

PUSHKIN IN A FOREIGN EDITION

A Critical and Literary Evaluation of
the Leipzig Edition 1859

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfilment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Peter Franz Klassen

August, 1960



ABSTRACT

PUSHKIN IN A FOREIGN EDITION

A Critical and Literary Evaluation of
the Leipzig Edition 1859

by

Peter Franz Klassen

In the whole field of Pushkiniana there is no other aspect as much neglected as the study of foreign editions of Alexander Sergeevich Pushkin. Yet foreign editions of Pushkin are so numerous that a comprehensive study would be justified. Such study should embrace not translations of the poet but editions in the Russian language only.

One of such editions, a 1859 edition of joint authorship of A.S. Pushkin and T.H. Shevchenko, is the object of this thesis. It constitutes a modest beginning of what in future might develop into a systematic and comprehensive branch of Pushkiniana.

The background and reasons for this edition are examined in Part One. Part Two deals with Pushkin's personal problems in regard to czarist censorship and the poet's reaction. Part Three discusses an hypothesis concerning the real authorship of two of the poems ascribed to Pushkin.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	I
CHAPTER ONE Introduction	1
CHAPTER TWO "Russian Library" and its Initiator	5
CHAPTER THREE Censorship in Nineteenth Century Czarist Russia	10
CHAPTER FOUR Pushkin and Censorship	14
CHAPTER FIVE Analysis of the Poem "To the Censor"	22
1. The Title	23
2. The Date	23
3. Obscure Passages, Inaccuracies, and Variants	25
4. Form and Content of "To the Censor"	27
CHAPTER SIX Poems "Prayer" and "Herons"	29
1. Analysis of the Poem "Prayer"	32
2. Analysis of the Poem "Herons"	36
CHAPTER SEVEN The Three Remaining Poems	37
1. "Epistle to Arkadii Gavilovich Rodzianko"	37
2. "To V.L. Pushkin"	38
3. "To Lev Sergeevich Pushkin"	39
4. "On the Death of Anna Lvovna Pushkin"	39
CHAPTER EIGHT Summary	40

	Page
APPENDIX A Transliteration.	41
APPENDIX B Translation of Poems	42
1. Prayer	42
2. Herons	44
3. Epistle to Arkadii Gavilovich Rodzianko	46
4. To V.L. Pushkin	48
5. To the Censor	52
6. To Lev Sergeevich Pushkin	57
APPENDIX C Metric Scansion of Original Lines of "To the Censor"	58
BIBLIOGRAPHY	59

PREFACE

In a work of this nature, where the vehicle of expression is the English language and the subject matter is Russian literature, it is almost incumbent that one is bilingual. However, this piece of research has endeavoured to render the material and argument in such a fashion that the layman will also be able to follow the argument. Nevertheless the author is aware of the shortcomings of this work, the limitations placed upon him by the language barrier against which he had to struggle from the very outset. Two things were very helpful in overcoming these difficulties: translation and transliteration.

Where there did not exist any recognized translations, the author has done his own translating. This is the case with the texts of the poems of the Leipzig¹ edition. Moreover, the translations are made from the original throughout. In some instances, however, when this edition was obviously faulty, recent editions² have been consulted. Whenever possible the Leipzig edition was strictly adhered to except in cases where antiquated spelling or changed and new rules of punctuation and grammar made for greater precision and clarity, the

¹This thesis is based on Novye Stikhotvorenia Pushkina i Shavchenki, Leipzig, Wolfgang Gerhard, 1859 - hereafter referred to simply as the "Leipzig edition".

²Recent editions: (a) A.S. Pushkin, Sochinenia v troikh (Works in 3 volumes, State edition) Moscow 1955.

(b) A.S. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochenenii v desiati tomakh (Complete works in 10 volumes), Academy of Sciences USSR, Moscow - Leningrad, 1949.

more recent editions were consulted. Translations of all of Pushkin's poem appearing in this little volume are relegated to the appendix.

A yet more difficult task was to find an accepted form of transliteration that would be plausible and still scientific enough for a thesis of this type. This need was particularly keenly felt in quoting sources other than English. Since most of the source material is extracted from Russian and Ukrainian books, it was imperative that a recognized system of transliteration be adopted. The need for such a simple and yet accredited system of transliteration plagued the author from the very beginning.

There is no universally accepted system of transliterating the letters of the Cyrillic alphabet. Almost every country uses a different system suited to the peculiarities of its own language. Quite well known among slavists are the German, the English, and the French systems - each satisfactory for its respective country. The most accurate and most scientific system is the one accepted by the Permanent Committee of Linguists of UNESCO.

This thesis has chosen yet another system, that employed by the Library of Congress.³ It has many advantages for a work of such a nature. It is, first of all, well known in Canada and the United States. Most standard library cards use this system and, hence, sources can be quoted and found

³ A.L.A. Rules for Author and Title Entries, American Library Association, Chicago, 1949, p.p.243-247.

without difficulty. One shortcoming of this system is that it will never approximate in accuracy the pronunciation of any of the other systems which are based on phonetic accuracy.

But this thesis is not so much concerned with grammar and phonics as with ideas and facts of literary criticism. Expedience dictated the acceptance of the Library of Congress system. The few changes in the spelling of proper names are due to the fact that their "misspelling" has become fixed in English by long and popular usage. For example the English prefer the spelling "czar" instead of "tsar"; "Moscow" instead of "Moskva", etc.

Where Russian titles which employ foreign names are transliterated, the foreign name will appear in its original spelling, French, German or English: not "Shekspir" but "Shakespeare", not "Dantes" but "d'Antes", not "Gertsen" but "Hertzen". The table of transliteration can be found in the appendix.

During the writing of this work the author continuously felt the lack of first hand source material pertaining to his theme. Especially keenly was felt the need of works published in this field during the last decade in the Soviet Union. Such material was nearly impossible to obtain. The ladies in the Reference Library of the University of Manitoba, Misses M. Mackenzie, K. Gillespie and M. Booth, deserve credit for obtaining the necessary works. They went to great length of

trouble to obtain what could be obtained on this continent. The author expresses his hearty thanks to these ladies.

The author here formally wishes to acknowledge his gratitude for the help, direct and indirect, that he received from his teacher and advisor, J.B. Rudnic'kij, who has done the initial research on this 100 year old book.⁴ It is doubtful whether this thesis would ever have been written without the spadework that had been done by a seasoned scholar. This research paper was attempted after much encouragement from him, and much of the credit for it must go to Dr. Rudnic'kij.

⁴J.B. Rudnic'kij, Shevchenkiana in the West, the first edition of Shevchenko in Leipzig, Germany, 1859, Winnipeg, 1959.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION.

In 1859 in Leipzig, Germany, there appeared a small book, insignificant in appearance, with a rather sensational title Novye Stikhotvorenia Pushkina i Shavchenki (New Poems by Pushkin and Schafftchenko.) The poems in this book were neither "new" nor did all the poems that bore Pushkin's signature belong to his pen. Although this book was the first separately published edition of both authors outside of Russia, it remained one of the most neglected items of Pushkiniana and Shevchenkiana.

First mention of this book was made in 1861 by M.W. Gerbel in his Stikhotvorenija A.S. Pushkina, nje vozshedshije v poslednije sobranije jego sochinenij (Poems of A.S. Pushkin, hitherto unpublished in his works), Berlin, 1861. ¹He criticized the inclusion in the Leipzig edition of the first two poems which in his opinion did not belong to Pushkin's creative output.

¹Cf. F.J. Priyma, Zbirnyk Prats' p'jatoji naukovoji Shevchenkivs'koji konferentsiji (Collection of Works of the Fifth Scientific Shevchenko Conference), Kiev, 1957, p.179.

НОВЫЕ СТИХОТВОРЕНІЯ**ПУШКИНА и ШАВЧЕНКИ.**

ЛЕЙПЦИГЪ, | LEIPZIG,
Вольгангъ Гергардъ. | Wolfgang Gerhard.

1859.

Cut of original title page of Leipzig edition of 1859

In 1886, Y.I. Mezov^h in his bibliography also expresses doubt concerning the "newness" of these poems, since Pushkin's literary activity ceased in 1837, the year of his death.²

A more adequate and a more authoritative mention of the Leipzig edition was made by the Ukrainian poet and scholar Ivan Franko in 1904 in his review of Komarov's bibliography.³ He became very impatient with Komarov, who in his bibliography includes the Leipzig edition among the "translations" of Shevchenko into German. Ivan Franko gave a detailed description of the book. Since Franko's reference is of such importance, he is quoted here verbatim in translation:

"About the Leipzig edition of Gerhard, Dr. Komarov speaks in such a fashion that it is evident immediately that he has never seen it. He even allows a grave error, citing this edition in part VIII, p.76 among the translations of Shevchenko^{ch} into German - a completely fantastic story. Below I am giving a detailed description of this little book. On the cover we have the German title; Neue Gedichte von Puschkin und Schafftschenko,

²I. Mezov, Bibliograficheskiy ukazatel' (Bibliography, Pushkiniana).

