Karolina Pavlova and the Development of Prose Fiction by Russian Women Writers in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

by

Yingbin (Ilgar) Guo

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MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the development of prose fiction by Russian women writers in the first half of the nineteenth century, with Karolina Pavlova and her novella Dvoynaya zhizn' [A Double Life] as a specific example.

The first chapter is an introduction to the position of women writers in Russian literature and includes an overview of the state of the research on them.

The second chapter provides a background of the situation on Russian women in the first half of the nineteenth century. It deals with the social, political, educational, religious and domestic problems of women as well as with the women's emancipation movement.

The third chapter shows how women's issue are reflected in the prose fiction written by Russian women during this period. The writers such as Elena A. Gan, Nadezhda Durova and Avdot'ya Panaeva are discussed, and similarities in their lives, themes in their works, and genres are noted.

The fourth chapter deals with Karolina Pavlova and her novella A Double Life, a representative work of the period. The novella, a unique combination of prose and poetry, depicts the emotional turmoil which was the lot of a sensitive young woman.

The conclusion summarizes the similarities among Russian

women writers in the first half of the nineteenth century in relation to their life experiences and prose fiction and Karolina Pavlova's contribution to Russian literature.

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TRANSLITERATION CHART

Russian	English	Russian	English
а	a	р	r
б	b	с	s
в	v	т	t
г	g	у	u
д	d	ф	f
е	e	х	kh
ё	e	ц	ts
ж	zh	ч	ch
з	z	ш	sh
и	i	щ	shch
й	y	ъ	"
к	k	ы	y
л	l	ь	'
м	m	э	e
н	n	ю	yu
о	o	я	ya
п	p		

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the history of Russian literature, the nineteenth century is famed for its "Golden Age" when distinguished writers appeared one after another. However, few nineteenth century Russian women writers are familiar to contemporary readers. In fact, there were a number of notable women writers in the nineteenth century and some of them can be favourably compared to their great male contemporaries. Among the women writers were Nadezhda Durova (1783-1866), Zanaida A. Volkonskaya (1789-1862), Mar'ya S. Zhukova (1804-1855), Karolina Pavlova (1807-1893), Elizaveta V. Kologrivova (1809-1884), Evdokiya P. Rostopchina (1811-58), Elena A. Gan (1814-1842), Avdot'ya I. Panaeva (1820-1893), Yuliya V. Zhadovskaya (1824-1883), Nadezhda D. Khvoshchinskaya (1824-1889), and Nadezhda S. Sokhanskaya (1825-1884). These women writers wrote novels, prose, stories and poems which are worth studying even today.

To the present little research has been done on Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century and their works, and only a few of their works have been translated into English. In the West, some of the best women writers are not even mentioned in the more authoritative histories of Russian literature. For example, in D. S. Mirsky's authoritative History of Russian Literature from Its

Beginning to 1900 (1958) no Russian women writers are discussed. Women writers are also ignored in more recent histories such as Edward J. Brown's Russian Literature Since the Revolution (1982), and in Deming Brown's Soviet Russian Literature Since Stalin (1978). There is nothing about any of Russian women writers in William Edward Brown's four-volume History of Russian Literature of the Romantic Period (1986). In Victor Terras' Handbook of Russian Literature, published in 1985, there are a few limited items about such Russian women writers of the nineteenth century as Karolina Pavlova, Avdot'ya Panaeva, Evdokiya Rostopchina, Elena Gan and a few others, but women writers like Nadezhda Durova, Zanaida Volkonskaya, Nadezhda Sokhanskaya and others are not included. However, the Handbook does include an article, several pages in length, entitled "Women and Russian Literature." A similar article, "Feminism in Russian Literature," written by Irina H. Corten, is included in Weber's The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literatures.[1]

There are also some books on Russian women writers and there are some discussions of Russian women writers in the context of larger studies. For example, Temira Pachmuss edited and translated a volume entitled Women Writers in Russian Modernism (1978); there are C. de Maegd-Soëp's The

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[1]Harry B. Weber, ed., The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literatures (Gulf Breeze: Academic International Press, 1984), vol. 7. "Feminism in Russian Literature," by Irina H. Corten, 176-193.

Emancipation of Women in Russian Literature and Society (1987), Barbara Heldt's Terrible Perfection: Women and Russian Literature (1987), and there is also a volume of the Russian Literature Triquarterly (No. 9, 1974) devoted to Russian women writers. A collection of some contemporary short stories by Soviet women writers, with an important introduction by Helena Goscilo, entitled Balancing Acts was published in 1989. However, there are no systematic studies of women writers as a group.

With regard to Russian women writers in the nineteenth century, there are a number of articles and essays on individual writers. For instance, Munir Sendich's pioneering work on Karolina Pavlova in 1968 [2], was followed by Anthony D. Briggs' essay "Twofold Life: a Mirror of Karolina Pavlova's Shortcomings and Achievement,"[3] Munir Sendich's essay on the relationship between Karolina Pavlova and Boris Utin[4], and Barbara Heldt's essay on Pavlova and translation of her novella Dvoynaya zhizn' [A Double Life] in 1974 and 1978. An article about Elena Gan's work ("The Concept of Love and Conflict of the Individual Versus Society in Elena A. Gan's

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[2]Munir Sendich, "The Life and Works of Karolina Pavlova" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1968).

[3]Anthony D. Briggs "Twofold Life: a Mirror of Karolina Pavlova's Shortcomings and Achievement," The Slavonic and East European Review, vol. XLIX, 114 (January 1971): 1-17.

[4]Munir Sendich, "Boris Utin in Pavlova's Poems and Correspondence: Pavlova's Unpublished Letters to Utin." Russian Language Journal, no. 100 (Spring, 1974): 63-88.

Sud sveta" [The Judgement of Society]) appeared in Scando-Slavica (vol. 25 1975). There is also an article "Avdotiya Panaeva: Her Salon and Her Life" in Russian Literature Triquarterly, no. 9, (1974). There is also a book-length study entitled Women in Russian Literature, 1780-1863 by Joe Andrew, but this study deals only with women characters in the works of male writers; there is nothing about women writers or their works.

English visions of works by Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century have also appeared. Mary F. Zirin's translation of Durova's novel on her childhood years appeared in The Female Autograph[5] in 1987 and her translation of Durova's The Cavalry Maiden was published in 1989.

It is amazing to note that many works by Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century had been published during their lifetimes either in Russia or abroad. For instance, Zinaida A. Volkonskaya's historical novel Slavyanskaya kartina [Slavic Picture] was published in French in Paris in 1824, Nadezhda Durova's Povesti i rasskazy [Novels and Stories] was published in Russia in 1839, Elena A. Gan's first novella Ideal [Ideal], in 1837, Mar'ya S. Zhukova's Vechera na Karpovke [Evenings on Karpovka], in 1837-1838. Nadezhda S. Sokhanskaya's first novel Mayor Smagun [Major

[5]Nadezhda Durova, "My Childhood Years," trans. by Mary F. Zirin, The Female Autograph (New York Literary Forum) 12-13, 1987.

Smagun] in 1844; her Grafinya D. [Countess D.], in 1848 and Pervy shifr [The First Cipher] in 1849, Karolina Pavlova's A Double Life, in 1848.

Some of these works by women writers continued to be republished and critical articles about their works appeared early in this century. For example, Bryusov was the editor who published Karolina Pavlova's complete works in two volumes in 1915; and in 1939 and 1964; Soviet editors had them re-issued. K. N. Chukovsky wrote introductions to Panaeva's republished works: Semeystvo Tal'nikovykh [The Talnikov Family] (1928) and Vospominaniya [Memoirs] (1956). In 1913, an article entitled "Mar'ya Semenovna Zhukova" appeared in the journal Golos minuvshego [The Voice of Past][6]. In the journal Novaya zhizn' [New Life], there is an article about Karolina Pavlova, "Odna iz zabytykh" [One of The Forgotten][7].

In general, however, there was almost as little interest in Russian women writers in the Soviet Union as in the West until recently. For example, much of the works of women writers of the last century has not been republished, studied or translated into English or other foreign languages. Some Russian women writers, such as Zinaida A. Volkonskaya, Evdokiya P. Rostopchina, Elena A. Gan, Yuliya V. Zhadovskaya, Nadezhda D. Khvoshchinskaya and others, had been buried in

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[6]M. Konopleva, "Mar'ya Semenovna Zhukova," Golos minuvshego, no. 7 (1913): 19-38.

[7]Vladislav Khodasevich, "Odna iz zabytykh," Novaya zhizn', III (1916): 195-198.

oblivion for a century. In recent years though, the publication of the work of Russian and Soviet women writers has been increasing. In the Soviet Union, scholars have begun to pay more attention to Russian women writers who have been ignored for so long. For instance, in 1986, Mar'ya S. Zhukova's novel Evenings on Karpovka was republished in Moscow. A collection of short stories and novellas by Russian women writers from the first half of the nineteenth century was published in Moscow in 1988 under the title Dacha na Petergofskoy doroge [The Cottage on Petergofsky Road]. Also, works by Nadezhda Durova were republished in Moscow in 1988 under the title Izbrannye sochineniy kavalrist-devitsy [Selected Works of The Cavalry-Maiden].

Works by women writers were published during the Soviet period, and works by writers such as Akhmatova, Tsvetaeva, and later, Panova, Chukovskaya, and Akhmadulina are familiar to Western readers both in the original and in translation. As in the West, in the Soviet Union interest in women writers has increased recently, and the publication of their works has also increased. The publication of Natalya Baranskaya's Nedelya kak nedelya [A Week Like Any Other] (1969) was significant since this was the first work to describe in graphic detail from a woman's perspective a typical week in a Soviet woman's life as she continually rushed between work and home. During the 1970s a number of works were published included: Valentina Ermolova's "V grozu na kacheliakh,"

[Swayed by the Storm] in Nash sovremennik [Our Contemporary], Irina Grekova's "Khozyaka gostinitsy," [Hotel Matron] in Zvezda [Star] and her " God nazad, ya vyshla zamuzh," [A Year Ago I Got Married] in Yunost' [Youth], L. Kuznetsova's "Kto glava vashei semi ?" [Who Is the Head of Your Family?] in Literaturnaya gazeta [Literature Newspaper]. The works during 1980s included: Nina S. Katerli's novella Treugol'nik Barsukova [The Barsukov Triangle], Viktorya S. Tokareva's Nichego osobennogo: povesti i rasskazy [Nothing Special], Anna Vladimirovna Mass, Mal'chik i sneg: rasskazy i povest' [Boy and Snow: Stories and Novel], Nadezhda V. Kozhevnikova's "Posle prazdnika," [After the Festival]. In 1990, Galina N. Shcherbakova's (Pseud. Galina N. Rezhabek) Krushenie [Ruin] was published in Moscow.

The scarcity and unavailability of materials on the literary works and creative experience of Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century produces great difficulties for the contemporary researchers. For example, there are not very many materials about the women writers such as Anna Petrovna Bunina, Evgeniya Tur, N. Kochanovskaya, Nadezhda Sergeevna Tepova and their works. Nevertheless, a study on the women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century is worthwhile not only because the works they produced are interesting in themselves but also because their works show how these women writers viewed their surroundings and how they judged what happened to them during

their lifetimes. Furthermore, by studying the development of the prose fiction produced by Russian women writers in the nineteenth century, it is possible to trace similarities among their works and connections to women writers in the twentieth century.

The present study will discuss the development of prose fiction by Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century, taking Karolina Pavlova's novella A Double Life as a representative work. The first half of the nineteenth century was selected since this is the period when works by women writers first began to appear and be published. Pavlova's pivotal work, which was published in 1848, marked, to some extent at least, the end of an era. With the late 1850s and the 1860s and the emergence of something like a women's emancipation movement, the issues confronting women, although perhaps unchanged, began to be approached differently. This could not help but be reflected in literature. Karolina Pavlova, as a major writer of prose and poetry in the 1840s and 1850s, occupies a special place in the literature of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The second chapter of this study provides a general background on the situation of women in Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century and in the period immediately preceding the emancipation movement which took place in the late 1850s and 1860s. The main concern of this chapter is to describe the Russian woman's social and domestic position and

to note how religion, custom and education maintained that position.

The third chapter will discuss Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century and their prose fiction, with particular attention to the main themes and how women are depicted. Comparisons will be made between the backgrounds of these women writers and the themes of their works.

The fourth chapter will focus on Karolina Pavlova and her novella A Double Life as a representative work of prose fiction by a woman writer in the first half of the nineteenth century. A Double Life is a pivotal and unique work combining poetry and prose in a fictional work and focusing on a woman's psychological state, a subject rarely if ever dealt with in Russian literature in the first half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER II

RUSSIAN WOMEN IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Although the degree and the manifestation of women's inferior position in Russia varied with the changes in society or with the regimes of different tsars, the burden of dependency and subjugation, sufferance and endurance are evident through history. Overwhelmingly dominated by men for centuries, Russian women started an emancipation movement in the mid-nineteenth century, trying to emerge from their domestic sphere in stratified Russian society. Realizing how urgent it was to change women's historical status, more and more women presented their strong desires for sexual and personal freedom and demands for higher education. Gradually, they became more involved in social work as well as in professional careers which were traditionally considered men's occupations.

The position that women occupied in Russia up to the nineteenth century shows to a large extent that the development of the role of women was not isolated from the development of society; on the contrary, the destiny of Russian women was always related to certain larger themes. The dependency of women on men chiefly resulted from the social and economic situation. Ideologically, society followed traditional viewpoints and customs, and it was greatly influenced by the conservative religious belief that women

were men's appendages. Economically, the entire nation was backward, rigidly stratified, and women were financially supported by men except in special circumstances where some women were able to live on their parents' bequests.

It almost became a cliche that women naturally lived off men: unmarried daughters off their fathers, wives off their husbands. Because of this dependent relationship of women on men, the structure of the patriarchal family had a solid foundation in Russia for centuries. This relationship enabled fathers to possess an extraordinarily privileged position, then husbands became central to the family. The assumption that women always belonged to the domestic household as wives and mothers was nearly universal.

Research has given some evidence, based on some Annals and epic songs, that ancient Russian women once enjoyed considerable freedom and equal rights with men in society about a thousand years ago.[8] Analyzing the reasons for the subjection of Russian women after the heathen period, Nina Nikolaevna Selivanova points out three main factors in the conclusion of her study on Russian women. First, Selivanova emphasizes the important role of the patriarchal system which "necessarily fostered the subjection of women, since the idea of woman's inferiority naturally arises when men tried to be

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[8]Dorothy Atkinson, Alexander Dallin, and Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, ed., Women in Russia (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1977), 5-6.

the only master and active character."[9] Second, she regards the adoption of the Byzantine form of church organization as an element which strengthened and promoted the growth of the patriarchal system. Third, Selivanova makes the point that the Tartar invasion of Russia in the thirteenth century and the subsequent two hundred years of Tartar rule strengthened masculine power.

In addition, the so-called "natural theory" once prevailed in society. This theory stressed to an extreme the biological factors of sex. According to this theory the natural peculiarities of a woman's organism play a dominant role in reality, and the organic structure can hardly be changed by humans since nature gives men and women those organs at their birth.

Furthermore, the organism determines function. Because of man's physical strength, his function is to provide food and to work outside the family; a woman's function is to give birth, to feed the infants and to oversee domestic affairs. As a result of this division of social function between men and women, women seemed mentally and psychologically weaker and more uninformed. The consequent inferiority of physical and spiritual elements reduced a woman's position to the household and, at the same time men gained the leading position.

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[9]Nina Nikolaevna Selivanova, Russia's Women (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1976), 12.

