mother and Aunt Linda. By that time she could already say the following words:

Russian: *да, на, дай, беби, мама, папа (yes, take, give me, baby, mom, dad)* .

Swedish: *där, borta, bada, bäbis, mamma, pappa, Inda (= Linda) (there, far away, swim, baby, mom, Linda)* .

In Cyprus Victoria heard a lot of Greek and even tried to imitate some words. After Cyprus she went to Russia, where she spent two months. By that age her vocabulary contained 10 Russian and 10 Swedish words. When she returned to Sweden, she refused to speak any Swedish whatsoever and answered only in Russian. The same phenomenon was noted the fol-

lowing year as well. After two months in Russia she completely refused to speak Swedish for about a week, even in kindergarten. She understood the commands, but answered in Russian (compare with Saunder's daughter Katarina, who did not speak German to any adult except her father during their stay in Germany; Saunders, 1982) .

Then Victoria gradually started to speak Swedish in every situation that demanded it, and according to her pre-school teachers she spoke and sang even better than her monolingual counterparts. Victoria's vocabulary at two years old consisted of approximately 145 Russian words and 130 Swedish words. Many of the words were not translation equivalents of one other and even had specific connotations for the child. At the age of two and a half she could already sing twelve Swedish and six Russian songs.

Victoria never seemed to have any problems distinguishing between the two languages and did not speak "the wrong language" to the "right" interlocutor. According to her mother's diary notes, she would seldom say "*blomma*" (*flower*) instead of "*цветок*" when talking to her mother. The fact that she almost never mixed languages made her relatives and parents continue to raise Victoria bilingually. At that time her mother did not know anything about the effects of bilingualism and its advantages or disadvantages. The only way for her to speak to her child was to use Russian because she knew almost no Swedish at the time. Thus, Victoria could even translate between Russian and Swedish at a very early age and rather easily (if the words of both languages were familiar to her). These translations were mostly a necessity and not made merely to appeal to her parents' interest in testing the child's linguistic ability. It can be argued that she developed according to the "initial differentiation hypothesis" (see 2.4) because her differentiation was conscious even when she was asked to translate the Russian words from a children's book into Swedish.

At three Victoria's speech development suddenly slowed down. She became silent, was often tired and unmotivated. Many people tried to convince the parents that it was due to Victoria's bilingualism, which became too hard for her to cope with. By accident, the child was observed by a Dr. Rönnberg, who suggested operating on Victoria's enormous tonsils. After the operation she became a completely different person. In less than a month Victoria made up for the time lost and spoke as well as her playmates and did not seem to have any problems with either language. Her Swedish, however, was somehow stronger because Swedish input was greater as she went to the Swedish preschool and played with Swedish monolingual friends afterwards.

At four she took an extended trip to Greece together with her mother, where she was attended to by a British babysitter and after a couple of weeks picked up a number of English words which she even used during a later trip to Hungary. All her English words, however, were forgotten when she returned to Sweden. Yet Victoria continued practicing Russian by visiting Russia every summer, talking to her mother and her mother's friends. She even had a couple of Russian friends of her own. However, it was rather problematic to make the children speak Russian to each other as they would choose to switch to Swedish when the mothers were not listening. This pattern has continued ever since.

At the age of 6 Victoria entered a secondary musical school, *Lilla Akademien,* where she started to get home language instruction once a week together with four other Russian children. According to the home language teacher, her knowledge of Russian was very good. She started to read Russian at the age of 5.5 and when she understood that the words could be

read in syllables she easily learned to read Swedish. By 7 she could read and write equally well in both languages and started to write a diary, where she wrote both in Swedish and in Russian, depending on what event she was writing about. Her writing contained quite a few mistakes, which were, however, totally acceptable for that age. The language of Victoria's thoughts was Russian-Swedish. When she wrote about a Russian event, she wrote in Russian (see appendix 2), when she wrote about something that happened in Sweden, she used Swedish (see appendix 3). Sometimes she would mix the languages (see appendix 4) .

At 8 years old she considers herself fully bilingual and bicultural with one half of her personality belonging to Russia and the other half to Sweden. Victoria's Swedish - according to her class-teacher - is on par with that of her monolingual classmates and is not marked phonologically or grammatically. This is true of her written language as well. However, she prefers reading Swedish books because they are much easier for her. She speaks Swedish with her pets and shows great interest in foreign languages, loves her English lessons at school, asks her grandmother to teach her some German and imitates Italian opera singers. Fantini (1985) also reports that Mario showed a great interest in foreign languages and even spoke a few.

Visits to Russia are very important for Victoria. She looks forward to them and considers them the best days of the year. Apart from these visits she regularly hears Russian from her mother, au pair, piano and home language teachers as well as various friends of her mother. Thus, she receives enough stimuli to develop correct Russian language that is good enough to be used in all situations. When the word or a concept is unknown to Victoria, she is using regular child innovations. Such innovations are mostly used when the cognate is too abstract or unknown. Then the child simply creates a new form on analogy, a verbal noun *нюханье* (from the verb *нюхать*) for instance:

- *У меня хорошее нюханье* (luktsinne), *вот я пошла и понюхала.*
- *I have a good smelling (= nose), so I went and smelled it.*

However, Victoria completely lacks familiarity with Russian slang. Thus, a phrase like "*Твоей маме надо пахать, чтобы покупать тебе шмотки*" (*your mom's got to work the shit out of her in order to buy you stuff*), said by one of her mother's friends for observational purposes, was not understood at all by Victoria. Certain idiomatic expressions are not understood either, for instance:

- *Я покажу тебе, где раки зимуют.*
- *Я и сама знаю, где раки зимуют. Они зимуют в воде. И не надо мне ничего показывать.*
- *I will show you where crawfishes winter!* (meaning *I will make it hot for you*) .
I know where they winter... in water.. so you don't need to show me anything...

- ## Susie

- *Susie, are you Russian or Swedish?*
- *I am Susie...*

During the first two months of her life, Susie was taken care of by her mother and her Russian grandmother. Later, she followed her mother to work and university and even took part in a linguistic project about baby talk at the Department of Linguistics. Yet it was noted al-

ready at that stage that she was not very co-operative. The child heard as much Russian as she did Swedish from her earliest days; however, she never expressed any desire to speak either language. At 8 months she took a two-month trip to Russia, which did not lead to her speaking any Russian whatsoever, to the great disappointment of her parents and grandparents.

At the age of one year, Susie said only one word, *mina* (mine). She started kindergarten at 1 year and 1 month because it was hoped that going to the kindergarten and meeting other children would make her talk. However, she was silent. At 1.5 years old she could say only *mamma, pappa, на* (take)*, titta* (look) *and mina (*mine)*.* By the age of two Susie's vocabulary had expanded to include *∂a (*give)*, отдай (*give it back to me)*, bada,* (bath)*, bil* (car) and *mama Ida* (Grandmother Lidia). She could not pronounce the name Susan (or Susie), just as she could not pronounce any other word containing the sound s. However, this sound is generally difficult to pronounce for children and is usually acquired much later (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1995). She had problems every time she was asked about her name as she could not pronounce two of the five letters it contained.

At the age of three, she finally pronounced her name, very indistinctly [tusi] and started saying it to strangers when asked her name. However, no one ever understood and after a while she stopped answering any question about her name. She mispronounced many other sounds as well; for instance she always replaced the alveolar nasal [n] with the palatal [ŋ]. Her intonation patterns were neither Swedish nor Russian and were considered very monotone. Susie's vocabulary was still very limited. It contained more Swedish words than Russian, but most were understood only by members of the family because she had a tendency to pronounce only the endings. That was the most difficult time for the family. The pressure from everywhere, even from very close relatives, was enormous. Susie's Russian grandmother was willing to learn Swedish just for her granddaughter's sake and insisted that all the members of the family speak only Swedish to Susie. It was discouraging to observe how other children in the same age were talking fluently, when Susie could barely say her own name.

By the age of three-and-a half most children can ask questions, give commands, report real events and create stories complete with correct grammatical morphemes (Lightbown and Spada, 1993). At 3 years 3 months, Susie was also operated on by doctor Rönnberg because she had problems with her tonsils as well, and her vocabulary increased somewhat after the operation. Nevertheless, there was no miraculous effect, as was noted in Victoria's case. Susie's pronunciation, however, became clearer and more people understood her speech. That made Susie's bilingual upbringing easier as she seemed to make progress.

At 3 years 6 months, when the present observation began, Susie was able to speak both languages, with a clear preference for Swedish, which she could also speak much better. Her Russian was still limited and influenced by Swedish. She hardly ever initiated any conversations in either language, almost never talked to strangers, never sang the words in the songs – only the melody (which was correct) and never spoke over the telephone with anyone. She started speaking over the telephone only on her fourth birthday, saying short phrases to her grandmother, who was calling from Russia.

The family was advised to contact a speech therapist (compare with the case described by Fantini, 1985), which they did, but Susie totally refused to talk to the therapist and was silent (even though very cooperative otherwise) during all her visits there. When the speech therapist asked her: "Have you simply decided to never talk to me?" Susie only nodded in agree-

ment. However, at the kindergarten the pre-school teachers noticed that Susie started to talk more and more and even though she never took the initiative to talk when the whole group of children was present, she chose one friend and one favorite teacher and talked to them.

As time went on, she started to communicate with more and more children and teachers. The speech therapist was invited to the kindergarten in order to observe Susie there. In a familiar atmosphere the child did not seem to have any difficulties communicating even with her. Susie first let Gun (the speech therapist) hear her conversation with Elin – Susie's best friend, and once this step was taken, she even started talking to the therapist directly. Simply by accident, during the time of the study, a very interesting observation was made: Susie *was* actually talking to some strangers, but almost all of them were bilingual (not necessarily Russian-Swedish). With monolingual speakers, regardless of their mother tongue, Susie preferred to be silent.

At 4 years 5 months, Susie's Swedish is slightly deviant from the norm, but according to the speech therapist and the preschool teachers, her speech is *almost* normal for her age. By the age of four, however, children *should have mastered* the basic structures of the language or languages which have been spoken to them in the early years (Lightbown and Spada, 1993). Susie's late speech development can also depend on the fact that parents tended to understand all her demands before she even uttered a word. Thus, she might have never felt the *necessity* to talk.

Susie's deviations from Swedish

Susie's Swedish improved drastically during the last months of the study. She did not seem to have much difficulty communicating with adults or children (however, at the age of 4.5 she still refused to talk to strangers). At the age of 4.2 her deviations from Swedish were the following (according to the speech therapist, some of them were acceptable even for monolingual Swedish children) :

Phonology

¤   One of the most typical peculiarities of Susie's phonology was the occasional omission of the alveolar fricative [s] in initial position before a consonant: skriver = *kriver (writes)* .

¤   She also had a tendency to replace the alveolar fricative [ʃ] with [s]: tjej = *sej (girl)* .

¤   She mispronounced the alveolar fricative [ʃ] in final position and pronounced it as [s]: dusch = *dus (shower).* These sounds are generally difficult for the children to acquire, and it is hoped that the mistakes will disappear with age. It is highly uncertain whether these difficulties have any connection with Susie's bilingualism.

Lexical deviations

At around 4 years and one month, Susie's vocabulary started to improve drastically. New words and word combinations in both languages were produced every day, and there no longer seemed to be any reason for disappointment or worry. A new preschool teacher who started working at Susie's kindergarten did not even notice that something was "wrong" with the child. She considered Susie to be perfectly normal and developed for her age and there seemed to be no problems with her vocabulary. She was able to express most of her thoughts and desires. As far as cross/linguistic influence is concerned, only one "mistake" has been noted:

Susie to Victoria in the bathroom:

(1): - Du kan få låna min pasta om du vill.
You can borrow my toothpaste if you wish.