³M. Komarov, T. Shevchenko v literature i iskusstve. Bibliographicheskiy ukazatel' dlja isuchenija zisni i proisvedenij T. Shevchenko (T. Shevchenko in Literature and in Art, a Bibliography for the Study of his Life and Works), Odessa, 1903.

and further down the Russian title: Novyâ Stikhotvorenia Pushkina i Shavchenki (unlike Komarov's "A.Pushkina i T.Shevchenko"). Only the Russian title appears on the title page. At the bottom, first in Russian then in German, "Leipzig, Wolfgang Gerhard, 1859". On the last unnumbered page: "Naumburg, Druck von Pätz". There are not 48 numbered pages as Mr. Komarov will have us know, but only 43. However, towards the end there come two unnumbered pages with two of Pushkin's poems, and the last page with the place of the printer given. Adding to these the title page, likewise unnumbered, there indeed are 48 pages. On pages 1 - 6 of the book there are the poems of Pushkin, "Molitva" (Prayer), "Tsapli" (Herons) and "Poslanie Arkadiu Gaurilovichu Radzianko" (A Letter to Arkadij Gavrilovich Rodzyanko). Beginning with page 7, the works of Shev^{sh}enko start and continue to page 37.....The rest of the book is taken up again by Pushkin's poems "V.L.Pushkinu" (To V.L. Pushkin), "Tsensoru" (To the Censor"), "L'vu Sergeevichu Pushkinu" (To Lev Sergeevich Pushkin), and "Na smert tiotiushki Anny Lvovny Pushkinoi" (On the Death of Aunt Anna Lvovna Pushkin)".⁴

⁴Ivan Franko, Zapyski naukovohto tovarystva imeny Shevchenko (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society) Lviv, 1909, p.35.

On the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the appearance of this book of Pushkin and Shevchenko in their original languages abroad, J.B. Rudnyc'kyj has re-edited the texts and has published a special study called Shevchenkiana in the West 1859-1959, the First Edition of Shevchenko in Leipzig, Germany, 1859.⁵

J.B. Rudnyc'kyj has given a thorough analysis of Shevchenko's poems and has drawn some conclusions about the probable originator of this book. The analysis of Pushkin's poems and his part in this interesting little volume is still open for research.

⁵Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences Series, Ukrainica Occidentalia, vol.VI,(4), Winnipeg, 1959.

and
"New Poems of Pushkin and Shevchenko", A Revised Version of the Leipzig Edition of 1859, University Press, Manitoba, 1959

CHAPTER TWO

"RUSSIAN LIBRARY" AND ITS INITIATOR

Ivan Gavrilovich Golovin, whose name is closely linked with "New Poems", was one of the most progressive men of letters of his time. Born in 1816 in the province of Tversk, he was the son of a nobleman. In 1837 he left the university of Dorpat with the degree of candidate. After university he served with the ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1842 he left for Western Europe, and in 1843 he published a book about political economy. The Third Department found this book "unwholesome" and ordered its author home immediately.

When Golovin refused to return, he was tried in absentia by the Court of the Imperial Senate, was found guilty, and forfeited all his titles and his nobility. Furthermore, in case of his return, he would be sent to Siberia for forced labour.

In 1845 he published a book "La Russie sous Nicolas I", which found favourable mention in the French press at the time and was translated into several languages. In 1849 Golovin wrote "A Cathecism of the Russian People".

After Napoleon III came to power, Golovin was asked to leave France. He subsequently was then living in Switzerland, Belgium, England, Italy and Germany. Up to his death (in the beginning of the 80's), he was active in magazines and in the press.¹

¹Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Enciklopedia, Golvin, I.G. (Large Soviet Encyclopedia), vol.II, p.610.

c.f. also Zbirnyk prats'

In 1857 Golovin, who by now enjoyed a fine reputation in the literary world of Europe, received an invitation from Wolfgang Gerhard to take part in the preparation of a new series called "Russkaia Biblioteka" (Russian Library).

This fact and also the fact that his name is mentioned in practically every volume of the "Russian Library" series is evidence enough that he was extremely interested in publishing books that were illegal in Russia. In 1859 he also began to publish in Berlin a Russian language periodical "Strela" (The Arrow), but this periodical appeared only twice. In the same year he founded the magazine "Blagonamerennyi" (The Well-Meaning), which existed till 1862.

His literary work definitely can be labeled progressive. He showed serious interest not only in the literary men who suffered from the czarist censors but also in the peasant movement in his country. In 1860 in his book "Ephemerides", he addresses the Russian peasants thus:

"You are the most important class in Russia. With the sweat that covers your brow you help your oppressors who squander gold in the capitals of Europe. Your blood flows in rivers on the battlefield, but you are forced to suffer under the whip and are kept in slavery and darkness so that even these lines for a long time to come will remain unclear to you".²

²Ivan Golovine, Ephemerides, Leipzig, 1860, P.1.
(Quoted from Zbirnyk)

Golovin's interest in illegal Russian and Ukrainian literature cannot be considered fleeting. He had a permanent interest in publishing uncensored writings that were forbidden in Russia. Other publications of Golovin were La Russie sous Nicolas I, Paris 1845, Types et caracteres russes, Paris 1847, Molodaya rossiya (Young Russia), Leipzig 1859.

Shevchenko, as well as the other authors who had their works published abroad, knew well in advance of what was going to appear. They knew because it was well publicized. Now again the question might be asked: how could illegal literature be publicized or advertised in Russia? This question can be answered by drawing a parallel between the situation in Russia of the fifties to the situation of pre-revolutionary France. There existed two levels of state in Russia at this time: the official state of affairs as contrasted to the legal state of affairs (le pays legale, le pays reale).

Legally publication such as the "New Poems" was forbidden in Russia, but in reality the learned world knew and even the Third Department knew that there were many illegal books in the hands of the public. These books were brought to Russia by the nobility who travelled abroad. And some of these books carried advance notices of books to appear in the near future. For instance, there is extant an original of the Leipzig edition of "New Poems" in the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the URSR in Kiev.³ On the inside cover of this book, at the top of

³This original is kept in the manuscript section of the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the URSR in Kiev under the number 173 Shevchenko, Poetry, Edition 1859, Leipzig.

the page, there is the following legend:

"Russkaia Biblioteka. Tom VIII"
(Russian Library, Volume VIII).

Consequently "New Poems" is the eighth publication of a series. This series was begun in 1858 by Wolfgang Gerhard under the title of "Russian Library". On the fourth page of this text there is also a list of contents of the first seven volumes:

- "Tom I. Stikhotvorenie Pushkina, Ryleeva, Lermontova i drugikh luchikh avtorov. (Volume I. Poems of Pushkin, Ryleev, Lermontov and other best authors).
- Tom II. Gubernatorskaia reviziia, Komediia v triokh destviiakh. (Provincial Inspection. Comedy in three acts).
- Tom III. Rovira ili rabstvo. Drama v triokh destviiakh Ivana Golovina. (Rovira or Slavery. Drama in three acts by Ivan Golovin).
- Tom IV. Lekcii o frenologii s illustratsiami Ivana Golovina. (Lectures on Phrenology with Illustrations by Ivan Golovin).
- Tom V. Desiat' let v Anglii. Ivana Golovina. S portretom avtora. (Ten Years in England by Ivan Golovin with a portrait of the author).
- Tom VI. Zapiski Ivana Golovina. (Memiors of Ivan Golovin).
- Tom VII. Molodaia Rossiia. Ivana Golovina. (Young Russia by Ivan Golovin)."

The contents of the seven volumes was advertised in the eighth, the present volume. The appearance, however, of the eighth volume was heralded as early as in the fourth volume:

"A collection of unpublished poems of Pushkin, Shevchenko and others is being printed".

Shevchenko, and indeed the Third Department, knew in advance what was going to be printed. To avoid the accusation of collaborating with the clandestine editors of forbidden Russian and Ukrainian literature, Shevchanko was expected and hastened to report such knowledge to his censors. (Cf. elsewhere in this paper).

Shevchenko, in turn, knew that he could not afford the antagonism of his censors, and consequently he appeared to be cooperating with them. Thus, when he was warned (either by reading about it himself or by well-meaning friends) what was in store for him, he went to his censor and reported the intentions of Golovin.

CHAPTER III

CENSORSHIP IN NINETEENTH CENTURY CZARIST RUSSIA

The question immediately arises: why did this book appear abroad and why not in Russia? Was it because of the better printing facilities or better editors?

The last question must be promptly denied. Indeed this book is referred to by some scholars as the "notorious charlatan-edition of Leipzig".¹ The poems were poorly selected and the proof-reading, even for a non-Russian edition, quite inadequate. And yet the book has great value. It is a monument to the unconquerable spirit of the Slavic intellect in Russia that will not be silenced.

The most obvious reason for the appearance of "New Poems" in Leipzig was the harsh censorship existing in Russia in the nineteenth century. It was easier to publish some books abroad than at home.²

There were laws governing censorship, religious as well as political, even long before the nineteenth century. The first law for literature censorship, however, was issued in 1804.³ The principal censor was the ministerstvo narodnovo

¹M. Dragomaniv, Shevchenko, ukrainofili i socialism (Schevchenko, the Ukraino-Phils and Socialism) II ed., p.24, Lviv, 1906.