However, compared to this "natural theory," the "social theory" regarding women had a strong appeal for the Russian intelligentsia. Its adherents believed that the position of women was a social phenomenon which could be changed by humans. This idea was adhered to as fundamental by many Russian revolutionaries in the nineteenth century.

Also important in the past in Russia was the hierarchical system which greatly distinguished the social ranks and classes among the same sex groups. The differences between peasant women and aristocratic women were tremendous. The latter were relatively free from concerns about material comfort. Nevertheless, the fate of women of different classes and their sufferance was in many ways similar; for example, in the extremely dependent life all Russian women lived, their narrow range of activity, their concerns about family affairs, and the emptiness of their lives.

The principles of the patriarchal family were always coincident with official ideology. Thus, the principles of the patriarchal family were not only enshrined in Russian law and custom, but were also viewed by the rulers as essential to the survival of their autocratic government. Since the family structure could be that of the state in epitome, the function of the family was to maintain tradition and custom, to ensure social stability and to control man's instincts. Therefore, the man's role in the family was placed at the zenith.

According to early Russian law, women had to obey men in every way and wives were to be completely dependent and entirely without any rights. The lack of basic human rights compelled women to be humble, even servile. The earlier Russian Pravda (Pravda Russkaya), which is the earliest Russian legal code, gives evidence of a woman's lack of value.

> Since a women's identity was a functional derivative of her role as wife, and since wives were subject to husbands, it follows that women were hardly equal to men in Kievan society. Thanks to the Pravda, the degree of inequality can be established with some precision. ... Not until the twelfth century was the value of female life considered in the law. 'If anyone kills a woman', stated article 88 of the Expanded Pravda, 'he is tried in the same way as if he killed a man. If he is found guilty, [he shall pay] one half of the fine.'[10]

Family "law" required the wife to unconditionally obey her husband, and children their parents, but custom actually reinforced the laws by granting men the right to use force to chastise rebellious wives and children.

Parents completely controlled their daughters' marriages, and they then transferred their own power to the grooms in order to restrict the brides from the moment of their marriage.

> There was a custom by which the father took the lash and struck his daughter, saying: 'My daughter, by these blows you recognize the authority of your father. Now this authority passes into other hands: In my stead you will be punished for disobedience by your husband.' And with these words he gave the lash to the groom, who stuck it in his belt expressing the hope that he would not have occasion to use it. In some places it was customary for the husband, when the bride had taken his boots off to

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[10]Atkinson et al., 7-8.

tap her with the lash. This lash was hung over the bed.[11]

After the husbands received this absolute power over their wives from their fathers-in-law, they possessed their wives as their personal property. They could sell their wives, pawn them or kick them out at their will, sometimes even losing them at play or gambling. "In the archives of the eighteenth century are found documents indicating that such occurrences were frequent even then. A husband tired of his wife could drive her out into the street, or force her to enter a convent. No law protected the women."[12] Women were thus the direct victims of men's extreme power under the patriarchal society which established the absolute autocracy of men and which made women more torpid and servile through the loss of their sense of dignity.

Although there is some evidence of women's rebellion against men's extreme powers, the results of the rebellion were more tragic than victorious.

> In the Cossack revolt of 1819, called after Chuguyev, women took the lead. Twenty-nine of these women fighters were scourged with whips after the suppression of the revolt. But not one of them begged for mercy or pardon. In the Ssevastopol revolt of 1830 no less than 375 women were condemned to death. Fearless, carrying their children in their arms or leading them by the hand, they faced the death-dealing cannon.[13]

A woman's social place under the estate system was mainly

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[11]Selivanova, 35-36.

[12]Ibid., 52.

[13]Fannina W. Halle, Women in Soviet Russia (New York: The Viking Press, 1935), 46.

determined by her marriage and greatly defined by her husband's position and rank. The only respect women received was from the place their husbands held in society. In this case, young Russian upper-class girls usually married men of their own class, chosen in agreement with their parents. Therefore, love was less important for them than class and rank which were usually dependent on their landholding and the number of their serfs. Once the marriage was set up, it was not easy for the wives to break up the relationship with their husbands.

> The only acceptable grounds were adultery, impotence, long absence, or loss of civil rights. For most people, especially women, it was virtually impossible to see through the tortuous divorce proceedings which were drawn-out, expensive, and public.[14]

Then the women were mostly blamed by society, as Lev Tolstoy showed in his novel Anna Karenina, in which a noblewoman's divorce is condemned by upper-class society.

However, Russian laws and the limited opportunities for education and employment made women more passive about their fates, which were chiefly determined by their husbands.

> Russian law also gave the husband the means to control his wife's movements. No married women could obtain an internal passport, necessary for travel or city residence, without his permission. Fathers exercised similar control over unmarried daughters: a single woman under twenty-one was recorded on her father's passport. Sons, however, received their own passports at age

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[14]Richard Stites, "M.L. Mikhailov and the Emergence of the Women Question in Russia," Canadian Slavic Studies, III, no. 2 (Summer 1969): 180.

seventeen.[15]

In a general way, this "tie" and "bind" relationship between husbands and wives shaped the family structure in Russia. No matter to which class women belonged, their dependence on men made them lose their fundamental freedoms and rights. The situation in the countryside was even worse than that in the cities. The life of peasant women was comparatively harder than that of upper-class women. They were mistreated by their husbands, exhausted by domestic and field work, as well as by giving birth and caring for their children. In some ways they were hardly treated as human beings, as is evident in peasant sayings or Russian proverbs, such as: "a hen is not a bird and a woman is not a person"; "I thought I saw two people walking along, but one was a woman"; "woman is a cooking-pot, strike her, she won't break"; "beat your fur and you make it warmer, beat a woman and you make her wiser."

Peasant life in the Russian countryside was strongly regulated by custom which differed from one region to another. Nevertheless, the concept of individual rights was inapplicable in the country, and the idea of women as subordinate beings was always same. Also, women's inferior

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[15]Ya. A Kantorovich (Orovich), ed., Zhenshchina v prave. S prilozheniem vsekh postanovleniy deystvuyushchago zakonodatel'stva, otnosyashchikhsya do lists zhenskago pola (St. Petersburg, 1895), 248-9, quoted in Christine Johanson, Women's Struggle for Higher Education in Russia, 1855-1900 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 4.

position was similar everywhere, since wives were valued for their capacity for labour, for bearing children, for their endurance and for their loyalty to their husbands, as Barbara Alpern Engel comments in Mothers and Daughters: "It was the woman, ... who went to live with her husband's family and became subject to the authority of her in-laws, and if her in-laws proved despotic, she had nowhere to appeal."[16]

Because of the system of serfdom, landowners possessed serfs as their personal property. They even arranged marriages between their peasants. More often, women were the victims of such marriages. After the marriage, women were the machines for the bearing of children and at the same time had to do a great amount of work, such as weaving, ploughing, sowing, rearing and harvesting the hemp. The reward they often received from their husbands for this work was blows.

As a result of the hard life, of the extreme poverty of the Russian countryside and of the heavy taxation, thousands of peasant girls and women left for the cities in order to find jobs in the factories or to work in aristocratic families as domestic servants. The conditions of life of the female factory workers in the cities were not any better than those of the country women. In the factories female workers worked as hard as male workers, but their wages were about half those of men and they could hardly live on the money they made.

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[16]Barbara Alpern Engel, Mothers and Daughters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 8.

Besides, women were quite often rudely treated by their employers or by the male workers. Returning home from the factories, they also faced endless domestic work, especially if they had a family.

Often, women were regarded as mysterious beings because of their physical and psychological makeup. The way women think and behave could not be understood by men properly. So the easiest way for men to treat women was to connect them with the devil or the witch. Simone de Beauvoir thus interprets the "mysterious beings" in The Second Sex: "To say that woman is mystery is to say, not that she is silent, but that her language is not understood; she is there, but hidden behind veils; she exists beyond these uncertain appearances."[17]

Because of the images of devil and witch, a "fear of women" appeared in society. It also gave strong support to the idea that the woman's passion or the woman's sexual attraction was often associated with hellfire and the devil. Women were considered the root of sin, even though their normal sexual life had to be accepted in a confined way after their marriage. For example, in Russia in the past,

> The ascetic outlook condemned sex as sinful but was forced to accept it within marriage as a necessary evil. Nevertheless, even conjugal relations were forbidden on the eve of holidays, on feast days, and on the numerous fast days(including the entire season of Lent). Nor were couples threatened with punishment in case of

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[17]Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, trans. and ed., H. M. Parshley (New York: Bantam, 1961), 241.

> disobedience, but they were warned that any resultant offspring would turn out badly. Women who had given birth were considered temporarily unclean, as were menstruating women.[18]

As a consequence of the association of women with "mysterious beings" and "sin," men considered that women possessed magical power. Early Russian folklore is full of descriptions of women's "magical" powers which might ruin men's life. The so-called magical powers were viewed as "black magic" which, according to men's belief, might be used for evil. Men were frightened of this "black magic," and they blamed women for having this capability. Men's belief in women's capacity for "black magic" created for women the reputation of practising malicious, hostile and devilish witchcraft. The reality--such fearful feelings towards women on the part of men--was reflected in the frequent appearance of devils and witches in the literary works of many male writers.

Gogol is an example of a male writer who created many female devils and witches in his literary works. In many of his short stories women appear either as mysterious objects or as the embodiment of sexual temptation of which men are very much afraid. In his story Viy the magical power of the supernatural witch, who later turns out to be an attractive young lady, is the main reason for men's fear in the small village. In his Ivan Fyodorovich Shpon'ka i ego tyotushka

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[18]Atkinson et al., 14.

[Ivan Fyodorovich Shpon'ka and His Aunt], Shpon'ka, the hero of this story, was frightened when he learned from his domineering aunt that he had to get married and the terror was evident even in his dreams, in which his future wife appeared to him in the form of a creature with a strange goose's face. Such a fearful and hateful feeling towards the "unknown and incomprehensible woman" quite often makes Gogol's male characters stay far away from women.

The phenomenon of misogyny is also evident in Lev Tolstoy's novels and stories. His heroines are usually placed in a subordinate role to men. In The Kreutzer Sonata which depicts how a jealous husband kills his innocent wife, a woman's active space is reduced to a nonessential corner. In Anna Karenina a woman's place is merely that of the family circle where a woman, who is preoccupied with love and does not care too much about her family life, is always condemned.

More often, the fear of women is turned into a hatred of women. In other word, misogyny replaces fear. This is especially true when men encounter a miserable life, for which they blame women. In this circumstance, women had to silently bear this burden of being a "devil".

Religion had a great impact on the negative image of women. Religious values were a powerful force in Russian culture. Monasticism was manifested in Russia very early. In many places, it became an accepted "truth" that women were the prototype of all kinds of moral indecency, that they were

sinners and evil, and that they first rebelled against God by listening to the serpent and induced man to be a sinner. Therefore, all the offspring of women, especially women themselves, inherited the sins of the first woman. Early religious writings contained statements such as, "no wild beast can equal a malicious and bitter-tongued woman"; "it is better to suffer from fever that to be mastered by a bad wife"; "rare is the wife who would not tell your secret to others."[19]

In Russia, the effects of Christianity on society can, in the view of some researchers, be discussed from two major aspects:

> On the one hand, canon law governed domestic relations, and the opposition of the church to the abduction of wives is said to have improved the social condition of women. ...On the other hand, the Christian concept of women as the source of temptation and reason for the Fall of Man was ultimately to have dismal consequences for Russian women. Though the church permitted divorce, the grounds stipulated in a document dating from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century refer to the failings only of wives, not of husbands. If a married woman went off with another man, then he was fined by the church. But the women was sent to a church house. Both men, apparently, were free to (re)marry. Unmarried mothers also were sent to such institutions.[20]

The moral position of the Russian Orthodox Church coincided with the principles of the Tsar. The Church endowed the capacity for suffering and self-sacrifice with special meaning. People, above all women, who manifested these

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[19]George Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind (Cambridge, 1966), vol. II, 77-9, quoted in Engel, 11.

[20]Atkinson et al., 10.

qualities could exercise a considerable moral authority. For example, once a woman married someone she had to remain his wife forever. According to their principles, divorce could hardly be accepted by either the church or society. Cathy Porter points out that this view "made divorce almost impossible, associated women with numerous vices and sins, and encouraged the image of husbands and fathers as agents of imperial and religious authority."[21]

Despite the inferior position women occupied in both society and in their family, and despite the burden of being viewed as "sinners" and "evil" which they carried through the centuries, Russian women were always indoctrinated with the idea of being "good women" and with certain images of "good women" which were mostly presented by the church. For example, the image of nun-like piety, purity and chastity, the image of severe manners and the sanctification of all thoughts and action were given to "good women." All of these qualities were considered as virtues and as models to be followed. By setting these patterns and by indoctrinating women with these stereotypical qualities, church authorities set a "goal" for women to attain in order to entirely control them and cripple them in their rebellion. In consequence, women did become more passive and more torpid, and it became more easy for women to give up their demands for changing their status.

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[21]Cathy Porter, Women in Revolutionary Russia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 6.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a number of Decembrists' wives surprised the world with their unreserved self-sacrifice and sense of moral duty, and yet most of them were of noble birth and gently raised. These women asked the Tsar's permission to follow their husbands, fiances or brothers, who were sent into exile in Siberia by Nikolas I. Despite the hard labour and poor living conditions in Siberia, these women showed their love and their kindness towards their husbands or fiances and compassion for their suffering.

Among them, Princess Maria Volkonskaya, Princess Trubetskaya, Baroness Rose and D. Fonvisina especially showed their strong will and strength in relation to sufferance. The first two were described by Nekrasov in his poem "Russkie zhenshchiny" [Russian Women] and they were described as models for Russian women of that epoch. Alexandra Muravyova, another young wife, left her two children and also followed her husband into exile and died soon after. These women were the forerunners of the women revolutionaries of the late nineteenth century, who inspired subsequent generations to challenge the existing order and who occupied a special place in the history of Russian women.

As far as education was concerned, the majority of the population in nineteenth-century Russia was illiterate. According to statistical data, "only 5 to 6% of the mid-nineteenth century Russian population was literate and hardly

1% had received more than primary education."[22]

Prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century, women in Russia had very little chance to receive any kind of educational training, except for some upper-class families who were rich and enlightened enough to allow their daughters to learn foreign languages, such as French, German and English under the tutorship of foreign teachers.

In 1682, Sofiya, Ivan and Peter's sister, actually became the real ruler of Russia. During her seven-year-regency, Sofiya made a great effort to break down women's isolated lives and to offer them an opportunity to enter the man's world. Then, Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, became empress. She made the nation prosperous and to some degree improved the educational system. Following Elizabeth, Catherine the Great (1762-1796), who was a highly educated and cultured Russian woman, did a great deal to help women enter the civil service. One of her greatest merits was the promotion of education for Russian women.

Later, Maria Fedorovna, the wife of Paul I, opened several institutes for girls of noble family in a few large cities. Nevertheless, the majority of Russian women from the middle and low classes remained uneducated, ignorant and poor. Another interesting phenomenon is that, from the time of Catherine to the mid-nineteenth century, educated people had

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[22]Carolina de Maegd-Soëp, The Emancipation of Women in Russian Literature and Society (Ghent: Ghent State University, 1978), 57.

neither confidence in nor respect for Russian schools and the nobility tended to send their children abroad to be educated.

During the regency of Catherine the Great, there was one very talented woman--Princess Catherine Dashkova, who was well-known for her exceptional passion for study and reading. Dashkova once helped Catherine the Great with her regency and she was a favourite of Catherine the Great.