By "*pasta*" Susie meant "*tandkräm*"; in Russian "*pasta*" means "*toothpaste*". The same mistake was also noted in Susie's conversation with her father:

(2): - Min pasta är slut. Du måste köpa en ny.
Det heter "tandkräm", Susie!
Nej, det heter pasta säger jag!
Tandkräm.
Pasta!
- *My paste is all gone. You must buy a new one.*
- *It is called TOOTHPASTE, Susie!*
- *No, it is called paste!*
- *Toothpaste.*
- *Paste!*

This mistake may actually be attributable to the fact that only her mother used to brush her teeth and the word "*tandkräm*" was simply unknown for the child. As it fit fairly smoothly into the Swedish lexicon, she easily took it for the Swedish word for "*toothpaste*".

Another interesting example was *Kan du smöra min macka? (can you butter my sandwich = can you <u>put butter</u> on my sandwich?).* However, it is debatable whether this is because of the Russian influence of "*помазать*" (spread) or whether it can be considered a regular child innovation.

Adjective comparison

Susie may occasionally have problems with the superlative degree of adjective comparisons, for instance, displacing it with comparative degree:

- ¤ Fort – fortare – *fortare (quick-quicker-quicker)*

- ¤ Tjock – tjockare – *tjockare (fat-fatter-fatter)*

Negation

Word order in Susie's negative sentences may sometimes be wrong: *Han inte kan klättra* (he not can climb) with the negative marker appearing just before the verb instead of *Han kan inte klättra (he cannot climb)* with the negative after the verb, or *Hon inte hoppar* (she jumps not) instead of *Hon hoppar inte (she does not jump).* This might happen because of the influence of Russian. Russian word order in negative sentences is (Pro) noun – negation – verb, whereas in Swedish it is (Pro) noun – verb – negation. On the other hand, it may also be the result of the delay in Susie's acquisition of negation, which, I believe, can also be the result of her bilingualism.

Susie is definitely aware of the purposes of negation, but has not yet mastered how to express it correctly. Bloom and Lahey (1978) studied the development of negation in three children *under three years old* and found that it took time before they mastered the grammatical rules to express the negative functions. It should also be noted that such mistakes are becoming fewer and fewer, and it can even be hypothesized that by the time Susie is 5 years old they

will have disappeared completely.

Tense

Susie has no problems with the present and future tense. However, she may occasionally make a mistake in the perfect and preterit of weak verbs, for instance *Han gådde hem (he goed home)* instead of *han gick hem (he went home)* and *har du drickit tee* instead of *druckit (have you drinked – instead of druck – tea).* These mistake are, however, infrequent and also considered normal in language acquisition, where children use verb forms for the strong verbs by analogy with the weak ones. It has, however, also been observed in the most recent recordings, for example: *jag sovde (I sleeped – instead of I slept)* .

Even though it is obvious that Susie's Swedish is not quite free of errors, it would be wrong to say that all of them are due to her bilingualism. At the age of four, even monolingual children are normally not rid of some of these mistakes. As Susie has developed noticeably during the last few months, it is very likely that many of the remaining mistakes will disappear at around 5 years old. According to the Normal Patterns of Speech Development (see appendix 1, Table 1), Susie developed "normally" until around 18 months. From 19 months to 3 years old, some delay was noted. However, after 3 years her speech pattern became "normal" again.

4. 4. 3   Children's speech with each other

When Susie was born, Victoria chose to speak Russian to her because she believed that little Susie was too little to understand Swedish. She continued to use Russian until Susie was about two years old. Because by that time Susie still did not say more than 15 words, her grandmother suggested Victoria start speaking Swedish to her. After a while Victoria found that it felt more natural to speak Swedish to her sister. However, the children's speech with each other is not entirely in Swedish and there are many examples of situations where they choose to speak Russian:

Susie and Victoria are lying in bed looking at pictures:

(3) S: - Это я.
V: - Нет, это я
S. Нет, это я, я, я!!!
V. Да нет, тебя еще и на свете не было тогда! Это я и мама и папа в Москве.
S. Нет, это я.
V. Lyssna nu: du fanns bara i magen då. Och det är jag. Sen blev jag stor och du fick alla mina kläder och skor. Så nu är det DINA kläder och skor nu. Förstår du, vi var likadana när vi var små.
S. men jag är också stor…
- *It is me.*
- *No, me.*
- *No, it is me, me, me!*
- *No, you weren't live at that time at all. It is me, and Mom and Dad in Moscow.*
- *No, it is me.*
- *Listen now: you were only in her stomach then. And it is me! Then I grew older and you got all my clothes and shoes. So now these clothes and shoes are YOURS. Do you understand, we were alike when we were small.*
- *But I am big, too…*

The conversation started in Russian because the mother was present and thus it felt more natural for the children to use Russian. It is only when Susie did not want to accept that it

was Victoria in the picture that Victoria used Swedish as an extra device for clarifying things. However, it was not the language problem that made Susie stubborn, but the fact that Victoria looked exactly like her in that picture and that Susie was wearing those clothes at that time and refused to admit that it was Victoria.

This dialogue is very typical for this pair of siblings. When one of them starts using Russian, the other one continues. If one cannot find the word in Russian or for some other reason starts to use Swedish, the conversation continues in Swedish:

(4) Victoria to Susie: Клади сюда все игрушки. Все я говорю. Все!!! *Mjukisdjur* тоже клади *i de här lådor-na. Annars kommer mamma att säga att det ser för jävligt ut igen. Kom nu, vi städar.*
Put all the toys here. I say all of them! Stuffed animals should be in these boxes, too. Otherwise Mom will say that it is such a terrible mess in here again. Come here, we'll clean!.

The conversation became more and more Swedish until it totally turned Swedish at the end, which only proves once again that Swedish is more natural language for the siblings. Another situation: the children were talking Russian to each other and laughing. Then Susie started to run away from Victoria singing: *du kan inte ta mig* (*you cannot take me*) and after that the conversation continued only in Swedish. If one of them starts to sing in Swedish or Russian when they play or in a dialogue, the rest of the dialogue continues in the language of the song, even if the song was without words. Zentella (1981) also documented the tendency for bilingual children to "follow the leader" or respond in the language in which they are addressed.

(5) V: - Я говорю: *kom hit*! Пошли, Susie! Мы будем играть *tåget*.
I say – come here! Come, Susie! We'll play "train..

Then Victoria turns to her mother and says:

Если мы играем в *tåget*, то говорим по-шведски, если в прятки – то по-русски. Ты приходишь – мы говорим по-русски, ты уходишь по-шведски.
If we play «train», we speak Swedish, if we play « hide and seek « – Russian. When you come, we speak Russian, when you go we speak Swedish.

4. 5   Children's mistakes

When categorizing and classifying the errors or mistakes of bilingual children, it is important to remember that not all of them are due to the children's bilingualism. It is necessary to distinguish between mistakes that are due to children's linguistic development and mistakes that occur because of the children's familiarity with more than one language.
Dulay and Burt (1974) mention four types of errors:

¤   developmental errors

¤   interference-like errors

- ¤ ambiguous errors (cannot be classified as either interference or developmental[227])

- ¤ unique errors

I would prefer to use the term *mistake* instead of *error* in this paper. However, it may be important to mention that the terminological distinction between errors and mistakes is often blurred. Yet mistakes are usually considered slips of the tongue, generally one-time events that the speaker is able to recognize and correct if necessary. An error, on the other hand, is usually systematic. They tend to occur repeatedly and are not recognized as a mistake by the learner (see Gass & Selinker, 1994 for further discussion). This view, however, is not adopted by all researchers. For the purposes of this investigation, any further terminological discussion seems unimportant as the analysis will concentrate almost entirely on the mistakes due to interference.

Linguistic interference is defined as deviation from the norms of either language which occurs in the speech of bilinguals as the result of familiarity with more than one language (Weinreich, 1953). One of the two languages usually dominates and thus influences the weaker language: a qualitative and quantitative imbalance between the two languages brings about dominant language interference in the production of the weaker language (Saunders, 1982). In this paper, a distinction will be made between lexical, morphological and syntactical deviations from the standard language variety.

4. 5. 1   *Lexical interference*

As the terms denoting different contact phenomena (such as code-switching, mixing and borrowing) are not used by all researchers in the same way, it makes comparisons across studies difficult (Romaine, 1998). Thus, it is very important to define what each term means in every investigation. As terminological issues have been broadly discussed earlier (see Ringblom, 1997, 2000), only the most important aspects will be mentioned here.

The distinction between lexical and semantic interference will not be made here as it is assumed that lexical interference implies semantic interference. It is also impossible to talk about the lexical level only, without taking semantics into account – the meaning of the word somehow changes, whatever transformations we consider. The same can also be said about morphological and syntactic interference; semantics enters into the situation there as well.

- • **Code-switching**

Myers-Scotton's definition of code-switching, the selection of forms from an embedded variety in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1990), will be adopted in this study. The term *matrix language* is used for the main language in code-switching utterances (in this case Russian), and the term *embedded language* refers to another language, which also participates in code-switching but with a lesser role (Swedish). However, the term code-switching requires linguistic competence in both languages. Some researchers even suggest using it as an indicator of bilingual ability (see Poplack, 1980) .

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227 The example from this study that may exemplify this category may be *Вы что, перелюбили меня?* The correct variant would be

Вы больше меня не любите?

Have you fallen out of love with me?

Code-switching is *consciously* applied in order to clarify a misunderstanding, to create a certain communicative effect, to emphasize a point, to exclude someone from the conversation, to express a certain idea when some activities have been experienced in only one of the languages or when some concepts or words are more simple or more salient in the one language (see Arnberg, 1987). Mayers-Scotton also talks about "selection", which implies *conscious, purposeful* choice and not sporadic mixing. Another important criterion of code-switching is that switches are *not* morphologically or phonetically integrated into the base language:

(6) V: - Зачем *diet*, когда есть лыжи? Вот чего я понять не могу!
What is a diet for when we have skis? That's something I cannot understand!

The word *diet* is not morphologically integrated into Russian and thus is a typical code-switch. However, none of these criteria works all the time and can be considered reliable (Park, 2000). Some words are morphologically unmarked in both languages:

(7) Mother: - Вика, пора обедать.
Victoria: - Моё сердце не хочет *mat*. Моё сердце хочет *glass!*
Victoria, it is time to eat!
My heart does not want food. My heart wants ice cream!

In the sentence *Моё сердце хочет glass*, the word ice-cream is morphologically unmarked in both Russian and Swedish.

(7) V – M: - Мама, а можно я Ане расскажу, что ты видела настоящего (MASK instead of NEUTR) ну…
как его….*spöke*? Или это наш *familjehemlighet*?
- Mom, can I tell Anya, that you have seen a real… how you call it … a ghost? Or it is our family secret?

A week later:

(8) V – M: - Мама, обещай, что ты не будешь злиться… пообещала? Ты знаешь, я все таки
рассказала Ане про того *spöke i Kerstins rum*… Но она сделала *tio fingrar upp i vädret* и пообещала
никому не говорить… теперь это наш с ней самый большой *hemlighet* (MASK instead of FEM) ….
*- Mom, promise you won't be angry…. Have you promised? You know, I told Anya about that ghost in
Kerstin's room anyway… But she held up her hand and promised not to tell anyone… now it is our biggest
secret… hers and mine…*

It is interesting to note that the same words "*spöke*" and "*hemlighet*" (ghost and secret) are repeated in Swedish over and over again. As is shown in the example above, some code-switches are accompanied by pauses, which may also be an indicator of the child's awareness of using two different language systems. Arnberg (1987) also notes that children use the language in which they have experienced certain activities. As the ghost was seen in Kerstin's room in a Swedish hospital, those words were switched. Some words are integrated simply because the Russian equivalent is not known to a child:

(9) V: - Все кто хотят *klona* своих детей, получается плохо. Бог против этого
Anyone who wants to clone their children doesn't succeed. God is against it.