² Involuntarily a contemporary parallel is brought to mind. Boris Pasternak, the 1959 Nobel prize winner for literature, is unable to publish his work (Dr. Zhivago) in his native land, but in the meantime his book has appeared in original as well as in numerous translations abroad in the free world.

³Bol'shaja Sovietskaja Ecyklopedia, Censura (Large Soviet Encyclopedia, vol.46, p.519. Censorship)

prosveshchenia. After the "Decembrist" uprising (1825), there was introduced a new and very reactionary law that is universally known as the "cast-iron" censorship (chugunnaja censura).

This law was the product of years of work of the most reactionary elements of the Russian government and of the notorious "Tretee otdelenie" (Third Department) of the Czarist Okhrana. The severity of this law and what it meant to writers and scientists is best illustrated by citing a few examples.⁴

I. Paragraph 186 forbade all freedom concerning religion and philosophy: "Aside from learned logical and philosophical books necessary for the youth, other works of this type, filled with fruitless and corruptive sophistry of modern times, must altogether not be printed".

II. Paragraphs 171 and 181 directed ~~at~~ the censors to pay heed particularly "to the aim and spirit" of historic and geographic works, in order that they contain nothing that is unwholesome to the monarchy .

III. Censors had the right to forbid single sentences or phrases if they contained a "double meaning" and "one of these might be against the rules of censorship" (Par.151)⁵

⁴ For these and subsequent quotations concerning the "cast-iron" censorship cf.:
D.N.Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, Istoria russkoj literatury XIX veka (History of Russian Literature of the 19th Century) Moskva, 1908 pp.236 f.f.

⁵Ibid. p.236-239.

One of the censors, F.N.Glinka,⁶ who subsequently was retired because of suspicions that he had been sympathetic to Decembrists, said that according to the law of 1826 the censors could ban the Lord's Prayer should they wish to do it. In such an atmosphere poets like Pushkin and Shevchenko were writing or rather were forced to be silent.

It is, therefore, not unnatural that Russian books that were forbidden in Russia began to be published abroad, in many cases without the knowledge or approval of the author. Ignorance about such clandestine editions did not absolve the authors from their responsibility and from persecution. Thus, for instance, as a result of a Berlin edition (1859) of Nekrassov's "Poems", the author was forced to petition the authorities not to permit the book in Russia.⁷

Consequently, with the appearance of "New Poems", all was not well with the authors. Pushkin already was beyond the reach of the long arms of the chief of the Third Department⁸ because of his untimely death, but Shevchenko still had to exonerate himself. About this incident there exists a document in the State Museum of T.H. Shevchenko in Kiev.⁹ The document

⁶Bol'shaia Sovietskaia Encyklopedia, Glinka, Fiodor Nikolaievich (1786 - 1880), vol.2, p.509.

⁷N.A.Nekrassov, Polnoe sobranie socheneni i pisem (Complete Collection of Works and Letters) Vol.XII,p.47 Moskva, 1953.

⁸Chief of the Third Department of the Okhrana was Count P.V.Dolgorukov - literal translation of the surname is "Longarms".

⁹State Museum of T.G.Shevchenko, Academy of Sciences URSS, 52 spr."III otd" No.81, ark.125-125, Kiev.

states:

"Shevchenko lives with Count Tolstoi in the Academy of Arts. He (Shevchenko) came to me to tell me that Golovin aims to print his works abroad, and he assures me that he has given Golovin no manuscripts. His works, he says, were printed before 1847 and subsequently forbidden.

I wish to have a statement about this matter as well as about the content of his works. October 18, 1858."

And at the bottom of this memo there is a note:

"Reported to His Highness, October 19."¹⁰

This document throws some light on the secret of the Leipzig edition of 1859. But it leaves unanswered the question of how Shevchenko could have received news, almost a year in advance, of the appearance of this publication. This question will be partly answered in the next chapter where the series to which this book belongs is given a closer examination.

¹⁰ State Museum of T.G. Shevchenko, Academy of Sciences URSS, 52 spr. "III otd.", No. 81, ark. 125-126, Kiev.

The above is quoted from: F.J. Prijma, Akademia Nauk URSS, Zbirnyk prats p'iatoi naukovoï konferentsii (Collection of Works of the Fifth Scientific Shevchenko Conference), p. 175, Kiev, 1957.

CHAPTER IV

PUSHKIN AND CENSORSHIP

There originated an opinion about Pushkin's political indifference in the 1860's which is still widely accepted. However, to the more discerning scholar of Pushkin it is evident that he is far from merely the ideal singer of "sweet melodies and prayers".¹ Throughout his whole life Pushkin was haunted by the specter of the Third Department of the Okhrana. The evidence uncovered especially after the Russian Bolshevist revolution about Pushkin's persecution points to a much different conclusion. Far from being politically indifferent, Pushkin had radical opinions about the social injustices of his time. Moreover, he voiced these opinions boldly, if not always tactfully. For about 20 years of his life Pushkin was under police surveillance.

"His genius demanded freedom to live and to create as it desired. Instead of this, Pushkin's spiritual and material existence throughout all his mortal days was shackled with chains which he could not break. . . . he was condemned to struggle under the maddening conditions of exile, police surveillance, governmental interference, and social obstacles."²

¹D.N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovskii, Istoria russkoi literatury XIX veka (History of Russian Literature XIX century) Moscow, 1908, p.410, V.I.

²Ernest J. Simmons, Pushkin, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. 438-439.

His first serious encounter with the despotic censor took place in March 1820.

This encounter was occasioned by the fact that many unprinted and, moreover, unprintable poems of Pushkin were circulating freely among the youth of St. Petersburg. The smart social set of St. Petersburg quite openly recited and copied by hand Pushkin's verses. Rumours were flying that his "Ode to Freedom" had been read by the emperor himself, and that the emperor was enraged about the unkind reference in the poem to the death of Paul I.

Pushkin, who had previous warning about a possible arrest, decided to make a clean breast of the whole affair. He went to Count Miloradovitch, the governor-general of St. Petersburg. The governor later recounts that Pushkin sat down and within several hours reproduced from memory everything that he had written.

Although nothing really damaging was found, Pushkin had already fallen in disgrace, and the emperor's mind was made up:

"Well, what's done is done, and so we are giving different orders: get Pushkin ready for a journey, give him the necessary funds and send him to serve in the south in keeping with his rank and position."³

³Zapiski T.N. Glinki, Russkii Arkhiv (Documents of T.N. Glinka, Russian Archives) N-6, 1866.

Quoted from: Pushkin and the Emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I, by Leonid I. Strakhowsky, Slavonic Papers, 1956, V.I.

Time and again poet Pushkin had to come before the authorities to "white wash" himself. There are extant a great number of letters in connection with various investigations of the Third Department. As an example the Andrei Shene affair may be quoted.

This elegy of Pushkin, "Andrei Shene",⁴ was published in a censored version in October 1825. It dealt with the French revolution and extolled the virtues of one of its fighters and poets, Andre Chenier, who helped to storm the Bastille and who sacrificed his life in the cause of freedom.

Unfortunately, manuscript copies of the uncensored "Andrei Shene" began to circulate under the new title "Chetyrnadtsatoe Dekabria" (The Fourteenth of December). It was not difficult to interpret some lines of the elegy as referring to the happenings of the 14th of December 1825, a plot by young officers to overthrow the czarist regime, known in history as "Decembrist revolt". Since many of Pushkin's intimate friends were involved, it was only natural for the Okhrana to suspect the poet of being a member of the secret society that was responsible for the plot.

In a series of interviews and letters Pushkin diligently tried to prove that the poem was written before the events of December 14th, 1825. Here is one such letter dated January 27, 1827. After analysing and explaining certain lines in detail

⁴ A.S. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v desiati tomakh (Complete Works in 10 volumes), Academy of Sciences, USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, V.I., p.393.

and proving to his accusers that the verses pertain to the French revolution, Pushkin at the end impatiently states:

"None of these verses, without clear insanity, can be described to the fourteenth of December.

I don't know who appended this mistaken title to them.

I do not remember to whom I could have given my elegy "Andrei Shene".

Alexandr Pushkin

January 27, 1827
Moscow.

For greater lucidity on the matter, I repeat that the verses appearing under the title "The Fourteenth of December" are fragments from the elegy which I named "Andrei Shene."⁵

And again on June 29, 1827:

"The elegy "Andrei Shene" has been printed in a collection of my poems, having passed censorship on October 8th, 1825. Proof thereof: approval of the censor on the index page.

The manuscript of the censor, not needed after his approval any longer, has been lost, as have been many other manuscripts of poems printed by me.

Again I reiterate that the verses, which were found in the possession of Mr. Alekseev and which are taken from the elegy "Andrei Shene" were not passed by the censor and were replaced by dots in the printed

⁵Ibid. Letters, Volume X, pp.630-632.

original.

Let me remark that in this fragment (omitted)
the poet (Andre Chenier) speaks:

About the taking of the Bastille.

About the oath - du jeu paume.

About transporting of the bodies of the
banished into Pantheon.

About the victory of revolutionary ideas.

About the victorious announcement of equality.

About the annihilation of tsars.

