

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

I would like to point out that, since the approval of the title of my thesis by the Faculty Board, I have changed the scheme of transliteration from International to British Standard. The title of my thesis now reads 'Innokenty Fedorovich Annensky and the Classical Ideal', not 'Innokentij Fedorovič Annenskij and the Classical Ideal'. For technical reasons it has proved impracticable to produce the diacritics required in International throughout the typescript.

Further information on the transliteration scheme will be found in the Preface.

INNOKENTY FEDOROVICH ANNENSKY AND THE CLASSICAL IDEAL:
POETRY, TRANSLATIONS, DRAMA AND LITERARY ESSAYS

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Medieval and
Modern Languages in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy, Michaelmas Term,
1985, by:

CATRIONA H.M. KELLY
CHRIST CHURCH

Innokenty Annensky (1855-1909) was better known to his contemporaries as a classics teacher and translator than as a poet; but, with the exception of two or three obituary articles, nothing has been written on his work as a classicist. His work has often been misconstrued, and he has been described as an outstanding scholar. It has not been generally appreciated that his interest in the scholarly world was not really academic; he saw classical texts as models for his own literary works, and as inspiration for the 'Slavonic renaissance' he looked forward to with F.F. Zelinsky.

This thesis covers Annensky's classical education, the essays he wrote on classical literature, and his translations of classical texts. Particular attention is given to the essays and translations which were intended to be published in Teatr Evripida, the first complete Russian version of Euripides. Annensky wrote no essay explicitly devoted to the subject of classicism. But from his essays on classical literature and the remarks on classical literature in his essays on modern literature it is possible to extrapolate his views on the nature of the classical tradition and on how he thought classical literature should be imitated. I show that Annensky's attitude to the classics was idiosyncratic and paradoxical. On the one hand, the classical world was viewed elegiacally as an ideal of lost perfection; on the other, it was one of many cultural traditions on which he drew in his literary works and which was adapted in accordance with Modernist poetics.

The discussion of Annensky's views on classicism is accompanied by information about the system of classical education in Russia 1870-1910, and about the history of classical scholarship and of literary classicism in Russia. Annensky's essays are compared with those of a representative scholar, Zelinsky, and a representative Symbolist, Vyacheslav Ivanov.

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Innokenty Annensky (1855-1909) is a key figure in the
early twentieth-century Russian literary and academic
world. He was active as a teacher: he was Director of
the Nikolaevskaya Gimnaziya at Tsarskoe Selo 1896-1906,
where his pupils included Gumilev and Punin. He was
also an essayist and reviewer, a translator, writer and
poet. His original poetry is now quite well-known, at
least in the Soviet Union; but his fame was posthumous,
and he was better-known in his lifetime as an educational
administrator, for his translations from classical Greek,
and for his semi-academic essays and reviews.

In the last twenty years interest in Annensky has
grown steadily: there have been important publications
from Soviet archives, mostly of letters and memoirs; three
monographs have been published, as well as numerous
articles. But there is as yet no study evaluating his
activities as a classicist and classical elements in his
literary works. His translations of Euripides were
reviewed when they were first published, and a few
articles have appeared dealing with individual aspects
of the problem, such as his neo-classical plays and his
translations of Horace. Most critics of Annensky have
simply observed that he was an outstanding classical
scholar.

My thesis is the first general study of Annensky's relations with the classical world. I discuss his activities as teacher, translator and writer and relate them to the academic and literary establishment at the turn of the century. I illustrate that Annensky's academic training in the classics was limited, and that he produced few scholarly articles. His intention was to popularise classical texts and to encourage his contemporaries to imitate them, an ambition that was to some extent realised after he died, when the Acmeists briefly adopted him as a cult figure. His view of the classics was idiosyncratic. Classical literature was an unattainable ideal which survived in a fragmented form in the works of later writers. For him it was one literary method among many, as Varneke pointed out:

Среди моих профессоров были большие знатоки, но им он мало уступал по богатству своих знаний, превосходя большинство их широтой своего общего образования.¹

His attitude to the classics was not static; it developed and altered in the course of his thirty-year literary career from the time his first reviews were published in the 1880s to his last works of 1909.

In the first chapter I analyse the system of classical education in Russia at the turn of the century, in order to assess what Annensky's readership would have been, and to explain the increasing unpopularity of the classics at the end of the nineteenth century. I describe the attempts of Russian classicists to popularise their subject. I then discuss the limited

1. Lavrov and Timenchik, 'IA v neizdannyykh vospominaniyakh'
72

tradition of literary classicism in Russia, and the innovations in the Symbolists' view of the Ancient World brought about by scholarly discoveries and by the influence of Nietzsche. I then illustrate how Annensky's interest in the classics fitted in to the pattern.

The second chapter is devoted to Annensky's literary essays. I compare his approach in his essays on Euripides with his approach in the essays on modern literature. I show that his essays on Euripides combine an academic concern with historical detail and a typically Symbolist attempt to modernise Greek texts. Annensky wrote no essays on the subject of classicism in general, but from his essays on classical literature and from the observations on classical literature in his essays on modern literature it is possible to reconstruct his views on the nature of classical literature and how it should be imitated. He believed that free adaptations of classical texts were more productive than detailed academic imitations of them, and he attacked the self-conscious erudition of Bryusov and Vyacheslav Ivanov. Annensky believed that Russian literature would be revitalised by the use of classical material, and wrote his own literary texts as the cornerstone of such a revival, or 'Slavonic renaissance'.

The third chapter is concerned with Annensky's translations from classical Greek, above all his Russian version of Euripides. I show that his method of translation from the classics differed from his method of translating French poetry; I believe that this

difference in approach made his translations from Greek less successful than his translations from French. Some attention is also given to Annensky's translations of Greek lyric poets, especially the fifth-century lyricist Bacchylides.

In the second half of the thesis I assess Annensky's use of classical material and his allusions to the classical and neo-classical tradition in his literary works. The fourth chapter is devoted to his neo-classical tragedies, his first important published literary works: Melanippa-filosof, Tsar'-Iksion and Laodamiya, all of which are based on lost plays by Euripides. Annensky's view of tragedy, like his view of classicism as a whole, must be put together from a range of different essays, as there is no single essay on the subject. The most important sources are the essay 'Antichnaya tragediya' and the three essays called 'Tri sotsial'nykh dramy'. The basis for Annensky's reworking of tragedy was a free interpretation of elements from Aristotle's Poetics combined with certain details taken from Attic tragedy. The outlines of his neo-classical tragedies are based on Greek myth, and there are allusions to exotic elements from Greek life. But the language is anachronistic, combining Modernist poeticisms with aspects which recall Russian neo-classical tragedies of the early nineteenth century and the dramas of Pushkin.

In the fifth chapter I discuss Annensky's 'Bacchic drama', Famira-kifared, which I argue represents a transitional

period between his neo-classical tragedies and his later lyric poetry. The allusions to classical myth are overt, but the elements from the Greek tradition are freely adapted. Annensky subverts his former tragic methods by introducing elements from the farcical and rumbustious Attic genre of the satyr-play.

The sixth chapter is devoted to Annensky's lyric poetry, in which his anti-academic attitude to the classics is more obvious than elsewhere in his works. There are few direct references to classical literature and to classical myth; but imagery and language suggestive of the classical and neo-classical tradition are central to certain lyrics, particularly the poems about poetry and the poems about the modern city. In the text's linguistic level, metre, syntax and diction suggestive of the classical tradition is subverted by modernist colloquialisms. This process is especially evident in Annensky's mature collection Kiparisovyi larets.

INNOKENTY FEDOROVICH ANNENSKY AND THE CLASSICAL IDEAL:
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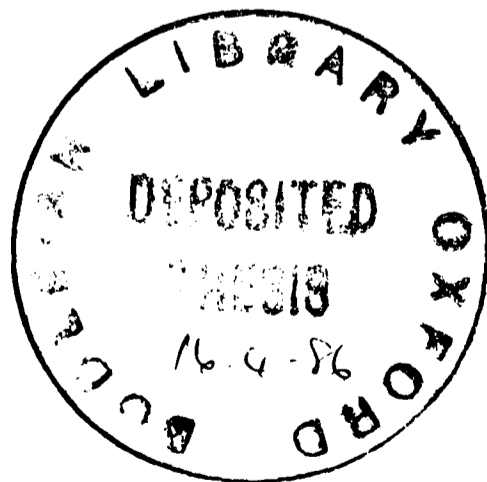
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Michaelmas Term, 1985, [in 1985]

by

Catriona H.M. Kelly,
Christ Church



Из грязи, из темноты еще ярче
выступает бессмертная красота
гомеровских образов; это чистое
уважение перед красотой Елены,
этот слепой певец, вызывающий
слезы на грубое лицо, не
бледневшее перед людоедом.
Анненский

PREFACE

This thesis is, so far as I am aware, the first doctoral thesis in English in which Annensky's translations from classical Greek, essays on classical and neo-classical literature, and neo-classical dramas are discussed. It is the first general study of Annensky's works in English since Vsevolod Setchkarev's monograph of 1963.

CONVENTIONS

Transliteration

Cyrillic names, quotations within the English text and titles are transliterated according to British Standard 2979:1958 without diacritics; but surnames are given in the standard transliteration. For example, Annensky is preferred to Annenskii, Mandelstam to Mandel'shtam. The orthography and capitalisation of Russian titles is according to post-revolutionary norms, e.g. Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya not Zhurnal" Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya. German spellings have also been modernised (Paulys Realenzyklopädie not Realencyklopädie).

Dates

Dates before February 1 1918 are given in Old Style, dates after February 1 1918 in New Style.

References

References to the standard editions of Annensky's works, Knigi otrazhenii, Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii

are given in brackets within the text. The abbreviations (KO), (ST) are used. All other references are footnoted by surname and abbreviated reference. The abbreviations IA and IFA are used for Innokenty (Fedorovich) Annensky. Teatr Evripida is everywhere abbreviated as TE and, to avoid confusion, the various editions have been distinguished by year of publication, e.g. TE 1906 for Teatr Evripida, vol. 1, SPb 1906.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a very great debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Ronald Hingley, for his valuable help and advice. I would also like to thank Michael Makin, who read almost the whole of this thesis in draft and made many useful comments and suggestions. I am very grateful to the following: S.A. Bogdanovich, Richard Davies, Julian Graffy, Sheelagh Graham, Barbara Heldt, David Howells, Alex de Jonge, Al'bin Konechny, Kseniya Kumpan, Jim Naughton, Irena Podol'skaya, John Richmond, Gerry Smith, David Thomas.