хотят klona is not morphologically integrated into Russian and is thus a code-switch.
Some code-switches could be easily omitted, for instance:

(10) V: Мама, дай мне kram! Jättekram! Мне очень нужен твой *kram!*
Mom, give me a hug. A big hug! I need your hug really bad!

Victoria knows the Russian equivalent of the word *kram* (hug) far too well to ever forget it, but as she was influenced by Swedish syntax here, she had to continue the sentence in Swedish. As she explained later, it felt different to say "*дай мне kram*" (give me a hug) and "*обними меня*" (hug me), which may indicate a tendency to make language more analytical. Instead of *обними меня* a more analytical variant is used and is even considered more meaningful.

Most researchers agree that multi-word sequences constitute prototypical code-switching (Park, 2000). Code-switching often has some pragmatic function, yet this is not true for every case:

(11) V: - Почему дерево срубили?
M: - Да просто так.
V: - Нет, просто так не бывает. *Det måste finnas en anledning till det*[228].
M: - А почему ты по шведски-то говоришь?
V: - А вот беру и говорю. Не знаю почему.
M: - Так ты сама только что сказала, что во всем причина есть.
V: - А иногда, наверное, все-таки можно и без причины что-нибудь делать. Мне оно просто первым в голову пришло. Вот и вся причина.
- Why did they cut this tree?
- They just did it.
- No, it cannot happen without a reason! There must be a reason for it.
- Why are you speaking Swedish with me?
- Well, I just do. No idea.
-But you have just said yourself that there must always be a reason for everything.
- Well, I guess sometimes one doesn't need a reason to do something. The words just came into my mind in the first place, that's the whole reason!

Nishimura talks about metaphorical code-switching - when some words and concepts are easier to express in one language, to create a certain communicative effect (Nishimura, 1997) .

(12) - Мама, ты меня так... *strypte*, когда одевала мне шарф!».
Mom, you strangled me so... when you put the scarf on me.

As far as quotations are concerned, the children would often quote in the original language:

(13) S: - Мама, папа сказал, что «*maten är klar*».
Mom, Dad says that dinner is ready) .

(14) Grandmother: - Что тут написано?
Victoria: - Inga hårda föremål och tamponger.
Grandmother: - Что это значит?
Victoria: - Не знаю.
- What is written here?
No hard things and tampons.
- What does that mean?
- No idea.

228 *Det måste finnas en anledning till det* (there must be a reason) – is regarded as a code-switching in this study even though there is no clear pragmatic purpose for this switch.

Saunders (1982) also reports that children usually quote a person or a section of a story in the language in which the utterance was made. Victoria, however, tends to produce shorter quotations as reported speech:

(15) - Мама, Лиза сказала, что ей надо идти домой в пять.
Mom, Lisa said that she's got to go home at five.

However, she leaves the longer sequences unchanged:

(16) - Ты знаешь, Терезина мама бьет ее *med skärp*. И Тереза говорит: «*jag vill anmäla henne, men vågar inte för att när hon kommer från fängelset, då dödar hon mig"*
You know, Theresa's mom beats her with a belt. And Theresa says to her: "I want to report her, but don't dare, because when she gets out of prison she'll kill me.

Sometimes she would prefer to keep the original version and give a translation, especially if it is a song by a popular pop group and she wants to keep the original lyrics:

(17) - *Pappa, vet du, Luba var på toa och då, då stod hon och sjöng:* Я сошла с ума, я сошла с ума, мне нужна она, мне нужна она. Я сошла с ума!!! мне нужна она! *Jag har blivit helt galen, jag behöver… nej, jag vill ha henne… ja a vill ha henne!!! Jag har blivit galen! Luba älskar Tatu… Det gör jag med…. Kan du sätta på Tatu?* Мама, включи нам Tatu!
- *Dad, you know, Luba was in the bathroom and then, then she stood and sang: I have lost my mind, I have lost my mind, I need her, I need her. I must have lost my mind! I need her! Jag har blivit galen, jag behöver… no, I want to have her! I.. I want to have her!!! I must have lost my mind… Luba loves Tatu. Me, too. can you please put it on? Mom, can you please put it on?*

Even though she knows that the mother understands Swedish, she translates her requests in order to get the mother's attention because the father was doing something else at the moment and would most likely not look for the song she wanted.

- **Language mixing**

As code-switching is a consciously applied strategy of bilingual interaction, it would be wrong to classify Susie's mixed utterances as code-switches. Most of them are due to her lack of vocabulary in Russian, lack of control or momentarily forgetting the word in Russian (or never knowing it) .

Even though most researchers agree that multiword sequences are unambiguous code-switches, I believe it is true only of children who are conscious of using two different languages. I would not call the example below a code-switch because it has no pragmatic function and the languages are mixed because the child is not able to say this phrase in Russian:

(18) S: Мама купила *godis för gravida kanariefåglar*…
Mom's bought some food for the pregnant canaries.

(19) S: Мама, мне надо *varmt vatten.*
Mom, I need warm water.

(20) S: - Мама, где твои *mjukisdjurarna?*
- *Mom, where are your stuffed animals?*

(21) M: - Тебе класть сахар в кашу?
S: - Нет, *bara* масло.
Shall I put some sugar in your porridge?
No, bara (just) butter.

Susie never seems to change languages to achieve a certain communicative effect. It is interesting to mention that she learned to consciously separate her languages only at around four years old. Prior to that, she would only get angry with the au pair, who did not speak Swedish and would not understand her occasional utterances in Swedish. Susie did not seem to understand what was needed from her. She performed a communicative act, and a misunderstanding only made her angry. Already being late in her language development, this fact might have made the situation even worse and she started to express herself by other means, like gestures or simply doing things, without asking for permission. This morning conversation between Susie and the au pair demonstrates such behavior:

(22) S - Evita, я хочу есть *flingor med russin och filmjölk.*
Что? Скажи по русски, что ты хочешь.
Я хочу есть flingor, russin och filmjölk!
Не понимаю…
Flingor, russin, filjmjölk (note the omission of conjunctions) .
Ну не понимаю какой еще *filmjölk…*
- *Evita, I want to have cereal with raisins and kefir.*
- *What? Say in Russian what do you want.*
- *I want to have cereal, raisins and kefir!*
- *I don't understand.*
-*Cereal, raisins and kefir.*
- *I do NOT understand what kind of filmjölk (kefir) you are talking about!!!*

Susie cries and runs away. Then she returns, opens the refrigerator and takes the kefir but cannot find the other ingredients and asks her mother:

Mamma, а где есть[229] *flingor och russin?*
Mom, where is the cereal and raisins?

The majority of Susie's Russian utterances are mixed with Swedish. She simply takes a Swedish word and puts it into Russian without any incorporation. She speaks the way it is convenient for her:

(23) - M – S: - Susie, много было детей на дне рождения?
- *Емма kalas* нет.
- Там были мальчики?
Bara один.
- *Susie, were there many kids at her birthday?*
- *Emma's birthday no.*
- *Were there any boys?*
- *Just one.*

The word *"bara"* is almost always used instead of *"только"*. I often correct Susie, saying the right word in Russian. She repeats it and then says the sentence correctly. Yet the next

time she needs to use the word, she still says "*bara*" (just) …

- **Borrowings**

Many researchers see single-word incorporations as prototypical borrowings (Andersson, 1993; Clyne, 1987; Gumperz, 1982b). In this paper I will use Gumperz's definition of borrowing as the introduction of single words or short idiomatic phrases from one language into the other. The items are incorporated into the borrowing language and are treated as a part of its lexicon (Gumperz, 1982b). Thus, phonologically and morphologically integrated single-word incorporations will be treated as borrowings here. Yet the concepts of code-switching and borrowing are often used interchangeably because it is very difficult if not impossible to make a distinction between the two as they often take similar forms. Phonological integration is not always a reliable criterion, especially when the phonological systems of the languages are similar (Haugen, 1972; Poplack & Vanniarajan, 1991). A morphological criterion is also considered useless if the single words are morphologically marked or unmarked in both languages (Boyd, 1993), for instance as in this example:

(24) V: - А давай мы его разрежем и увидим его *magsäck!*
Let's cut him and see his stomach.

Here is another example of Victoria's after having received a McDonald's membership card:

(25) - Это что, *gratis?* Я знаю почему… потому что от макдональдса люди получают *cancer* и они хотят, чтобы больше людей получили *cancer*, вот они и посылают ее *gratis* …. я поняла сама.
-Is it free? Well, I know why. Because people get cancer from McDonalds and they want more people to get cancer. That's why they give it away for free. I understood everything by myself…

(26) - V: - Мама, а что такое *bög?*
M:- Это когда мальчик на другом мальчике женится.
V: - А Женя вот не на *кого** вообще не женится, а ты говорила он *bög*… ' (correct Russian – не на ком) .
-Mom, what is "gay"?
- It's when one guy marries another guy.
- But Zhenya is not married at all and you said he was gay…

(27) S: Я хочу *utan skal.*
I want it without the peel.

It may, however, be reasonable to consider code-switching and borrowing as the end points of the same continuum rather than two different processes (Park, 2000). In this paper the concepts of core borrowings and cultural borrowings will be applied.

Core borrowings

Core borrowings are words for which the borrowing language has equivalents (Myers-Scotton, 1993b) .

(28) V: Давай изобретём секретный *språk.*
Let's invent a secret language.

(29) V: Я не умею еще читать *skriftstil*, особенно когда непонятно написано.
I cannot read handwriting, especially when it is illegible.

(30) V: Давай в *maskdagis* с этими червяками играть?
Let's play in a worm kindergarten with these worms.

(31) V: Помнишь, мы с тобой клали голову в *kopieringsmaskin* и копировали?
-Do you remember how we put our heads on the xerox machine and made a copy of them?

(32) S: - Это мой *kanin!*
It's my bunny!

(33) V: Я стояла как *målvakt* и на меня мячи везде падали. Я их- бум, а они от меня – бум. И мы, конечно, выиграли, потому что я такая хороша я *målvakt* была.
-I was the goalkeeper and the balls were coming at me from everywhere. And I went – boom, and they went away from me – boom. And of course we won because I was such a great goalkeeper.

In standard Russian it would be correct to say *я была таким хорошим вратарем (I was such a great goal keeper).* However, as Victoria tends to use accusative instead of the instrumental, I asked her a question: "what would you rather say: *она была хорошая мама* (nominative) or *она была хорошей мамой?*" (instrumental). Victoria replied immediately that she preferred the first variant. When I asked her what the correct Russian variant was, she thought for a long time and finally said that "in Russian spoken in Russia they would say "*хорошей мамой*". Susie was asked the same question and I got the same answer concerning her own preferences. She would say "*хорошая мама*". When I asked her what the correct Russian would be, she replied after a long silence and finally asked: *and what IS the correct Russian?* It would hardly be possible to expect any other answer.

Cultural borrowings

Cultural borrowings represent culture-specific words that fill lexical gaps in the borrowing language (Myers-Scotton, 1993). This type of borrowing is used very frequently, and such words such as *Lilla Akademien, kulturhuset, centrum, falukorv, köttbullar, lördagsgodis, veckopeng* etc. are never translated. Words like *skinka* and *mellis* are on the border between cultural borrowings and core borrowings. According to Victoria, *skinka* in not quite *ветчина (ham)* because the smell is totally different.

(34) V: - Когда мы были в *service huset*, они показали нам что-то подобное (**service huset* is not integrated and can also be viewed as a code-switch) .
- When we were in the service huset, they showed us something similar.

(35) V: И *kaninu* мы *kaningodis* купить забыли.
We forgot to buy rabbit treats.

(36) S: - Это *leksaksdag* сегодня?
Is it "toy day" today? (a special day in the kindergarten every Wednesday when the children are allowed to

bring their own toys.