What is there in common with the unfortunate mutiny
of December 14th which was squashed with three cannon
shots and the arrest of all participants? Finally, I
state that after my last explanations there remains
nothing for me to add in proof of the truth.

Alexandr Pushkin⁶
of the 10th Class

St. Petersburg 7
1827, June 29."

And finally an explanation to the Chief of the St.
Petersburg police, Colonel Deshau:

"Explanation

To the question of the court: 'how is it possible that

⁶ Peter the Great divided all public service into fourteen
classes, corresponding to ranks in the army. The tenth rank was
that of "collegiate secretary".
cf.: Ernest J. Simmons, Pushkin, Harvard Uni.Press, 1937, p.66.

⁷ Ibid.

the fragment of Andrei Shene, without having been passed by the censor, was being handed around in all places', I am answering the following: my poem "Andrei Shene" was known to everyone in its original version before its appearance in print because I did not plan to make a secret of it.

Alexandr Pushkin"⁸

Such treatment caused bad blood and may very well have provoked Pushkin's poem "To the Censor".

For five long years the greatest Russian poet languished in exile in the "accursed city of Kishinev", in Odessa, and Mikhailovskoe. His exile was only terminated by the death of one emperor and the ascension of another.

His recall from exile, however, did not mean an end to censorship. Quite to the contrary, it was stricter than ever. Hypocritically tsar Nicholas I offered to be his sole censor henceforth:

"You will send me everything you write; from now on I will be your censor."⁹

Pushkin's untimely death brought to an end the disgraceful spying and hounding of the great poet by the tsarist Okhrana.

⁸Ibid.

⁹B.L. Modzalevskii, Pushkin pod tainym nadzorom (Pushkin under Secret Surveillance), Moscow, 1929, p.37.

He fell a victim to a scandalous plot upon his honour. On a bitterly cold January day of 1837 Pushkin succumbed to the wounds inflicted in a duel between him and his main adversary D'Anthes, the natural son of Baron Heeckeren, the Dutch envoy to Russia.

Even after his death, the strict censorship was not lifted. When V.A. Zhukovskii, one of the poet's closest friends and himself a poet of considerable repute, made an inventory of the dead Pushkin's papers, he had an assistant from the Third Department sitting at his elbow.

A few days after Pushkin's death there appeared a poem in St. Petersburg which was read in secret and which was memorized by the patriotic youths of the capital. It was written by M.I. Lermontov, a great admirer of Pushkin. The young poet had this to say about Pushkin's death.

"Of celebrated sires whose baseness is their fame
 Who lightly trampled in the dust with servile heel
 The hopes of an embittered people and its name!
 You, greedy crowd, behind the sovereign's throne you draw,
 The hangmen of our freedom, genius and renown!
 You hide yourselves behind the shelter of the law,
 Before you, truth and justice - yet on these you frown!
 But God's high court remains, you confidants of crime,
 His judgement threatens: He will wait,
 Nor is He moved by golden bait;
 Your thoughts and actions all he knows before their time.

Before this Judge you whisper slander quite in vain:
 It will avail you nothing more,
 And never will your shameful blood wipe out again
 The murdered poet's gore!" 10

The "hangmen of our freedom" were the censors.

¹⁰ M.I. Lermontov, Na smert poeta (On the Poet's Death).
 Translation taken from Ernest J. Simmons, Pushkin, p.437.

CHAPTER V.

ANALYSIS OF THE POEM "TO THE CENSOR"

This poem was not published during Pushkin's lifetime. The reason is obvious. It was a blistering attack on the existing censorship laws, the "cast-iron" laws discussed elsewhere in this thesis.¹ In the 1949 edition of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR we find the following note:

"During Pushkin's lifetime not printed, but received wide publicity through hand written copies. Written at the end of 1822. The epistle is directed against the censor, A.S. Biriukov, whose work Pushkin described as 'a despotic revenge of a cowardly idiot'. In the rough draft of the manuscript there exists a variant to the lines 'Things necessary for London, are not ripe for Moscow yet.' (line 5 P.F.K.) 'The necessities of intellect are not everywhere alike; If you allow us freedom today, What will appear tomorrow, But Barkov's works.'" 2

Whatever source Golovin as the editor of the "Russkaia Biblioteka" series did possess, it is quite clear that he did not have the author's manuscript.

¹cf. Chapter II.

²A.S. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v desiati tomakh (Complete Collection of Works in Ten Volumes). Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, V.II., p.416.

There is made no mention of a variant. Grammatical errors, mistakes in punctuation, and many other editorial shortcomings point to the conclusion that Golovin's source definitely was a hand written copy. An answer to the question as to the identity of the person who supplied these copies will be attempted in a separate chapter.

A thorough analysis reveals the following controversial items and passages in this poem.

1. The Title

The Leipzig edition gives the title "Tsenzoru" Dative case without preposition. An English translation could be rendered as "To the Censor" or "For the Censor". Recent editions give the title "Poslanie tsensoru", in English, "An Epistle to the Censor" or "A Message to the Censor". It is difficult to say which title was Pushkin's choice. Very often the titles were chosen by the editors and not by Pushkin. He used both variants extensively in his poetry. In his works there are listed at least nine poems with the title "Epistle to..." A check in the alphabet index shows that the other title "To...", simple Dativ is more frequent. However, any conclusion arrived at through the numerical frequency of its employment is merely a conjecture.

2. The Date

At the end of the poem, on the right side appears the name "A.Pushkin", and on the left side the date 1816. This date cannot be accepted as the correct date of this poem for several considerations.

First, in 1816 Pushkin was still in the Lyceum from where he graduated only on June 9, 1817. He had written and published various poems in leading literary magazines of that time.

Ernest J. Simmons says of this period:

"In the Lyceum Pushkin wrote more than one hundred and thirty poems on an extraordinary variety of subjects. They range all the way from precise lyrics on the joys and sorrows of Venus and Bacchus to imitations of Ossian... In these useful compositions he strove for, and in an unusual degree achieved, a purity of expression, and persuasive beauty of style." ³

Since he was more occupied with poetic and metric exercises than with politics and polemics, it is fair to assume that Pushkin had no cause to complain about the censor at that time. As a matter of fact, he had practically everything printed with very little difficulty, because he was the protégé of such famous men as Zhukovski, Vsili Pushkin, A. Turgenev, Batiushkov, and Viazemski. ⁽⁴⁾

Furthermore, in his poem Pushkin mentions certain events that did not take place till at least 1821. In line 48 he says that Kunitsyn displeased the censor. A check in the BSE reveals

³Ernest J. Simmons, Pushkin, Harvard University Press, 1937, p.55.

⁴Ibid. p.58

that Kunitsyn was Pushkin's science teacher at Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum. In 1821 he had his text book "Estiestvennoe pravo" (Nature Law) forbidden by the censor.⁵

The other date, 1822, appears in the notes to this poem in the Acedemy of Sciences edition of Pushkin.⁶ 1822 is by far the more acceptable date for the appearance of "To the Censor". During 1822 Pushkin was in semi-exile in Kishinev, where he openly "courted danger during this period."⁷, either with his sword or with his pen.

3. Obscure passages, inaccuracies, and variants

Line 20: "Yawn a hundred times, fall asleep - and after sign
your name."

In the more recent editions, the comma is shifted. Then this line reads as follows:

"Yawn, a hundred times fall asleep - and after sign
your name."

Line 24: Leipzig edition: "bezmolvoe vnimanie" - silent
attention.

Recent edition: "bezplodnoe vnimanie"- fruitless
attention.

Line 30: Leipzig edition: "uchtivykh avtorov" - honoured
authors'

Recent edition: "uchtivykh ostriakov" - honoured
wits'

⁵Bolshaia Sovietskaiia Entsiklopediia - Large Soviet Encyclopedia - V.24, p.58.

⁶A.S. Pushkin, Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii v desiati tomakh (Complete Works in Ten Volumes).

⁷Ernest J. Simmons, Pushkin, Harvard University Press, 1937, p.120.

Line 63: Leipzig edition: "poryv" - an outburst
 Recent edition: "Pirov" - the title of a poem by
 Baratynski.

According to recent editions this line would read as follows:

"Neither the style of the poet of "Pirov", so pure, so salutary...."
 instead of: "Nor the poet's style, a burst so pure and salutary - "

Line 66! Leipzig edition: "vsekh" - all (everyone)
 Recent edition: "vsio" - all (everything)

Line 75: Leipzig edition: "v lete" - in the summer
 Recent edition: "v Lete" - in Lethe (River of
 Forgetfulness)

Undoubtedly this is one of the most obvious and most glaring
 mistakes of the book.⁸

The whole line reads:

"And his manuscript does not perish in the Lethe....."

Line 91: Leipzig edition: "gromkoi" - loud
 Recent edition: "grosnoi" - formidable

Line 92: Leipzig edition: "razoblachil" - unmasked (Perfective
 Aspect)
 Recent edition: "rasoblachal" - unmasked (Imperfective
 Aspect - continuous)

Line 94: Leipzig edition: "Naperstnik dushenki" - the thimble
 of the soul
 Recent edition: "Napersnik Dushenki" - Dushenka's
 confidant

⁸cf. J.B. Rudnyckyj, New Poems of Pushkin and Shevchenko,
 a revised edition of the Leipzig Edition of 1859, Winnipeg 1959.