> She was presented with a place and an estate, and was nominated President of the Academy of Science. In that capacity she fully justified the confidence of the Empress. Her scholarship and her knowledge of men were of great value in reorganizing the Academy and establishing it on a higher level. She took part also in the foundation, in 1764, of the Russian Academy and in the composition of the dictionary published by the Academy, which was completed in three years. She also issued maps of the Russian Empire, and edited a literary magazine with the collaboration of Catherine.[23]

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russian intelligentsia under the influence of the French Enlightenment started to pay more attention to the education of women. "An 1811 article in Vestnik Evropy [The Herald of Europe] conceded that female intelligence was equal to that of males but inquired uneasily whether teaching women to love learning might not divert their love from marriage."[24]

In general, the contact of court circles under Catherine the Great with Western Europe widened the field of vision of the Russian intelligentsia including women who could read in French or German. Contact with the West enabled them to get

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[23]Selivanova, 86.

[24]Atkinson et al., 28.

some progressive ideas from the Western countries, especially from France. At the beginning of the last century, George Sand, the socialist-feminist and the "apostle of women's emancipation," was well known by many Russian intellectuals. Her notable merit was that she put women's emotional needs in the first place.

> For Sand, love was the most elevated human emotion, and although it should not be limited by social conventions, neither should it be trifled with. In her own way, Sand argued for women's rights--not political rights, to be sure, but emotional rights, the right to be more fully human and to live according to one's feelings.[25]

Without doubt, her pleading for women's sentimental emancipation had a great impact on the women's emancipation movement in Russia.

The idea of women's emancipation which first penetrated to Russia through George Sand's works received a new stimulus through Saint Simonism. The doctrines of the Socialists and Communists also influenced Russian life, especially on the women's questions. This wave of thought was immediately received with enthusiasm among Russian intelligentsia with Chernyshevsky at their head.

Because the idea prevailed in Russia that upper-class young women should acquire fluency in French, many young women were able to read some contemporary Western journals which dealt with the problems Russian women faced. Western influence on the women's issue brought about a great advance in the

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[25]Engel, 22.

Russian women's emancipation movement. The importance of women's role in society and the necessity of women's welfare were fully realized.

By 1850s some male writers had begun to pay attention to women's problems. As a political thinker and critic, Belinsky had a strong influence on a new generation in the sixties. He supported the young people who fought for freedom and independence based on humanitarian principles. He was the first critic who stressed the necessity of a sociological approach to literature. In his opinion, literature had to be progressive, and it had to express positive social tendencies.

In 1847, Herzen's novel Kto vinovat? [Who Is to Blame?] came out, and Druzhinin's Polin'ka Saks (1847) was also published. These two novels illustrate Belinsky's opinion of women, emphasizing women's spiritual needs and blaming society for women's "harem" condition.

By 1855, the women's emancipatory spirit already prevailed in Russia. In the women's emancipation movement, Maria Nikolaevna Vernadskaya's voice became well-known. She was the wife of the editor of the journal Ekonomichesky ukazatel' [Economic Guide]. Gifted with a sharp intellect, she wrote a strong criticism of the educated women of her time for their attitude towards themselves. She highly recommended that women receive more education and work outside the family: "Mesdames! Grow up. Stand on your own two feet, live by your own mind, work with your own hands, study, think, work just

as men do. And then you will be independent, or at least less dependent on your tyrants than is now the case."[26]

Although approaches to the women's question varied, the major concerns were the following: the first concern was to liberate the family and seek equal relations between the sexes; the second was to raise women's social status and to offer educational and employment opportunities to women; the third, a direct attack on the patriarchal system, suggested that family despotism be abolished; the fourth was more radical, placing the social and political changes above personal changes.

In 1855, the regime of Nicholas I came to an end, and the defeat of the Crimean War hastened the abolition of tsardom and serfdom. "The Great Reform" in backward Russia became unavoidable. This significant event--the abolition of serfdom in 1861--was an important turning-point in the history of Russian women. It greatly raised women's expectations and also promoted their pursuit of higher education. With the changes which swept over the whole of Russia, women were inspired with new energy and with the necessity of taking an active part in life. Under such circumstances, women's dream to study at institutions of higher learning finally came true. In 1859, St. Petersburg University became the first academic institution to admit female students. Then the universities

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[26]M. N. Vernadskaya, "Sobranie sochineniy" (St. Petersburg, 1862), a series of articles reprinted from Ekonomicheskii ukazatel' (1858-60), quoted in Stites, 181.

of Kiev and Kharkov also opened their lecture halls to female students.

Female students started challenging their traditional life style. They became more and more involved in social and professional careers. One of the greatest achievements of women was their entrance in 1855-80 into the medical schools which had formerly been open only to male students.

According to statistical data, the

> women's medical courses in St. Petersburg offered a five-year program equivalent to that of male medical schools. By 1882, these courses would train over 200 female physicians, a contingent of women doctors far outnumbering that of any contemporary European state. In that year, there were twenty-six women doctors in England and seven in France. Both Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire refused to admit women to advanced medical training and practice until the late 1890s.[27]

Following the Great Reform, secondary education for Russian girls was upgraded.

> In 1856, not a single secondary school for girls existed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Two years later, Norov launched the creation of a network of two types or orders of girls' secondary institution, which, by 1868, boasted 125 schools with an enrolment exceeding 10,000.[28]

However, the living conditions for women pursuing a higher education were very poor as was pointed out by Mariya K. Tsebrikova, who dedicated herself to the Russian feminist movement in the 1860s and who was on the Committee for Financing Women's Higher-Education Courses (which was based

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[27]Johanson, 5.

[28]Ibid., 29.

on private donations) in the seventies. She wrote that

> higher education is purchased by many at the price of costly sacrifices. Their raw, cold nooks are crowded with three or even four students, often with one bed, used by them in turn. In the bitter, freezing cold they are clothed in an afghan over a coat lined only with the wind. They eat cheap dinners from half a kopek kitchens, or often just sausage with dry bread and tea. They spend sleepless nights doing hack copy work for a few coins instead of resting.[29]

There were a few great woman scholars who actively dedicated themselves to academic work despite numerous difficulties; however, they always had to pay a high price. Some woman intellectuals such as Sofiya Kovalevskaya and Nadezhda Soslova made remarkable achievements.

Sofiya Kovalevskaya (1850-1891) was the first woman in Europe to show her talent for mathematics and attain a university professorship at Stockholm University. She was awarded the Birdin Prize by the French Academy of Sciences for her solution to a problem in mathematical physics. Nadezhda Soslova (1843-1891), who was from a peasant's family, became the first Russian woman doctor. She was also interested in social, political and literary activities.

With cultural progress in Russia, the younger generation, particularly thinking men, gradually ceased to value women for their attractive appearance and moral qualities alone. In marriage, they started to demand young women of a higher

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[29]Mariya K. Tsebrikova, "Sankt-Peterburgskie bestuzhevskie kursy," Drug zhenshchin, (No. 4 1882), 78, quoted in Tatyana Mamonova, Russian Women's Studies (New York: Pergamon Press, 1989), 28-29.

level--women with intellect and education.

Through the process of the emancipation movement, some Russian intellectuals, such as Belinsky, Herzen, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky, agreed that women's emancipation could not come on its own, but only through women's own efforts and fight. They intended to inculcate in women the idea of emancipating themselves. Their comments on women's issues and their great support for women's emancipation became a great encouragement for the Russian women's movement. Russian literature in the nineteenth century appeared to be sensitive to the significant changes in the role of the modern woman. Writers no longer considered the women's problem as an isolated issue, but as a broad question of social reform.

Chernyshevsky realized that one of the urgent needs of the time was to deal with social problems including women's problems. In a letter of 5 October, 1862, Chernyshevsky wrote to his wife, Olga Sokratovna, about his purpose in writing Chto delat'? [What Is To Be Done?]: "There is nonsense in the heads of the people, that is why they are poor and typical, bad and unhappy. We have to make it clear to them what the truth is, and how they have to think and live."[30]

The literary works which were infused with the new spirit always gave women something new and inspiring. And the discussions of women's issues in the literary works helped them to re-evaluate their former life style, awakened their

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[30]de Maegd-Soëp, 266.

social and intellectual interests, and enlarged the sphere of their domestic activities. The social position which women had occupied for centuries started to change dramatically. The scope of employment opportunity widened, and women were able to find jobs and independence by means of their intellectual and craft works. Occupations such as those of translator, book-binder, secretary, telegraphist were taken by more and more women.

An example of an employment opportunity was the publishing workshop, which was established by a group of women under the leadership of Mariya Trubnikova in 1863.

> The workshop was strikingly successful until the early 1870s, publishing a number of textbooks and children's books (including a censored version of Hans Andersen's tales) but despite repeated efforts it failed to gain official recognition and was finally disbanded in 1879.[31]

Although the workshop did not exist for long, its spirit extended far beyond the women's expectations.

The new ethical vision and the desire to dispense with other attachments prompted some women to an absolutism and intensity of dedication. Along with the growing self-consciousness, they moved even further, regarding themselves as feminists. They no longer paid attention to their dress, they cut their hair short, wore spectacles, adopted angular manners, and challenged the traditional life style. Because of their behaviour and their "theory" they were called

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[31]Linda Harriet Edmondson, Feminism in Russia 1900-17 (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1984), 13.

"nihilists." Although their behaviour was rather radical, their motivation was to completely liberate themselves in a practical way.

In her study of Russian women Nina Nikolaevna Selivanova gives a list of some outstanding woman scholars of the nineteenth century:

> Volkova and Lermontova distinguished themselves in chemistry, the latter became doctor of chemistry in the University of Göttingen; Sophia Kovalevskaya, in pure mathematics; Alexandra Efimenko, in ethnology; Sophia Pereyeslavzeva, in zoology; Sophia Brullova, in history; Kozmina, in law; and before 1880 Litvinova had received the degree of doctor of mathematics, and Evreyinova and Kauffman that of doctor of laws in foreign countries.[32]

By then, education had progressed greatly. There were many schools and evening lectures open specifically to women students, for example, "the Alarchin and Lublian courses, evening lecture courses in 1870, and in 1872, Courses for Learned Obstetricians, which in 1876 became Women's Medical Courses."[33]

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, women still required a passport to go abroad unless they had the consent of their parents or husbands. This made it more difficult for unmarried women who were eager to continue their education abroad. For them the best way out of these difficulties was to find a "husband" who would not interfere with their plans and could help them to fulfil their wishes. Therefore,

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[32]Selivanova, 156.

[33]Engel, 105.

"fictitious" marriages became an institution among the Russian intelligentsia in the sixties and early seventies of the nineteenth century. Sofiya Kovalevskaya contracted such a fictitious marriage at the age of seventeen in order to go abroad for her academic career.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, "going among the people" was popular all over the country even though the movement did not last long. Revolutionary-minded groups tried to bring the new spirit of the revolution to the peasants. Thousands of women followed this revolutionary movement and devoted themselves to occupations in the countryside. There was a large number of women who dedicated their whole lives to this movement, among them were Sofiya Bardina, Sofiya Löschern von Herzfeld, Olga Natanson, Sofiya Perovskaya, and the two Figner sisters.

From a historical perspective, the hard life Russian women lived could be seen as a continual, subconscious struggle against their fate. The struggle for a new life, the growing of their consciousness of being a sex gender, the development of their knowledge, the demands for freedom and equal rights with men were all vividly reflected in the literary works of Russian women writers in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER III

RUSSIAN WOMEN WRITERS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Not all woman writers have been recorded in histories of Russian literature, despite the fact that many of these neglected woman writers have left us a great number of valuable interesting works.

As early as the end of the eighteenth century there were already a few woman writers who were producing literary works in the form of autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, novels, short stories and poetry. Most of these women writers, ignoring their inferior social position in relation to men, found reinforcement for their aspirations on an individual level in the creation of literature. However, in the narrow literary world of the time some of them were not familiar to readers.

In order to have their works published in what was a man's world, many of these women writers had to use masculine pseudonyms to disguise their true identities. For instance, Nadezhda Dmitrieva wrote under the pseudonym V. Krestovsky,; Nadezhda Durova, under Aleksandr Andreevich Aleksandrov; Avdot'ya Panaeva, under N. Stanitsky; Lidiya Veselitskaya, under Mikulich; the Ukrainian writer Mariya Aleksandrovna Markovich, under Marko Vovchok. This situation persisted even at the beginning of this century. Zinaida Hippius, Nadezhda

Teffi and Poliksena Soloveva often used male pseudonyms, Anton Krayny, Teffi and Allegro.

In the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, sentimentalism was the main trait in Russian literature. Writers, bored with writing of the meaningless life of the upper class, started searching for something different. The sentimentalism of the West suited their taste, and weak woman characters were regarded as models.

Karamzin's sentimental novel Bednaya Liza [Poor Liza] (1792) was a representative one, and it made a great impression on society. In this novel Karamzin depicted the misfortunes of his heroine, Liza, a beautiful and simple peasant girl, who leads a very sentimental life without giving it any critical thought. Liza falls in love with a young nobleman and is soon abandoned by him. She finally drowns herself. Regardless of the tragic end of this sentimental story, Karamzin's message was that women had a beneficial influence on society.

By 1810, sentimentalism in Russian literature had declined and the German romantic attitudes of increased self-awareness on the part of young intellectuals were becoming more prominent. In the thirties and forties, the feelings of self-respect and of dignity were reflected in both male and female writers' fictional works by both men and women writers. Chastity was viewed as a sublime state. Powerless and humble women characters who tried to live according to religious

principles were again admirable heroines and were endowed with strength and moral superiority.

Russian literature reached its climax in the mid-nineteenth century. Suddenly, distinguished writers appeared one after another. Among them were Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Gogol, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Ostrovsky, Goncharov, and Tolstoy. A number of critics such as Belinsky, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky played significant roles in encouraging the new writers.

Pushkin's Evgeniy Onegin (1831) is well-known for its new type of woman character, who behaves virtuously and who daringly usurps the man's privilege to declare love without being asked first. After the publication of this great work, Tatyana, the heroine, soon became the model for women characters in Russian literature. She was the incarnation of the lovely, sweet and virtuous woman.

The emergence of women as recognized intellectual and spiritual equals was first fully presented in N. G. Chernyshevsky's novel Chto delat'? [What Is To Be Done?] (1863). According to Chernyshevsky, the source of this story is the real life of that particular period. Although the novel can hardly be called great literature, it had a tremendous impact on the Russian revolutionary movement, especially on the women's emancipation movement. The significance of the novel is that Chernyshevsky successfully used the literary form to convey his ideas of utopian socialism and equal rights

for both men and women, and, consequently, the influence of the novel far exceeded the writer's expectations.

What Is to Be Done? gives a realistic picture of women's position in Russian life, and it suggests that women could overcome the obstacles to their independence simply by working together and helping each other. The plot is about a typical Russian girl, Vera Pavlovna, who has grown up under parental tyranny. Chernyshevsky describes how Vera struggles for freedom and how she finally succeeds in leading a new life after meeting some "new people" who, he believed, were the hope of Russia. In his novel Chernyshevsky tried to show that the ideas of liberty and the emancipation of women had to be put into practise in reality. And yet, a conflict between tradition and the new life could not be avoided once ideas were put into practice. Chernyshevsky intended to answer the touchy question of the conflict Russian women faced in that particular period, and he, therefore, gave his novel the title What Is to Be Done?.