(37) S: Я буду идти к *farmor* и *farfar* (**the words *farmor* and *farfar* do not mean the same thing as a *grandmother* and *grandfather* – бабушка and дедушка) .
I'm going to visit my grandma and granddad.

Loanblends

Loanblends are made-up Russian-Swedish words or, using Lindholm and Padilla's terminology (1978b), "borrowed words which have been adapted into the lexicon with whatever transformations necessary for the particular grammatical category in which the word fits." In such cases one part of a word is borrowed while the other belongs to the original language (Romaine, 1998) :

(38) V: - Мама, не надо *бромсовать* так сильно. Если ты так и на экзамене *бромсовать* будешь, ты никогда не получишь *körkort.*
-Mom, don't brake so hard! If you're going to break like that for your driver's license exam you'll never pass it.

Бромсовать (to brake) has no Russian equivalent in Victoria's lexicon as the word was never used in a Russian context. *Körkort* would be considered a core borrowing.
Victoria to her bunny:

(39) - Ах ты, *gnagare,* ну нельзя же так сильно *гнагать!*
Well, you, rodent! You can't «rodent» (gnaw) so hard!

(40) V: - Шведские огурцы *смакают* не так.
Swedish cucumbers do not taste the same.

(41) V: - Не надо меня так *стрессовать.*
Don't stress me like this! (= don't make me so nervous) .

Instead of *смакают* Victoria would occasionally use the Russian variant, which is also influenced by the Swedish *"smaka":*

(42) M: - У этой еды привкус мертвечины.
V: (trying it) - Нет, *не пробуются* они мертвечиной.
- This food tastes like dead flesh!
- No, it doesn't taste like dead flesh!

(43) V: - Я хочу посмотреть если фильм *переспулат.*
I just want to see if the movie is rewound.

Susie's data also contains a couple of examples:

(44) S: - Давай я буду больная, и ты будешь меня *плострать.*
- Let's pretend that I am sick and you will put a bandage on me.

(45) *S:* - Это мой *diademchik.*
It is my hoop.

(46) *S:* - Я все свои деньги *спараю и спараю.*
I keep saving all my money.

Note the usage of the reflexive pronoun *свои* instead of *мои.*

Loanshifts

Loanshifts are a type of borrowing that consists of a word in the base language and extends its meaning so that it corresponds to that of a word in the other language. This type of loanshift has also been called *semantic extension* (Romaine, 1998) .

There are many examples of meaning or semantic extension in my data; some may be considered as a direct translation of the Swedish word, but the Russian cognate *прыщик (prick)* does not have the same semantic scope as the Swedish alternative *prick*) :

(47) *V:* - Colleen говорит мне: ты по нотам играй. А я откуда знаю как играть? *Прыщик* здесь, *прыщик* там... как мне знать, где здесь *ля*, а где здесь *ми!*
Colleen tells me: you should play by notes! But how do I know how to play? I see a prick here and another prick there... how would I know where la is and where mi is?

(48) *V:* - Мне надо *делать массаж* его поилки, а иначе вода не выйдет сама. Только капельки маленькие и он не может пить.
I must massage his drinking bowl, water won't come out otherwise. Only small drops and he wouldn't be able to drink.

(49) *V:* - Бабушка сказала мне полчаса играть на скрипке, но я немножко больше *делаю.* Но это *ладно...*
My grandma told me to play the violin for half an hour, but I did it a bit longer. Well, whatever...

(51) *V:* - Я думаю на мои мечты и не мешай мне. Я сама могу о них помечтать.
I am thinking about my dreams and do not disturb me. I can dream them myself.

(52) *V:* - У этого кота были клещи и мама сказала, что надо полить клещей водкой. Так мы и сделали и клещи стали сами падать, потому что они стали полные. А кот заснул и спал и спал, потому что он тоже стал полный.
- That cat had ticks and mom said we should pour water on him. We did as she said and the ticks started to fall down by themselves for they got full (drunk). And the cat fall asleep as well, as he also got full (drunk) .

This is a clear influence of the Swedish *"full"*, meaning *"berusad"* (drunk). In Russian such extension of the word *полный* is not possible. The word *полный* can mean full (*"full"* in Swedish), but not *"drunk"*. The meaning of the word *полный* in Russian would rather extend to *plump,* denoting a totally different quality.

(53) *S:* - Вика *высоко* играет, я не могу *слушать* (instead of *громко*) .
-Vika plays high (instead of loud) .

(54) S: - Я не эти варежки хочу, я хочу *вторые* (= другие) .
I don't want to have these mittens, I want the other ones = another pair.

(55) S: Папина *маленькая* (=младшая) сестра Линда.
Father's little = smaller – sister.

Calquing Swedish idioms

This special type of borrowing, also known as *loan translation* (see Crystal, 1997), is when parts of the word or expression are translated separately so a new word or expression is formed:

(56) V. – Она стукнула его по попе *за ничего* (= hon slog honom för ingenting)
She hit him on his but for nothing.

(57) V: - Ты плохая на меня (= du är dum mot mig)
You're not nice to me

(58) V: - Я знаю, что она будет очень много хотеть, чтобы я ей рассказала.
I know she will want me to tell her really badly.

(59) V: - Я не достаточно *длинная* для этого аттракциона? А *какая длинная*[230] мне надо быть?
I am not tall enough for this merry-go-round, am I? And how tall do I have to be?

(60) V: Жить долго-долго назад (= leva för länge-länge sedan)
To live a long long time back = ago

(61) V: Я *не думаю* в бога (= верю) compare Swedish: *tro på gud.*
I do not think in God anymore = believe in God.

(62) V: Ты не разбудила меня. Я уже была проснутая. (*Compare with Swedish *jag var redan vaken*) .
You didn't wake me. I was awake already.

(63) V: - Самое хорошее с Декстером это то, что он умный.
- *The best thing about Dexter is that he is clever.* *Compare with Swedish: *Det bästa med Dexter är..*

This phenomenon has only been observed in Victoria's data. However, only two forms are used frequently *Она стукнула его no none за ничего (= hon slog honom för ingenting)* and *Ты плохая на меня (du är dum mot mig).* Others are used incorrectly only occasionally.

- ### Omitting unknown words

As was already been mentioned, the lack of vocabulary items is often compensated for by switching to Swedish. Sometimes these words are adopted into the Russian sound system and

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230 Correct Russian would be *Какого роста мне нужно быть, чтобы прокатиться на этом аттракционе?*

sometimes they are pronounced as normal Swedish words. Yet sometimes the children would simply omit the word that is difficult to recall. Almost all parts of speech are represented here. Omitting an unknown word is equally common for both children.

(64) *V*: Мы с этими (ножницами) не стригём* почти. (*correct Russian *не стрижём* - consonant grada-tion)
We almost never cut with these (scissors) .

(65) S: Я не хочу есть эти (голубцы). Они *äckliga*.
I don't want to eat these (stuffed cabbage rolls). They are disgusting.

(66) S: Vilken knapp я буду (нажимать) ?
What button should I? (press)

The context is crucial for understanding these phrases. Even though the children may occasionally omit the unknown word in talking to their mother, this technique is usually used with monolingual Russian speakers. In speaking to bilinguals the children prefer borrowing or code-switching. Omitting an unknown word is much more common in Susie's speech. Victoria tends to use the Russian word in almost every case or paraphrases it.

See also 5.3.3.

- **Paraphrasing**

As with omitting unknown words, paraphrasing is mostly used when talking to monolingual Russian speakers, like in this short episode of retelling a fairy tale to a cousin:

(67) V: -И сказала старуха старику: иди и попроси у рыбки то, где стирать: ну такое ведро... вот такое большое и широкое...
So the old woman told to the man: go and get the thing to wash it in from the fish... well, a kind of a bucket

and she used her hands to show something that resembled a washtub, in Russian –*корыто*.

(68) V: - И потом пришла она, как она называется? Как Евита у нас была ...
And then she came... what do you call her? Like Evita was for us?

Paraphrasing is used only by Victoria. Susie would rather omit the word or say it in Swedish. However, Susie uses metonymical expressions by substituting the name of an object with its function.

(69) Mother – Что ты видишь на столе?   *What do you see on the table?*
Susie – *Рисовать*.   *To paint.*
Victoria – А я вижу карандаши.   *And I see the pencils.*

- **Confusing similar forms**

This mistake, when two similar words were mixed up, was ocasionally found in Victoria's data:

(70) V: - *Поклонись моим здоровьем, что это правда.*

Nod (=swear) on my health that it's true!

The correct variant would be *поклянись.*

The best example to illustrate this phenomenon is that of confusing the words *"взвеситься"*, which means *weight oneself* and *"повеситься"*, meaning *to hang oneself,* which generating a real misunderstanding.

(71) V: -Мама, я хочу, чтобы ты *повесилась* у меня на глазах!
Ты что, с ума сошла?
А что? Я просто хочу знать, сколько ты весишь...
- Mom, I want you to hang yourself in front of my eyes.
- What?! Are you crazy?
- No, I am not. I just wanna know how much you weigh...

Of course one may argue whether this mistake is really due to interference. Russian children may also occasionally confuse similar forms. However, it is very likely that they will do so at the age of 8.

- ### Wrong contextualization

This mistake has also been noted only in Victoria's data. Susie would never find herself in such a situation because she does not talk much, especially to unfamiliar adults.

(72) Victoria to her teacher:
Victoria: - Змей ты ядовитый. Ты все врешь!!!
Mother: - Нельзя так говорить взрослым.
Victoria: - А что я могу сделать, если он вечно врёт?
What a gifted snake you are! You only tell lies!
You can't talk this way to a grown-up.
But what can I do if he is always lying?

(73) - Какая же ты неблагодарная тварь.
- Ты не имеешь права так говорить.
- Имею!!!
You are such an ungrateful bitch!
You are not allowed to talk this way!
I am!!!

Here are some typical examples that illustrate the use of a "wrong" word in a "wrong" context. *Змей ты ядовитый* is a typical expression in fairy tales and *неблагодарная тварь* was surely learned from her mother when she used it in some very private context. Besides the fact that it impolite to use this kind of language with adults, Russian still requires the so-called T/V distinction, where the speaker has to make a socially appropriate choice between the second person singular versus plural form of the personal pronoun (ты/Вы). The Swedish distinction between *Ni* and *du* is almost obsolete.

Victoria has almost never heard the Russian *Вы* form, even though she is familiar with it. However, she never uses it because Russians living in Sweden prefer *ты*; Russians living in Russia mostly find it "sweet" to hear her say *ты* to them. They say it even makes them feel young. However, because this distinction is lost, Victoria is totally unaware of the appropriateness of a social situation at a given moment. These mistakes are closely connected with anoth-

er shortcoming in Russian acquisition: not understanding Russian idioms.

- **Not understanding Russian idioms**

(74) Mother to Victoria: - Ты упустила свой шанс.
Silence.
Ты понимаешь, что такое упустить свой шаанс ?
Нет.
- You've lost your chance.
Silence.
- Do you understand what it means to lose your chance?
- No

(75) Mother to Victoria: - По духу ты все равно будешь русской.
- Под какой это подухой? Под которой *лежат* что ли?
- You will remain Russian in your spirit anyway.
- Under what kind of pillow? The one you sleep on, or what?

(76) M – V: - Встань: пятки вместе, носки врозь.
А у меня нет носки, я ведь босиком (носки instead of носк**ов** – the use of the accusative instead of the genitive) .
Stand straight: heels together, toes apart!
But I have no socks (NOM). *I am barefoot.*

(77) *M – V:* - Зачем ты это берёшь? У тебя что, руки чешутся?
V: (examining her hands very carefully): - Нет, не чешутся. Почему?[231] Просто хочу это взять…
Why are you taking it? Are your hands itching?
No, they are not. Why? Just want to take it…

(78) - Mother: - Ой, смотри, Сюзи, тесто подошло[232].
Susie: - Куда?
- M: - Look, Susie, the dough has risen!
- Where?