The former version is a misprint and makes no sense in the context. The latter, "Dushenka's confidant: was the writer Bogdanovich.

Line 99: Leipzig edition: "Ty v etom vinovat?" - Are you at fault?
Recent edition: "Kto zh etom vinovat?" - Who is to blame?

Lines 107 - 108: The Leipzig edition here omits a full line. The whole passage reads as follows:

Line 107: "No, no! That pernicious hour has passed,

Omitted: "When Russia~~y~~ carried a burden of ignorance.

Line 108: "Where a glorious Karamzin has plucked himself a wreath..."

The missing line interrupts the rhyme pattern of the rhyming couplet, and the effect in oral reading is quite incongruous and jarring.

Line 110: Leipzig edition: "I sbros vrazhdy ty bremlia" - and throw
off the yoke
of ehimity.

Recent edition: "i primirisia s nami" - and make peace
with us.

Omitted: "Vsio pravda, - skazhesh ty, - ne stanu sporit s vami"
That's all true, you say, I'll not quarrel with you.

Lines 112 and 113: These lines in recent editions are reversed.

4. Form and Content of "To the Censor"

From a representative scansion ¹ of some of the lines, it can be concluded that the rhythm employed in this poem is iambic hexameter. The verses are flowing rather smoothly and very seldom become irregular.

¹cf. Appendix C.

There are a great many feminine rhymes, for example:

kholodny - blagorodny;

zhelanie - viumanie;

sviashchenny - prosviashchenny;

s nami - glasami

The pattern is a rhyming couplet: aa, - bb, cc, etc.

This pattern is not interrupted except in a few cases where lines are omitted or where lines are reversed, as was pointed out elsewhere in this chapter.

As to content, the poem can be divided into seven parts. This division is perhaps no conscious separation on the part of the poet but rather a loose continuity of subject matter.

1. The time has come to speak to the censor.
2. Sympathy with the censor's hard lot.
3. Qualities of a good censor.
4. Lack of all these good qualities in the present censor: his ignorance, stupidity, and stubbornness.
5. A list of the censor's sins committed against country and humanity.
6. Weak attempt of censor to justify himself.
7. Final advice: to take a clever secretary.

CHAPTER VI.

POEMS "PRAYER" AND "HERONS"

As was already stated earlier, the first two poems in this little edition are not Pushkin's, although his name appears after each poem. M.W. Gerbel in 1861 was the first literary figure of some stature and Slavist to doubt the authenticity of these two poems. For nearly a whole century since Gerbel's pronouncement critics and researchers have been quick to deny Pushkin's authorship, but no one until recently has ventured to prove the identity of the real author.

J.B. Rudnyc'kyj was the first to approach this problem positively. In 1959, one hundred years since these poems were published, he came forth with the new and intriguing hypothesis. Rudnyc'kij set up the postulate that Panteleon Kulish¹ was the initiator of this edition of Pushkin and Shevchenko. His main points of argument can best be illustrated by quoting Rudnyc'kyj verbatim in translation:

"From the above gathered facts the following conclusions can be drawn:

- 1) Kulish always had carried around the idea of publishing Shevchenko abroad, especially in Germany;
- 2) He knew well the conditions of censorship in contemporary Russia and endeavoured by various means to circumvent them: besides publishing Shevchenko's works without the author's name ("Naimychka - The

¹. Bolshaiia Sovietskaia Entsiklopedia (Great Soviet Encyclopedia)
Volume 24, p.20.

Servant-Girl), he thought about publishing forbidden works abroad where he travelled and had connections with publishers;

3) At various times Kulish brings up Pushkin in connection with Shevchenko's works: The Leipzig edition of Pushkin and Shevchenko would be a realization of his idea - to put both poets on the same level, regardless of the political inequality of the two peoples that each represented;

4) Formal data (orthography and stress peculiarities) point also toward Kulish as the initiator of the Leipzig edition of Shevchenko in 1859."²

These are all arguments that have to be accepted or else must be refuted. An unbiased analysis of Pushkin's part in this extraordinary little book led to discoveries that are in support of the theory that Kulish was the initiator of the Leipzig edition.

First, it was found that on the whole Pushkin's contribution to the book ~~is almost insignificant and~~ in no way can be compared to Shevchenko's in importance. Only one poem by Pushkin was forbidden at that time in Russia, that was the poem "Tsensoru" (To the Censor). However, all of Shevchenko's poems are of a nature that could have landed the author in trouble with the authorities. P. Saitsev even states that someone deliberately wanted to harm Shevchenko and blacken his name with this publication.³

² J.B. Rudnyc'kij, *Shevchenkiana in the West*, Winnipeg, 1959, p.28

³ Cf. P. Saitsev, *Zhittia Tarasa Shevchenka (The Life of Taras Shevchenko)*, Paris - New York - Munich, 1955, p.344.

All of his poems contained in this volume are of a political nature, full of hate for the existing regime, even revolutionary.⁴ On the other hand, there was no danger of retribution against Pushkin any more, he being dead for over twenty years.

Second, the format of the edition points to the fact that the initiator of the Leipzig edition wanted to make Shevchenko and his illegal verses more palatable to the public. He sandwiched them in, so to speak, between Pushkin's poems. He thus accomplished a three-fold purpose: he disguised the politically more objectionable poetry between more or less harmless verses; he realized his life-long dream, to elevate the Ukrainian national bard to the heights of the Russian poet; and finally he found a safe way to settle his own account with the censor.

On page 7 of "New Poems" there appears a footnote to the title of Shevchenko's poem "Kavkas": "The following poems were sent to us, in the Little Russian language (Ukrainian), with the remark that the Poems of Shevchenko are an expression of common, over-boiling tears. Not the poet, but the Ukraine herself cries with his voice. Remark of the Editor."

Such tactics of editing were not strange to Kulish. In 1857 he managed to publish "Naimychka" (Servant-Girl right under the very noses of the Third Department.⁵ In his foreword

⁴"Kavkas" (Caucasus), "Kholodyi Iam" (Cold Ravine), "Dumka" I & II (Thought), "Rosryta Mohila" (Opened Grave), "I mertvym i Zhyvym..." (To the Dead and Living) Cf. A good translation of Shevchenko, such as Manning.

⁵Kulish, P.A., Zapiski o Iuzhnoi Rusi (Notes about Southern Russia), St. Petersburg, 1857, V.2, p.p. 143-168.

he plays up the fact that these verses are written by someone who might be dead by now, at any rate by someone who did not leave his name behind, and it was sheer accident that the editor had found these poems in a provincial lady's album, written in a female handwriting.

1. Analysis of the poem "Prayer"

However, there are yet more weighty reasons for assuming that Panteleon Kulish might have been the instigator of this little volume. For our present investigation we will compare certain lines of "Prayer" with The Lord's Prayer in four standard editions;⁶ Kulish's translation of the Bible, the Holy Synod edition, the King James Version, and Luther's translation. The method will be to compare a line or an expression in order to establish points of difference or points of congruence. After an adequate sampling, we shall draw the conclusions.

I. Line 6 : "СВЯТИТСЯ" (Да имя вѣчное Твое
St. Matthew 6:9-13 СВЯТИТСЯ НАШИМИ СЕРДЦАМИ!)

Kulish's translation: "СВЯТИТЬСЯ" (Нехай святить ся імя Твое)

Holy Synod Edition: "СВЯТИТСЯ" (Да святится имя Твоѡ)

Luther's translation: "Dein Name werde geheiligt"

King James Version: "Hallowed be thy name"

6a. Kulish's Translation, published by Union of Bible Societies, New York, London. No year of publication given.

b. Novyi zavet (New Testament), American Bible Society, no year given.

c. The Holy Bible, King James Version, The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York, no year given.

d. Die Bibel oder die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments Nach der Uebersetzung von D. Martin Luther, Bibel-Verlag Meiringen, no year given.

II. Line 7 :

Prayer: "Да прійдетъ Цврствіе Твое!"

Kulish: "Нехай прийде царство твоє"

Synod: " Да прийдёт Царство Твоё"

Luther: "Dein Reich komme"

King James: "Thy kingdom come"

III. Line 9 :

Prayer: "Какъ вѣ небѣсахъ, такъ на земли!"

Kulish: "Як на небі, так і на землі."

Synod: "И на земле, как на небе"

Luther: "auf Erden wie im Himmel"

King James: "in earth, as it is in heaven"

The places of congruence, items I and II, can be dismissed, since they prove only that the author of "Prayer" was well versed in the Scriptures. In fact, he was so well versed that they had become second nature to him and that he could depart from them only with difficulty, even when writing poetry.

We must, consequently, conclude that the author knew the Scriptures very well; he knew them so well that it can be said that he could have worked on them himself as a translator.. Only one who is intimately connected with the Bible would have so much respect for its poetic value, that he did not use his privilege of poetic licence but left parts of the Lord's Prayer unchanged.

However, it is upon the differences of the poem from the various versions of the Bible that one must seize. The ninth

line "As in heaven so on earth". First, the order of the words, "heaven" before "earth" is unique. Only the Ukrainian version translated by P.Kulish has this order. The Holy Synod version, Luther's translation, and the King James version - all have the reversed order: "in earth, as it is in heaven".