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ERRATA

Page

- Abstract 5 for 'is subverted' read 'are subverted'
- 21 Note 2 for Gimnazii read Gimnaziya
- 23 Line 24 for Socrate read Socrati
- 53 Line 19 for теперещней read теперешней
- 61 Line 4 for 'to give I.F. equivalent' read 'to give I.F. an education equivalent'
- 68 Line 7 for 'in he company' read 'in the company'
- 95 Line 25 for 'is inconsistent' read 'are inconsistent'
- 102 Line 13 for гдду read году
- 111 Note 1 for 'ei nuzhen' read 'ei nuzhna'
- 113 Note 1 for 'page' read 'page 96'
- 114 Line 1 for лежит read лежат
- 119 Line 17 for славе read славы
- „ Line 27 for 'Pushkin, Polonsky' read 'Pushkin, A.K. Tolstoy'
- 129 Line 10 for 'and excursion' read 'an excursion'
- 204 Line 11 for the dusha read the dusha
- 214 Note 2 for Ents. slovar': Khor read Ents. slovar', Khor
- 226 Line 4 for (307) read (ST 307)
- 227 Line 13 for (316) read (ST 316)
- 234 Note 3 after 'Act III' should follow Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, 15, 93-101
- 237 Line 12 for дриала read дриада
- 246 Line 13 for 'Vyacheslav' read 'Vyacheslav Ivanov'
- 250 Note 1 after 'Antichnaya tragediya', 9, please insert 'emphasis mine'.

283 Line 30 before (KO 172) please insert τίктέλ ὁ θρῶσκωυ
289 Line 24 for свой глаза read свои глаза
293 Line 15 for недоговоренные read недоговоренные
296 Line 5 for period:Стремление read period, стремление
303 Line 16 for что это read что за это
323 Line 29 for внешне read внешне
327 Line 3 for печальней read печальной
330 Line 28 please insert (ST 157)
347 Line 10 please insert (ST 211)
364 Line 25 after 'name' please insert αψόβελοσ

Addenda

15 et passim for 'Leipkina-Svirskaya' read 'Leikina-Svirskaya'
32 line 8 for 'Kiev' read 'Moscow'

ERRATA

Page	Line	
5	16	For 'is subverted' read 'are subverted'
15	<u>et passim</u>	For 'Leipkina-Svirskaya' read 'Leikina-Svirskaya'
21	Note 2	For <u>Gimnazii</u> read <u>Gimnaziya</u>
23	24	For <u>Socrate</u> read <u>Socrati</u>
38	23	For 'ritsunkakh' read 'risunkakh'
53	26	For предчествующий read предшествующий
95	25	For 'is inconsistent' read 'are inconsistent'
95	14	For согласные не том read согласные на том
102	13	For гдду read году
111	Note 1	For 'Ei nuzhen' read 'Ei nuzhna'
114	1	For лежит read лежат
114	19	For ограниченные read ограниченные
119	17	For славе read славы
119	19	For эмоции read эмоции
126	15	For 'tsinischeski' read 'tsinicheski'
167	4	For возмите read возьмите
222	23	For казется read кажется
226	4	For (307) read (ST 307)
227	13	For (316) read (ST 316)
234	3	After 'Act III' should follow <u>Polnoe sobranie sochinenii</u> , 15, 93-101
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Chapter 6	Aleskhovskiy, <u>Ruka</u> , 100

INTRODUCTION

It is now more than eighty years since Annensky's first collection of lyric poetry was published, and over seventy-five since his collapse and death from heart failure on the steps of the Tsarskoe Selo station in St Petersburg. Annensky had a moderately distinguished public career; he lived at a period when the academic establishment was expanding rapidly, and when dictionaries, encyclopedias and other aids for studying the biographical and bibliographical details of writers were freely available. He was associated with the best-known and most publicised Russian literary movement of the twentieth century, Symbolism. But his biography and literary career remain relatively obscure; most of his critics have lamented the lack of information available about him, and have found it difficult to assess his personality.

One of the earliest, and the best, articles on Annensky is the short appreciation by Maksimilian Voloshin published in Apollon. Voloshin makes an elegant summary of the difficulties and paradoxes of Annensky's character and career:

Его торжественность скрывала детское легкомыслие; за гибкой подвижностью его идей таилась окоченелость души, которая не решалась переступить известные грани познания и страшилась известных понятий; за его литературную скромность пряталось громадное самолюбие; его скептицизмом прикрывалась открытая доверчивость и тайная склонность к мистике, свойственная умам, мыслящим образами и ассоциациями; то, что он называл

своим „цинизмом“ было одной из форм нежности его души; его убежденный модернизм застыл и остановился на определенной точке начала девяностых годов.¹

The air of mystery and paradox surrounding Annensky's life is so dense that one émigré critic has asserted, in all seriousness, that his death was not natural. He was murdered for political reasons by 'budushchie chekisty, genotsidnye ubiitsy'.²

Most annenskovedy have also complained that the poet is under-rated, and have made zealous attempts to proselytise new readers. These complaints have some foundation. The main reason for interest in Annensky today, at least in the West, is that so many well-known poets, such as Mandelstam, Akhmatova, Pasternak and Mayakovsky, admired and imitated his work. He is an outstanding illustration of Tynyanov's proposition that pupils prepare the way for their teachers:

Обычно представление, что учитель prepares приятие учеников. На самом же деле совершается обратное: Тютчева подготовили для восприятия Фет и символисты.³

Until recently, there was only one general study in any language: Vsevolod Setchkarev's Studies in the Life and Work of Innokentij Annenskij, published more than twenty years ago. Setchkarev's book is admirable in some ways. At the time when it was written, it was remarkable that anyone should devote a book of more than two hundred pages to Annensky. All his major works are covered, and it

1. Voloshin, 'Liki tvorchestva', 11

2. Il'in, 'IA i konets Periklova veka Rossii', 50

3. Tynyanov, Arkhaisty i novatory, 582

initiated interest in him in the West; before that the only articles on him had appeared in émigré periodicals. Setchkarev's book also gives some attention to works, in particular the translations and essays, which have scarcely been covered elsewhere. But it is now, inevitably, out of date; since the early nineteen-sixties, large tracts of Annensky's correspondence have been published, there have been important publications of memoirs by his contemporaries, and a major academic edition of his literary essays; critical literature has proliferated.

Setchkarev's book also has faults which are not attributable to the difficulties of obtaining information on Annensky in the early nineteen-sixties. There are numerous avoidable inaccuracies, and the bibliography is scanty and confusingly presented. There is also a more serious weakness: the book is chaotic. The biographical section confusingly jumbles information about Annensky's literary, academic and personal life; the sections on his literary works, especially the lyric poetry, are incoherent and disorganised. Setchkarev's enthusiasm for his subject is always evident, but it is rarely communicated to the reader.

Early in 1985, a book on Annensky by the Soviet scholar Andrei Fedorov appeared; it was the first general study of the poet in Russian. The most valuable section of Fedorov's book is the first chapter, the most complete biographical study of Annensky available, which makes use of some unpublished archival material. The remaining three chapters are devoted to the lyric poetry, the essays and the neo-classical tragedies. These chapters are probably the best introduction to

Annensky's major works for the general reader, but they provide few insights for the specialist. They are largely a re-hash of previous writings by Fedorov, in particular his introduction to Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii; even the wording of certain sections is unchanged. The survey of recent critical writing on Annensky is selective; the account of Western criticism is especially perfunctory and patronising; and there is no general bibliography. The basis for the study is narrower than Setchkarev's: there is no account of Annensky's translations from Greek and Latin, or of his essays on classical literature, and the chapter on the neo-classical tragedies is by far the weakest section of the book.

My first concern in this thesis is to provide an up-to-date introduction to Annensky's works in which the coverage is as wide as possible, and in which particular attention is given to the classical translations and essays on classical literature, since these have been all but ignored in previous Annensky criticism. I felt that it was important that such an introduction should not simply assemble disparate information, but should illuminate the central principles of Annensky's writing, and re-examine some ideas which are inaccurate or misleading, but which have been repeated time and again, above all in general literary histories.

Firstly, there has been a tendency to range Annensky's works in an unassailable hierarchy, with the poetry at the top, and the neo-classical dramas at the bottom. Secondly, the works have consistently been presented as the heart-rending wails of a helpless neurotic unable to

cope with life's demands. Even Fedorov, whose study is marked by a tendentious attempt to present Annensky as a forward-thinking near-Narodnik, talks of the 'glubokii tragizm' of his work. Barbara Conrad has given a suitably ironic description of this critical line:

Vor allen Dingen waren es tragische Züge, die man immer wieder an Annenskij hervorgehoben hat, indem man biographische Details, wie z.B. seine Herzkrankheit, Schwierigkeiten im Schuldienst, eine angebliche unglückliche Liebe,¹ unkritisch mit poetischen Aussagen vermengte.

Conrad rightly states that this view of Annensky leads to 'verzehrende Perspektive' and 'charakteristische Mißverständnisse'. Like many Symbolists, Annensky mythologised his own biography, particularly in his lyric poetry. Isolation and anxiety were central elements in the myth; and there is no need for the critic to accept this account unquestioningly. The strength of Conrad's own book lies precisely in the fact that it is an ordered exposition of a central concept in Annensky's work, that of 'reflection' (otrazhenie), and an illustration of how this concept fits in to the intellectual history of the nineteenth century.

I believe that a study of Annensky's interest in the Ancient World, especially in classical literature, is another possible answer to the problems of constructing a general survey of his works. Annensky taught the classics for many years, and his enthusiasm for his subject is reflected in his literary works, particularly his translations and literary essays.