This mistake is not found in Susie's data very often. However, it does not mean that she is much better than Victoria at understanding idiomatic expressions. It only reflects the way adults talk to her, trying to use only easy constructions, which would be understood by the child without any problem.

4. 5. 2   *Morphological interference*

As far as morphological interference is concerned, there are quite a number of features noted in the speech of my informants that mark them as non-natives. Some of the morphological mistakes are slips of the tongue or occasional deviations that are never repeated. Others are more consistent. In general, Victoria would often choose the right form. Susie's morphol-

231 Note the interference with the Swedish "vadå då?"

232 The child must have misunderstood the meaning of the word *подошло* in this context. She understood the word directly: "come closer".

ogy, on the other hand, is very marked. The following deviations are most common in the children's speech.

- **Reduced case system**

One of the most typical characteristic of the children's morphology is a reduced case system. These mistakes can be further divided into the following categories:

Using the nominative instead of the instrumental case

Use of the nominative instead of the instrumental in nouns and numerals is one of the most common mistakes in the children's morphology. The difference between Susie and Victoria is that Victoria only occasionally makes this mistake, while Susie only occasionally says the correct variant.

(79) Grandmother Þ Victoria:
Вика, давай играть в солдатики.
Это как?
За десять минут вся комната должна быть убрана.
Нет, бабушка. Давай лучше так: *я буду принцесса, а ты – солдатик.*
Vika, let's play soldiers!
How do you do it?
Within ten minutes the whole room must be cleaned!
- No, granny. Let's do this way: I will be a princess (NOM) and you – a soldier (NOM) !

In Standard Russian the correct variant would be: я буду принцессОЙ, а ты – солдатикОМ (INSTR) .

(80) V: - Ты бы обрадовалась, если бы я нашла тыщу *под листочек?* (под *листочкОМ*)
Would you be happy if I found one thousand (kronor) under a leaf?

There are some instances where Susie uses the nominative case instead of the instrumental even for pronouns:

(81) S: - Ты бы хотела быть я? Я бы хотела быть ты. (*Ты бы хотела быть мной? Я бы хотела быть тобой) .
Would you like to be me? I would have liked to be you.

Predicative adjectives are often used in the nominative as well:

(82) V: - Не корми хомячиху так много, она будет *жирная.*
Don't feed hamster so much. She'll be fat (NOM) .

(83) V: - А если я буду *хорошая,* мне можно будет получить конфетку?
If I am good, may I get some candy then?

However, it may be argued that this mistake can be considered unmarked in the speech of monolingual Russian children as well.

Not declining proper names

This type of mistake is very common for Susie and is totally absent in Victoria's speech.

....

(84) S: - Я буду играть с *Melinda.*
I will play with Melinda (NOM) .

The mistake may be a result of the influence of Swedish morphology (the names are not declined in Swedish) or a failure to use the instrumental case with the preposition "with" ("с" in Russian) given that the mistake has been observed with other nouns as well:

(85) S: Можно мне играть с *котёнок?*
May I play with the kitten (NOM) ?

Using the nominative instead of the prepositional case

This mistake is almost as common as the use of the nominative case instead of instrumental. However, it has only been noted in Susie's speech:

(86) S: Мама, расскажи мне о *фильм*[233].
Mom, tell me about the film (NOM) .

Using the nominative instead of the genitive case

There are several instances in Susie's data where she does not use the obligatory genitive of negation in the negative existential clause:

(87) S: - У меня нет *котенок* * (NOM. instead of GEN. *котенка) .*
I have no kitten.

(88) S: - Мне будет холодно. У эта куртка нет *капюшон.*
I will be cold. This jacket (NOM) has no hood (NOM) .

The same phenomenon is also noted with numerals:

(89) V: - Я буду считать до пятьдесят (the correct variant is *до пятидесяти (GEN)*) .
I will count to fifty.

(90) V: - Ты только подумай, сколько *муравей (NOM)* умирает сейчас! Все по ним ходят, ходят...
Если вот на дороге *нет муравей (NOM)*, так легко идти сразу.
Just think: so many ants are dying now! Everyone is walking and walking on them… If there are no ants on the road, it is so easy to walk.

Of course it is also possible to consider *муравей* (NOM) (*ant*) to be a wrong try to express genitive plural and not nominative singular.

Using the nominative instead of the dative case

(91) S: - Он холодно (NOM instead of DAT *ему холодно*) .
He cold (He is cold) .

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233 (Correct Russian: *о фильме* (PREP)

- *Wrong gender*

(92) V: *Какое смешное фамилиё*[234].
What a funny surname he has!

Generally speaking, Victoria almost always uses the correct gender, even for unknown words. As for Susie, she is not at all consistent about gender and can even say *"моя мальчик"* (feminine instead of masculine). When it comes to borrowings, the children usually use the same gender as if the word were Russian. They say the following sentence at least once a day: *Я хочу бутерброд с фалукорвом или с шинкой* using the masculine for *falukorv* and feminine for *skinka (I want a sandwich with sausage or with ham).* If the words were Russian, these gender markers would be used as well. Here are some more examples to illustrate this:

(92) V: - *Он залез в своё gömställe.*
He climbed into his hiding place.

(93) V: - *Мы прыгали через такой hög hinder.*
We jumped over such a high hurdle.

- **Wrong adjective comparison**

Susie completely avoids comparing adjectives. She can say *у тебя красивая пижама, а у меня лучше* (instead of *красивее*). She prefers to use the words she is confident about: the two extremes *лучше* (better) and *хуже* (worse). Victoria, on the other hand, wants to express herself as completely as possible, which causes some problems with adjectives that are rarely used:

(94) V: - *Нет мерзкее... мерзее... чем он.* The correct way would be to say *более мерзкого.*
- *No one is disgustinger... disgustingest... than he (more disgusting) .*

Sometimes the comparison is definitely influenced by Swedish:

(95) V: - *Продай этот билет немного по-billigare и его сразу купят.* The correct way to say it is *дешевле.*
Sell this ticket a bit cheaper and it will be bought right away.

- **Violation of adjective-noun agreement and verbal agreement**

Standard Russian requires agreement between the noun and the adjective that modifies it as well as between the noun and the verb. If the noun is used in the 3rd person singular, the verb should also be in the 3rd person singular. Victoria has already understood this rule. Susie, on the other hand, has serious problems with it. She may easily use the adjective in the masculine and the noun in the feminine:

(96) S: - *Дай мне мой розовый куртка Саша купила.*
Give me my pink jacket Sasha bought.

In *розовый куртка Саша купила* there is also an example of linking of two subordinate and

234 *(NEUTR) у него* instead of *Какая смешная у него фамилия (FEM)*

coordinate clauses, which is also very common for Susie.

(97) S: - Мама, папа *слушаешь* музыка.
Mom, Dad listen music (Dad listens to music) .

In папа слушаешь музыка the verb is in 2nd person singular while the substantive is in 3rd person singular.

- *The use of the wrong pronoun*

The possessive reflexive pronoun "*свой*" may sometimes be replaced by the regular possessive pronoun for the person in question:

(98) V: Theresa рассказала мне *о её* маме и что она ее бьёт. (*о её* is used instead of *о своей*)
Theresa told me about she's (her) mom and that she beats her.

The children may occasionally create their own pronouns. Here is an example of them creating their own compound pronoun *оних* :

(99) V: - Когда они вылечили *оних*, они уже больше не болели. (Оних = они+ их) .
When they cured thems, they did not get sick anymore. (thems=them+theirs) .

4. 5. 3   *Syntactic interference*

This chapter will be devoted to describing the structure of bilingual sentences, including word structure. The general tendency in the children's syntax is analyticism of Russian and calquing Swedish constructions. The syntactic interference between Swedish and Russian can be further divided into the following groups:

- **Preference for analytical constructions**

The children would rather use the analytical forms *я одеваю свою куртку* or *я чищу мои зубы (in Susie's case – мой зубы) instead of чищу зубы.* This is definitely a direct influence of Swedish.

(101) S: Я буду идти к *farmor* и *farfar* instead of *я пойду*.[235]
I will go to my grandmother's and grandfather's.

(102) S: - Я буду это делать.[236]
I will do it.

- **Preference for Swedish word order**

The general word order in the girls' sentences tends to be S-V-O (see 111, 110, 107 etc), even though word order is relatively free in Russian otherwise. Saunders (1982) also reports the transference of German word order in the English of his sons. Meisel (1986) found that children who were acquiring French and German simultaneously used predominantly SVO word order,

235 Calque of Swedish *Jag ska gå*.

236 (instead of *я сделаю*). Calque of Swedish *Jag ska göra det*.

a pattern which is common in both languages.

- **Topicalization**

Topicalization is the use of different devices for placing the topic of a sentence in its initial position. It is rather common for Swedish to put the topic in the initial position. When the children try to use the same way of expression in Russian, it often gives the rise to rather awkward constructions, with the preposition being put to the end of the sentence:

(103) V: -Смерть мне бабушка рассказывала про.
Death my grandmother told me about.

The unmarked variant would be "*Мне бабушка рассказывала про смерть*", when the subject of the sentence *бабушка* comes after the object.

(104) V: - Родители, они тоже умерли.
Parents, they died as well.

(105) V: - Вот эти котята, они очень хотели много детей.
These kittens, they wanted to have many children.

(106) S: - *Мой väska (note also MASK instead of FEM),* он будет тоже здесь стоять.
My bag, it will also stand here.

It should be noted, however, that these phrases (104 - 106) are possible in Russian. However, they are marked in a standard variant of Russian.

This phenomenon is common mostly when the topic of the sentence is a person with a proper name. There is a certain tendency to place the name in the beginning of the sentence and then repeat the subject again using a personal pronoun:

(107) V: - Эльза, она ешё хуже играет.
Elsa, she plays even worse.

(108) S: - Мелинда, она мой *kompis.*
Melinda, she is my friend.

Yet it is also common that a temporal adverbial is topicalized and the long pause is made after it:

(109) S: - Вчера... мы... мы дили (= ходили) в кино.
- *Yesterday.. we.. we went to the cinema.*

- *Redundant information (parallel translation)*

This phenomenon is mostly used for further clarification, often when the child is uncertain whether she has used the right word in Russian. Victoria knows the days of the week and names of the months fairly well in Russian, yet sometimes, when she is uncertain if the right day is meant, she will repeat the name in Swedish, for example:

(110) V: - Мы когда к врачу пойдем?
В среду.
På onsdag?
When will we go to the doctor?
On Wednesday.
På onsdag?

When Victoria speaks herself, she may often repeat the day (or month, or even a long number) in Swedish:

(111) V: - В понедельник, *på måndag*, мы поедем с классом в *Kungliga Operan*, в оперу.
On Monday, på måndag, we will go to the Royal Opera with my class, to the opera.

This phenomenon is also present in Susie's data. Sometimes the order of the words may be "reversed" – first Swedish, then Russian. This may be because the child simply starts talking in the wrong language and then discovers it and switches to the "right" language:

(112) S: - Мама, *idag*, сегодня я ещё не смотрела визор (телевизор) .
Mom, today, today, I have not watched TV yet.

- • **Absence of the conditional**

This mistake was used only in Susie's case:

(113) S: - *Канин хочет ты ему дашь попить*. (The correct variant would be: Кролик хочет, *чтобы ты ему дала попить*) .
- *The bunny wants you to give it some water.*

(114) S: - Я хочу *ты меня отвела* в садик. (The correct variant would be: Я хочу, *чтобы ты меня отвела в садик*) .
- *I want you to take me to the kindergarten.*

However, in Susie's most recent utterances, she has already started to use the conditional at times. The utterances are far from correct, but it is thought that with the right feedback, they will be.

(115) S: -Мой шапку *я хочу, чтобы ты будешь дать*.
My hat I want you to give me = I want you to give me my hat.