Turgenev, one of Russia's best writers of that epoch, also deals with the new Russian intellectual class including the new image of women. In his novel Na kanune [On the Eve] (1860), Turgenev created a new type of woman character. Elena, the heroine of the novel, is seeking a new life, having become dissatisfied with the dull, trifling life in her parents' home. Unlike the stereotypical women characters, Elena not only longs for a new life, but she also puts this desire into

action. After falling in love with an intelligent Bulgarian patriot, Insarov, Elena is entirely absorbed by his passion for the liberation of his motherland. For the sake of her love for Insarov and in the hope of realizing the new life she has been dreaming of, she follows Insarov to Bulgaria and completely dedicates herself to Bulgarian liberation.

Turgenev's prose poem Porog [The Threshold] (1878) was directly addressed to the Russian women revolutionaries. There is no specific plot in this poem; it consists of a conversation between a Russian girl and a spirit voice. The young girl is about to cross a threshold--a boundary line of revolution is implied--and the spirit voice warns her of the dangers, illness, sufferings and even death that are awaiting her. But the girl declares that she is prepared to face anything.

Besides Chernyshevsky and Turgenev, many other male writers, such as Dostoevsky, Goncharov, Ostrovsky and Tolstoy also dealt with women's problems, creating many intense, strong-willed, active, more emotional and more intelligent heroines in their fictional works. An increasing number of lower-class woman characters can be found among their heroines.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were some women writers who started to voice their inner-most thoughts, feelings, spiritual needs, demands and expectations by means of fictional works. For example, in the first two

decades of the nineteenth century, Anna Petrovna Bunina (1774-1828), the leading Russian woman poet of the time, was acknowledged as the first professional woman writer in Russia. Bunina began her literary career in 1802. Her collection of verse entitled Neopytnaya muza [An Inexperienced Muse] (1809) caught the attention of Empress Elizaveta Alekseevna, and Bunina was then awarded an annual salary to enable her to write. There were also Karolina Pavlova, Elena A. Gan, Nadezhda Dmitrievna Khvoshchinskaya, Nadezhda Andreevna Durova, Avdot'ya Yakovlevna Panaeva, Evdokiya Petrovna Rostopchina. Unfortunately, no women writers were accepted into the male literary world; nor did the works of women writers gain the attention they deserved.

Examining the backgrounds of these women writers, we find that many of them were from remote areas far removed from the large cities; self-educated in provincial isolation, they were married at early ages through arrangements made by their parents, and later, the marriages turned out unhappily. They were evidently very lonely and had no one to whom to express their feelings.

Elena A. Gan (pseud. Zinaida R-va) (1814-1842) was born in Rzhishchevo in Kiev Province. Her mother, Elena Pavlovna, who was one of the best educated women of the early nineteenth century, played a very important role in Gan's education. Following her parents' advice, Gan was married at the age of sixteen to a captain of the cavalry, who was a practical man

and showed no interest in his wife's literary activity. They lived a nomadic life; following her husband, Gan moved from one province to another. Since Gan lived mostly in provincial areas, cut off from the intellectual circles of Moscow and St. Petersburg, she found her social life crude and unfulfilling. She died prematurely at the age of twenty-eight.

Nadezhda Dmitrievna Khvoshchinskaya (1825-89) was another woman writer who lived in the provinces, in the Ryazan area, and educated herself mostly by reading. She began her literary career as a poet in the forties under her maiden name. Later, she wrote under the male pseudonym V. Krestovsky. When an actual writer named V. Krestovsky appeared in 1857, Khvoshchinskaya began to sign her works under the name "Krestovsky-pseudonym".

Mar'ya Zhukova (1804-1855) was another notable woman writer from the province. Born in 1804 in Arzamas, Nizhny Novgorod, Zhukova spend her formative years in the provinces. She obtained most of her education in a noble family, where she lived as a companion to one of the daughters. Like Gan, Zhukova was married at the age of seventeen or eighteen to a local judge. Because of her husband's love for cards and passion for a spree, she was not happy with her married life. Eventually, the couple separated after the husband lost all his money and ended up in debt. Zhukova moved to St. Petersburg in approximately 1830. In 1837 her first story came out.

Nadezhda Andreevna Durova (1783-1866) occupies a special place in the history of Russian literature. She was renowned for her outstanding courage and unique experience in the Russian cavalry from 1807 to 1816. Disguised as a man, Durova ran away from her parents' home and joined a troop of Cossacks in 1804. Learning her true identity, Alexander I granted her a commission and the right to call herself Aleksandrov. She described this event in her autobiographical work The Cavalry Maiden:

> The emperor went on, "and you will call yourself by my name--Aleksandrov. I have no doubt that you will make yourself worthy of this honour by the distinction of your conduct and actions. Never forget for a moment that this name must always be above reproach, and I will never forgive you even the shadow of a spot on it.... Now tell me, what regiment would you like to be enroled in? I will promote you to officer's rank."[34]

Since her childhood, Durova had been taught by her mother how a girl was supposed to behave. Her mother tried to confine Durova to domestic works, but her efforts always failed. Since marriage was the only way for Russian women to escape from parental authority, Durova also followed this path. She married a local assessor at the age of eighteen. In 1803, she gave birth to a son, named Ivan. However, her marriage did not work out. She soon left her husband and returned to her parents' home. However, Durova did not mention anything about this marriage, nor about her son in her autobiographical work.

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[34]Nadezhda Durova, The Cavalry Maiden, trans. by Mary Fleming Zirin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 63.

In the late 1830's Durova began her literary career. Despite the fact that she did not have any formal education (which was also true of other Russian woman writers living in provincial isolation), she kept diaries and wrote autobiographical works and a number of fictional works, in which she drew the plots largely from her own military experience. Her best known work is the autobiographical The Cavalry Maiden (1836).

Another more controversial and intriguing woman writer of the mid-nineteenth century was Avdot'ya Yakovlevna Panaeva (1820-1893). Panaeva was born in an actors' family. Her father, Yakov Grigorievich Bryansky, and mother, Anna Matveevna Stepanova, were distinguished artists of their time. In her childhood years, Panaeva did not have an enjoyable family life since her parents did not care for their children too much. Like many other women writers, Panaeva did not receive any formal education except for acting which she studied at the Imperial Theatre School. In 1839 she married Ivan Ivanovich Panaev who became an influential writer in the forties. Panaeva was not happy in her lifetime. She had a very intimate relationship with Nekrasov. However, after the death of Panaev, she failed to become Nekrasov's legal wife. After Nekrasov left her and began a liaison with a French girl and even occupied the Panaevs' apartment, Panaeva married Apollon Filipovich Golovachev, the secretary of The Contemporary. Soon after the death of her second husband, Panaeva's life became very difficult and she had to struggle with financial

problems. She completely dedicated herself to the young child, which she bore late in life. She died in 1893, unnoticed by the public.

Under parental authority, many of these women writers struggled for freedom and independence. There is, for example, Durova's running away from her parents' home and joining a troop of Cossacks. It is also possible that Durova did this because she believed in what her father said, and she tried to attain admirable male status by sacrificing her true sexual identity.

Nevertheless, some critics explain Durova's motivation to escape differently, based on the omission of any mention of her unhappy marriage in her autobiographical work: "Some commentators found it more convincing to portray Durova as an adjunct to a male love than as a person who served nearly ten years in the cavalry from a desire for freedom and a sense of vocation."[35] In Zirin's opinion, Durova's rebellious action was caused by her brief unhappy marriage as well by her father's repeated insistence that she had the qualities of being a brave "son."

Khvoshchinskaya's literary activity was also strongly opposed by her family. The reason was simply her sex: writing did not fit in with her mother's concept of what the ideal young girl did.

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[35]Mary Fleming Zirin, "Translator's Introduction," in ibid., xxviii.

> Forty years after her literary debut those difficulties were still so fresh in Chvoshchiskaia's [sic] mind that she even thought to write a novel about a girl, whose early literature experiments soon made her the scapegoat of the whole family. She is even turned down by her fiance, because she writes on subjects which girls are not supposed to have the slightest idea about.[36]

Not only did unlimited parental authority impede the intellectual development and free thinking of these women writers, but social pressure also greatly discouraged women writers from writing and publishing their works. For example, Karolina Pavlova was condemned by the public and defamed by her friends (the details will be discussed in the next chapter). Panaeva has been decried by Soviet critics who blame her for tempting and defaming Nekrasov and deny all her merits and her kindness. In his article on Panaeva and Nekrasov, K. N. Chukovsky, citing correspondence among some writers, gives some evidence of the public's attitude towards Panaeva, as well as the blame Nekrasov, her common-law husband for fifteen years, put on her.

> Now when the new generation has interpreted Avdot'ya Panaeva's Vospominaniya [Memoirs] as one of the valuable literary monuments of the forties, fifties and sixties, I hope that it is not necessary for me to justify why I, with such a curiosity, so closely observed this "unknown woman in whom nobody showed any interest." In that time, she has become famous and she has aroused a great deal of interest.
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> When I started to write this book, Panaeva's name had been trampled into the mud. In 1917, under the editorship of the now, deceased M. Lemke, the eighth volume of Hertzen's works came out, and there, on the basis of a small excerpt from one of Nekrasov's letters,

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[36]de Maegd-Soëp, 98.

Panaeva was blamed for theft.[37]

Chukovsky quotes a letter from Hertzen to Turgenev to cast doubt on Lemke's aspersion: "Nekrasov wrote me. The letter is nasty, like he himself. ... Here you have a completely deserved reward for friendship with scoundrels. So, for the first thing, he puts the blame on Panaeva, and for the second, on you."[38]

The demand for a woman's sentimental emancipation was evident in the works of Elena Gan, Karolina Pavlova, Mar'ya Zhukova, Nadezhda Durova and Avdot'ya Panaeva. In their prose and fiction these women writers tended to express their dissatisfaction and unhappiness under the patriarchal system in a narrow way; freely choosing a husband and getting out from under parental authority were common themes and popular topics. They certainly represented women's needs at this time. The heroines were at first, all of noble birth; gradually they were joined by representatives of the intelligentsia and the middle class. Finally, the image of the country woman appeared in their works.

Thus, although the woman writers of the first half of the nineteenth century expressed women's needs and demands, their thinking and demands were still very limited. For

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[37]K. N. Chukovsky, "Predislovie ko btoromu izdanuyu," in Avdot'ya Panaeva, Semeystvo Tal'nikovkh (Leningrad: Akademiya, 1928), [no page]. My translation.

[38]Sovremennik (1913, No. 6): 22, quoted in K. Chukovsky, "Panaeva i Nekrasov," in Panaeva's Semeystvo Tal'nikovkh, 48. My translation.

example, loneliness and unhappiness were depicted in Gan's fictional works, but even as a well-educated woman of her time she was unable to get away from a feeling of moral inferiority and from conventional viewpoints on women's issues. Suppressing her ambition and desire to participate in what was seen as men's domain, Gan tried to convince herself that motherhood was a central feature of the woman's role.

In analyzing Gan's failure to move further regarding woman's place in society, Barbara Alpern Engel suggests in her study that

> one reason was that she believed in women's inferiority to men. ... Another reason was that Gan's romanticism confirmed what she could observe for herself: The male world was cold and formal, geared to the austere demands of service and allowing no scope for the cultivation and expression of feeling. Why would a woman want an equal place in such a world? Rather, a woman was better off making the most of the position she already had. According to Gan, a woman was first of all a loving wife and mother."[39]

Bunina never forgot that she was a woman despite her success in the literary field, and this restricted thinking greatly affected her writing. In one of her verses dedicated to her young niece, Bunina wrote:

> Another simple lesson will I give you,
> You are a woman,then learn from childhood to be submissive
> Not obstinate in your desires.
> Obstinacy in a woman brings disaster,
> As everybody has power to rule over a woman.[38]

Examining Rostopchina's literary creation, some critics

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[39]Engel, 32.

[38]Quoted in Selivanova, 110.

point out shortcoming in the themes of her works:

> Yet her poems too only spoke about love. The only form of emancipation she wanted was free love, which, in her eyes, merely meant wandering about with gipsy orchestras and taking troika rides. She thought beauty was woman's best weapon and ignorance one of her natural qualities! This mundane poetess did not feel the need of any intellectual education and even opposed woman's urge for knowledge.[39]

In spite of the setbacks and frustrations women writers encountered in the publication of their works, many of them did not stop writing. Literary creation was a vehicle through which women writers were able to give vent to their emotions, including their dissatisfaction, and then transcended their feelings. Thus many women simply chose literature as a creative medium through which to express their personal feelings, inner thoughts, and even the dreams which they could not realise. Most of them could thus not expect literary success.

Although Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century did not have many contacts with one another, certain preoccupations, themes, the same creative and life experiences, and even lifestyles link a number of woman writers and their works. The themes of many of their works are very similar and their voices on women's issues are identical.

Gan expressed fervent criticism of the woman's fate in her fictional works. For her, literature was probably the only

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[39]de Maegd-Soëp, 101.

form of contact with the outside world and she found relief from her emotional and intellectual isolation only in her writings and in her children.

In Gan's stories, the central predicament and the tragic ends of her heroines to a large degree reflect her own life experience. The stories are mainly concerned with female characters who face extreme isolation and loneliness and fail to find an outlet for their talents, passion and energy. This theme is clearly evident in her novella Sud sveta [The Judgement of Society], which was written in 1840.

The story is about a woman's tragic life, and it is told in the form of a first-person narrative. Similar to Gan herself, Zinaida, the heroine, was born and grew up in an isolated small town, but in a harmonious and cultured family. Zinaida is a pure and intelligent girl, and these qualities are highly regarded by the narrator:

> ... I recognized in her a woman with a bright and wonderful soul, with a high intelligence and a rich cognition, with a pure, innocent and sensitive heart, easily ignited by everything noble, great and virtuous; in a word, I recognized one of these beings whom one seldom meets, who, through her approach alone, disperses peace and happiness around her.[40]

However, such a pure woman with such high inner qualities can not be understood by society. She is condemned as an immoral woman simply because of her intelligence and her manner. At the age of thirteen, Zenaida had lost her mother

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[40]Elena A. Gan, "Sud sveta," in V. V. Uchenov, ed., Dacha na Petergofskoy doroge (Moscow: Sovremennik, 1986), 168. My translation.

and was taken by her aunt to Moscow to be educated. Life with her aunt, a hypocritical upper-class woman, is vividly described in Zenaida's letter to the narrator:

> At my aunt's place I lived in oppression and totally estranged from everyone. Nobody could or wanted to understand me; and I, for my part, could not reconcile myself to their opinions and behaviour: they pursued me, heaped ridicule on me; at every step, they stung my self-respect; and finally, my shyness, strength of character, which they called stubbornness, the sharpness of my views, my unsociableness--everything was all put down to a lack of brains, and they defined me as follows: "she is stupid, therefore, she is incurable."[41]

In order to save her beloved brother from military punishment for a prank, Zenaida accepts the proposal of her brother's old major-general, whom she does not love at all. The marriage in which Zenaida is a sacrifice is not understood even by the narrator who later falls in love with her. Finally, all of her hopes are ruined by the narrator who, in a duel, kills her brother who he thought was Zenaida's lover.

The theme of a woman's fate is clearly seen in Durova's Igra sudby [The Play of Fate] (1839). The story is based on an event which occurred in the writer's hometown. With great sympathy, Durova narrates the tragic life of a beautiful young girl who becomes a victim of parental authority and men's plaything. The author emphasizes that she witnessed the decline and death of her heroine.