1. Conrad, IFAs poetische Reflexionen, 9

Annensky's interest in the classics associated him with traditional qualities, rationalism and humanism for example, which are a counter-weight to the popular image of self-indulgent neurosis. The classical elements in his work must be recognised if the standing of his poetry in the Russian literary tradition is to be correctly assessed. There has been heated debate among Annensky experts about whether he was a Symbolist or a traditionalist (that is, a poet in the mould of Fet, Tyutchev and other nineteenth-century Russian authors). In fact, he was both. His interest in the classical world was oriented both inward and outward: classicism, like Symbolism, was an internationalist movement which had originated in the West; unlike Symbolism, however, it had been long established in Russia and was at home there. Annensky's admiration for the fragmentary style and sceptical approach of Modernism led him to adapt classical texts; his imitations are often far from the original. His neo-classical plays, based on fragments of classical tragedy, have more in common with the Romantic fragment than with the fragment as a historical survival. And yet his literary attitudes were essentially conservative and proscriptive: he wanted to write Modernist classics, to lay down literary standards, and he justified his literary methods by turning to the traditional authority, classical literature.

Classicism is not the key to Annensky's works; his interest in classical literature does not explain everything in them; but a study of Annensky's interest in the classics suggests an alternative reading, especially of his lyric

poetry.

This study undoubtedly ought to have been made by a classicist -- which I am not. I offer two justifications. Slavic studies in general are characterised by ignorance of the classical tradition. Greek and Latin literature and even mythology are very remote from the consciousness of the average Soviet reader. From the Soviet editions of poets with neo-classical interests, such as Mandelstam, it emerges that Soviet readers need footnotes to tell them who Heracles was. One recent commentator on Annensky has referred to Oedipus as one of Euripides' most famous tragic heroes.¹ There are, of course, exceptions to this rather sweeping characterisation; the Soviet classicist and stikhoved Mikhail Gasparov has written some exemplary essays on classical elements in Russian literature. But there is another problem; classical literary criticism (as opposed to ancient history) still suffers from the dubious ideological position into which it was forced by Tsarist educational reforms.²

My second justification is the approach I have adopted. This study is not meant to enlighten classicists; many of the statements I make about classical literature are elementary and obvious. But I am concerned exclusively with the function of references to and imitations of antichnaya literatura and classical genres, and with klassitsizm in a looser sense, in the context of Russian literature. I shall discuss Annensky's educational and

1. Tsybin in Stikhotvoreniya i perevody, 9

2. See Chapter 1 of the present study, especially Section 1

intellectual background, his ideas about classical literature and how it should be imitated, and his imitations of classical literature. I shall relate them to the scholarly and literary traditions of his own day, and to the 'classical ideal' of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Russia. I shall argue that Annensky was not (as has been argued all too often) an outstanding classical scholar, but a littérateur whose desire to reform literature was as great as Pushkin's. His ambition was not realised in his own lifetime; he was never part of the closed inner circle of Symbolism; but his use of classical literature both continued the traditions of the nineteenth century and initiated a tradition which was carried on by the Acmeists, above all Mandelstam, and which to some extent survives in the 'Petersburg poetry' of today.¹

1. I have given no theoretical or historical definition of the word 'classicism' in this introduction, preferring simply to discuss what the word meant to Annensky. For a succinct and lucid exposition of the etymology of the word 'classic', its history and ideological implications, I refer the reader to the Introduction to Reed, The Classical Centre.

- О, как звучен, как прекрасен греческий язык! - говорил он со сладким выражением; и, как бы в доказательстве своих слов, прищуривал глаза и, подняв палец, произносил: - Антропос!
Чехов

CHAPTER ONE

'Chelovek v futlyare': classical education,
scholarship and classicism in Russia,
1870-1910

Unlike other Russian Symbolists, such as Vyacheslav Ivanov, Bryusov, Merezhkovsky and Blok, Innokenty Annensky was never a professional writer in the sense that he earned all or most of his income through writing. Authorship occupied a small part of his time; he was a full-time teacher and academic administrator, and held several prestigious posts. The subjects that he taught were Russian and classics.

Nearly all the critics who have worked on Annensky have discussed his professional career. Admiration has generally been expressed for his abilities as a scholar. Simon Karlinsky has described Annensky and Vyacheslav Ivanov as 'two of the most erudite Greek scholars in the whole history of Russian literature'.¹ Other critics have been equally laudatory. V.S. Setchkarev wrote:

It is amazing how much Annenskij wrote and worked as a scholar and poet in spite of his administrative and pedagogical activities and in spite of his growing discontent. [...] His thorough scholarly interest for classical philology never flagged. [...] Euripides was not the only one whom Annenskij knew well in Greek classical literature. He also made extensive studies in Homer, [...] and he was very interested in Herodotus. [...] Annenskij possessed a command of quite remote fields of Greek philology as well.²

Andrei Fedorov, whose assessment of Annensky's career is, on the whole, less adulatory than Setchkarev's, nonetheless

1. Karlinsky, Marina Cvetaeva, 258

2. Setchkarev, Studies in the Life and Work of IA, 29-30

praises his achievements as a classicist, describing him as 'zamechatel'nyi filolog-klassik', 'znatok antichnogo mira i tsenitel' ego khudozhestvennykh pamyatnikov'. (ST 29)¹

It has been maintained that Annensky was a central figure in an age when Russian classical scholarship was at its height. Wolfgang Busch writes:

Annenskij gehört einer Epoche an, in der die Altertumswissenschaft in Rußland eine gewisse Blütezeit erlebte.²

I believe that this reading of Annensky's biography is superficial, and that his professional career needs to be re-assessed. He was undoubtedly a key figure in the early twentieth-century Russian classical movement; but he was primarily a teacher, translator and populariser, not an original scholar; his work fed off the scholarly tradition, rather than contributing to it, and was directed at a lay audience. In this chapter I shall examine Annensky's classical education and his contacts with classical scholarship. Considerable emphasis will be given to the Russian classical tradition in which Annensky was working; I believe that inadequate knowledge of this tradition is the main cause of the undue awe in which Annensky's writings on classical literature have previously been held. I maintain that his work illustrates to a greater extent than that of any of his contemporaries

1. Fedorov's judgement is repeated in almost identical words in Innokenty Annensky, 226. Other critics who praise Annensky's scholarship include Mirsky, Contemporary Russ. Lit., 202; Shapovaloff, 'IFA', 160; McDuff, 'IA poet and critic', 200

2. Busch, 'Zwei vergessene Übersetzungen von IFA', 266

the way in which traditional barriers between classical education, classical scholarship and classicism in literature were being broken down at the turn of the century.

Classical languages were more widely studied, and classical scholarship flourished more impressively in Russia between 1870-1910 than at any other time in the country's history. Enthusiasm for the classics is also characteristic of the belles-lettres of the period. But there is no general survey in any language dealing with classical education or classical scholarship at the turn of this century.¹ Classicism in literature has received only limited critical attention; there are no illuminating general surveys, and most studies are focused on an individual classical or Russian writer.²

This omission is surprising in view of the attention given to periods when knowledge of the classics was confined to a smaller circle and classicism was less significant than in 1870-1910. The eighteenth century, often termed the period of Russian classicism, has naturally been studied most fully; but work has also been done on the early nineteenth century and even on the middle

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1. Dneprov, Sovetskaya literatura po istorii shkoly, lists no items on classical education before the Revolution. Busch, Horaz in Rußland, 14-5, has some rather superficial and misleading comments on classical education and scholarship.
 2. For example, Busch, Horaz in Rußland; Terras, 'Classical motifs'; Sakulin, 'Klassik simvolizma' [on Bryusov]; Magomedova, 'Blok i antichnost''

ages.¹

This chapter does not attempt a general study of classical education and scholarship, and of literary classicism, in Russia of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That enormous task awaits a future researcher. All that is attempted here is a brief and selective survey of part of the period, 1870-1910, as a background to Annensky's activities. A short study will be made of the classical activities which characterised the main literary group of the period, Symbolism, with which Annensky was loosely associated. Most of the Symbolists were educated between 1870 and 1910; I shall discuss the classical education they would have received, their knowledge of the classics, and the knowledge of Greek and Latin and of the Ancient World which they could have expected in their readers. The chapter is in four main sections, as follows: 1. Classical education in schools and universities, including assessment of the numbers involved, teaching methods, and results. 2. Classical scholarship, in particular critical writings on classical literature. 3. Some aspects of classicism in the arts and literature in Russia. 4. Annensky's own classical background and relations with the academic and literary establishment.

1. Recent studies on classicism in Russia include: [on the eighteenth century]: Segel, 'Classicism and classical antiquity'; Jones, 'A Trojan Horse'; Stennik, Zhanr tragedii; Klein, 'Trompete, Schalmel...'; [on the early nineteenth century]: Egunov, Gomer; Kažoknieks, Studien zur Rezeption der Antike; [on the medieval period] Klibanov, 'K probleme antichnogo naslediya'

1. CLASSICAL EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

The pre-revolutionary Russian educational system was complex and confused. Institutions with identical functions but different titles proliferated at every level. Many educational institutions were left to private enterprise -- some were recognised by the Ministerstvo narodnogo prosveshcheniya, others were not. Even the general categories of nachal'noe, srednee and vysshee obrazovanie are misleading, since there were institutions, such as the litsei and the kommercheskoe uchilishche, which belonged to two or more categories. Towards the end of the century chaos increased, with attempts to expand elementary education at one end of the educational system, and to broaden technical training at the other. The survey of education in the Brokgauz-Efron encyclopedia identifies fourteen types of institution, all with numerous subdivisions.¹ The many educational reforms of 1860-1917 contained provisions for rationalising education and bringing it under state control, but these were either short-lived or added to the chaos.

The diffuse structure of the educational system complicates discussion of classical education. Classical languages were not taught at elementary schools, but they were taught at a variety of secondary and higher institutions: the kadetskie korpusa (also known as voennye gimnazii for a brief period), the dukhovnye seminarii and akademii, the litsei, the muzhskie and zhenskie gimnazii, the universities, the istoriko-pedagogicheskie instituty.

1. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar': Rossiya, 391

These establishments varied in size, distribution, and educational aims. In some classical languages were compulsory, and were taught for many hours per week; in others they were optional, and had a small part in the curriculum.