It must, therefore, be concluded that Kulish himself quite conceivably could be the author of "Prayer". It is no accident that of all the versions of the Bible considered only Kulish's translation has "heaven" before "earth".

The next difference that is worthy of notice is the ending of the noun "na zemli" (on earth). This is the ending of the Old Church Slavic Locative case, singular. This ending (i) has been retained in modern Ukrainian, the Ukrainian in which Kulish wrote, thought, and worshipped. He worked all his life to promote this language and he even invented an orthography, known learned circles as "Kulishivka". Modern Russian would have for the Locative case, singular "na semle", the "e" instead of the "i".

This difference, too, points to Kulish, poet, critic, scholar, fanatic. He always was ready to assert to a doubting world that Ukrainian culture and poetry ranks equal with, or is superior to, the Russian or to that of any other Western nation.

That Kulish was quite familiar with the works of Pushkin and Shevchenko cannot be doubted. When the latter returned from exile, Kulish was ready and all too willing to help him in publishing his works. When Kulish returned from abroad in 1858

he, in his letters to Shevchenko advised his countryman to continue polishing his works carefully "as it is done by that Pushkin, in order to sow the spiritual fields of your own countrymen with clean grain and not with chaff."⁷

Years later in his booklet "Khutorna poesia" he repeatedly alludes to an affinity between these two poets. Thinking about the greatness of Shevchenko, he quotes Pushkin:

"Shevchenko himself has changed since I last saw him, when I left the Ukraine. He was not merely a bard any longer, he now was a national prophet."⁸

Hard after this praise to Shevchenko, he goes on to quote Pushkin's poem "The Prophet".⁹ Invariably when he speaks of the one, he thinks of the other.

On page 15 in his "Khutorna poesia" he has this to say:

"Surprised and rejoicing in my heart, I noticed in him (Shevchenko) at that time a great talent for poetic criticism, for which that unique Russian poet Pushkin was such a master....."

Kulich regarded the two poets as equals, and to publish

⁷J.B. Rudnyc'kij, Shevchenkiana in the West, p.24.

⁸P.A. Kulish, Khutorna poesia (Village poetry), Lvov, 1882, p.15.

⁹A.S. Pushkin, V.II, p.34 Academy of Sciences of RSSR edition, Moscow-Leningrad.

a book, even such a little book under joint authorship of Pushkin and Shevchenko would be a realization of his fondest dreams.

2. Analysis of the poem "Hérons"

Again the evidence is strong that the author of "Hérons" was P. Kulish. Ivan Franko was the first to notice the similarity between this poem and the picture of the czarina in Shevchenko's "Dream":

Beside him came the empress too,
 On whom his love did rest.
 She seemed just like a dry mushroom,
 So thin and long of leg,
 And constantly she nods her head
 To bring both good and woe.
 "Is that a goddess, there, I see?
 The devil take you now!....." ¹⁰

J.B. Rudnic'kyj also agrees that Kulish wrote this epigram as a satire on the czarist family.

This claim cannot be substantiated because of lack of concrete evidence. However, it is a very good imitation of Pushkin's style used in his ballads. Kulish, who was familiar with both poets, Pushkin and Shevchenko, could very likely be the author. That is all that can be said with a degree of certainty.

¹⁰ Clarence A. Manning, Taras Shevchenko, The Poet of Ukraine, Selected Poems, Jersey City, 1945, p.138.

CHAPTER VII

THE THREE REMAINING POEMS

There still remain three poems to be discussed. They are included in a separate chapter and have been relegated to the end of this thesis not because of their worth but because of their relative unimportance in connection with the present thesis. A translation of each can be found in the appendix. The method here will be to take each separately and discuss it by itself.

1. "Epistle to Arkadii Gavrilovich Rodzianko"¹

This poem was not published during Pushkin's life. It first appeared in print in 1859 in "Sovremennik", a literary magazine. The verses are a reply to a letter of Rodzianko concerning Mrs. A.P. Kern, a lady of extraordinary beauty and charm who at one time had fascinated the young poet. In this letter A.G. Rodzianko promises to write about literature, but his^s main theme is Anna Petrovna Kern. Rodzianko wrote about her:

"Now she has the notion to make up with her husband, and again the long neglected desire to give birth to lawful children has become strong in her, and, consequently, I am ruined."²

Pushkin in this poem compares his friend to Piron (1689-1773), French poet, dramatist, satirist, who was well-known for his immodest verses.

¹V.I. Mezhev, Pushkiniana, Bibliograficheskii ukazatel, St. Petersburg, 1886, p.95, item 2201.

²A.S. Pushkin, Academy edition, V.II, p.433.

2. "To V.L. Pushkin"

Vasilii Lvovich Pushkin was an uncle of the poet Alexander Sergeevich Pushkin. This uncle Vasilii was a poet of no mean stature and literary critic in his own right. He also was one of the first literary men to recognize the talent and genius of his nephew.

The first time this poem was printed in 1824 in "Poliarnaia zvesda", a literary almanac. Mezhev has the following note about this poem:

"Written 1817. Published 1824, Poliarnaia Zvesda.
Only the beginning and the end are printed." ³

Ever since its first publication as a fragment, it has never been printed in its entirety in any of the standard publications. The Leipzig edition of 1859 would appear to be the only publication that carries this poem in its entirety. All other poems under this title start with line 55:

"What is more delightful, more alive....."

and end with line 75:

"Beside his faithful sword and saddle!" ⁴

³V.I. Mezhev, Pushkiniana, Bib.uk. p.103, item 1620.

⁴For a translation of the entire poem see the appendix B.

3. "To Lev Sergeevich Pushkin"

This short epigram cannot be found in any existing editions of Pushkin's works. Lev Sergeevich, of course, is the poet's younger brother. He was quite a gay blade in his time, and Alexander not always approved his behaviour.

The author has found no evidence in Mezhov nor in any other bibliographical work about this poem, hence it is futile to try to establish the date and place of its first publication. Judging from the 1859 Leipzig edition it would appear that it is indeed written by A.S. Pushkin before the 20's of the nineteenth century.

4. "On the Death of Anna Lvovna Pushkin"

This poem is mentioned by Ivan Franko in connection with a review of M.Komarov's bibliographical work on Shevchenko. However, the existing version of the 1859 Leipzig edition simply has no poem by that title. It is incomprehensible to the author that one whole poem should be missing. It must, therefore, be concluded that the existing copy of the 1859 Leipzig edition is different from the one Ivan Franko had. Since no poem by this title is mentioned anywhere in any accessible editions of Pushkin nor in any bibliographical works, it cannot be discussed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY

In conclusion the following can be said about the Leipzig edition:

1. It is a milestone in Pushkiniana because it brought together the two greatest poets of szarist Russia, Shevchenko and Pushkin. Never before had these poets been published together, each in his native language. The book attempts to unite two great people, the Ukrainian and the Russian.
2. Here we also have a monument of the free spirit of the Slavic intellect that will not be silenced, no matter how strict the censorship. It is 100 years since this little volume appeared in print, not in the native land of the authors but abroad. Ever since, books that were forbidden in Russia have been printed abroad, the latest examples being Pasternak, Nabokov, and even Ehrenburg.
3. The Leipzig edition has great value because it is the only edition that gives two of Pushkin's poems in its entirety. All earlier and subsequent editions leave out certain parts, and consequently this is the only unexpurgated version of these poems.
4. Furthermore, it contains one poem by Pushkin (to his brother) that cannot be found in any other edition of

Pushkin, a poem that has been overlooked by even the most complete and scholarly editions and bibliographies. The relative unimportance of the poem is no reason that it should be left out. It still is the product of Pushkin's pen nevertheless.

5. Finally, the Leipzig edition is the only example of hitherto uncontested Pushkin plagiarism involving two poems not written by Pushkin but bearing his signature.

INDEX

CONTENTS

Introduction 1

Chapter I 10

Chapter II 20

Chapter III 30

Chapter IV 40

Chapter V 50

Chapter VI 60

Chapter VII 70

Chapter VIII 80

Chapter IX 90

Chapter X 100

Chapter XI 110

Chapter XII 120

Chapter XIII 130

Chapter XIV 140

Chapter XV 150

Chapter XVI 160

Chapter XVII 170

Chapter XVIII 180

Chapter XIX 190

Chapter XX 200

APPENDICES

Appendix A 210

Appendix B 220

Appendix C 230

Appendix D 240

Appendix E 250

Appendix F 260

Appendix G 270

Appendix H 280

Appendix I 290

Appendix J 300

Appendix K 310

Appendix L 320

Appendix M 330

Appendix N 340

Appendix O 350

Appendix P 360

Appendix Q 370

Appendix R 380

Appendix S 390

Appendix T 400

APPENDIX A

TRANSLITERATION

There is no universally accepted method of transliterating the letters of the Cyryllic alphabet into Latin symbols. The system used for Russian and Ukrainian names and titles in this thesis is that employed by the Library of Congress.¹

The following are the Cyryllic letters and their English equivalents:

а	a	с	s
б	b	т	t
в	v	у	u
г	g	ф	f
д	d	х	kh
е	e	ц	ts
ж	zh	ч	ch
з	z	ш	sh
и	i	щ	shch
й	i	ъ	Apostrophe (omitted at the end)
к	k	ы	y
л	l	ь	Apostrophe (omitted at the end)
м	m	э	e
н	n	ю	iu
о	o	я	ya at the beginning of a word
п	p	я	ia in all other positions
р	r		

¹Cf. A.L.A. Cataloging Rules for Author and Title Entries, American Library Association, Chicago 1949, p.243-247.