Elena, the heroine in The Play of Fate, is an unrivalled beauty in her hometown. When she is fourteen, a marriage is

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[41]Ibid, 201.

arranged by her parents to a man twice her age, who serves in the military union. The marriage does not make Elena happy. She is continually abused by her indifferent husband, who gambles away a great deal of her money. Just before their death her parents learn that their only beloved daughter is suffering as a result of the marriage they had arranged, and they feel very sorry for her. The mother throws herself on her knees in front of Elena, asking for her forgiveness.

After the death of her parents, Elena is completely alone. In this desperate situation a young man, admiring her beauty, offers his love to her. Elena falls deeply in love with him, but he soon abandons her, as does her husband. Her second marriage to a wealthy Tartar is a happy one, but her second husband is murdered. Elena dies at the age of twenty-three after a long period of physical and emotional suffering.

At the end of the story, Durova comments on the reason for her heroine's misfortune:

> She is only twenty-three years old, she should be blooming like the spring!... Whose fault is it? Who is the cause of such suffering? Who helped her to ascend the highest level of human misfortune? Her husband?[42]

Durova then makes a judgement on behalf of society on Elena's tragedy, and tries to make the readers draw their own conclusion:

> The husband behaved just like all young people do. What does it matter if he drank too much sometimes!--

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[42]Nadezhda Andreevna Durova, "Igra sudby," in N. A. Durova, Povesti i rasskazy (St. Petersburg: U knigoprodavtsa V. Polyakova, 1839), vol. I, 173-174. My translation.

> That's no vice for a man.... Elena is much more to blame than her husband!.... She got exactly what she deserved.... "She is to blame for everything," they said....[43]

However, Durova does not go any further in questioning parental authority and was unable to attack its consequences. Instead, she simply reveals the problems resulting from arranged marriages and only offers superficial criticism of society's judgement on women.

In the novel The Talnikov Family, which was once rejected by the censor as "too immoral and undermining parental authority,"[44] Panaeva narrates in the first person how a young girl feels suffocated in the home of her despotic parents and how she finally gains relief through her marriage. Like many other children at that time, this girl does not enjoy normal family life. In fact, through her heroine Panaeva is retelling her own childhood experiences, of which she later wrote in her Memoirs. The terrible picture Panaeva painted in this story realistically reveals the shadow which is thrown on the child's mind. Very often, these children, unwanted in the family, were treated rudely by the father and neglected by the mother, who spent most of their time on personal pleasure and who were more interested in their social life than in their children. So the children always had a feeling of abandonment, while wishing for true parental love. However, Panaeva's

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[43] Ibid, 174-75.

[44] de Maegd-Soëp, 111.

childhood experience was not a typical one.

Zhukova seemed to move a bit further with regard to moral question affecting women. Unlike Gan and Pavlova, Zhukova made her heroines more rebellious. In her novella Sud sertsa [The Judgement of the Heart] (1840), the heroine's emotional rebellion against a so-called happy marriage is rather surprising. Franka, the heroine, was poor but a striking beauty; she marries a rich man who helps her to get through a very difficult period before and after her mother's death. The marriage is based completely on mutual love. While the husband is away on business, Franka falls in love with her husband's friend. The result is an inner conflict with the moral definition of a good wife and her sense of duty. The story ends with the lover's disappearance and the torment of both wife and husband who remain together as a couple. Zhukova makes clear that a woman also has the right to seek what she is longing for in life, and that a woman's view of happiness changes according to the development of her self-awareness and the growth of her life experience.

As far as the theme of rebellion against patriarchy is concerned, Durova's The Cavalry Maiden is an excellent record which offers details of an oppressed woman's reaction against parental authority and of a woman's efforts to change her fate, even though, to some extent, the book might be viewed as a tragedy related to sexual sacrifice. In the form of a first-person narrative, Durova first describes her childhood

years with her parents; how she differs from an obedient girl, and because of her boyish behaviour how she is punished by her mother, who demands her be a nice and docile girl. For her constant rebellion, Durova was locked by her mother in a single room and she was forced to sew or to do some domestic work.

However, her father, who serves in the military for many years, wishes that Durova was a boy, and that she could follow his own example--to join the military union. To her mother's great disappointment, Durova did follow her father's military career; disguised as a man, she secretly runs away from her parents and joins the Cossack calvary.

Durova then depicts the hardship and her military experiences in the calvary where, like all male soldiers, she has to finish different military assignments without any exception. Despite her physical disadvantage that she is small and young, Durova works as hard as the rest of male soldiers that nobody doubts her real sex. Her courage, confidence and ability greatly impress her officers and comrades.

Usually, stories which depict parental authority are similar in structure. In relation to their daughters, fathers were actually much colder than mothers. They always stood at a distance from their daughters, showing no or very little concern for them. Perhaps, Durova's father as depicted in The Cavalry Maiden is an exception. In Panaeva's The Talnikov Family, the heroine, like the author herself, eventually

manages to escape from the inferno of her home by marrying at sixteen the first man who proposes.

It is true that education created problems for women who lived in the provinces and who had no or little contact with the outside world where they might have found companionship or fellow intellectuals. Education placed these women above their surroundings, so the tragedy was that they had nowhere to use their talents and knowledge. Under these circumstances, these few educated women had far less incentive than men to abandon a religiously based concept of values which, they believed, could give their life more meaning or dignity.

As an educated woman living in provincial isolation, Gan was obviously on a higher level than her surroundings. Her spiritual depression is reflected in one of her letters to her editor. For example, in 1839 she wrote that "she would either work or go mad, probably the latter, as a result of her total isolation and the impossibility of sharing a single thought, of expressing the slightest feeling."[45]

Mary Fleming Zirin describes Durova's beliefs as follows:

> Durova's profound religious sense appears to stem as much from the deism of the Enlightenment as from Orthodox Christianity. Her belief in the rational is at the heart of her courage and enables her to face and overcome unknown terrors. She expresses her sense of the godhead in figures ranging from the personal, protective deity invoked by her grandmother to a more generalized sense of a nature that set her potentialities and a providence that guides her destiny.[46]

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[45]Engel, 31.

[46]Zirin, xv.

Another similarity among the works by women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century is their awareness and depiction of the empty, meaningless, and hypocritical life of the upper class. Frequently, the heroines would try to go back to nature or try to raise animals in an attempt to fill their inner emptiness.

The theme of leaving a meaningless life in aristocratic circles is found in Panaeva's Roman v Peterburgskom polusvete [A Romance in Peterburg Twilight]. As in Gan's The Judgement of Society (discussed earlier), the heroine of Panaeva's novella is taken by her rich but hypocritical aunt from her remote hometown, to St. Petersburg right after the death of her mother. In spite of her social success and her seemingly happy marriage, which is arranged by her aunt, this young woman is never happy. At last, weary of her empty life with her husband who insults her former lover, she determines to run away with the poor but beloved man with whom she has secretly kept contact. In this novel Panaeva endowed her heroine with outstanding courage and a special feeling towards the peasant servant and housekeeper.

The hypocrisy of high society is revealed more ironically in Durova's narrative God zhizni v Peterburge ili nevygody tretego posescheniya [A Year of Life in Peterburg or The Disadvantages of a Third Visit]. In this story, the narrator tells of her disillusioning experience of literary lionization in St. Petersburg during 1836-37. Here, with gentle humour

Durova expresses her bitter feelings about Petersburg upper-class society, of which she once had wonderful dreams. Although the plot itself is not new, Durova judges the emptiness and hypocrisy of St. Petersburg society through a woman's eyes. She describes how she leaves her hometown for St. Petersburg in order to try her luck at literature. Fortunately, her work is praised by Pushkin and accepted by him for publication. She immediately gains the public's admiration, especially that of fashionable women who claim to love her work and eagerly vie with each other in inviting her to their parties and dinners. The narrator visits them one after another. On her first visit she is the centre of attention; on her second visit, the hostesses are no longer so attentive; and on the third visit, she is totally neglected. She ironically admits that she made a mistake in accepting the invitations for the third time.

The narrator feels sorry for the complete ignorance of the upper class, and Durova reveals their hypocrisy through the narrator's comments:

> No light illuminates such terrible thing as the light of experience because it illuminates evil after it has already been committed! Now I know people, know the price of their endearments and their assurances, know what their every word means, know to what degree they can be believed... .[47]

The theme of self-sacrifice is notable in the fictional

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[47]Nadezhda Durova, God zhizni v Peterburge (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya A. Voeykova, 1838), 196. My translation.

works of many female writers. Self-sacrifice could be viewed as a general characteristic of Russian women, and it was conventionally regarded as one of women's virtues. Religious values actually permeated this belief, and some women writers in the first half of the nineteenth century ideologically followed this doctrine in creating this type of "virtuous" heroine.

For instance, Zhukova depicts a very impressive woman in her novella Samopozhertvovanie [Self-Sacrifice], which was completed in 1840. The heroine gives up her lover merely for the sake of her benefactress, totally ignoring her own happiness. In order to save the reputation of her benefactress, the heroine pretends to love the lover of her benefactress in front of the benefactress' husband. Finally, she ends her days in poverty. She has to support her aged mother by teaching in a provincial school, and her self-sacrifice is not understood by society. At last, with sorrow she tells the narrator that she has only received contempt from society for her sacrificing all for the happiness of others.

As is mentioned above, Gan's heroine in The Judgement of Society also possesses the quality of self-sacrifice. For the sake of her brother, Zenaida sacrifices herself and marries someone she does not love at all.

No matter from where her courage and confidence came, and no matter in what psychological state she was , like all

women of the last century, Durova too needed support to overcome all of the difficulties and disadvantages she faced. Being such an unusual woman writer, Durova, too, had to find a sympathetic chord in nature to gain strength from the Creator in order to reduce the unbearable isolation. Since she was always wary of revealing herself during the years of military service, and since she had no interest in sharing the other officers' amusements, the best way for her to establish an equilibrium in herself was probably to turn to nature.

> Tranquillity, joy, cheerful dreams, good health, and high color are all inseparable from me in this present way of life, and I have never yet felt bored for even a minute. Nature, by implanting in my soul a love of freedom and her beauties, has given me an inexhaustible source of joys. As soon as I open my eyes in the morning a feeling of pleasure and happiness rouses throughout my entire being. I can't even imagine anything sad; in my imagination everything sparkles and glows with a bright radiance. Oh, Your Majesty! Our adored father! There is never a day on which I do not mentally embrace your knees. To you I owe a happiness that has no equal on earth, the happiness of being completely free: to your indulgence, your angelic kindness, but most of all to your intelligence and the great spirit powerful enough to perceive a potential for deeds of high valor in the weaker sex. Your pure soul did not presume anything unworthy in me or fear that I would abuse the rank you granted me.[48]

With regard to animals, Durova describes in minute detail her relationship with an orphan dog, which was seemingly the only creature to which she could show her love overtly and reveal her innermost feeling as the only woman in military service. She writes, for example:

I get more attached to Cupid with every passing day. And

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[48]Nadezhda Durova, The Cavalry Maiden, 169.

> how could I not love him? Meekness has an unconquerable power over our hearts even in an ugly animal, so how is it when the nicest, most faithful, and best of them looks into your eyes with meek humility, follows your every impulse, exists only for you, cannot be without you for even a minute, and would give his life for you? Even if you are unjust to him, thrash him for nothing, cruelly, even inhumanly, he will lie at your feet, lick them, and without the least resentment of your cruelty, wait only for a kind glance to throw himself into your arms, embrace you with his little paws, lick you, caper.[49]

In her fiction, Zhukova expresses a special feeling towards the beautiful countryside where she grew up. Her hometown inspired her to write many lyric verses. Her love for nature has been commented on by a critic as follows:

> She loved not only the quiet and silence of the church, but also the peace in nature which made a person listen attentively internally and made her reverential. ... Quiet in the church. ... Quiet in nature beneath the blue celestial dome--this is also a church, in which Zhukova prayed. In her, love for nature imperceptibly merges with religion.[50]

In the novel Dacha na Petergofskoy doroge [The Cottage on the Petersburg Road], Zhukova's impressive heroine has the ability to communicate with nature, as is evident in the following conversation between two girl friends:

> --Let's go home, Zoya.
>
> --Home? I don't want to. I like it better here. I have friends here. Do you hear them whispering? Do you hear their wings stirring. That's them gathering. I'll send them to him. She will be angry! Do you know her? Just talk quietly, so she doesn't hear. Oh, she is clever! I saw her in the garden yesterday.
>
> --Where?

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[49] Ibid., 223.

[50] M. Konopleva, "Mar'ya Semenovna Zhukova," Golos minuvshego, no. 7 (January, 1913): 35. My translation.

> --You don't know. In my flower-bed when we were sitting in the gallery.
>
> --There was nobody in the flower-bed then.
>
> --You don't think so? And I know that there was. Remember the orange lily: it is so fiery, with black spots, exactly as if she was teasing with her tongue, on which a piece of black coal was hanging.[51]

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, women writers, most of whom were of noble birth and well educated, concentrated on describing women of their own class. They pictured the life of the noble families in different ways; they expressed the feelings, the emotions, and the intellectual and psychological insights of the women of their own class.

In the fifties, some women writers, following the literary trends and the social changes of that epoch, began describing the life of middle class women. For example, Durova's novella Ugol [The Nook], deals with the problems class and rank cause in marriage. The hero of this novella, a nobleman, falls in love with a merchant's daughter, who is of peasant background, and secretly marries her. This marriage proves fatal to the nobleman's mother, who can not forgive her beloved only son for his connection to a merchant family. Durova is concerned with her middle-class heroine's seeking personal happiness. Durova focuses on her insight, her inner

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[51]Mar'ya S. Zhukova, "Dacha na Petergofskoy doroge," in Uchenov. ed., Dacha na Petergofskoy doroge, 261-262. My translation.

beauty and her kindness to lower class people, which is so different from the woman characters of some other female writers of that time.

Along with the development of social consciousness and concerns for peasants' problems, both male and female writers began to search for themes from the lives of peasants. Peasant women as human beings were depicted by many women writers, among them Panaeva and Durova.

In Stepnaya baryshnya [The Girl of the Steppe] (1855), Panaeva depicted an ordinary country girl. In this story Panaeva vests her heroine with kindness, simplicity and sincerity, a pleasant character, and a special feeling for nature. Panaeva, with a great sympathy and deep understanding, exposes the extreme isolation of this country girl who spends most of her time in the woods and in fishing. Her concerns and worries are revealed through the narrator.

In general, compared to George Sand whose heroines fight to preserve their emotional integrity and many of whom manage to triumph over their circumstances in order to live according to their own moral principles, the heroines of Russian woman writers seem less rebellious. In accordance with commonly held beliefs and moral principles, they tended to agree that a woman's highest calling was love and her only happiness was to be found in marriage. At the same time they still expected greater respect, and tenderness and more sensitivity from men.

In addition to describing love stories and everyday

events, a few women writers moved into other areas in their fictional writings, for example, challenging the male view of some historical female figures. This theme can be seen in Volkonskaya's fictional Skazanie ob Ol'ge [The Story of Olga] which is based on a historical event.

Unlike these woman writers of the nineteenth century, many male writers and critics knew or at least met each other in their lifetime and some of them became very close friends. They frequently gathered together in literary salons. They discussed literary problems, exchanged ideas and information, and read their new works to each other. They argued with one another about literary, social and political problems and drew inspiration from each other's works and discussions with each other. In a word, these writers had intensive contacts among themselves. The journal Sovremennik [The Contemporary], which was first established by Nekrasov and Panaev, provided a great opportunity for Russian writers to publish their literary works, and the journal itself had a significant impact on the writers' creativity as well as on the readers' consciousness.