I shall concentrate on two institutions: the muzhskie gimnazii and the universities, partly for brevity's sake, and partly because they were the core of Russian classical education. The dukhovnye seminarii and akademii (almost the only centres of classical education in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) had a much less significant role by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1911-2, there were nearly six times as many pupils at muzhskie gimnazii as at dukhovnye seminarii.¹ The litsei, which had offered prestigious education with heavy classical emphasis in the early nineteenth century, had also declined. The Aleksandrovskii litsei in St Petersburg (formerly in Tsarskoe Selo), one of the few surviving at the end of the nineteenth century, had only 280 pupils in 1913.²

By 1900, the gimnazii and universities were the Russian Empire's elite educational establishments. Their staff were well paid and privileged. There is therefore far more information available about these establishments than

1. In 1911 there were 20,000 pupils at seminaries; in 1912 128,000 in gimnazii (Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Dukhovno-uchebnye zavedeniya; for gimnazii figures see Appendix A, Table 1 at the end of this chapter)

2. Novyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Litsei

any others.

The education offered in the gimnazii and universities also had a larger impact on society than that offered elsewhere. The kadetskie korpusa and dukhovnye seminarii were not intended to promote the study of classical literature. Greek and Latin were taught for much the same number of hours as at the gimnazii, but were combined with vocational training. By 1900, few of the trainees of these schools were involved in literature and scholarship, and the staff made contributions to classical scholarship almost exclusively in the fields of military history and theology.¹

The zhenskie gimnazii, which had very large numbers of pupils by 1900, will not be discussed here because classical languages were not compulsory at them; priority was given to 'ladylike' subjects such as sewing, French and drawing. The ideological implications of the zhenskie gimnazii curriculum are fascinating, but cannot be considered in this study.²

In 1871-1914, the gimnazii were by far the largest type of secondary school for men: the pupil figures were at least double those of the real'nye uchilishcha, and much greater than those of the kommercheskie uchilishcha.³ Over this period, the figures for gimnaziya pupils

1. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Rossiya, 816. After 1882 the constitution of the Kadetskie korpusa was changed and they became much more military and bureaucratic. (Ents. slovar', Voенно-uchebnye zavedeniya)

2. See Appendix D, Tables 1 and 2

3. See Appendix A, Table 1; for the kommercheskie uchilishcha, Leipkina-Svirskaya, Russkaya intelligentsiya, 9

expanded rapidly: there were nearly ten times as many in 1914 as in 1855, and the number of schools had increased nearly six times. After 1900 the growth was especially fast: the number of pupils doubled in less than fifteen years. If one adds the figures for seminaries and kadetskie korpusa, it emerges that over eighty thousand secondary school pupils were receiving a classical education by the mid-1890s.¹

However, the perspective changes if the numbers receiving classical education at secondary schools are set against the overall population. In the 1890s only about one Russian in two thousand attended a gimnaziya, and this proportion is not much reduced if one adds the small number attending other schools where the classics were taught.² The figure is low even by the standards of the late nineteenth century. According to details given in the Brokgauz-Efron encyclopedia, in Prussia, where the population was far smaller than in the Russian Empire, there were over 80,000 pupils at Gymnasien in 1882; at much the same period there were 58,000 pupils at gymnasia in Italy, 45,000 in Austria.³ The literacy rate in the Russian Empire, of course, was also far lower than in these countries, as was the number of those receiving elementary education. Even so, a comparison of the figures for the gimnazii with the figures for those receiving formal education of any kind illustrates that the

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1. Gimnazii figures in 1894 = 55,000 (Appendix A), plus 8,000 at kadetskie korpusa (Ents. slovar', Kadetskie korpusa) and 19,000 at dukhovnye seminarii (Ents. slovar', Dukhovno-uchebnye zavedeniya) in the early 1890s
 2. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.
 3. Ents. slovar', Gimnaziya, 695-7

gimnazisty composed less than two per cent of the school population as a whole, and that the proportion of pupils being educated at gimnazii actually dropped slowly after 1900.¹ After this date, the dominance of the gimnazii and their status as elite schools began to decline, and they did not recover the position of 1870-1900.

The figures for geographical distribution of the gimnazii are also interesting. They were widely spread; few of the fourteen uchebnye okruga had more than ten, though each covered a huge area; but by the 1890s none was without a gimnaziya, and there were even four in Eastern Siberia.²

What position did the classical languages have in the curriculum of the gimnaziya? This depended on the shift of political fashion. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries classics were not compulsory in most schools. They became popular only after the Napoleonic War, boosted by anti-French feeling.³ Their later fate was strange; they were officially encouraged in the 1830s and 1840s, but in the 1850s were stigmatised as inspiring dangerous liberal and republican feeling.⁴ In the 1860s, there was another change of policy, as Alain Besançon has described:

L'affaire de langues anciennes devait empoisonner pendant tout le XIXe siècle le développement de l'enseignement

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1. Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2
 2. Ents. slovar', Gimnaziya, 711
 3. Kažoknieks, Studien zu Rezeption der Antike, 16-25
 4. Ents. slovar', Gimnaziya, 700-1

secondaire. L'offensive du latin et du grec contre le français, dans le statut de 1828, se comprend aisément, le latin symbolisant le savoir "solide" de l'école de l'État contre le savoir mondain, léger, dangereux peut-être, de la culture noble. Mais on soupçonne bientôt l'opposition d'utiliser ces mêmes armes qu'on dirigeait contre elle. Le latin et le grec deviennent alors le symbole d'un humanisme inutile et les sciences exactes reprennent leur ancienne signification de préparation au service loyale et efficace. [...] Mais quand, avec le scientisme, l'opposition passera de nouveau par les sciences naturelles, le comte Tolstoj, ministre de l'Instruction publique, imposera le retour au grec et au latin.¹

Between 1849 and 1871 the classical languages were at a disadvantage in Russian schools. Greek was little taught, and the hours allocated to Latin were reduced. By the Ustav gimnazii i progimnazii of 1864, classical languages were marginalised; two types of gimnaziya were set up, the real'naya and the klassicheskaya, and classical languages were taught only in the latter.

In 1871, under the ministry of the notorious mrakobes D.A. Tolstoy, the position of the classics was restored again. The Ustav gimnazii i progimnazii of that year confined the title of gimnazii to boys' schools at which a classical education was given. Not only Latin but, for the first time in Russian history, Greek, was compulsory. Tolstoy defended his measures with a violent attack on his predecessors' reforms, and with overtly reactionary statements about the corrupting influence exercised on the young by natural sciences, and the reforms of 1849-51:

[Реформы] если не единственная, то одна из важных причин так сильно охватившего наше учащееся юношество материализма, нигилизма, и самого пагубного самомнения.²

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1. Besançon, Éducation et société en Russie, 18
 2. Rozhdestvensky, Istoricheskii obzor deyatel'nosti MNP, 520

From 1871 until 1918, an unwilling population of Russian schoolchildren was forced through an intensive course in the classics. The syllabus was frequently modified, but its basic character did not change.¹ There was a seven, later eight, year programme, and classical languages occupied an enormous number of teaching hours: they were taught for more than sixteen hours of a thirty hour teaching week. After 1871, various reforms (particularly in 1890 and 1902) shortened the number of hours given to the classics; and in 1902 compulsory Greek was abolished, though it remained a requirement for university matriculation.²

In theory, therefore, the situation was this: every pupil completing the course of the gimnazii or progimnazii (equivalent to the first four years of the full gimnazii) in 1871-1918 can be assumed to have had some knowledge of Latin; in 1871-1902 pupils can also be assumed to have had some knowledge of Greek. In practice things were very different, particularly in the case of Greek. There were enormous practical problems in enforcing the order of 1871 that it should be taught in all schools. There was a lack of teachers competent in the language, a fact which had bedevilled the attempt to reintroduce it on a modest scale in 1864:

Реформа 1864 г. не удовлетворила классиков, так как немедленно во все классические гимназии было введено лишь преподавание латинского языка, преподавание же греческого предложено было вводить постепенно, по мере

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1. The gimnazii even survived the Revolution for a year. 'Gimnaziya kak tip uchebnogo zavedeniya likvidirovana v RSFSR v 1918 godu'. Pedagogicheskaya ents., Gimnaziya
 2. Appendix B, Tables 1-5. The timetable of 1914 was not implemented (Hans, History of Russ. Educ. Policy, 208-9)

приготовления учителей этого языка. А их не было и оставалось неизвестным, когда они будут.¹

Attempts to remedy the situation were largely unsuccessful. A seminar at Leipzig university, founded to encourage Russian classical studies, particularly in the gimnazii, was in fact attended largely by students from the Baltic and from other Slavonic countries. It lasted for only seventeen years (1873-1890).² The success of teacher recruitment can be measured by the fact that there were ten thousand places available for teachers in 1880, but a workforce of only eight thousand.³

The pupils' response to the imposition of the classics was not at all enthusiastic. In 1899, an official circular of the MNP referred to complaints by parents and teachers about the emphasis on classics in the school curriculum.⁴ They suffered far worse than mathematics, another compulsory subject taught for many hours, because they lacked its utilitarian appeal. Greek was particularly subject to attack on this basis, and, after 1902, when it became an optional subject in most gimnazii except those attached to Lutheran churches, there was very small demand for it. A survey carried out by the classicist Zorgenfrei for the journal Germes in 1908 revealed that in the Odesskii uchebnyi okrug, for example, Greek was taught in only twelve out of thirty schools, and was studied by only seventy-nine schoolboys. In many schools only one or two pupils a year studied Greek.