The correct variant would naturally be *Я бы хотела, чтобы ты мне дала мою шапку*.

- • *Absence of the subordinate clause marker*

This is typically a phenomenon that Susie produces:

(116) S: - Я хочу *pyjamas одевать* мама купила. Note also the use of *одевать* (imperfective aspect instead of *одеть*– perfective aspect) .
- *I want to put on the pyjamas that Mom bought.*

- **<u>Wrong use of prepositions</u>**

(117) V: Я нечаянно прыгнула *за дерево, за нем* держалась, вот и сорвала листочек.
I accidentally jumped on the tree, held onto it and tore the leaf.

It is not certain, however, whether Victoria's use of *за* instead of *на* is a semantic transfer from Swedish.

(118) V: Его дома хватило бы *на три канареечки*[237], а он один там живёт.
His cage is large enough for three canaries and he lives there alone!

(119) V: - *Она прыгнула через два этажа,* так она его любила. (the correct variant: *со второго этажа*).
She jumped from the second floor. That's how much she loved him.

(120) S: - Пойдём *до меня,* мама (the correct variant would be *ко мне*) .
- Come to me, mom!

This mistake supports Cook's position that children possess knowledge that they could not have acquired from the input and which must have existed within their own minds (see Cook, 1988). No one in Susie's surroundings would ever use the form *пойдём до меня.*

Redundant use of prepositions

(121) V: - Мы уже *на два дня* рыб не кормили.[238]
We have not fed fishes for two days.

(122) S: - Ты *на меня* толкнула.
- *You on me pushed (you pushed me) .*

(123) V: - Чашки за 170 крон ты разбивала с мячиком.
- *You're breaking the cups that cost 170 kronor with the ball.*

Omitting the preposition

This mistake was found only in Susie's data:

(124) S: - *Håren* падает глазки. The correct variant is: падает *на глазки.*
My hair is in my eyes.

It is worth mentioning the wrong use of "*håret*" (hair) in the plural, which can be considered an interference from Russian. On the other hand, there is another mistake made by Susie when she uses the singular for *hair* in Russian, which was wrong:

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237 The correct variant would be *для трёх канареек.* Note also the use of the stylistically marked form instead of an unmarked variant.

238 The Swedish variant would be "Vi har inte matat fiskarna på två dagar". The calque of Swedish "*på* in "*på två dagar*" explains the use of *на* in Victoria's sentence.

(125) S: - Можно трогать *твой hår*?
May I touch your hair?

The use of "потому что" instead of "поэтому"

This mistake may be due to the fact that *varför* and *därför* can be used in the sense of "*that is why*" in Swedish, for instance: *Jag har fått så mycket att göra ändå sedan jag kom till Sverige, varför brev och liknande fått vänta*. This is very common for both children, for instance:

(126) V: - Она играет на скрипке всего десять минут дома. Это *потому что она так плохо играла* на концерте.
-She plays the violin only 10 minutes at home. It is that is why she plays so badly at the concert.

• Violation of double negation

Russian demands obligatory double negation, whereas Swedish does not. This mistake has almost disappeared in Victoria's speech starting at around 8 years old. Susie, however, makes it all the time:

(127) S: Включи свет, *я видю ничего!*
Put on the light! I see nothing.

• Calquing Swedish constructions

Verb constructions are sometimes replaced by a calque of the Swedish verb "göra".
It is very typical that the children extend the semantic range of the verb "*делать*" to inappropriate contexts:

(128) **V:** -Он если захочет, *то сделает.*
If he wants it he will do it. .

(129) V: - Бабушка сказала мне полчаса играть на скрипке, но я немножко больше *делаю.* Но это ладно...
My grandma told me to play the violin for half an hour, but I did it a bit longer. Well, whatever...

The possessive construction with the existential verb "*be*" may also be replaced by a calque of the Swedish verb "*ha*":

(130) V: - Я *не имею никаких уроков сегодня.*
I haven't got any lessons today.

(131) V: - *Я не имею* автобусной карточки. Надо купить.
I haven't got a bus card. Must buy one.

The Swedish construction "*det börjar bli*" has also been adopted by Victoria in Russian:

(132) V: - У нас опять *начался быть* срач.
We are starting to have a mess again!

The phrase that is used by Victoria all the time is:

(133) V: - Какие вы *грубые на меня* *. (*The correct variann would be *Как вы мне грубите!*)
You are so rude to me!

I have mentioned to her several times that people do not say this in Russian and suggested the correct alternatives. However, she rejected all of them saying that *грубые со мной* is not quite the same thing as *грубые на меня*.

4. 6   Discussion

It is obvious that the children's mistakes are not quite the same. The difference has its origin in many different factors such as age, personality, desire, ability and need to speak etc. However, there are many general tendencies that are common to both girls, which can be summarized in the following table:

Deviation	Presence in Victoria's data	Presence in Susie's data
1. Lexical interference		
a. Code-switching	+	+
b. Language mixing	-	+
c. Borrowing		
- Core borrowing	+	+
- Cultural borrowings	+	+
- Loanblends	+	+
- Loanshifts	+	+
- Calquing Swedish idioms	+	-
d. Omitting unknown words	+	+
e. Paraphrasing	+	-
f. Confusing similar forms	+	-
g. Wrong contextualization	+	-
h. Not understanding Russian idioms	+	+
2. Morphological Interference		
a. Reduced case system		
- Using nominative instead of instrumental	+	+
- Not declining proper names	-	+
- Nominative instead of prepositional	-	+
- Nominative instead of genitive	-	+
- Nominative instead of dative	-	+
b. Wrong gender	-	+
c. Wrong adjective comparison	+	avoids
d. Violation of adjective-noun agreement and verbal agreement	-	+
e. Use of the wrong pronoun	+	+
3.Syntactic Interference		
a. Preference for analytical constructions	+	+
b. Preference for Swedish word order	+	+
c. Topicalization	+	+
d. Redundant information (parallel translation)	+	+
e. Absence of the conditional	-	+
f. Absence of the subordinate clause marker	-	+
g. Wrong use of prepositions	+	+
- Redundant use of preposition	+	+
- Omitting preposition	-	+

Deviation	Presence in Victoria's data	Presence in Susie's data
- The usage of потому что instead of поэтому	+	does not use these forms
e. Violation of double negation	almost disappeared	+
f. Calquing Swedish constructions	+	-

Table 2.   Interferential mistakes in Susie's and Victoria's speech

The reasons for *lexical interference* are not the same for both girls. In Susie's case, lexical interference results mostly from her limited Russian vocabulary. Victoria's case is similar to that of bilingual adults and often reflects her desire to express one idea more vividly or precisely than another. Having a command of two languages, it becomes natural to borrow their lexical means in appropriate situations. Swedish lexical items are widely used in order to explain a reality common to Sweden or experienced only in that country.

As is shown in the table, the number of "minuses" does not always imply superior progress. For Susie it only reflects that some forms and constructions are absent in her speech. Calquing Swedish idioms and paraphrasing, for instance, demand linguistic competence and are thus not within the scope of Susie's ability. Having started to speak rather late, she seems to learn language by trial and error, mostly on a subconscious level. She would say a phrase "я буду висать " (I will show) with clear interference from the Swedish *visa* (show) without even noticing that she is making a mistake. Victoria, in contrast, is aware of almost all lexical deviation resulting from Swedish interference.

As *morphological* interference is almost absent in Victoria's data, it can be hypothesized that this kind of interference is developmental and will disappear with time. A follow-up study in a few years might then be necessary. However, it is not certain that *the number* of mistakes will decrease. It may even increase, given the phase she is in, when she uses more advanced forms and constructions such as participles and adverbial participles, which are thus far absent in her speech.

Syntactic interference still causes some problems even for Victoria. Special exercises and practice are needed to make her aware of syntactical shortcomings and the correct variants.

Generally speaking, Susie exhibits a tendency to avoid "unnecessary" forms, cases, constructions. She expresses ideas using at most three cases and never uses subordinate clauses. However, she has developed enormously during the time of the study. The main reason may be her age. As she became aware of the two different languages around her and of their distinct purposes, her development in each language progressed. Yet the fact that she suddenly received increased attention should not be forgotten either. I talked much more to her than before and listened especially attentively, trying to identify a new deviation. All this has probably made her speak more and thus develop faster. She became an active talker in kindergarten and made many new friends. Her languages, especially Swedish, are improving noticeably every day. However, at the time the study was completely finished and Susie was 4 years and 5 months, she still did not want to talk to adults who were unfamiliar or only slightly familiar, especially outside her home. However, as soon as she came to know people, she would tell them everything and would show them her deepest affection.

In Susie's case, parents can be mistaken in placing too much importance on the one parent-one language strategy. They believed that applying that strategy alone would be effective

but never really pointed out to the child that there were two languages in her surroundings, a "father's" and a "mother's" language, as they did with Victoria. Because language development went so smoothly with the first child, the parents took it for granted that it would happen as naturally for Susie as well and, perhaps thinking that the one-parent-one language strategy would do the job, allocated her less attention. The mother concentrated mostly on trying to speak only Russian to her child, because it was much more difficult than with Victoria, when the mother spoke only English with Victoria's father and his relatives. The one parent-one language strategy may really work wonders, but only in situations where it is *natural* and where one parent speaks no Swedish. However, one can only hypothesize what would have happened if awareness had been *raised* earlier and not been allowed to just *happen* as was obviously the case with Susie. The fact that all children are different, however, should also be taken into consideration. Earlier investigations also showed a considerable difference between siblings (see 2.3). Yet the reasons for this difference still need more research.

4. 7   Concluding remarks

The main purpose of this investigation was to describe the Russian output of two bilingual siblings born and raised in Sweden and to categorize deviations that mark their Russian as non-native. The study aimed to answer two questions: how children cope with two different linguistic realities and what strategies they use to solve various linguistic problems.

The children's Russian differs from the standard variety of Russian mostly as a result of interference from Swedish. Even though contact with the minority language was sufficient and the parents were consistent in using their own language, the children's Russian has not been free of interference-like mistakes that mark their speech as that of non-natives.

The deviations in the children's speech seem to be of two kinds: *controlled* and *uncontrolled*. The children use controlled strategies to solve various problems in order to cope with two linguistic realities. Such strategies are code-switching, borrowing, omitting an unknown word, paraphrasing and parallel translations. All these means are lexical and are used by the children for various pragmatic purposes and to fill in their lexical deficit.

Not all lexical deviations, however, are controlled. Creating new words and idioms, using loan blends and calques, and confusing similar forms are mostly uncontrolled and are the result of a limited Russian vocabulary. Both children sometimes need to mix languages and borrow vocabulary in order to express ideas. This occurs mostly because vocabulary which exists only in Swedish conveys a message that is not easily translated into Russian. The predominant lexical mix, however, involves nouns. Often words are mixed when a child momentarily forgets the correct word in the appropriate language. The wrong contextualization, or the use of the wrong word when talking to the "wrong" interlocutor, shows an inability to use the right register for the situation. The children seem to have very little idea about the difference between stylistically coloured and neutral forms.

None of the children seem to be aware of their morphological and syntactic interference. Susie does not seem to notice her lexical deviations either. Victoria, on the contrary, is always aware of code-switching, borrowing and other phenomena that occur as a result of her limited

vocabulary or desire to express some idea clearly. When the children talk to monolingual people, they avoid using Swedish words in a Russian context. However, there are still lexical, morphological and syntactic deviations they cannot control. Their speech is understandable and only marked to a certain extent.

As far as morphological interference is concerned, the most particular characteristics of the children's morphology are reduced case system, violation of agreement, incorrect pronominal usage and violation of double negation. The main characteristics of the children's syntax are a preference for Swedish word order, incorrect prepositional usage and loss of the conditional.