Compared to their male counterparts, Russian women writers in the first half of the nineteenth century were lonely and isolated. Their contacts among themselves were very limited even though there is some evidences that some women writers met each other. For example, in her Memoirs, Panaeva mentions that she once met Karolina Pavlova and listened to her reading her recently completed poems. But Panaeva does not

give any comment on the poems, nor does she mention any further contact with Pavlova. Panaeva also wrote a few words about her acquaintance with Nadezhda Suslova, who was later involved in literary activities.

In the twenties, Zinaida Volkonskaya's literary salon was well known in Moscow upper class society; Pushkin, Venevitinov, Odoevsky, Delvig, Vyazemsky and other writers were her frequent quests. Karolina Pavlova was introduced to Volkonskaya, and in her literary salon Pavlova met the famous Polish poet, Mickiewize.

However, the lack of opportunity to meet one another and share each other's experiences was surely a major unfavourable factor which reduced the possibility of developing integrated feminist literature in Russia.

It is interesting to note that many of these women writers had broad contacts with male writers. Since the literary field was conventionally considered as a male domain, women's works had to be approved by men first if women wanted to get into this "forbidden world." Also, all sorts of publications at that time were controlled by men.

Because of her family background from a early age, Panaeva had wide contact with many famous actors and artists of that time. Panaeva relates at length her contacts and relationships with many male writers and critics. The Panaevs' hospitality and literary interests attracted many Russian writers and critics to their salon. Belinsky, Dostoevsky,

Herzen, Bakunin, Odoevsky, Turgenev, Goncharov, Granovsky, Gogol and Tolstoy were among their guests. Alexandre Dumas also visited them during his stay in Russia.

Belinsky and Panaeva were very close friends, and Dostoevsky was very much attracted by her beauty. Some critics even suggest that several of Dostoevsky's female characters are based on her. Nekrasov once madly fell in love with Panaeva and was even prepared to commit suicide when she refused him. Later Panaeva was his common-law wife for about fifteen years.

Panaev and Nekrasov had a tremendous influence on the development of Panaeva's intellect and her knowledge of literature. At the same time Panaeva helped them with the establishment of the journal The Contemporary. She also wrote novels and short stories for the journal. Together with Nekrasov, Panaeva wrote the novels Tri strany sveta [Three Parts of the World] and Mertvoe ozera [The Dead Lake]. In addition, she wrote about twelve short stories and three novels by herself.[52]

Rostopchina was also acquainted with Zhukovsky, Pushkin, Lermontov, Turgenev and other major figures of Russian literature.

As far as literary genres are concerned, there is a great similarity among the fictional works by Russian women writers

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[52]Avdot'ya Panaeva, Vospominaniya (Moscow: Akademiya, 1933), 274.

in the first half of the nineteenth century. "By far the most popular prose genre among female authors is the small form, i.e., the short story or novella (povest'); and the relatively few forays into large-scale narratives have not proved overly impressive."[53]

Since most Russian women writers began their literary activity at the beginning of the nineteenth century, sentimentalism and romanticism were very obvious in their fictional works. They usually described love affairs with a melancholic tone and depicted everyday life in romantic scenes. For instance, in Zhukova's novella Dacha na Petergofskoy doroge, Zoya, the heroine, addicts herself in a sentimental life after falling in love with a noble man who later left her. With sorrow, she spends her time dreaming, thinking or crying for her unfortunate love even though she is not as weak as Liza in Karamzin's Poor Liza. In order to find herself inner comforts Zoya also turns to nature for which she has always had a special feeling.

Durova's writing style is commented on in The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literature as followings: "Only in her autobiographical works did Durova move beyond the conventions of Romanticism. Her fictional heroes reflect her own story, passionate character and themes show a typical romantic fascination with exotic settings and melodramatic

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[53]Helena Goscilo, Introduction to Balancing Acts, ed. by Helena Goscilo (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. xxv.

events."[54]

George Sand's influence on Russian woman writers in the forties can not be overlooked. The demands for some form of freedom and the consciousness of woman's inferior condition can be found in many women writers' works of the mid-nineteenth century. There is a similarity in themes between Sand and some Russian woman writers, for example,

> "At the Pier" (1857) by E. Rostopchina, "On the Frontier" (1857) by Evgenia Tur, "Aside the Big World" 1857) and "A Woman' Story" (1861) by J. Zhadovskaia, "Free Choice" (1858) by Narskaia, "The Boarder" (1860) by N. Chvoshchinskaia, "Guests after Dinner (1858) and "The Mater" (1860) by N. Kochanovskaia. However, the critical value of these works did not go much beyond a moderate protest against woman's subdued condition in family and society.[55]

With the women's emancipation movement in the sixties, women writers began their challenge to parental authority, through the depiction in their works of the nigilistka [woman nihilist] who denies traditions and old lifestyle, Nadezhda D. Khvoshchinskaya, Nadezhda Suslova, Konstantinovna Tsebrikova were representative writers dealing with this theme. Khvoshchinskaya's novella Pensionerka [The Boarding-School Girl] deals with this problem. Nadezhda Suslova also portrayed a nigilistka in her Rasskaz v pismakh [A Story in Letters], which was published in the Contemporary in 1864. In

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[54]Mary F. Zirin, "Durova, Nadezhda Andreevna," in The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literature, ed. by Harry B. Weber, vol. 6, (Gulf Breeze: Academic International Press, 1982), 96.

[55]De Maegd-Soëp, 98-99.

1890, Sofiya Kovalevska wrote about a nihilist girl, based on the life of the niece of Pushkin's wife, Vera Sergeevna Goncharova.

Unlike the women writers of the first half-century, the women writers of the second half picture the older generation and parents without any redeeming qualities. In their works parents often appear petty, greedy, selfish and despotic; they always react negatively when their daughters express their intellectual needs and independent desires. Because they follow the old patterns and ideals, these parents become the obstacles to a new epoch.

As the women writers' self-awareness developed, the concerns of later women writers moved from women's social milieu, motivations and interrelationships to psychological and intellectual levels. As Temira Pachmuse writes,

> Zinaida Hippius, Nadezhda Teffi, and Zinov'eva-Annibal presented man in the process of maturation: hence their concern with the psychology of children in the process of becoming and seeking. In refined prose, furthermore, they portrayed visions, dreams, unusual situations, and exotic or morbid sensations.[56]

In conclusion, Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century left many valuable works which reflect Russian women's lives, intellectual thoughts and self-expression. The similarities in their educational background, social position and family lives all link these Russian woman

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[56]Temira Pachmuss, "Women Writers in Russian Modernism 1890-1910" in Russian Literature and Criticism, ed. by Evelyn Bristol (Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1982), 146.

writers.

The similarity in the themes in their works is another notable link. The women writers of the early part of the nineteenth century were limited in the expression of their tolerance, disappointments, their unhappiness or emptiness simply because of their educational and literary backgrounds. Having failed to solve their psychological problems, they usually searched for a dream world and, as a result, they created idealized women characters.

With the decline of sentimentalism and romanticism, the self-awareness of women writers, like that of men, greatly increased. Women began to show their emerging rebellion against parental authority. At the same time they began to evaluate the meaning of life and tried to make judgements in their writings, partly, because of the intensified interest in religion, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The influence of sentimentalism and romanticism are visible in works by many woman writers in the first half of the nineteenth century. As for the quality of their literary works, many women writers did not pay too much attention to improving their writing skills. Very often, the content of their works was overshadowed by their tautological descriptions. In their writings the style was usually flowery, the plots were artificial, and the works were full of French words; to some degree, this might also be the influence of

sentimentalism and romanticism.

Despite their shortcomings the prose fiction produced by Russian women writers in the first half of the nineteenth century is significant not only as literature, but also because it brought a new perspective into literature which until then had been wholly dominated by men. These women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century produced a new epoch in the history of Russian literature and laid a solid foundation for the Russian women writers of the second half of the nineteenth century as well as of the twentieth.

CHAPTER IV

KAROLINA PAVLOVA AND HER NOVELLA A DOUBLE LIFE

Karolina Pavlova was a leading poet of the 1840s and 1850s, and her influence on poetry in the first half of the nineteenth century was acknowledged by many of her contemporaries. For instance, Panaev praised her poetry highly. Later, Andrey Bely in his Sravnitelnaya morfologiya ritma [Comparative Morphology of Rhythm] places Pavlova in the second rank of poets, together with Lermontov, Derzhavin, Zhukovsky, Boratynsky and Fet. Pushkin and Tyutchev are classified in the first[57]. A critic has called her "the first true woman of letters in Russia" and "the leading Russian poetess before this century, with little to fear from her nearest rivals, Mmes Rostopshchina..., Zhadovskaya..., and Khvoshchinskaya... ."[58] Her complete works were published in two volumes in 1915; Soviet editions of her poetry were published in 1939 and 1964.

Karolina Pavlova was born in Yaroslavl in 1807. Her father, Karl Ivanovich Yanish, was renown for his great learning. He later became a professor of physics and chemistry at the School of Medicine and Surgery in Moscow. Yanish played an important role in Pavlova's education. He gave young

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[57]Vladislav Khodasevich, "Odna iz zabytykh." Novaya zhizn', III (1916): 196.

[58]Briggs, 1.

Pavlova good advice and helped with her learning. At the age of five Pavlova could already speak four languages, and she showed a special interest in painting and poetry.

In 1820s, Pavlova was introduced by members of the noble Elagune-Kireevsky family, Zanaida A. Volkonskaya, the writer, and at her literary salon Pavlova met Adam Mickiewicz, the Polish poet. Since Pavlova wanted to learn Polish, Mickiewicz was therefore invited to Yanish's family to tutor Pavlova when she was nineteen. Pavlova soon fell in love with Mickiewicz. Opposition to the marriage came mainly from Pavlova's wealthy uncle who had no children and was expected to leave his property to Pavlova. For the sake of his daughter's happiness, Yanish was about to agree to the marriage, but Pavlova herself later gave up the idea. In 1828, Mickiewicz left her forever.

Pavlova's love affair with Michiewicz had a great impact on her literary activity. Pavlova treasured her love for Michiewicz in her memory even though she was unable to marry him. Later, she translated many of his poems into German and French. Before Michiewicz left Russia, Pavlova wrote him a farewell letter in which she expressed her appreciation for his friendship and his love. She regarded their separation as God's will.

In his study of Pavlova, Munir Sendich comments on Mickiewicz's influence on Pavlova's work:

> Without any doubt, this friendship with Mickiewicz had a deep influence on her literary works. It made Pavlova think about the relationship between the poet and his environment, about his purpose and goals, about

> his destiny, a theme that occupies an important place in her poetry, such as her dumy and elegies and in many poslanija dedicated to poets and writers. Her love for Mickiewicz influenced a number of her works, and was largely responsible for Pavlova's split personality shown so strikingly in her novel Dvojnaja zizn'.[59]

Pavlova had begun to show her poetic talent at a young age. She also had a facility for languages; in addition to Russian, she knew French, German, Spanish, Italian, Swedish and Dutch. In the late 1820s, she began to translate poetry as well as to write in German and French. In 1833, her book of translations of Russian poets into German, Das Nordlicht, was published. This book proved her talent for poetic creation. Her translations of some unknown Russian poets' works surprised even Pushkin who was amazed by the mastery of her translations.[60]

In 1836, Karolina Pavlova married Nikolay Pavlov, a journalist and critic. To a large degree, Pavlov married her because of her property and money.

After their marriage the Pavlovs' literary salon began to attract many leading Russian poets, writers and scholars. In their salon Pavlova had the opportunity to recite her latest work. Her hospitality, her creative talents, her passion for poetry, and her animation made their literary salon pleasant and attractive for everyone. The Pavlovs' literary salon apparently had a great impact on the literary

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[59]Munir Sendich, "The Life and Works of Karolina Pavlova," 27-28.

[60]Ibid., 37.

circle:

> In the 1840's the Pavlovs' literary salon was one of the main centres for the political disputes between the Slavophiles and the Westernizers. Questions dealing with Russia's relations with the Western world and Russia's cultural backwardness as compared with some other nations of Western Europe were frequently the subject of debate.[61]

During their early married years, Pavlova translated many literary works and completed many poems, which appeared mostly in the journals Ucheno-literaturny zhurnal [Scientific-Literary Journal] and Moskvityanin [The Moscovite]. In 1839, an edition of her translation of Shiller's Ioanny d'Ark: Tragedie de Schiller into French came out in Paris. In the same year, an anonymous edition of her book Les Preludes, containing Russian poems translated into French as well as her own poems written in French, was published.

As a woman poet, Pavlova was not understood by many of her contemporaries or even by her friends. Some male writers showed their dislike for her. There is some evidence that Pavlova's reading was not appreciated by everyone who gathered in their salon.

> D. V. Grigorovich, in his memoirs, repeats a common criticism of Pavlova's poetry which, since it was untrue, seemed to stem from both ideological and personal dislike. He says that when they were introduced "not half an hour had gone by after the customary courtesies but she was already reading to me and the two or three other people sitting there her verses, which are distinguished more by the beautiful sounds of the words than the poetic

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[61]Ibid., 56.

content."[62]

In his study, Khodasevich, pointing out Pavlova's unfavourable attitudes towards Rostopchina, makes an unfavourable comparison between the two women writers:

> Not beautiful, unloved, reserved, Pavlova did not live the life of a woman, and probably because of that, she did not like her more fortunate contemporary and literary rival, Countess Rostopchina, who was first of all a woman, radiant with beauty combined secular success with poetry, and lived quite a stormy life... . However, fate reconciled them: today Rostopchina is as much forgotten as Karolina Pavlova.[63]

Her marriage to Pavlov did not make Pavlova happy. Their relationship began to deteriorate in the late 1840s. The main reason was Pavlov's great passion for gambling, as a result of which he lost a large amount of Pavlova's money. Also, Pavlov's licentious relationship with Pavlova's cousin Evgeniya Tannenberg, who had lived at their home as Pavlova's companion, intensified the breakdown of their marriage.

In 1853, Pavlova decided to leave Moscow for St. Petersburg. According to Sendich, the main reason for her leaving was her friends.

> Pavlova chose to leave Moscow because her former literary friends, those with whom she had spent many hours at her well-known literary salon, began assailing her personally, even behaving with utmost contemptuousness toward her poetry. She was experiencing the most arduous period of her entire life, and her personal anguish, her

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[62]D. V. Grigorovich, Literaturnye vospominaniya Leningrad, 1928): 288-89, quoted in Barbara Heldt Monter, "Karolina Pavlova: The Woman Poet and the Double Life, in Karolina Pavlova, Dvoynaya zhizn', trans. by Monter, A Double Life (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1986), v.

[63]Khodasevich, 198. My translation.

> trial and ordeals during the first part of 1853 inhibited her literary productivity: for half a year she produced nothing at all.[64]

In 1853, a new tragedy befell Pavlova: the death of her father in a cholera epidemic. In order to avoid the risk of catching cholera, Pavlova did not attend her father's burial. Together with her mother and son, she moved from St. Petersburg to Dorpat where she met a law student, Boris Utin, who was twenty-five years younger than she. Pavlova kept very close contact with him, and she wrote some poems directly addressed to him.

Boris Utin played an important role in her life as well as in her literary creation. After the sudden death of her father, Pavlova was once again condemned by her friends and acquaintances, this time for abandoning her father's body unburied in St. Petersburg. Emotionally she felt lonely and abandoned. As a poet, she needed to gain creative inspiration for her literary work. It can be seen from her correspondence with Utin that he became her inspiration for a new life during that period.