1. Bol'shaya entsiklopediya, Gimnazii, 711

2. Leipkina-Svirskaya, Intelligentsiya v Rossii, 149

3. Ibid., 152

4. Rozhdestvensky, Istoricheskii obzor deyatel'nosti MNP, 711

Some classes had no pupils at all.¹ Such small classes were extremely unusual in gimnazii, where overcrowding was the norm; in 1907 a directive was issued limiting the number of pupils in any one gimnaziya class to forty.²

The Ustav of 1871 not only failed to make the classics popular; it also failed to ensure any level of competence in Greek and Latin. The timetable of Russian gimnazii was modelled on that of the Prussian gimnazii, and the number of hours allocated to the classics was similar.³ But the results produced by Russian gimnazii were less impressive. Russian classicists compared their schools unfavourably with Prussian schools and with the Lutheran gimnazii in Russia.⁴ They felt that standards in England, too, were higher. Gottlieb, writing in the second edition of Brokgauz-Efron, remarked with admiration on the excellent knowledge many English schoolboys had of Latin:

В лучших школах поучение древних языков стоит очень высоко; ученики овладевают латинской речью насколько, что пишут по-латыни сочинения и стихи.⁵

Despite the large number of hours given to classical languages at Russian schools, many pupils left gimnazii, having passed their attestat zrelosti or matriculation exam with marks good enough to admit them to university, without more than an elementary knowledge of Latin, still less of Greek. In 1907 the Russian classicist Boris Varneke complained bitterly about the low standards of Greek amongst

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1. Zorgenfrei, 'Neobyazatel'nyi grecheskii yazyk', part 2, 106-7
 2. Novyi ents. slovar', Gimnazii, 538
 3. See Appendix C
 4. On the 'zavidnaya vysota' of German classics teaching, see 'Soveshchanie prepodavatelei lat. yaz. v SPb', 100
 5. Novyi ents. slovar', Gimnaziya, 531

first-year students at his university, Kazan', remarking that in many cases their knowledge of Greek did not exceed their knowledge of Lithuanian, which they had naturally never been taught.¹ In 1906, at a meeting of the Obshchestvo klassicheskoi filologii i pedagogiki, a member, A.A. Brok, expressed the opinion that it would be better not to teach Greek and Latin at all than to put up with their unsatisfactory place in Russian schools:

Проектируемый съезд петербургских преподавателей должен, в интересах классицизма, как это ни парадоксально, требовать уничтожения привилегий классических гимназий и уравниения всех средне-учебных заведений по примеру Пруссии. Затем, съезд должен требовать или достаточного числа уроков древних языков, или, в противном случае, [...] полного их уничтожения.²

If even classicists attacked the system of classical education, it was natural that it should come under assault from liberals. Their sallies became increasingly virulent as the century drew to a close. N. Speransky, writing in 1914, described a recent conference of classical philologists in lurid terms:

Перед нами -- картина восстания мертвецов, вызванных на проклятом месте из-под могильных камней чарами заклинаний волшебника Бертрама, и пляска их, пока не пробил час опять вернуться в холодную могилу.³

The classical system also began to be questioned in official circles relatively early in its existence. An Order of

1. Varneke, 'Grecheskii yazyk v universitetakh', 142

2. 'Obshchestvo klass. fil. i pedagogiki v 1905-6 godakh', 39

3. Speransky, Krizis russkoi shkoly, 231

the MNP in 1886 referred to the deficiency of matriculating candidates in Greek and Latin:

Одним из наиболее крупных недостатков кандидатов в познаниях учеников наших гимназий по древним языкам является неумелость¹ разобрать и перевести новый, нечитанный отрывок.

Those leaving Russian schools lacked not only the active command of Latin and Greek which certain English schoolboys possessed, but also an adequate passive command of these languages. It is unlikely that many of them had the skill or desire to read widely in the original.

The by and large lamentable record of classical studies in Russian was partly due to teaching methods. The numerous lessons in Greek and Latin were given over almost entirely to the mind-numbing repetition of grammar, as Delyanov, minister of education in the 1880s, admitted: he criticised the 'odnostoronnee grammaticheskoe napravlenie' of the teaching.² After 1890 there was some attempt to improve the situation, but the curricula were still largely biased towards passive learning. In Germes in 1907, the Greek syllabus covered by the eighth class of an anonymous klassicheskaya gimnaziya was published. Only two texts were set: Sophocles' Oedipus Rex and Plato's Apologia Socrate, but there was a massive programme of grammar and of general courses on literature and art, the history of Greek philosophy, archaeology and social history (political history was not taught).³

1. Rozhdestvensky, Istoricheskii obzor deyatel'nosti MNP, 633

2. Ibid.

3. 'Programma po grecheskomu yazyku, po kotoroi ekzamenovalis' ucheniki...', 130-1

Bad and incompetent teaching was another obvious cause of the failure of classical studies, and one which disturbed classical scholars. At a meeting of the Obshchestvo klassicheskoi filologii in 1906, A.A. Brok expressed concern about the problem, and suggested a number of measures for dealing with it, such as summer courses for teachers.¹

The low standard and poor results are attributable most of all, however, to the authoritarian tenor of Tolstoy's reforms. The classics had been used as a way of suppressing academic freedom, and the subjects themselves came to symbolise the bureaucratic character of his measures, with their great stress on vospitanie and surveillance. Russian secondary schools were completely cut off from the world outside, and their status, unlike that of their counterparts in Prussia or Britain, was artificial:

L'école moyenne (srednjaja) se trouve à la pointe modernisée d'une société où le sous-développement regne aux niveaux inférieurs. Elle a été établie sur le modèle occidental. [...] Un fossé infranchissable sépare donc le gymnase, qui fait partie de la machine de l'État, dont le personnel occupe un rang honorable dans la fonction publique, qui émerge régulièrement du budget, et l'école primaire, presque inexistante. En fait, au-dessous du gymnase il n'y a rien.²

Not all the gimnazii were as inadequate as this survey has suggested. There were some in which the teachers were gifted and the education enlightened, mainly the state gimnazii in Moscow, St Petersburg and Kiev. But there is no doubt that many of the gimnaziya teachers resembled their counterparts in the fiction of the period,

1. 'Obshchestvo klass. fil. i pedagogiki v 1905-6 godakh', 39

2. Besançon, Éducation et société en Russie, 19

and that their ex-pupils' reactions were close to those of the narrator in 'Kto vinovat' by Chekhov, himself a graduate of Taganrog gimnaziya:

Увы! Иногда я чувствую себя в смешном положении бегущего кота. Подобно котенку, в свое время я имел честь учиться у дядюшки латинскому языку. Теперь, когда мне приходится видеть какое-нибудь произведение классической древности, то вместо того, чтоб жадно восторгаться, я начинаю вспоминать ut consecutivum, неправильные глаголы, желто-серое лицо дядюшки, ablativus absolutus... бледнею, волосы мои становятся дыбом, и, подобно коту, я ударяюсь в постыдное бегство.¹

The failure of the gimnazii had far-reaching effects on classical education in the universities, on classical scholarship, and on classicism in literature. They, and the policies associated with them, were responsible for the fact that, although the intelligentsia between 1870 and 1910 was saturated with people who had been given a classical education, classical literature remained a minority interest, and one, moreover, directly linked with reactionary views.

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the relations between secondary and tertiary education in Russia were in disarray. In 1811, however, S.S. Uvarov systematised them, and it was laid down that the gimnazii were to be the preliminary form of education for those going on to university. In the late nineteenth century the pool of university entrants was progressively restricted,

1. Chekhov, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem v 30 tomakh: Sochineniya 5, 460

and the attestat zrelosti, taken after eight years of study at the gimnaziya, became the normal requirement for university entrance. External candidates could also sit the attestat zrelosti; pupils from seminaries, and after 1900 increasingly pupils from other schools, were accepted at universities, but the link between gimnaziya and university was strong. Therefore many of the remarks about classical education at the gimnazii also apply to the istoriko-filologicheskie fakul'tety at universities. The low standard of gimnazisty in the classics was detrimental to university courses in the discipline. The situation had become so desperate after 1900 that some universities were forced to offer crash courses in Greek so that their students could cope with the basic requirements of their degree..¹

The problems of the klassicheskie gimnazii also meant that it was very difficult to keep up recruitment at university level. The total number of students at Russian universities rose steeply between 1880 and 1895 (from about 8,000 to nearly 14,000, or by about 75%) and in 1898 three Russian universities (Moscow, St Petersburg and Kiev) were among the 25 most populous in the world. But at the same time, there was a marked proportional drop in the numbers of those studying on the istoriko-filologicheskii fakul'tet. Students on this faculty represented over 11% of all students in 1880; by 1899 this figure had dropped to under 4%.² It was by far the smallest faculty at Russian

1. Varneke, 'Grecheskii yazyk v universitetakh' describes the initiation of such a course at Kazan'.

2. See Appendix A, Tables 3 and 4

universities, with the exception of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, which only existed at St Petersburg. It is clear from these figures how devastating was the effect of compulsory classical education in Russian schools. A very small percentage of gimnazisty went on to study classics at university.

Some of the problems of classical education at universities were not determined by the connection of universities and schools. The composition of Russian universities was very different from that of modern British universities. The fakul'tety covered an encyclopedic range of subjects and were vast. They were subdivided into kafedry, or departments, but even these were not rigidly divided by subject. After 1884 one of the kafedry on the Istoriko-filologicheskii fakul'tet was titled simply 'Istoriya vseobshchaya'. There was always a special kafedra on the ist-fil.fak for classical philology from 1804 onwards, but classics were by no means the only, and were sometimes not even the main, subject studied in the faculty.

Nor were Russian university courses 'courses' in the modern sense. Many lecture courses were offered, some compulsory, others voluntary, covering the entire ground of filologiya and istoriya. The examination system was equally random: the student was expected to sit the end of year and the final examinations in a variety of subjects, and could fail the entire examination or be made to repeat the course if he failed in one.¹

1. Ivanovsky, 'Predmetnaya sistema v nashikh universitetakh', 4. The pronoun 'he' for student has been used advisedly; few Russian universities admitted women to examinations in the nineteenth century.

By the 1870s, the unmanageable history and philology course had been reorganised; after the first two years, the student could study on a so-called otdelenie. There were three such otdeleniya: slovesnoe, klassicheskoe and istoricheskoe. But these subdivisions did little to alter the encyclopedic quality of teaching and learning. Since no student, however able, could have covered the material demanded independently, it was necessary to spend a great deal of hours in lectures, which were then repeated parrot-fashion at examinations:

Профессора только читали лекции, на которых выясняли свое собственное понимание проблем данной науки, и студент, хотя бы и желал, не мог выработать независимого, личного отношения к данной области знания. Он либо подчинялся мировоззрению профессора, либо неотчетливо и полубессознательно критиковал и отвергал его, чувствуя, что оно его не удовлетворяет, либо (и это чаще всего) вовсе не заглядывал в принципиальные вопросы науки, ограничиваясь усвоением фактического материала и оставаясь совершенно чуждым принципиального к нему отношения.