APPENDIX B
TRANSLATIONS OF POEMS ¹

Page 1.

PRAYER

I heard: in a cell a simple
 Old man said a marvelous
 Prayer quietly in my presence:

"Father of nations! Heavenly Father!

5. Be Thy eternal name
 Sanctified in our hearts!
 May Thy Kingdom come!
 Thy will be done unto us
 As it is in the heavens, so it be on earth!
10. Our daily bread send down to us
 With Thy generous hand!
 And as we forgive the people,
 So Thou forgive us worthless before Thee,
 Forgive Thy children Father!
15. Plunge us not into temptation!

¹The translations are made from the original of the Leipzig edition. Some passages that have lost their ambiguity in more recent editions are here retained. For the sake of expediency the page numbers on the left are here similar to those in the original. The enumeration of individual lines is the author's.

Page 2.

And, from the devil's enticements
Deliver us..."

Before the cross

Thus he prayed. The light of the lamp

20. From the distance was barely flickering...

But the heart gleaned consolation

From this prayer of the elder.

A. Pushkin

HERONS

There once lived an Indian rooster
 Who proposed to an heron;
 At court he took a lackey's rank
 And entered into marriage.

5. He prayed for children, and as a boon
 Zebacth granted his prayer:
 A pair of herons was born,
 But no roosters at all.

The herons grew up, developed slowly
 10. From their youth, -
 They grew long, and longer
 And cast their eyes on the woodcocks.
 Now their father was in trouble
 How to marry the herons off:

15. He to each three swamps
 Has promised as a dowry;
 But who would want
 To marry a heron?

The herons pined and pined away;
 20. Finally, I sadly must admit,
 They turned their noses under their feathers
 And died in their marshes.

A. Pushkin

EPISTLE TO ARKADII GAVRILOVICH RODZIANKO

You promised about romanticism,
 That Parnassian atheism
 To have another talk with me,
 To unveil the secrets of the Poltava muses

5. But you write me about her only...
 No, it is clear, my dear friend,
 Yes, you are in love, Ukrainian Piron.

You are right: what could be more important
 In the world than a beautiful woman?

10. Her smile, a glance in her eyes
 Is dearer than gold and honours
 Dearer than discordant fame...
 Let's again talk about her.

- I praise, my friend, her inclination,
 15. Having rested, to bear more children
 Who will be like their mother;
 And happy is he who partakes with her

In this pleasant trouble -
It will not cause one to yawn.

20. Only grant heaven that Hymen
Would in the meantime continue her slumber.

But I don't agree with you,
I cannot encourage divorce:
Firstly, because of the debt to the Holy faith,
25. The law, and Nature herself...

And secondly, I observe
That decent husbands
Are necessary for clever wives;
In their presence, house friends are
30. Either hardly noticeable or invisible.
Believe me, dear friends:
The one thing aids the other,
And the radiant sun of marriage eclipses
The star of shamefaced love.

A. Pushkin

1826

TO V.L. PUSHKIN

Tell me, Parnassian father mine
 Cannot the muses' lover,
 Be also a gentle bard
 While he is a colonel of the guards?

5. Cannot he, who sometimes
 Burns incense as a gift to Apollo,
 Dare for glory's sake without shame
 Burn powder in battle with the hussars
 And, if possible, cities as well?
10. Bellona, the muses and Venus --
 They seem the holy faith
 Of all our poets nowadays.
 I refer you to the Russian Buffler
 And to Dennis the courageous;
15. And not to the officer Glinka,
 A rather trivial poet;
 I don't need his example...
 You say: stop, you chatterer!
 Be a man, and not a dragoon;

Page 36.

20. Parades, guards, learning --
All this will not inspire an ode,
But will only dry out the soul,
And to Marin for a reward,
Maybe, straight to Kotsit
25. He will be sent to read his outpourings.
Listen, my dear uncle,
Be gone to the blind Themis
You with your slanting diplomacy!
Scribble, my friend, an epistle to Lyda,
30. Leave your military sins,
And in sweet quiescence
Write senate resolutions
And verses in pentameter;
But not from the hussar cornet --
35. Take an example from that poet,
From him whose hand
Drew Ermak,
In the snows of an unknown world
And the imprisonment of the mighty Makhmet,
40. And the modern husband's horns;
Who by the Grace of God
Was minister and a sweet bard,
Of strict honour an example,
As he will be an example of rime.
45. That's true, honoured uncle mine,

Page 37.

- Honoured is he who will solve
 The tangled questions of human ignorance;
 Clever he, who by dexterity of hand
 Will tangle up
50. Diplomatic rubbish
 Thus directing our destinies.
 Absurd, of course, is the peaceful warrior
 And he deserves the most wicked epigram
 Printed in the famous "Saints".
55. What is more delightful, more alive
 Than War, battles, fires,
 Bloody and empty fields,
 Bivouac, the strokes of knights? ²
 And what could be more enviable than the gentle days
60. Of not too clever mustach-bearers,
 Who are true hussars in their hearts?
 They live in their tents
 Far off from amusements, care, and the Graces,
 As the immortal coward Horace once lived
65. In the gloomy forests of the Tibur;
 They don't know the longing for light,
 They are unfamiliar with boredom and fear;
 They give dinners, they do battles
 They sing, they chop each other in combat.
70. Happy is he who is loved and feared by the world,
 About whom because of his songs and his deeds

²"rytzarskikh udarov" - could also mean "the strokes that knight", e.g. symbolic gesture to raise someone to knighthood.

There resounds rightful praise,
Who glorified Mars and Tamara
And who has hung his battle lyre
75. Beside his faithful sword and saddle!
But you, opponents of labour and glory,
Nurselings of Phoebe and merry-making,
You friends of peaceful idleness,
May I whisper in your ear that you are right
80. And that I agree with you!
God created Nature for Himself,
Paradise and happiness for fools,
Slander, man, and fashions --
Of course, for the amusement of ladies,
85. Worries for the famous people,
Idiocy for all, - but for us -
Solitude and freedom!

1817

A.Pushkin

TO THE CENSOR

Thou gloomy watchman of the muses, my oppressor of long ago!

Today I have a mind to reason with you.

Be not afraid, I will not, tempted by fickle fame,

Abuse censorship with careless sensure;

5. Things necessary in London, are not ripe for Moscow yet.

Our writers, I know them well;

Their thoughts will not be choked by censor's punishment,

And a pure heart you will always justify.

First, let me candidly confess to you,

10. Often do I pity our fate:

Of human nonsense to be the judicial interpreter,

To be the sole reader of Mr. Khvostov and Miss Bunina;

You must forever analyze their sins,

Now expressed in stupid prose and now in stupid verse.

15. The Russian authors are troubled by a strange obsession:

This one is translating an English novel from the French,

Another composes an ode, moaning and perspiring,

Another yet jokingly writes us a tragedy -

We have no quarrel with them - yet you read on, get frantic,

20. Yawn a hundred times, fall asleep - and after sign your name.

Our censor is a martyr; at times he likes

Page 40.

To refresh his brain with reading: Rousseau, Voltaire, Buffon,
Derzhavin, Karamzin beckon to him;

But he is obliged to turn his silent attention

25. To the most recent ravings of some new liar
Who leisurely sings about field and grove!
And having lost his thread, must search from the beginning,
Or else cross our from meager magazines
Coarse jokes and oaths of marketplace,
30. Our honoured authors' merry contributions.
But the censor is a citizen, and his status is holy,
He must possess an intellect, direct and lucid,
In his heart he is accustomed to honour the altar and the throne,
But opinions he does not oppress, and intelligence he suffers
to exist,
35. An observer of silence, propriety and morals,
He will not overstep the self-drawn statutes,
Devoted to the law, the fatherland's admirer;
Who knows how to take responsibility upon himself;
Who will not stand in the way of useful truth,
40. And will let living poetry grow;
He is a friend of writers, he is not timid before nobility,
He is prudent, firm, free, and just.
But you idiot and coward, what are you doing with us?
Where you should reason, you are blinking with your eyes,
45. You don't understand us, and yet you waste and pull apart,
You argue that black is white, depending on your whim;
Satire you look upon as libel; poetry to you is akin to debauch,

The voice of truth sounds mutinous to you, Kunitsyn you call
Marat,

And once you have decided, there is no appeal for us.

50. Tell me, are you not ashamed that in holy Russia

Thanks to you we see no books today?

Yet, if necessity is really pressing, then,

Mindful of Russian glory and sound judgment,

The Emperor himself commands to print without you!

55. There now remain for us the verses: poems, triolets,

Ballads, fables, elegies, and couplets,

The innocent offsprings of leisure and love,

Imagination's sudden flowers.....