Nonetheless, the deviations found in this study are random. It is not possible to say exactly *when* they will appear, nor can one predict when they *can* appear. Yet most mistakes occur when the children produce longer sequences, when they speak fast and are very excited. It is difficult – if not impossible – for them to translate words that are typical for a special activity experienced only in Swedish. On the other hand, they feel that there is no need to translate them. The fact that they seem to have no communicative need to translate a Swedish item into Russian may be the main reason for their language mixing, code-switching and borrowing; many other reasons have previously been described in the literature. When Victoria talks to monolingual Russian speakers, she *never* inserts Swedish words. The most she can "allow herself" is parallel translation.

Despite the fact that the parents used the same strategy – one person-one language – for bringing up both children as bilinguals, the result turned out to be very different, at least at the stage observed in this study. Susie's understanding of Russian exceeds her use of it. She went through long periods of silence and confusion that were nonetheless difficult mostly for her parents. It is debatable, however, whether having raised her awareness of having two languages from early childhood would have changed the outcome.

Victoria seems to have been equally proficient in both languages from early childhood and could express all her ideas almost equally well in Russian and Swedish. Yet her speech is not free of cross-linguistic influence, even though it may not be immediately noticeable. Victoria has to talk for quite a while before someone can hear a phrase that would finally reveal this influence. Susie, on the other hand, tries to hide her lack of proficiency through silence with strangers.

Susie's Russian, though still limited, allows her to express desires and make herself understood. Her Russian phrases contain many borrowed words and mixed utterances, and the grammar is still basic. Needless to say, it is far less rich and idiomatic than Victoria's Russian at the same age.

It should of course be mentioned that, without consistent efforts by the mother to speak Russian to her daughters, Swedish would replace Russian entirely. The children address their mother in Russian even in front of friends.

4. 8   Further research

It may be hypothesized that if the children continue in a monolingual Russian environment, they will ultimately achieve native-like language proficiency in their minority language as

well. Russian becomes dominant already after a couple of days in Russia, and the shift is rapid. Seeing how many of their mistakes would disappear after a couple of weeks in Russia merits further investigation.

A second step is testing the universality of the mistakes made and creating a methodology for correcting and preventing them. If the mistakes resulting from cross-linguistic influence are not unique, but rather typical for other bilingual children (which may be tested with a specially-designed questionnaire for parents), it may be possible to prevent them early on and work out an appropriate methodology for their correction. The methodology can be used by parents and home-language teachers. The construction of such a methodology is the purpose of my next project.

It is also important to make more observations of children whose development follows the strategies of competing hypotheses of linguistic development. Based on the observations made in this study, it might be hypothesized that children who develop in accordance with the initial differentiation hypothesis will develop greater proficiency in their minority language than children who develop according to the gradual differentiation hypothesis, assuming equal exposure to the minority language.

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Appendix

Age	Achievement
1 to 6 months	Coos in response to voice
6 to 9 months	Babbling
10 to 11 months	Imitation of sounds; says "mama/dada" without meaning
12 months	Says "mama/dada" with meaning; often imitates two- and three-syllable words
13 to 15 months	Vocabulary of four to seven words in addition to jargon; <20% of speech understood by strangers
16 to 18 months	Vocabulary of 10 words; some echolalia and extensive jargon; 20% to 25% of speech understood by strangers
19 to 21 months	Vocabulary of 20 words; 50% of speech understood by strangers
22 to 24 months	Vocabulary >50 words; two-word phrases; dropping out of jargon; 60% to 70% of speech understood by strangers
2 to 2 1/2 years	Vocabulary of 400 words, including names; two- to three-word phrases; use of pronouns; diminishing echolalia; 75% of speech understood by strangers
2 1/2 to 3 years	Use of plurals and past tense; knows age and sex counts three objects correctly; three to five words per sentence; 80% to 90%of speech understood by strangers
3 to 4 years	Three to six words per sentence; asks questions, converses, relates experiences, tells stories; almost all speech understood by strangers
4 to 5 years	Six to eight words per sentence; names four colors; counts 10 pennies correctly

Table 3. Normal Pattern of Speech Development
From: Leung, A. and Pion Kao, C. (1999). Evaluation and Management of the Child with Speech Delay; American Family Physician.
Information from Schwartz ER. Speech and language disorders. In: Schwartz MW, ed. Pediatric primary care: a problem oriented approach. St. Louis: Mosby, 1990:696-700.

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by: *Deniver Vukelić (Ph.D. candidate in Croatian Culture, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb)*

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by: *Matteo Albertini (Ph.D. in Semiotics, University of Bologna)*

This paper analyzes social and political movements that emerged in Slovenia in the last years of socialist Yugoslavia. Explicitly or impliedly, any of them was contesting the inability of the Federation to find a solution to the problems Yugoslav peoples were experiencing: lack of civil rights, high unemployment and economic crisis.

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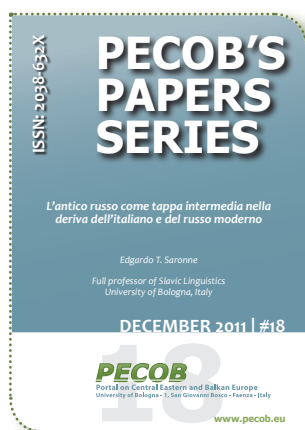
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L'antico russo come tappa intermedia nella deriva dell'italiano e del russo moderno

by: *Edgardo T. Saronne (Full professor of Slavic Linguistics, University of Bologna, Italy)*

The evolution of genetically related languages may sometimes result in a radical modification and differentiation of their structures. The author of this article uses the term shift to designate this kind of structural changes. The relevance of the shift may be increased by geographical and temporal distance. There is a chronological asymmetry in the establishment and development of Italian and Russian. The forefathers of the two modern languages...
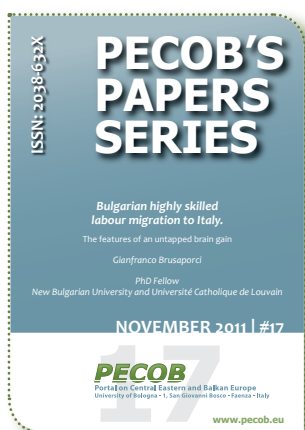
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Bulgarian highly skilled labour migration to Italy The features of an untapped brain gain

by: *Gianfranco Brusaporci (PhD Fellow, New Bulgarian University and Université Catholique de Louvain)*
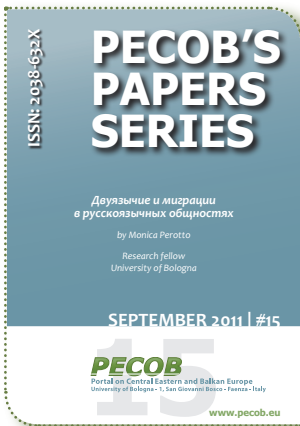
Nowadays, a strategic highly-skilled migration policy is crucial for every country. A knowledge based economy represents a real business and a long term investment for the future; a highly skilled labour force is the true added value to each market, Italy...

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Changes in Russian foreign policy discourse
and concept of "Russian World"

Oleksii Polegkyi

PhD candidate
Wroclaw University

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Changes in Russian foreign policy discourse and concept of "Russian World"

by: *Oleksii Polegkyi (PhD candidate, Wroclaw University)*

The present paper will focus on the analysis of changes in Russian foreign policy discourse and the conception of Russian world as an instrument of new Russian soft power strategy. According to a wide topic of this paper we will have to deal with two main concepts here. One is the concept of discourse or even discursive practice which is theoretical and methodological background for this study, whilst the other...
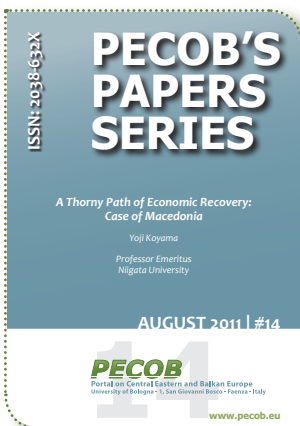

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by Monica Perotto

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Двуязычие и миграции в русскоязычных общностях

by: *Monica Perotto (Research fellow, University of Bologna)*

The aim of this research project ("Bilingualism and migration in different Russian speaking settings") is analyzing contemporary Russian speaking communities in different social and linguistic settings in order to identify divergent or common features, concerning language maintenance vs. decay, group integration (or assimilation) vs. insertion without integration. The method of Linguistic Landscape, which is here applied to these two settings, gave interesting results. The same survey has been developed in Brighton Beach (New York, USA) and Petah-Tiqwa (Tel Aviv, Israel) in order to focus on the vitality of Russian language in these areas. The settings showed...


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A Thorny Path of Economic Recovery: Case of Macedonia

by: *Yoji Koyama (Professor Emeritus, Niigata University)*

With the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, Macedonia became an independent state. Similar to other Republics of the former Yugoslavia, Macedonia had to carry out double transitions, i.e. transition to a market economy and transition from a regional economy to a national economy. For a newly independent small country to survive the environment of market economy, it is required to settle domestic conflicts, establish good relationship with neighboring countries and secure economic independence. Western Balkan countries, which have experienced ethnic conflicts and still have domestic ethnic problems, would not be assured of their survival as long as...
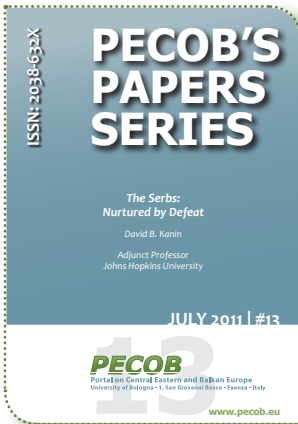
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The Serbs: Nurtured By Defeat

by: *David B. Kanin (Adjunct Professor, Jhons Hopkins University)*

There are worse things than defeat. If a community has the opportunity to inspect its setbacks its conqueror has stopped short of wiping out the vanquished group's memory and collective existence. If the defeated are a mobile community they might literally look for greener pastures. Sedentary winners and losers, on the other hand, remain in contact, and their paired experiences of victory and defeat affect future actions on both sides. The Serbs...
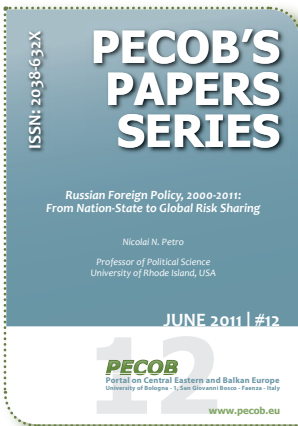
June 2011 | #12
Russian Foreign Policy, 2000-2011: From Nation-State to Global Risk Sharing

by: *Nicolai N. Petro (Professor of Political Science, University of Rhode Island, USA)*

Russian foreign policy thinking has evolved significantly in recent years. Defined throughout the 1990s by a notable lack of any clearly defined strategic course, there is now a clear vision of the type of global order that Russia wants. Russian foreign policy thinking is reaching far beyond traditional realism to embrace global risk sharing, although the extent to which the country ought to embrace a truly global security agenda is still hotly debated. Too little attention has been paid in the West to this intellectual evolution, and to what it says about Russia's...

May 2011 | #11
Рожден в сорочке из змеиного семени ("Nato con la camicia, dal seme del Serpente-Drago"). Leggende, fiabe, credenze popolari

by: *Edgardo T. Saronne (Full professor of Slavic Linguistics, University of Bologna, Italy)*

The paper deals with Slavonic folklore and its influence upon literature. Here the term "folklore" covers oral epics, fairy stories, popular traditions and superstitions; the meaning of "literature" is restricted to XII century chronicles and written epics and also to XV century pseudo-hagiographic compositions. The essay – addressed to non-initiated educated readers – is the result of an original contribution to the meeting...