The trials of the kursovaya sistema were added to other problems. There was a very small number of classical scholars at Russian universities. Filippov, writing in 1901, stated that in 1883 there were as many professors of classical philology at Leipzig university as at six of the eight Russian universities.²

The classics were used in the universities, as in the schools, as a weapon of repression. The educational reforms of 1884 made classics a central and compulsory part of the curriculum. This measure could not long be enforced, but it was very unpopular, and contributed to the fall

1. Ivanovsky, 'Predmetnaya sistema', 12

2. Leipkina-Svirskaya, Intelligentsiya v Rossii, 149

in enrolments on the ist-fil fak.¹

There were also restrictions on how the classics might be taught. The timetable of the St Petersburg university for 1896 reveals that political history and philosophy were given little attention.² In 1897, one of the two prize essays for finalists on the klassicheskoe otdelenie was on Plato's Socratic dialogues, but candidates had to confine themselves to linguistic elements in the text.³

The general picture presented by classical studies at Russian universities at the turn of the century is bleak. Students whose enthusiasm had survived depressing years at the gimnazii were sometimes defeated by the 'unimaginative' and 'formal' character of university lecturing.⁴ Individual professors -- Sokolov, Pomyalovsky and later Zelinsky in St Petersburg, and Korsh in Moscow -- had enormous influence and inspired many successors. Petersburg university appears to have retained its scholarly integrity even after 1884:

На историко-филологическом факультете Петербургского университета, наиболее чувствительно затронутым предписаниями нового учебного плана, отводившего большую часть учебного времени на древние языки, продолжал царить "строго-научный, а не менторско-дидактический дух"; профессора-классики оставались "превосходными учеными".⁵

But on the whole the study of classical philology at Russian universities remained inferior to that at certain Western European universities, and it remained customary, until

1. Ents. slovar', Universitety, 799

2. 'Imperatorskii SPb universitet v 1896 godu', 15

3. 'Imperatorskii SPb universitet v 1897 godu', 21. The two titles set were 'Mif o Meleagre v literature i iskusstve' and 'Znachenie dannykh yazyka dlya voprosa o khronologii dialogov Platona'.

4. Leipkina-Svirskaya, Intelligentsiya v Rossii, 149

5. Ibid., 191

the Revolution, for better-off Russian students to travel abroad to complete their studies.

2 CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Between about 1860 and the First World War classical scholarship expanded and developed all over Europe. During this period, important archaeological discoveries were made, such as those of Schliemann at Troy and Evans at Knossos (1899-1907). There were also discoveries of papyri with materials of great interest to scholars (for example, a fragment of Sophocles' lost satyr-play Ichneutai, found in 1912). The increase of knowledge about the Ancient World was accompanied by growing professionalism and exactitude in classical scholarship, and by the proliferation of critical editions, histories and articles on every aspect of classical culture. The growing specialisation and seriousness of classical studies in individual countries led to international academic co-operation on an unprecedented scale. Learned societies corresponded, joint projects were undertaken, and classical-philological journals carried regular review sections on their counterparts in other countries.¹

Classical scholarship in Russia was also affected by this international growth. The expansion of the gimnazii and universities after 1884 meant that there were more positions for classical scholars. Three specialist journals, Filologicheskoe obozrenie, Gimnaziya and Germes, were founded around the turn of the century.

1. This account of the development of classical scholarship in the late nineteenth century is necessarily superficial. A fuller history of classical scholarship at this time can be found in Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, History of Classical Scholarship, 115-178

Bibliographies of classical studies in Russia reveal that publications proliferated and became more specialised after 1860.¹ Russian classical scholars were sensitive to international developments, and were influenced by the scholarly tradition in other countries, particularly in Germany.² The specialist classical journals in Russia regularly carried full review sections covering books and periodicals on classical subjects which had been published in other European countries. The expansion of knowledge about the classical world was so marked that in 1910 Chernyaev wrote:

Популяризация классических знаний старается проникнуть даже в самые отдаленные, глухие уголки нашего отечества.³

However, as Russian scholars were aware, the growth of classical scholarship in Russia was never as vigorous as it was in other European countries. Chernyaev characterised classical studies in Russia as distinguished by vivid personalities, and not by weighty publications, and he complained that Russian scholars were not persistent and dedicated enough.⁴ Malein, too, indicated that the standards of Russian classical scholarship were not consistent.⁵

There were many reasons for the difficulties which

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1. Prozorov, Sistematischeskii ukazatel'; Lebedev, 'Ukazatel' k russkim izdaniyam'.
 2. Ents. slovar', Rossiya, 815 [written by the classical scholar Malein]
 3. Chernyaev, 'Puti proniknoveniya v Rossiyu', part 2, 123
 4. Ibid., part 1, 858, 868, 870
 5. Ents. slovar', Rossiya, 815

beset Russian classical scholarship. There was no long tradition of classical studies in Russia, as there was in Germany, England and France. Studies of Latin and particularly Greek texts in medieval Russia were associated with the church, and were oriented towards Byzantium, not the 'pagan' literature of classical Greece and Rome. The founding of the Slavyano-greko-latinskaya akademiya in ~~Moscow~~ in the late seventeenth century was the first sign of the development of classical scholarship in a modern sense:

Начиная с XIII столетия и почти вплоть до XVIII-ого не может быть и речи о трудах в области классической филологии.¹

In the eighteenth century, interest in the classical world grew steadily, but secondary literature was produced on an informal, amateur basis, which owed much to the work of French classical scholars and even the theorists of French literary classicism.²

Professional classical scholarship was properly established in Russia only in the 1870s. The lack of tradition in the classics caused problems: Greek and Latin never became popular in Russia, and scholars who were of foreign extraction dominated classical studies. The most famous of these were the Euripides scholar Johann (known as August in Russia) Nauck, who was resident in St Petersburg from 1859 until his death in 1892; others included Netushil, Tsybul'sky, Shvarts, Korsh, Varneke, Kholodnyak and Tseretelli.

1. Ents. slovar', Rossiya, 813

2. Kažoknieks, Studien zu Rezeption der Antike, 46-8

F.F. Zelinsky (Tadeusz Zielinski), probably the most famous late nineteenth century classical scholar working in Russia, was born in Kiev, but was of Polish extraction, and in the early 1920s emigrated to Warsaw. The speed with which classical scholarship declined after the Revolution is an indication of how little at home it was in Russia.¹

Another obvious difference between Russian and Western European classical scholars was the remoteness of the Russians from their source material. It was relatively rare for Russian scholars to be allowed zagranichnye komandirovki to visit classical sites outside the Empire. Ivan Tsvetaev's expedition to collect material for a book on Latin inscriptions in Central and Southern Italy was an exception.² They therefore concentrated on the archaeological sites around the Black Sea; here scholars like Sokolov and Latyshev worked. As a result, Russian classical scholarship was strong in the fields dictated by the material in this region, such as epigraphy. Chernyaev felt that Russians had equalled or even excelled their Western colleagues in this discipline:

С западно-европейской наукой классической древности сблизили нас не наши увлечения античностью, подчерпаемой из вдохновений родных поэтов, а те реальные остатки исчезнувшего мира,³ которые находили и находят в пределах нашей родины.

In literary criticism, on the other hand, Russians were hampered by their lack of access to early manuscripts and

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1. Bilets'ky, 'Russkaya lit. i antichnost'' denies that classical scholarship in Russia decayed after the Revolution, but admits: 'Chislo spetsialistov, zanimayushchikhsya antichnost'yu, u nas neveliko'. (65)
 2. Chernyaev, 'Puti proniknoveniya v Rossiyu', part 2, 139-140
 3. Ibid., part 2, 136

papyri, which made textological criticism and the preparation of critical editions difficult.¹ Consequently, most editions of classical texts in Russia were intended for use in schools; and foreign scholars took little interest in Russian literary criticism. Malein blamed this, rather chauvinistically, on foreigners' insuperable difficulties with the Russian language:

Довольно часто на труды русских ученых обращают внимание и западные их собраты, и внимание это уделялось бы в гораздо большей степени, если-бы изучение русского языка не представляло необходимых почти трудностей для иностранцев.²

His defence is unconvincing. Russian scholars could perfectly well have written in Latin (or German, French or English) had they wished. Their failure to use Latin (with a few exceptions, such as Zelinsky's edition of fragments of Attic tragedies) is an indication of the fact that they intended their material for domestic consumption. The overwhelming majority of items listed in the bibliographies of Prozorov, Lebedev and Voronkov are school text-books, commentaries for the general reader, and popular articles.

The essential feature of the Russian classical establishment in the nineteenth century was, in fact, its connection with the gimnaziya system. Most of the well-known classical scholars of the period were employed at universities and schools. This was both a prop to classicism and an obstacle to its development. Classical scholars had a captive audience, since the pro-classicist Ministerstvo

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1. Lebedev, 'Ukazatel' ko vsem uchebnym izdaniyam', lists a number of Russian manuscripts of classical Greek texts held by the Moscow Synodal Library and Synodal Typography, some of secular texts; but most are seventeenth century.
 2. Ents. slovar', Rossiia, 815

narodnogo prosveshcheniya was responsible for selecting and censoring textbooks through its Uchenyi komitet. On the other hand, the inadequacies of the gimnazii and universities meant that the audience of literate classicists was small: many Russians were unable to read Greek and Latin, a great many more had no desire to. There were gifted amateurs of the classics in Russia; Chernyaev mentions some of the most remarkable of them, including Olsuf'ev, a former general in the Hussars, who acted as neofitsial'nyi opponent at Malein's defence of his dissertation on Martial.¹ But the introduction of compulsory classical education on a wide scale decreased, rather than increased, the number of such amateurs. By the late nineteenth century it was not possible to say of Russia, as it was of England, that most members of the political elite were 'classics men':

A knowledge of Greek (even if rarely mastery) and a familiarity with Greek culture were characteristic of a large portion of the political elite as well as of the leaders and clergy of the Church of England. So long as this educational situation prevailed, discussions of Greek history, religion and philosophy provided ready vehicles for addressing the governing classes of the country and could be expected to find in them a potentially receptive and possibly responsive audience. Indeed, in 1865 the major commentator on Homer as well as major translator of the poet, the chief critic and historian of Greek literature, the most significant political historians of Greece, and the authors of the then most extensive commentaries on Greek philosophy either were or had recently been members² of the House of Commons or the House of Lords.