You barbarian! we, the rulers of the lyre,

60. Have often cursed your pernicious axe!

Like an annoying eunuch you are walking amidst the muses,

Neither ardour nor brilliance of brain; neither taste

Nor the poet's style, an outburst so pure and salutary -

Nothing will touch your frigid soul

65. On everything you turn your squinting and unsteady eye,

Suspicious of all, everywhere you see poison!

Leave off your labours, least praiseworthy of all;

Parnassus is no cloister nor an harem sad;

And, indeed never yet did a skillful veterinary

70. Deprive a Pegasus of his overabundant ardour.

What are you afraid of? Believe me, he who amuses himself

By laughing at the law, government and morals

Will escape your persecution,

- He is unknown to you - we know the reason,
75. And his manuscript does not perish in Lethe
 But without your signature it sees the light of day.
 Barkov did not send his humourous odes to you,
 Radishchev, the enemy of slavery, evaded censorship,
 And Pushkin's verses did not appear in print,
80. And why should they? They were nonetheless being read.
 But you keep bothering us; in our enlightened age
 Even Shalikov might be considered a harmful man!
 Why do you torment yourself and us without cause?
 Say, have you ever read the proclamation of Katherina?
85. Get it read, fathom it, and you will see in it
 Your own duty, your privileges, and then you will change
 your direction.
- Under the eyes of this monarch our excellent satirist
 Punished ignorance by the medium of national comedies,
 Although the narrow-minded ignoramus of the court
90. Sees no difference between Kuteikin and Christ!
 Derzhavin, the scourge of nobility, with loud sounds of his
 lyre,
 Unmasked their vainglorious idols.
 Khemnitser told the truth with a smile on his lips?
 Dushenka's confidant joked ambiguously -
95. Kypris often appeared without a blanket,
 And the censor bothered none of them ...
 Why do you frown? You must admit, in our days
 You would not have let them off so easily?
 Are you at fault? Here is a mirror before your face:

Page 43.

100. Alexander's time was a wonderful beginning!
 Tell us, what the press created in those days?
 In the realm of intellectual achievements we must not retreat,
 We are honestly ashamed of our ancient stupidity;
 Must we again turn back to those years,
105. When none dared call the fatherland,
 And man and press crawled like slaves!
 No, No! That pernicious hour has passed:
 Where a glorious Karamzin has plucked himself a wreath
 There can't an idiot be tolerated as a censor!
110. Reform yourself, be more sensible, throw off the yoke of enmity.
 "But should a censor judge by his conscience?
 Of course, it sounds humourous to you, but I often cry
 I must scold now the one of you and now the other!
 I read, and cross myself, and scribble as luck will have it.
115. Fashions come and go; there was a time, for instance,
 We held in great esteem Bentham, Rousseau, Voltaire,
 But today even Milote has stumbled into our net!
 I am a poor man, and then there is the wife, the children! "
 Wife and children, believe me friend, are a great evil,
120. From them everything base has sprung;
 But what will you do? So if you cannot manage
 To clear off and go home suppeptitiously
 And if you are so valuable to the czar,
 At least employ a clever secretary!

P.44.

TO LEV SERGEEVICH PUSHKIN

Our friend Pushkin Lev
Has not lost his reason
But with champagne and fett pilau
And spiked with mushrooms, roasted duck

5. It can be proven better than with words,
That his real strength
Lies in his stomach.

181-

A Pushkin

APPENDIX C

METRIC SCANSION OF ORIGINAL LINES OF "TO THE CENSOR"

1)

- 1 Угрюмый сторож муз, гонитель давний мой,
 2 Сегодня рассуждать задумал я с тобой.
 -1/-1/-1/-1/-1/-1
 -1/---/-1/-1/-8/-1
- 61 Докучным евнухом ты бродишь между муз;
 62 Ни чувства пылкие, ни блеск ума, ни вкус...
 -1/-1/---/-1/-1/-1
 -1/-1/---/-1/-1/-1
- 119 Жена и дети, друг, поверь - большое зло.
 120 От них у нас всё скверное произошло.
 -1/-1/-1/-1/-1/-1/
 -1/-1/-1/---/---/-1/
- 123 И службою своей ты нужен для царя,
 124 Хоть умного себе возьми секретаря.
 -1/---/-1/-1/-1/-1
 -1/---/-1/-1/---/-1

1) Metric scansion of Russian poetry is unique in that no matter how many syllables a word has, it can only have one stress. There is no such thing as secondary stress. The verse represented here is known as syllabic-accentual verse. The measure is iambic foot; and the rhythm, iambic hexameter.
 Cf. B.O.Unbegaun, Russian Versification, Oxford, 1956, pp.9-25

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akademia Nauk URSS (Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences), Zbirnyk Prats' P'iatoi Naukovoï Shevchenkovskoi Konferentsii, (Collection of Works of the Fifth Scientific Shevchenko Conference), Kiev, 1957.
- Bible, Die Bibel oder die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments, nach der Uebersetzung von D. Martin Luther, Bibel-Verlag Meiringen.
- Bible, Kulish's Translation, Union of Bible Societies, New York, London.
- Bible, Novyi zavet (New Testament), American Bible Society.
- Bible, The Holy Bible, King James Version, The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York.
- Bolshaia Sovietskaia Entsiklopedia (The Large Soviet Encyclopedia.
- Dragomaniv, M. Shevchenko ukrainofli i sotsializm (Shevchenko, the Ukraino-Phils and Socialism) II ed., p.24, Lviv, 1906.
- Fomin, A.G. Pushkiniana, 1900 - 1910, Leningrad, 1929.
- Franko, Ivon. Zapiski Naukovoho Tovaristva imeny Shevchenka (Papers of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko) Lvov, 1904.
- Glinka, T.N. Zapiski, Russkii Arkhiv (papers, Russian Archive) No.6.
- Komarov, M. T. Shevchenko v literature i iskvustve Bibliograficheski ukazatel dlia izucheniashisni i proisvedeni T. Shevchenko, (T. Shevchenko in Literature and in Art, a Bibliography for The Study of his Life and Works), Odessa, 1903.
- Kulish, P.A. Khutorna Poesia (Village Poetry), Lvov, 1882.
- Kulish, P.A. Notes of A.S. Pushkin to N.V. Gogol. From the papers of N.V. Gogol. By P.A. Kulish. Bibliography, Kiev, 1858.
- Manning, Clarence A. Taras Shevchenko, the Poet of Ukraine, Selected Poems, Ukrainian National Association, Jersey City, New Jersey, 1945.
- Modzalevskii, B.L. Pushkin pod tainym nadzorom (Pushkin under Secret Surveillance), Moscow, 1929.
- Mezhov, V.I. Pushkiniana, Bibliography of articles about the Life of A.S. Pushkin, his Works, and Works inspired by him. St. Petersburg, Typography of V. Bezobrasov, 1886.

- Nassir, G. Review of 'Doctor Zhivago', Slavica Canadiana, UVAN (36), Winnipeg, 1959.
- Nekrassov, N.A. Polnoe sobranie socheneni i pisem (Complete collection of Works and Letters), Moscow, 1953.
- Ovsianiko-Kulikovski, D.N. Istoria Russkoi Literatury (History of Russian Literature), Moscow, 1908.
- Pasternak, Boris. Doctor Zhivago, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1958.
- Popovich, Rev. J. Damascene D, O.S.B.M. Grammar of the Church-Slavonic Language in the Ukrainian Version, Mundare, Alberta, 1958.
- Pryima, F.J. Zbirnyk Prats p'iatoi naukovoï Shevchenkivskoi Koferentsii (Collection of Works of the Fifth Scientific Shevchenko Conference), Kiev, 1957.
- Pushkin, A.S. Sochinenia v triokh tomakh, (Works in three Volumes), Government Edition of Fine Literature, Moscow, 1957.
- Pushkin, A.S. Sochinenia v triokh tomakh, (Works in three Volumes) Government Edition of Fine Literature, Moscow, 1955.
- Pushkin, A.S. Polnoe sobranie sochenenii v desiaty tomakh (Complete works in ten Volumes), Academy of Sciences of USSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949.
- Pushkin & Shevchenko Novye Stikhotvorenia, (New Poems), Leipzig, Wolfgang Gerhard, 1859.
- Rudnic'kij, J.B. Shevchenkiana in the West, the First Edition of Shevchenko in Leipzig, Germany, 1859, Winnipeg, 1959.
- Rudnic'kij, J.B. Ukrainska Mova ta ii Hovory (The Ukrainian Language and Its Dialects), Prag, 1945.
- Shevchenko, Taras. Povna Zbirka Tvoriv v Triokh Tomakh (Complete Collection of Works in Three Volumes), Kiev, 1949.
- Simmons, Ernest J. Pushkin, Harvard University Press, 1937.
- Strakhovsky, Leonid I. Pushkin and the Emperors Alexander I and Nicholas I, Canadian Slavonic Papers, University of Toronto Press, 1956.
- Yarmolinsky, Avram. A Treasure of Russian Verse, New York, 1949.
- Zaitsev, P. Zhittia Tarasa Shevchenka (The Life of Taras Shevchenko), Paris, New York, Munich, 1955.