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*Party system and social cleavages:
the case of the post-communist
Albanian elections*

Endri Xhaferaj

Junior Researcher
Institute for Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans

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Party system and social cleavages: the case of the post-communist Albanian elections

by: *Endri Xhaferaj (Junior Researcher, Institute for Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans)*

The article analyses in a comparative and qualitative pro-spective the Albanian party system in the twenty years of post-communist transition. It intends to give a detailed panorama and trace the process of Albanian electoral systems, and hence induce stability and democratization path dependencies in the light of the historically recognized social cleavages.

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The European Union and Russia's Integrationist Policies in the Post-Soviet Space

Tomislava Y. Penkova

Research fellow
Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), Milan

MARCH 2011 | #09

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March 2011 | #09
The European Union and Russia's Integrationist Policies in the Post-Soviet Space

by: *Tomislava Youlieva Penkova (Research Fellow on Russia and EU Eastern neighbours, Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI), Milan)*

Since 1991, Russia has been searching for a niche for it-self in the new European (Western) system. The vari-ous integrationist projects it has pro-moted in the post-Soviet space (Commonwealth of Independent States, Eurasian Economic Community, Collective Security Treaty Organization, Shanghai Cooperation Organization) sug-gest that it also seeks to create a system of its own there. This regional design, however, clashes with the European Union's regional policies such as...

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Regional Cooperation in Western Balkans in Times of Political and Economical Uncertainty

Simona Mameli

Junior Researcher
Institute for Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans

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Regional Cooperation in Western Balkans in Times of Political and Economical Uncertainty

by: *Simona Mameli (Junior researcher, IECOB - Istituto per l'Europa Centro-Orientale e Balcanica, Faenza, Italy)*

The paper focuses on the current impasse of regional coopera-tion in the Western Balkans, due to political and economical uncer-tainty. Special attention has been devoted on problems affecting the youngest actor of regional cooperation in South EastEurope, the Regional Cooperation Council, the role of the European Union as an "external actor" supporting regional cooperation, and the disputed status of Kosovo with its negative political and econom-ical repercussions.

January 2011 | #07
The European Social Model: Is There a Third Way?

by: *D. Mario Nuti (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)*

The search for a Third Way, intermediate between socialism and capitalism, began even before the birth of the Soviet Union, whose observed drawbacks encouraged a further search. There have been at least three alternative projects within this approach: Market Socialism, combining public ownership, market allocation and socialist values of high employment, growth and equality. This was the target of many failed attempts at reforming the Soviet-type model, in the 1960s to the 1980s. Its best, though partial, embodiment is the Chinese economy circa 1980-2000. The New Labour paradigm of the late 1990s, accepting the dominant role of private ownership and enterprise, the primacy of domestic and global markets and budgetary discipline. [...]

December 2010 | #06
SMEs Development and Competition Policy in Albania

by: *Servete Gruda & Lindita Milo (Lati) (School of Economics, Tirana University, Albania)*

Albania was the last country in South-eastern Europe to start implementing the principles of a free market economy after 1990. As a small country, its market is dominated from small and medium firms. In this respect, the development of Albanian small and medium firms is now an important issue for policy-maker and this process is broadly similar to that found in other transition economies. The aim of this paper is to present the main patterns of the small and medium enterprises and the impact on the level of the competition law and policy enforcement in Albania. In the early transition, competition was an inherent phenomenon of the market, and actions related to it were new to Albanians. [...]
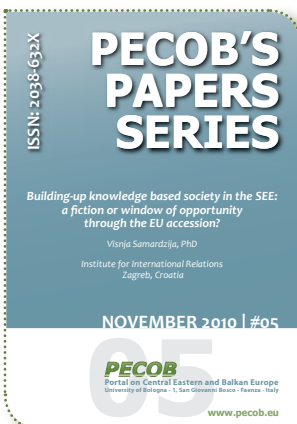
November 2010 | #05
Building-up Knowledge Based Society in the SEE: a Fiction or Window of Opportunity through the EU Accession?

by: *Visnja Samardzija, PhD (Institute for International Relations, Zagreb, Croatia)*

The EU has undertaken strong commitment towards the South-East Europe (SEE) within the overall strategy for the region. Three sets of interlinked issues related to the SEE are on the European agenda: stabilisation, reforms and the EU integration. Renewed consensus over enlargement was achieved ("3Cs") with commitment to the European perspective of the region, while the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty opened the door for further EU enlargement. Major challenges are ahead, such as better governance, state building issues, efficient judiciary and public administration, fight against crime and corruption...
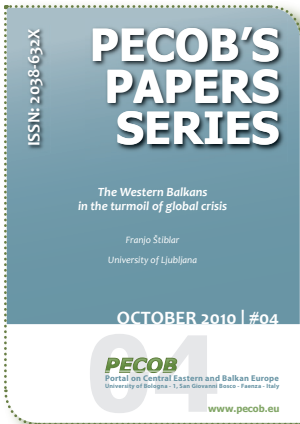
October 2010 | #04
The Western Balkans in the Turmoil of Global Crisis

by: *Franjo Štiblar (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia)*

The Western Balkan countries are significantly exposed to the effects of global crisis because most of them are highly indebted abroad, posses in-sufficient hard currency reserves and experience high balance of payments deficits. Although the first wave of financial crisis (a fall in prices of new fi-nancial instruments) was not critical for them, the second wave in the form of credit crunch, collapse of exports and disruption of the inflow of re-mit-tances has significant impact. As a result, the economic activity is signifi-cantly slowing down in the region, regardless of rela-tive satisfactory tourist season in some of countries in 2009. The negative economic developments will slow down the process of resolving conflicts in the region related to...

September 2010 | #03
Crisi Cconomica Globale e Stabilità Balcanica. Economia, Politica e Riforme: Quale Impatto sulla Sicurezza Regionale?

by: *Stefano Bianchini (University of Bologna, Forlì campus, Italy)*

The present paper addresses the question whether there is a threat to Balkan security that might be generated by the worsening and the prolongation of the global cris is. Promoted by the *Istituto per l'Europa Centro-Orientale e Balcanica* between 2009 and the beginning of 2010, the report summarizes the results of a research carried out at the request of the Centro Militare di Studi Strategici (Rome, Italy) and benefited from an interdisciplinary workshop hold in Faenza (Italy) in February 2010. The outcomes of the workshop have been explicitly incorporated into...
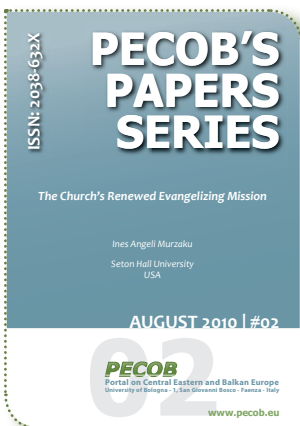
August 2010 | #02
The Church's Renewed Evangelizing Mission

by: *Ines Angeli Murzaku (Seton Hall University, United States)*

Religion is back in Central Eastern Europe after a long experiment in Godlessness. The fall of communism was followed by a radically changed religious situation in the former Central East European block countries. Certainly, the post communist years were perturbed for most of the countries of Eastern Europe, especially for filling the spiritual desert that the fall of communism left behind. For Pope Benedict XVI, the real depredation that the communist regimes left behind was not economic. Instead, it consisted of the destruction of souls, and the eradication of a moral consciousness. The late Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and all of Russia complied. What worried the patriarch the most was...

July 2010 | #01
The Social Impact of the Global Economic Crisis in the Western Balkans with a focus on the Republic of Macedonia

by: *Will Bartlett (European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom)*

This paper studies the social impact of the global economic crisis on the countries of the Western Balkans, with a focus on the Republic of Macedonia. Although almost all countries of the region have been severely hit by the economic crisis in 2009 some, such as Macedonia, that were less integrated into the global economy were apparently less affected initially. The paper sets out the broad impact of the crisis on the region's economic growth, and identifies the transmission mechanisms of the crisis, through contractions of export demand, falling remittance flows....

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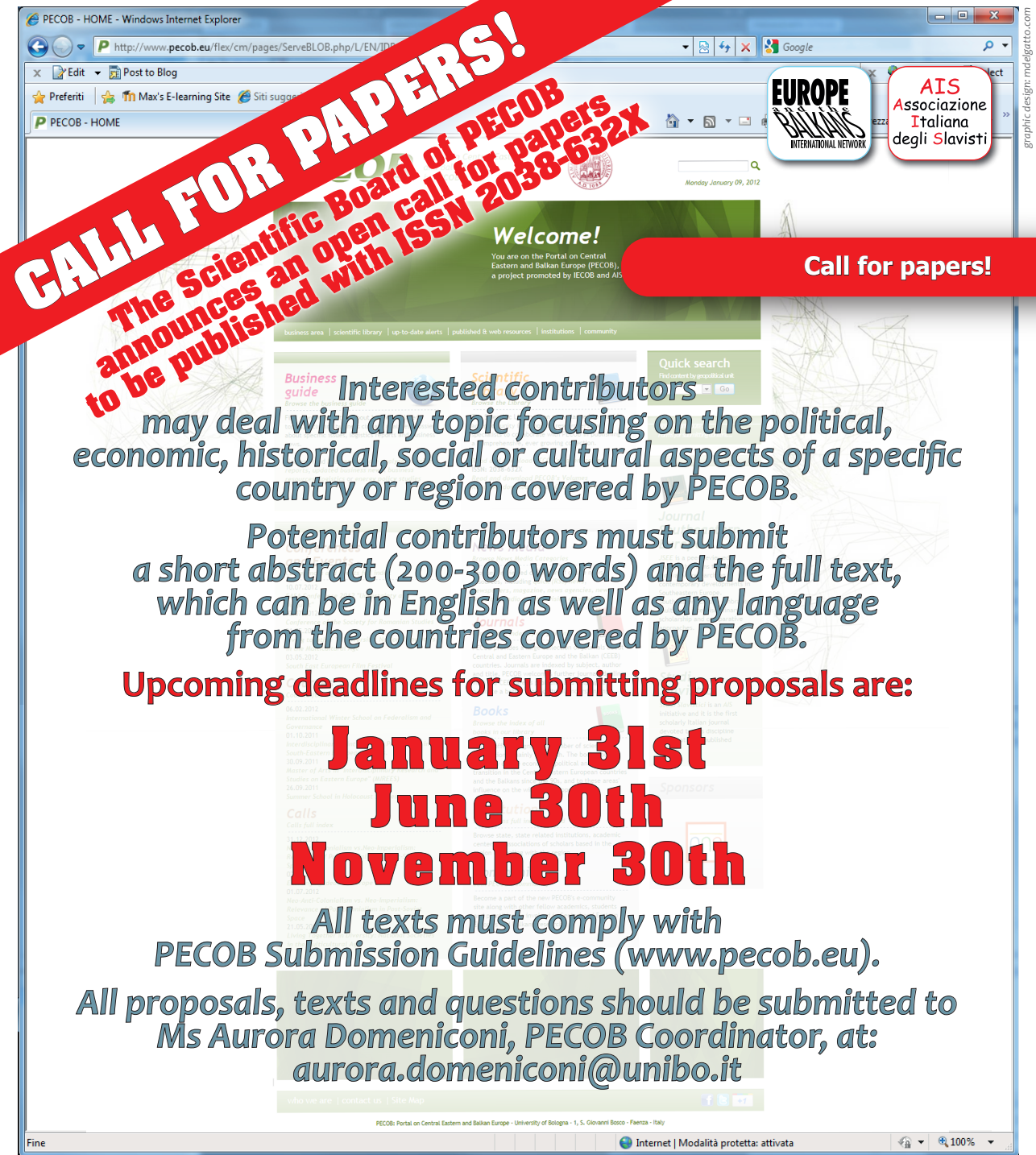
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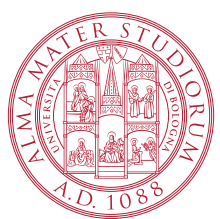
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