The political elite of late nineteenth-century Russia was

1. Chernyaev, 'Puti proniknoveniya v Rossiyu', part 1, 882

2. Turner, The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain, 5

not characterised by enthusiasm for any kind of scholarship. The classics were favoured as an expedient method for suppressing the rebellious tendencies of the young, not as an intellectual discipline. So the government poured resources into the expansion of the gimnazii, and into the training of teachers for them; but no interest was taken in the classics at a higher level, and research was not encouraged. A postgraduate system was instituted in 1863, but a private income was required to live comfortably and study. The lowest academic grade, that of privat-dotsent, carried a derisory salary, often much less than a tenth of a professor's salary.¹ The low status of classical scholarship, as opposed to classical education, is shown by the fact that scholars of history and philology were assigned to the Vtoroe otdelenie of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, founded in 1841, and had inferior rights to other members of the Academy.²

The total number of academics involved in classical philology in Russia was small. The eight arts faculties, two Istoriko-filologicheskie instituty, the Vtoroe otdelenie of the Imperial Academy of Sciences together give a total of only eleven institutions where classical literary scholarship went on. Even counting a small number of enthusiastic gimnaziya teachers, museum workers and gentleman scholars, there were probably not more than a

1. Leipkina-Svirskaya, Intelligentsiya v Rossii, 186
A professor's salary was 3,000 roubles, plus kazennaya kvartira; a privat-dotsent might well earn under 300 roubles a year.

2. Ibid., 182

hundred experts on classical literature active at any one time, even before the Revolution.

It would be misguided to be unduly pessimistic about the state of classical studies in Russia before the Revolution. The small numbers of people involved were often extraordinarily energetic, and much of the work they produced was valuable. Some Russian scholars, denied access to the minutiae of textual criticism, evolved a strong theoretical position. Zelinsky's book on the structure of Attic comedy (Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie), a systematic analysis of recurrent structural elements, is an outstanding work. Its methodological principles to some extent anticipate those of Bakhtin (a pupil of Zelinsky's), and of the Russian semiotics tradition. Mikhail Rostovtsev, one of the foremost classical scholars this century, was a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences before his emigration to the United States.¹

But most of the energy of Russian classical scholars, especially experts on literature, was directed towards the defence and popularisation of their subject. Classicists were conscious of a large indifferent or even hostile audience which they sought to win over, and many of the authors chosen for translation and interpretation were

1. On Zelinsky and Bakhtin, see Clark and Holquist, Mikhail Bakhtin, 30-34. An appreciation of Zelinsky as a classical scholar is given by Bryullova, 'Professor FFZ. K ego 25-letnemu yubileyu'

suggested by contemporary literary taste. . Anacreon and Sappho and other Greek lyric poets attracted scholars less at the end of the century than at the beginning, when they were also literary favourites.

The popularising activities of classical literary scholarship in Russia were particularly vigorous in two fields. The first was the specialist societies. In 1874 the Obshchestvo klassicheskoi filologii i pedagogiki was founded in St Petersburg. It was also known as the Klassicheskoe obshchestvo, but the abbreviated title did not indicate its real purpose so clearly. It was less a learned society than an institution for propagating the classics to the public, and improving educational standards in Russian schools. The records of the society, published in ZMNP, show that the papers were divided in content between educational and literary matters; not all assumed that the listeners were scholars. In the latter part of 1902, for example, the following papers were given: A.N. Bekstrem 'O Sekstii Nigre', A.F. Enman, 'O prirodnom znachenii Dioskurov', F.F. Zelinsky, 'O pervonachal'noi rimskoi religii', I.F. Annensky, 'Ratsionalizm Evripida'; G.G. Zorgenfrei, 'Real'noe i gumanitarnoe obrazovanie', B.V Farmakovsky, 'O ritsunakh na drevnikh grecheskikh vazakh, kak istochnik dlya istorii iskusstva', B.V. Latyshev, 'O raskopkakh v Khersonese Tavricheskom'.¹

1. 'Obshchestvo klass. fil. i pedagogiki za vtoruyu polovinu 1902 g.', 74-6

The efforts of the Klassicheskoe obshchestvo were only partly successful. It was intended originally that sister societies should be founded all over the Russian Empire, but these ambitious proposals came to nothing, and the only society which survived outside St Petersburg was the one in Kiev.¹ According to the records of the St Petersburg society, it met only four or five times a year after 1904 (though more often before that). The membership was small. In 1908, for example, the report states that, apart from the committee, there were 'ne menee desyati chelovek na kazhdom sobranii', which does not suggest that its activities were very well known and appreciated.² The number of members was less than the number of members of other learned societies of the period: the Moskovskoe arkheologicheskoe obshchestvo had 300 members in 1890, the massive Russkoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo over 900 members in 1895.³ The Klassicheskoe obshchestvo had some distinguished members, but it was never a populous society.

The second outlet for the popularising activities of Russian classical philologists was the specialist journals. These included the journals of various academic institutions, such as the Uchenye zapiski published by the arts faculties of the universities and the Istoriko-filologicheskie

1. Ents. slovar', Rossiya, 815. Malein mentions here that there were other classical societies in Moscow, but there appear to be no published records of these.

2. 'Obshchestvo klass. fil. i pedagogiki v 1908 godu', 16

3. Leipkina-Svirskaya, Intelligentsiya v Rossii, 204, 200

instituty. Space was also given in these to articles on Slavonic philology and Russian history. The Voronezh-based Filologicheskie zapiski published some articles on classical philology, but its speciality was Slavonic philology.

From 1870 until 1890, the only journal space given over entirely to classical philology was the Klassicheskii otdel of the Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya. After 1890, there were several attempts to found a specialist journal for classical philology, with the particular aim of furthering classical education and popularising the classics. The first such, Filologicheskoe obozrenie, was founded in 1891. It was a large-format, ambitious publication, which combined a section of articles with a substantial review section. But, like the Klassicheskoe obshchestvo, it rapidly ran into difficulties. The circulation was minute: there were 322 subscribers in 1893, and 304 in 1899.¹ Since the contributors were not paid, they had to be sent free copies of the journal, which meant that the list of real subscribers was even shorter. When the journal first appeared, one of its reviewers, D. Belyaev, had predicted financial disaster:

Писатель такого издания, самое большое, может рассчитывать на оплату своих издержек по печатанию и вознаграждению своих сотрудников хотя-бы небольшим количеством отдельных оттисков или самым скромным гонораром. На первое время можно даже, наверное, рассчитывать на убыток и₂ ожидать, что не покроятся даже расходы по изданию.

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1. 'Otchet po izdaniyu FO v 1893 g.'; 'Otchet po izdaniyu FO v 1899 g.'
 2. Belyaev, 'Filologicheskoe obozrenie. Tom 1', 172

His fears were not long in being realised. In 1893 the journal had a running deficit of over a thousand roubles, and things had got worse by 1899. It folded in 1902.¹

A second journal, Germes, founded by the Obshchestvo klassicheskoi filologii, was small format and less ambitious. It lasted rather longer: from 1907 until 1919. No figures were published for its circulation. Gimnaziya, which was published in Revel' in the 1890s, was a journal with, as its title suggests, more explicitly pedagogical concerns.

The classical periodicals were insignificant in terms of the general reading public, but were extremely important within the discipline, since they were the only means of publishing large numbers of articles on classical literature and literary translations. The publication of books on classical philology was beset by problems. The general state of Russian publishing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was marginal; books were published in very small runs, and bookshops were scarce.² The situation was worse for classicists. Naguevsky bitterly described the situation in 1884:

Не смотря на установившее у нас классическое образование, до сих пор нет ни одной книжной фирмы в роде немецких Тейбнера или Вейдманна и парижских -- Дидье и Гарнье, специально занимающихся изданием филологических трудов.³

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1. The circulation of the journal is minute compared not only with the giants of the popular press -- Niva, running at over 78,000 in 1884 (Bibliograf, 1885, 11) -- but also with the literary periodicals; even Vesy had over 1,000 subscribers in 1909 (Binyon, 112)
 2. K.T. 'Etyudy o russkoi chitayushchei publike'
 3. Naguevsky, 'O populyarizatsii svedenii', 67

This had not much altered by the turn of the century. The main market was for translations, and even these tended to have small tirazhi and high prices. When the first volume of Annensky's Teatr Evripida came out in 1906, the print run was small, and it sold badly. A reviewer commented acidly that the price was too high: 'Nasha publika eshche ne nastol'ko lyubit antichnuyu poeziyu, chtoby tratit' na nee desyatki rublei'.¹

The efforts of classical scholars in Russia were never sufficient to give the country the classical tradition it lacked. The uneasy position of classical scholarship, the problems encountered by classical scholars, and their struggle to popularise the subject, had very marked effects on classicism in literature at the end of the nineteenth century.

3. CLASSICISM IN LITERATURE

Classicism in Russian secular literature began to flourish shortly after the development of classical scholarship. The first period of Russian classicism began in about 1720 and lasted until about 1760, when it was replaced by the new literary movement of Sentimentalism. Literary classicism at this time was coloured by the restrictions and inadequacies of contemporary classical education and scholarship. Few of the Russian classicists had been taught Latin, still

1. Varneke, 'Teatr Evripida', 11

fewer Greek. Their original works and even their translations were based on French translations from Greek and Latin, or occasionally on Russian prose cribs (podstrochniki). The major original translators of the period were Lomonosov, Kantemir and Trediakovsky. The extensive use of French translations and commentaries had marked effects on the literary tastes of the period, as Mara Kažoknieks pointed out:

Die starke Bevorzugung der lateinischen Literatur ist nicht allein auf die weiter verbreiteten Sprachkenntnisse auf diesem Gebiet zurückzuführen, sondern war ebenso ein Zeichen der Sympathie gegenüber Frankreich, wie später nach dem Napoleonischen Krieg das stark zunehmende Interesse für die Griechen eine Folge der Annäherung an Deutschland.¹

The writers of the first period of Russian classicism modelled themselves on French versions of a restricted range of authors; or, more indirectly still, on the works of French neo-classicists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the German neo-classicists of the early eighteenth century. There was a narrow range of acceptable conventions: the five-act neo-classical tragedy (with subjects from Old Russian or Biblical history, not classical antiquity), the ode, the elegy, the fable.