Sendich considers their "love-friendship" as a "sudden and ephemeral" one. "Not without ground did she label Utin her best dream, her divine treasure or her beacon. Beyond such self expression, most significantly for the poet Pavlova, this love helped her to survive and to regain her former will to

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[64]Sendich, "Boris Utin in Pavlova's Poems and Correspondence: Pavlova's Unpublished Letters to Utin," 64.

live and write poetry."[65]

In December 1855, Pavlova finally broke up with Utin. Without doubt, the loss of her dream and her emotional torments are reflected in some of her poems. However, despondent in reality, Pavlova was wholly absorbed in literature, in which she tried to save herself from all of her emotional torments. Her immersion in reading poetry was described by her former literary friend, the writer Ivan Aksakov:

> She is completely bold, merry, happy, self-satisfied to a high degree, and occupied only with herself. This is such curious psychological subject, it should be studied. It would seem that the catastrophe which has reached her, a true misfortune experienced by her, the separation from her son, loss of her place in society, name and wealth, her poverty, the necessity of living by her labors--all this, it would seem, would strongly shake a person, leave profound traces on him... nothing of the sort, she is the same as always, has not changed at all except that she has grown older and everything that has happened to her has only served as material for her verses.... It's astonishing! In this woman filled with talent everything is rubbish--there is nothing serious, profound, true and sincere--at bottom there is an awful heartlessness, a dullness, a lack of development. Her sincerity of soul exists only in the form of art, all of it has gone into poetry, into verse, instead of feeling there is a sort of external exaltation. You feel that, of course, she herself does not realize that she loves no one, that for her nothing is cherished, dear, holy...[66]

In 1858, Pavlova settled in Dresden and remained there for the rest of her life. From then on she devoted most of

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[65]Ibid., 64.

[66]A letter of 23 January 1860 in I. S Aksakov v ego pis'makh, III (Moscow, 1892), 353, quoted in Monter, "Karolina Pavlova: the Woman Poet and the Double Life, viii-ix.

her time to literary activity, ignoring her difficult life and her emotional turmoil.

Pavlova's inner struggle can be seen in both her literary works and life experience. Her extreme sensibility and propensity for verse and poetry made her different from her surroundings. She transferred everything she experienced into verse or poetry, and she herself did not realize the talent she had. Therefore, she at times wanted to abandon her literary career as a poet, doubting the value of her writings. While she was intoxicated with her own literary creation, she could also deny the meaning of her works.

Possessed by verse and poetry, Pavlova failed to be successful in her personal life. She had no idea how to win the favour of her friends, and she did not foresee the consequence of leaving her dead father unburied. Perhaps, her friends were not intelligent enough to understand her talent, her work, or her preoccupation with poetry and writing. Analyzing Pavlova's shortcomings, Anthony D. Briggs makes the following comments:

> In summary, she was unable to dominate her own talent or to allow it to dominate her. For thirty years Pavlova lived uncomfortably with her own propensity for poetry, at times cherishing it, at times doubting that it had any value, and her break with the muse, a further thirty years before she died, was final. It was the same with everything she touched. Her early love life, her marriage, her finances, her salon, her life in Russia, all, like her art, began well, promised and achieved much, but dissolved prematurely through what seems now to have been an inborn capacity for mismanagement. There is too much in this for it to be a question of long-running bad luck; her life and her works suffered from

a lack of purposeful organisation and application.[67]

In his letter Aksakov also gives some indication of a kind of split personality in Pavlova: "She will tell you that she no longer believes in human friendship--and it's all nonsense, and within five minutes in her poetry, excellent poetry, she boasts that she has preserved her faith in friendship and in people."[68]

As a woman poet and writer, Pavlova's central theme was woman's fate and the central feature of her work was her interest in the woman's character. Through her descriptions of woman's uncontrolled fate, she surrendered to the argument that if a woman failed to be the agent of her destiny that was simply because her fate was determined by men's actions.

As far as Pavlova's poetry is concerned, the Art for Art's Sake tradition can be considered as her major artistic contribution. Her well-known poems which represent this feature are the followings: Nebo bleshchet biryuzoyu [The Sky Shines like a Turquoise] (1840), Ogon' [The Light] (1841), Duma [Muse] (1844), Vezde i vsegda [Everywhere and Always] (1846), My stranno soshlis'. Sred salonnogo kruga [We met in a strange way. In the midst of the salon circle] (1854), Razgovor v Kremle [The Conversation in the Kremlin] (1854). In these poems, rhythm is her most noteworthy innovation, as

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[67]Briggs, 2.

[68]A letter of 23 January 1860 in "I. S. Aksakov v ego pis'makh", III (M., 1892) 353, quoted in Monter, "Karolina Pavlova: the Woman Poet and the Double Life," ix.

is noted by Briggs in his study: "More important are her rhythmic innovations which concern primarily various combinations of binary and ternary metres, either within one line forming logaoeds, or simply within the poem as a whole."[69]

Karolina Pavlova's novella A Double Life was completed in 1848. The novella consists of ten chapters which beautifully blend ten prose sections with ten poetic ones. The prose sections deal with a woman's fate at that time. Pavlova did not put the women's issue in the context of social or political perspectives; the focus was on the emotional and psychological elements. The prose sections provide a broad picture of the meaninglessness of life in high society. The plot of the prose sections is simple and clear, centring on the life of a noble woman named Cecily von Lindenborn. The major characters are her mother, Vera Vladimirovna, Cecily's best friend, Olga, and Olga's mother, Madame Valitsky, who is an experienced social manipulator. There are also two young men, Prince Victor and Dmitry Ivachinsky, the latter becoming Cecily's husband at the end of the novella. Through the depiction of the different characters and the relationships among them, Pavlova reveals the vanity and the cruelty of society, which are hidden behind the elegant facade.

This novella can be considered as a meditative interior monologue by the heroine, Cecily, that reflects the double

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[69]Briggs, 5.

life Cecily leads. Pavlova actually created a protagonist, similar to herself, through whom the gentle but suppressed voice of a powerless woman spoke out. Pavlova revealed with deep insight the feelings of this woman, as well as the differences between mother and daughter.

Born in a wealthy family, Cecily lives a comfortable and elegant life in her parents' home. Surrounded by many rich friends, Cecily never feels happy. Like the heroine in Turgenev's On the Eve, deep inside Cecily, there is always something which disturbs her, something which makes her lose her inner balance. She feels restless and dissatisfied with her life. Her instinct tells her that there must be something wrong within herself:

> In spite of herself, she felt strange and uneasy inside, a feeling she could not cope with. Her soul was so highly polished, her understanding so confused, her natural talents so overorganized and mutilated by the unsparing way she had been brought up that every problem of life embarrassed and terrified her.[70]

The slight dissatisfaction in Cecily increases day by day, and her inner struggle drives her to an almost dangerous state. She is subconsciously split into two parts. Her rational part tells her to obey the principles of morality and those with which her mother has been indoctrinating her since childhood. But her imagination and vision are, against her

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[70]Karolina Pavlova, "Dvoynaya zhizn'," Polnoe sobranie stikhotvoreniya, ed. by N. M. Gaybenkova (Moscow-Leningrad: Sovetsky pisatel', 1964), 260. Quoted from Barbara Heldt Monter's translation of Pavlova, A Double Life, 43. All quotations from the novella will be from these two editions.

will, trying make her transcend mortal life. She can not get away from this terrible inner conflict; at the same time, she strongly resists being possessed by the emptiness and unnecessary nonsense of her everyday life. She even tries to end all of her vexation forever by ending her life in order to obtain eternal peace and harmony. Only when Cecily is standing on the balcony and staring into the distance or riding on horseback does she overcome her uneasy existence and gain control over her own fate.

One beautiful evening, Cecily and some young noblemen go for a ride on horseback.

> With childish joy she gave herself over to the fun of riding horseback, to the attraction of this living force, this half-free will that carried her off and that she was guiding. Besides, the late afternoon was beautiful, the sky endlessly clear. She struck her horse with the whip and went forward at top speed. A sort of incomprehensible intoxication possessed her. She suddenly wanted to gallop away from life's imprisonment, from all dependencies, from all obligations, all necessities. She rode with shining eyes, her hair flying loose.[71]

Cecily's unexpected behaviour frightens everyone present. Prince Victor, who admires her and eventually falls in love with her, catches her horse. Undoubtedly, there is something that subconsciously dominates Cecily's thoughts and behaviour, and she obviously wants to end her life together with all of her emotional torment.

Cecily's educational background is helpful in understanding her unhappiness and uneasy feeling. First of

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[71]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 253; A Double Life, 32-33.

all, Cecily grows up "in the fear of God and society."[72] The idea instilled in her of following God's commandments does not give Cecily much encouragement in acting according to her own will. She has to strangle her free will and her imagination in order to please the Lord in the way, as her mother expects. Regardless of Cecily's talent and interest in poetry, her mother, Vera Vladimirovna, tries to bring her up to be a conventional woman.

Vera Vladimirovna plays a very important role in Cecily's education as well as in her everyday life, including arranging her marriage. She also takes complete control of the intellectual development of her daughter. According to her own life experience, Vera Vladimirovna follows certain patterns in educating her daughter, such as limiting her appreciation of poetry, which, she believes, would foster the "dangerous imagination."

> And although, as we have seen, Vera Vladimirovna greatly respected and loved poetry, she still considered it improper for a young girl to spend too much of her time on it. She quite justly feared any development of imagination and inspiration, those eternal enemies of propriety.[73]

Like many mothers from high society, Vera Vladimirovna demands that her daughter fit in and be admired by society, ignoring her daughter's spiritual needs. At the same time she is afraid that Cecily will go too far. Pavlova comments on

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[72]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 248; A Double Life, 26.

[73]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 248; A Double Life, 26.

such mothers:

> They rely totally on their maternal efforts. They are extremely consistent with their daughters. In place of the spirit they give them the letter, in place of live feeling a dead rule, in place of holy truth a preposterous lie. And they often manage through these clever, precautionary machinations to steer their daughters safety to what is called 'a good match.'[74]

Such mothers probably cannot be regarded as bad ones since they love their daughters, even though the love is selfish. It is possible that their daughters then continue the same pattern with their own daughters.

Vera Vladimirovna never misses any chance to give Cecily moral lessons, which she thinks essential to Cecily's intellectual development. For example, when Vera Vladimirovna and her friend are talking about the unexpected death of a woman, Vera Vladimirovna makes the following comment in order to give Cecily, who is present, a moral lesson:

> "For all the husband's faults", she pronounced in a stern voice, "the wife is quilty. Her duty is to know how to bind him to her and make him love virtue."
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> Madame Valitskay was naturally in complete agreement with this.[75]

The mothers' attitudes towards the role of women are very similar: a conventional belief in women's duty and social place are deeply rooted in their minds.

Like Karolina Pavlova, many contemporary women writers also dealt with the moral lessons or doctrines which their

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[74]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 271; A Double Life, 58.

[75]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 262; A Double Life, 45.

mothers instilled in them, and these moral principles were basically the same. For example, Nadezhda Durova wrote the following about her mother's view on the role of women:

> In my presence she would describe the fate of that sex in the most prejudicial terms: Woman, in her opinion, must be born, live, and die in slavery; eternal bondage, painful dependence, and repression of every sort were her destiny from the cradle to grave; she was full of weakness, devoid of accomplishments, and capable of nothing. In short, woman was the most unhappy, worthless, and contemptible creature on earth![76]

The young man Dmitry is not wealthy, and he most likely wants to marry Cecily because of her money, as the novella starts with his question: "'But are they rich?'"[77]. Cecily's love for Dmitry does not have a solid foundation either. Although Vera Vladimirovna knows that a noblewoman's fate and social position ultimately depend on the man she marries, she thinks that she is doing her best for the sake of her daughter's happiness, and as a result of Madame Valitsky's manipulation, she at last comes to believe that Cecily loves Dmitry. Of the relationship between Cecily and Dmitry, Barbara Heldt comments:

> Pavlova possessed a romanticism characteristic of her time but mixed with an ironic sense of reality. We are told repeatly that Cecily's love for Dmitry is good even though Dmitry himself is not. Cecily's mysterious sickliness both enhances her worldly beauty and brings her closer to the other world she dreams of.[78]

Madame Valitsky is actually a hypocrite who impresses

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[76]Durova, The Cavalry Maiden, 8.

[77]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 231; A Double Life, 3.

[78]Monter, xx.

her friends with beautiful words and dignified manners, but in fact she is a snob and selfish. She wants her own daughter, Olga, to marry Cecily's suitor, Prince Victor, who is from a wealthy family. Therefore, Madame Valitsky plots to marry off her daughter's rival and best friend, Cecily, to Dmitry first. When the marriage takes place according to Madame Valitsky's plot and Vera Vladimirovna finally realizes how she has been taken in, Vera Vladimirovna tries to save face by pretending that she has placed her daughter's happiness above all else:

> "I can't fathom how one can sacrifice one's daughter for money in this way. I do not believe that a mother's duty lies in acquiring a rich son-in-law. I understand it differently and more ideally, every mother has a holy responsibility placed upon her, and she is guilty if she does not prefer her daughter's happiness to all other calculations and advantages."[79]

As a result of such parental guidance Cecily has suppressed all her spiritual needs and her talents. But deep inside, there was always something hidden that glimmered in her dreams, and this could be her unawakened consciousness. Behind the apparent silence and obedience, her soul is full of deep thoughts and dim hopes. That is why she always impatiently waits for darkness when she can be completely alone. When the outside world becomes dark and silent and she is sitting or lying down in her bedroom, which is the most secluded place for her, she is able to find the true part of herself. In the broader space of her imagination Pavlova's heroine lives a relatively rich life, since her mind and real

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[79]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 292; A Double Life, 87-88.

feelings are freely exposed. Although the idea of being a woman poet scares her as "the most pitiable, abnormal thing, as a disastrous and dangerous illness,"[80] Cecily, deeply lost in her thoughts, simply cannot keep herself from dreaming those lyric verses.

In these beautiful verses, Pavlova, through her heroine's vision, expresses her own secret desires and true feelings in a melancholy tone. Quite often, the words of these verses represent a split personality which is conducting a dialogue with another half of herself in the form of two spiritual voices. The melodious and unspoken feelings appear again and again. However, in returning to reality, the emptiness and the loss of her early feelings once more possesses her:

> Everything strove to suppress all spiritual strength in her, to kill all inner life. And still her young heart was not able to unlearn to tremble, and still she could not renounce life and love, and her exacting, impatient soul was ready to embrace a cloud and a phantom rather than heaven itself.[81]

Cecily clearly sees that all her life is merely a long and uninterrupted lie and she hates this.

The two spiritual voices constantly echo each other in the form of verses, which appear in Cecily's dreams and vision. The first voice talks about a pure life, free from all the world's commotion and struggles, and revealing a hope for the eternal peace of death. Almost at the same time the

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[80] "Dvoynaya zhizn'," 249; A Double Life, 27.

[81] "Dvoynaya zhizn'," 265; A Double Life, 50.

second voice starts refuting the positive opinion of the first. The second voice questions the first one whether it has come into the world for the sake of an empty life and to die a useless death; it also asks whether it has brought anything worthwhile into life and if it can boldly face fate. The second voice even tells the first one that real life is actually better than dreams and that truth is above lies. These conversations between the two voices indicate the author's awareness of the meaning of life and of her real role in the world. Nevertheless, there is a distance between reality and dreams even though they sometimes seem to merge.

With regard to the role of poetry in the novella, Munir Sendich makes the following comment:

> The structure of Dvojnaja zizn' reveals a skill unusual for that early stage in the history of the Russian novel. The poetical and prose sections are closely woven into an integral whole, alternating with each other as sleep alternates with reality, and night with day. The poetry cannot be separated from the novel because it is an integral part of it, containing answers to many of the questions and problems raised in the prose sections.[82]

In the dream sequence, Pavlova focused on such questions as: Of what did Cecily dream? What did she really want in life? However, Pavlova herself was probably not completely certain about what made her heroine uneasy and unhappy. Therefore, she was unable to make an analysis of or to give any solution to these questions.

Cecily enjoys daydreaming by herself, trying hard to find

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[82]Sendich, "The Life and Works of Karolina Pavlova," 104.

the bit of truth in her life. She has a sense of happiness in relation to her marriage to Dmitry, for whom she has always had a special feeling, and she knows that this feeling for him is something true. At the same time Cecily expects the same response from Dmitry. Being unable to find relief from all of her vexation and emotional torments, Cecily pins her hopes on her marriage to Dmitry, dreaming that her wish will be fulfilled.

> And she continued her sweet imagination, the happy young girl. Already her thoughts were covered in mist and her dreams wandered, confused by drowsiness, but the bliss in her soul shone through though she was half asleep.[83]

The moment when she marries Dmitry causes a transformation in her life: full of hope, Cecily expects that she will escape from all the emptiness and the vanity, at the same times she is also upset. The verses which express her wishes say the following:

> Having known the joys and sorrows of the earth,
> Having lived through the anxious years,
> Will I say, as many have said:
> All is empty fantasy! All is sad vanity![84]

As a matter of fact, the marriage does not save Cecily from her inner struggle. The novella begins in the springtime of her life; it ends with hers marriage in autumn. So the cold, unpredictable winter of her married life must surely follow. Since, unlike her mother, Cecily is extremely

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[83]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 294; A Double Life, 90-91.

[84]"Dvoynaya zhizn'," 306; A Double Life, 110.

sensitive to everything she experiences, it is possible that she will remain unhappy for the rest of her life, not completely certain as to what is wrong with and lacking in her life.

The rhythmical verses, seasonal change and beautiful nature in A Double Life always play an important role in relation to the heroine's unhappy mood. Barbara Heldt points out the role nature plays in the prose:

> The sounds of nature outside Cecily's room mark a transition from waking to dreams. Nature acts as an ironic accomplice to society when, in the gardens of a summer house, 'even nature made itself unnatural'. The story expanse of sky often provides a contrast to the petty world below. The novel begins in spring when Cecily dreams of love and ends in autumn when she is married. The winter ahead is strongly implied.[85]

Generally speaking, Pavlova's A Double Life is one of the best works of prose fiction written by a woman in the first half of the nineteenth century. It can be considered as a pre-feminist work in Russian literature. This novella is concerned primarily with the role of women in nineteen-century Russia. All the main protagonists in the novella are women. Pavlova reveals the problems which disturb and upset her young heroine, Cecily, whose unspoken longings and unrealized dreams often occur when she is asleep. However, Cecily is too young and too inexperienced to understand the implications of all her dreams and visions or the foreboding which are their underlining cause.

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[85]Monter, xx.

The author herself was aware of the problems her heroine had, but she merely presents them. As a woman writer of that particular period, Pavlova herself was probably not clear as to what was the cause of these problems, and she was certainly unable to give them any kind of solution. In A Double lIfe Pavlova presented her main complaint:

> she was worried that women were married off in a daze, against their will, for reasons of money or prestige, but she was more worried that a girl's upbringing was so unnatural that on the rare occasions when she did have freedom of choice she was still unequipped to do herself justice.[86]

The charm and value of A Double life also lie in the author's psychological analysis which always merges those romantic concepts into a clear realistic world. Although the term "split personality" was not known at the time the novella was written, the theme as well as the title A Double Life clearly indicate two aspects of the heroine's personality, which are often presented through dreams and visions. These two parts constantly communicate with each other and reflect the inner conflict of the heroine.

As Briggs has noted, A Double Life and the heroine Pavlova has created stand apart in Russian literature for this is the first time that what he terms the "feminine" qualities of women have been depicted in a work of fiction.

> The one invariable factor which makes her work unique is its wholehearted femininity. Enigmatic diffuseness, frailty of purpose, emotional involvement with one's own personality, the propensity to infuriate,

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[86]Briggs, 8.

> the love of beauty and its cultivation, all these are traits which have been equated, rightly or wrongly, with the fair sex. The are nevertheless qualities which Russian literature has tended to play down whilst busy creating a noble line of determined women with enough spiritual strength to overcome the inborn sentimentality. Pushkin's Tat'yana, Chernyshevsky's Vera, Turgenev's Natalya and Yelena and all their literary girl-cousins were created by men. Twofold Life stands quite apart in its portrayal of the less decisive side of woman; its every aspect tends towards this, the character of the authoress, the content and manner of the work and its achievement as a piece of literature.[87]

And that the work is in the form of "a union of prose and poetry... was an inspired idea in itself, splendidly suited to the ambivalence of the subject matter."[88] Pavlova's A Double Life is thus unique in Russian literature.

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[87]Ibid., 17.

[88]Ibid., 10.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of distinguished women writers made remarkable contributions to the development of prose fiction in Russia. The thesis has attempted to bring a deserved attention to these neglected women writers and their fictional works against a background of the social, political, and literary situation of their time, as well as their own personal situations.

Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century, such as Pavlova, Durova, Zhukova, Rostopchina and Panaeva, left many valuable works. Although their works were published in their lifetime or reissued later, they are still not very familiar to contemporary Russian or Western readers. Only in the recent years more attention has been given to them, probably as a result of a general increase in interest in women's writing. Despite the increased interest which has resulted in the publication of critical studies and translations of works by Russian writers, much remains to be done, especially in regard to the writers of the early part of the nineteenth century whose works formed the foundation for the development of the increasing number of women writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As part of the background of the literary activities of Russian women writers and as a key to understanding the themes

of their works, a picture of the situation of Russian women in the real world has been provided in the second chapter. The dependence of Russian women on men from the aspects of tradition, custom and religion have been shown, as has the gradual development in Russian women of their consciousness of themselves as independent individuals. As reforms took place after the abolishment of serfdom in 1861, the demands of women for equal rights, freedom, education, and independence had a great impact on Russian society. Even before this significant change, rebellion against parental authority and the challenging of traditional views towards women can be seen in many of the historical records of that period. And the Russian women's emancipation movement proved that women, like men, also have the ability to dominate their own fate.

The second chapter discusses the writers of the first half of the nineteenth century and the prose fiction they produced in the period. Although many great Russian male writers dealt with women's issues in their fictional and critical works, they did not have the same experiences in relation to women's problems or the urgent demands for independence and equal rights as did the women writers. Only women writers could write from their own unique perspective.

There are a number of similarities linking the Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century. They all lived in areas remote from large cities; and although

their family backgrounds differed from each other, they all experienced a feeling of isolation and all had unhappy marriages. The themes of their works and even the literary forms they chose, such as poems and the novella, are very similar. Their voices regarding the fate of women are almost identical.

In their prose works especially they showed their concern for women's issues, their dissatisfaction with and unrealized hopes for free and independent life in which women might choose husbands of their own free will and being able to leave bad husbands. However, because of the limited educational and literary backgrounds of these women writers, it was almost impossible for them to provide the solutions to all the problems which their heroines had. All these similarities are sufficient for these writers to be regarded as a group in the history of Russian literature.

Karolina Pavlova occupies a special place among these Russian women writers of the first half of the nineteenth century. She is a complex woman writer, in regard to both her personality and literary works. According to the sources studied Pavlova was not approved of by her contemporaries. She was condemned for leaving her father's body before he was buried, for the way she recited her works, and even her appearance was disapproved of by her friends. As a result, Pavlova suffered emotionally.

Nevertheless, Karolina Pavlova's writings showed that

she was a serious writer who was intelligent and talented enough to transfer everything she experienced into verse or poetry and prose, and whose talent and sensibility transcended the comprehension of her friends. In her only novella A Double Life Pavlova's awareness of women's problems is clearly seen in the depiction of the psychological state of her heroine, Cecily. The inner struggle in Cecily is revealed in the form of vision and dreams and is skilfully expressed in the verses which form an integral part of the novella. The unique combination of prose and poetry which makes up A Double Life is one of Pavlova's major contributions to literature. The revelation and the depiction of the emotional turmoil which possesses her heroine show Pavlova's consciousness of the unhappiness which were the lot of sensitive woman. As a result, the novella A Double Life can be considered a Russian pre-feminist work, a base on which writing by Russian feminists gradually developed in the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

APPENDIX

Russian Text of Quotations

Chapter III

P. 47, n. 35:

Теперь, когда новое поколение читателей восприняло «Воспоминания» Авдотьи Панаевой, как один из ценнейших памятников литературного быта сороковых, пятидесятых шестидесятых годов, я надеюсь, что мне уже не нужно оправдываться, отчего я с таким любопытством всматривался в «неизвестную и никому неинтересную женщину». За это время она стала знаменитой, и её личность вызывает большой интерес.

Когда я начинал писать эту книжку, имя Панаевой было втоптано в грязь. В 1917 году под редакцией покойного М. Лемке вышел восьмой том сочинений Герцена, и там, на основании небольшого отрывка из одного Некрасовского письма, Панаева была обвинена в воровстве.

P. 47, n. 36:

— «Некрасов ко мне писал. Письмо гадкое, как он сам... Вот тебе совершено заслуженная награда за дружбу с негодяями. Итак, первое дело он взвалил на Панаеву, второе — на тебя».

P. 50, n. 40:

... я узнал в ней женщину с светлой, прекраснейшей душою, с высоким умом, обогащенным познаниям, с сердцем чистым, невинным, чувствительным, легко воспламеняющимся ко всему блогородному, великому и добродетельному, словом, узнал одно из тех редко встречаемых существ, которые одним приближением разливают мир и счастие вокруг себя.

P. 51, n. 41:

В доме тетки я жила в угнетении и совершенно отчужденною от всех. Никто не умел или не хотел понимать меня я, со своей стороны, также не могла примириться с

их образом мыслей и поступками, меня гнали, осыпали насмешками, на всяком шагу язвили мое самолюбие и, наконец, мою застенчивость, твердость характера, которую они называли упорством, ревность мнений, нелюдимость, мою — все приписывали недостатку ума и определили меня словам: «она глупа, следственно, неизлечима».

P. 52, n. 42:

Ей только двадцать три года; она цвела бы так же, как эта весна!..кто ж виноват? кто причиною стольких страданий? кто помог ей взойти на эту высочайшую степень человеческого злополучия? Муж?..

P. 53, n. 43:

Муж поступал, как и все молодые люди поступают! Что за беда, если он когда выпил лишнее! Для мужчины это не порок!.. Елена гораздо виноватее своего мужа!.. ништо ей!.. За чем пошла, то и нашла!..

P. 59, n. 47:

Никакой свѣтъ не освѣщаетъ такихъ страшныхъ предметовъ, какъ свѣтъ опыта; потому что онъ освѣщаетъ зло тогда, какъ оно уже сдѣлано! теперь я знаю людей, знаю цѣну ихъ ласкъ, увѣрений; знаю что какое слово значитъ у нихъ; знаю до какой степени чему можно вѣритъ;...

P. 61, n. 50:

Она любила не только тишину и безмолвие храма, но и покой въ природѣ, заставляющий человека внутренно прислушаться, настраивать ее благоговейно. ... Тишина въ храмѣ... Тишина въ природѣ подъ голубымъ молилась Жукова. Любовь къ природѣ въ ней незаметно сливается съ религией.

P. 62, n. 51

— Пойдем домой, Зоя.

— Домой? Я не хочу. Мне здесь лучше. Здесь у меня друзья. Слышишь, они шепчут? Слышишь, шумят крыльями? Это они слетаются. Я пошлю их к кему. Вот та будет сердиться! Ты знаешь, та? Только тихонько говори, чтобы она не услыкала. О! ведь она хитра! Я вчера видела ее в саду.

— Где же?

— Ты не знаешь. В моем цветнике, когда мы с тобою сидели на галерее.

—Тогда никого не было в цветнике.

—Ты думаешь? А я знаю, что там были. Помнишь оранжевую лилию: она как огненная, с черными пятнами, и точно будто дразнится языком, на котором привешен черный уголь.

Chapter IV

P. 76, n. 63:

Некрасивая, нелюбимая, замкнутая, Павлова не жила жизнью женщины, и оттого, вероятно, так не любила более счастливую свою современницу и литературную соперницу, гр. Ростопчина, которая была женщиной прежде всего, блистала красатой, соединяла успехи светские с поэтическими и прожила жизнь достаточно бурно... Впрочем судьба примирила их: ныне Ростопчина забыта не менее, чем Каролина Павлова...

P. 82, n. 70:

Ее душа была так обделана, ее понятия так перепутаны, ее способности так переобразованы и изувечены неутонимым воспитанием, что всякий жизненный вопрос затруднял и стращал ее.

P. 83, n. 71:

Она с детской радостью предавалась прелести верховой езды, быстрому влечению этой живой силы, этой полусвободной воли, которая ее уносила и которою она управляла. И притом вечер был прикрасен, поле широко, воздух живителен, небо бездонна ясно. Она ударила лошадь хлыстиком и помчалась во весь опор. Ею овладело какое—то непонятное опьянение: ей вдруг захотелось ускакать от всех необходимостей. Она неслась с блестящими глазами, с распущенными кудрями.

P. 84, n. 72:

... в страхе бога и общества;

P. 84, n. 73:

Я Вера Владимировна, хотя, как уже доказано, очень уважала и любила поэзию, но все--таки считала неприличным для молодой девушки слишком заниматься ею.Она вельма справедливо опасалась всякого развития воображения и вдохновения, этих вечных врагов приличий.

P. 85, n. 74:

Они совершено надеются на свои материнские старания; они неимоверно последовательны с дочерями. Вместо духа они им дают буквы, вместо живого чувства--мертвое правило, вместо всятой истины--нелепый обман; и им часто удается сквозь эти искусные, предохранительные потемки довести благополучно дочь цвою до того, что называется хорошая партия.

P. 85, n. 75:

--Во всех проступках мужа, --сказала она строгим голосом, --виновата жена. Ее долг уметь рпивязывать его к себе и заштабить любить добродетель.

С этим Валицкая была, разумеется, совершенно согласна.

P. 86, n. 77:

--Я богаты?

P. 87, n. 79:

Я не постигаю, --сказала она потом очень серьезно, --как можно из денег жертвовать своей дочерью таким образом; по-моему, обязанность матери заключается не в том, чтобы добыть себе богатого затя. Я ее понимаю иначе и выше. На всякую мать возложена святая ответственность, и ога виновата, если не предпочла счастье своей дочери всем другим расчетам и выгодам.

P. 88, n. 80:

... самое жалкое, ненормальное состояние, как бедственная и опасная болезнь.

P. 88, n. 81:

... когда все страния вели к тому, чтобы подавить в ней всякие духовные силы, убить все внутренные существование! А молодая грудь все-таки не могла разучиться трепетать, а ерце все-таки не могло отречься от бытия и любви, и взыскивающая, нетерпеливая душа была готова обнять облако и привгак вместо небожительницы!

P. 90, n. 83:

И она продолжала сладостно бредить, молодая счастливица. Уже мысли подернулись туманом, и мечты блуждали, перепутанные дремотой, но блаженство в душе сияло сквозь полусон.

P. 90, n. 84:

Познав земли восторги и печали,
Свои прожив тревожные лета,
Скажу ли я, что многие сказали:
Всё бред пустой! всё грустная тщета!

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