At the turn of the century, anti-French feeling and more thorough classical education led to changes in literary classicism. There was an upsurge of interest in Greek. The dramas of Ozerov, Gruzintsev and, at a slightly later date, Katenin, are based on subjects taken from classical

1. Kažoknieks, Studien zu Rezeption der Antike, 52

Greek tradition.¹ But by then neo-classical drama was no longer part of the literary mainstream. Classical influence was strongest in poetry, particularly lyric poetry. There were numerous translations of and commentaries on Homer, but his influence on literature was not as marked as that of the Greek lyric poets, especially Anacreon and Sappho. Most of the major poets of the period wrote 'Imitations' in the style of these poets.² The Latin lyricists, above all Horace, were also the subject of podrazhaniya.³ Mythological references also abound in the lyric poetry of the period. The neo-classical tradition in poetry continued spasmodically later in the century, in the early poems of Fet, Mei and Apollon Maikov.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian classicism was submerged by the realist tradition; the important writers of the period were not interested in lyric poetry and tragic drama, the two central genres of the Russian neo-classical tradition. Egunov has described how this development affected Homer, whose enormous popularity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries rapidly evaporated in the 1860s:

С середины XIX века мощное развитие русского романа, этой национальной формы русского эпического жанра, на время устраняет надобность в переводном эпосе. Хронология это подтверждает: переводы из Гомера подводят нас, в круглых цифрах, к 1850 году, затем

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1. Ozerov, Edip v Afinakh. Tragediya (1805); Poliksena (1809); Gruzintsev, Elektra i Orest (1809), Edip-tsar' (1811); Katenin, Andromakha (1828). See also Chapter 4 of this study.
 2. For example, Pushkin's 'Podrazhanie Akteonu', Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v 10 tomakh, 3, 62
 3. Busch, Horaz in Rußland, 17-18

исчезают: вновь появляются они в 90-е годы, когда эпоха русских романов уже миновала, иначе говоря, одно как бы исключает другое.¹

As those affected by the expansion of classical education grew to maturity, there was a revival of interest in neo-classicism. There were now writers and readers who were familiar with classical literature. But compulsory classical education also profoundly altered the character of literary classicism.

The late nineteenth century revival of interest in classicism was centred on the Symbolist movement. Not all the Symbolists were interested in the classics. Classicism is of little significance in Blok's work, and Bely's attitude to it was positively hostile.² It was more influential in Petersburg than in Moscow, a state of affairs which was dictated by historical tradition. The St Petersburg Symbolist journal Apollon is overtly classical; Vesy, a Moscow publication, is not. The classicist trend lasted a fairly short time: it gained in strength and importance after 1900, and declined with the onset of Scythian paranoia and extreme nationalist feeling around 1910. Classicism did not unite Symbolism, but it was one of the most important cultural influences on a movement characterised by eclecticism and fragmentation.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the political position of literary classicism had not been controversial. Both reactionaries and radicals had turned

1. Egunov, Gomer v russkikh perevodakh, 403

2. Dukor, 'Problemy dramaturgii simvolizma', 140 [on Bely] On Blok see Magomedova, 'Blok i antichnost''

to the classical world and classical texts, each group appropriating tradition in its own way. Neo-classical tragedies were written both by those who supported autocracy (such as Derzhavin), and those who opposed it (such as Katenin). Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov all knew classical literature well, and all wrote articles on it.¹ After 1871, classical education was irrevocably linked with political repression; classical texts, and any interest in the classical world, likewise came to be associated with reactionary views. Literature was polarised: it was difficult for radicals or liberals to be amateurs of Greek and Latin literature, and a declaration of sympathy for the classical world was tantamount to a provocative display of unprogressive or at best apolitical feelings:

Начинается постепенное разобшение передовой общественной мысли с „античностью“, обращение к которой как бы противопоставляется живой жизни, особенно после введения в средней школе „классицизма“ -- обязательного изучения древних языков как средства борьбы с „нигилизмом“ и революцией. Реакционные меры правительства водят к тому, что интерес к античности коснеет,² становится достоянием узкого круга специалистов.

At the same time, the development of classical philology as a discipline, and the wealth of new translations and commentaries, meant that literary classicism was now much broader-based. The stock-in-trade of neo-classical literature -- nymphs, fauns and grottos -- was augmented. Traditional subjects were either discarded in favour of new, esoteric, 'authentic', material, or were presented in a new, pseudo-scholarly way.

1. Bilets'ky, 'Russkaya lit. i antichnost'', 62-3

2. Ibid., 63

These two elements -- academicism and an anti-liberal or even reactionary stance -- are central to the Russian Symbolists' version of classicism, a fact that has been tacitly recognised by a number of critics, but which has not been explored in detail. The reactionary aspects of Symbolist classicism mean that Soviet scholars have rarely examined the subject; where they have studied it, they have either attacked the Symbolists' mistaken views, or played down the importance of classicism in the movement.¹ Western scholars, who on the whole avoid discussing the ideology of classical literature itself, have naturally been uneasy about discussing the political implications of neo-classicism.²

The academicism of the Symbolists has been discussed more often, but has rarely been accurately evaluated. Numerous critics have treated their scholarly or pseudo-scholarly activities with considerable reverence. Vsevolod Setchkarev, for example, warns critics off attempting to write on the Symbolists' neo-classical works:

Eine umfassende Arbeit über das Verhältnis der Symbolisten zur Antike würde [...] eine eingehende Kenntnis des antiken Schrifttums voraussetzen, wie sie die Symbolisten selbst besessen haben. [...]

Der Zauber, den die Antike für den russischen Symbolismus vor allem besaß, bewirkte eine zuweilen erstaunliche Sachkenntnis.³

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1. An example of the former approach is Dukor's essay; of the latter, all Fedorov's writings on Annensky.
 2. Setchkarev, 'Laodamia in Polen und RuBland', which takes issue with Dukor, is typical.
 3. Setchkarev, 'Laodamia in Polen und RuBland', 3, 32

A.A. Galustov, in an article about Bryusov's knowledge of ancient history, repeatedly praised the thoroughness of the poet's research, and the quality of his scholarship:

Задание настоящей работы -- освещение научной деятельности Брюсова-историка, отдавшего многие годы своей научно-исследовательской работы глубокому изучению истории древнего мира, некоторых вопросов Средневековья и истории Нового времени. [...] Труды историков и археологов, философов и писателей, письменные и вещественные памятники старины, мифы, легенды, предания, -- все изучал он пытливым умом, отбирая интереснейший материал для убедительного доказательства своих суждений и гипотез.¹

Most of the Symbolists were born after 1870; and most had a classical education, unlike earlier generations of writers. Blok, Bely, Bal'mont, Annensky, Gumilev, Kuzmin, Minsky, Bryusov were all products of the post-Tolstoyan gimnazii. This did not in itself ensure a high level of mastery in the classical languages; the loathing inspired in many Russians by the gimnazii was felt with especial sharpness by Symbolists like Blok and Bal'mont, who were neurotically sensitive.² But many of them also had university education in the classics: Bryusov, Blok, Annensky and Vyacheslav Ivanov, for example. (Vyacheslav Ivanov studied for a higher degree in Leipzig under Mommsen). Some, such as Merezhkovsky, Ivanov, Bryusov and Annensky read widely in the classical languages, and produced translations of Greek and Latin texts.³

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1. Galustov, 'V.Ya. Bryusov i nekotorye voprosy ant. mira', 246, 249
 2. 'Gimnaziya ya proklinayu vseimi silami,' Bal'mont wrote in his autobiography (Stikhotvoreniya, 17). Blok's memories of his gimnaziya were no more affectionate (Pyman, The Life of Aleksandr Blok, 1, 33)
 3. On Symbolist translations, see Chapter 3 of the present study.

Symbolists also wrote essays on classical literature and ancient history.¹ The Symbolists' original literary works make much use of classical sources, and the myths to which and authors to whom they refer are often esoteric. There were few Symbolists whose knowledge of classical literature was entirely based on translations and on secondary sources; an exception was Sologub, whose neo-classical works seem to have been based on works by other Symbolists.²

It is important, however, not to accept the Symbolists' use of esoteric sources, the academicism of their poetry, and their acquaintance with the classical-philological tradition, as evidence that they were outstanding scholars. The devices of classical literary scholarship were used by them to legitimise philosophies and ideas which were idiosyncratic and eccentric. Galustov's case for Bryusov's abilities as a scholar is undermined by the fact that his article is largely devoted to an unpublished essay by Bryusov on the mythical island of Atlantis. It emerges quite clearly from Galustov's account that Bryusov made a relatively intensive survey of the evidence for the historical existence of Atlantis, but that his description of Atlantidean culture was used to support a speculative and typically Symbolist theory that all ancient cultures had a common origin:

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1. Besides his popular articles on the classical world (see, for example, Po zvezdam) Ivanov wrote a dissertation on the Roman fiscal system; Rozanov wrote several articles on the classical world for Mir iskusstva; on Bryusov see Galustov.
 2. On Sologub's Dar mudrykh pchel, see Setchkarev, 'Laodamia' and Chapter 4 of the present study.

Аналогию египетских пирамид он видел в купольных гробницах Эгейи и пирамидах майев (Центральная Америка). Такие же аналогии он находил и в области религиозной мысли и в быту, и в системе наук, и в приемах художеств и т.д. Все это навело Брюсова на мысль о существовании "пракультуры".¹

The journals published by the Symbolists, such as Mir iskusstva, Novyi put', Vesy and Apollon, often carried not only articles contributed by prominent Symbolists on the classical world, but also reviews of books by classical philologists and even of performances of Greek tragedies in translation.² The scholarly classical-philological journals, on the other hand, rarely published articles or translations by Symbolists. The Symbolists' translations from classical languages were received with almost universal hostility, and essays by them on classical literature were scarcely noticed in the classical-philological journals.³ The Symbolists' appropriation of scholarly methodology and scholarly discoveries was a one-way process; it was not accompanied by appropriation of the precepts of modernist literary criticism by scholars.⁴

The Symbolists' neo-classicism can be characterised in general terms as pseudo-academic and anti-realist. It was an attempt to escape to a private world of subjective fantasy, but at the same time to give this objective coherence by using the apparatus of contemporary classical

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1. Galustov, 'V.Ya Bryusov i nekotorye voprosy ant. mira', 249
 2. For example, the reviews of Zelinsky's Drevnii mir i my by Peremilovsky and Smirnov; of Bronzov on Euripides by Bartenev; and of performances of classical tragedy by Filosofov and Urusov.
 3. An exception was the publication of Ivanov's translation of Pindar, 'Pervaya pifiiskaya oda', in ZMNP
 4. The only Russian scholar who took any interest in modernism was Zelinsky, who attended Ivanov's literary salons at the bashnya and was acquainted with many of the Symbolists

scholarship, or at least indicating familiarity with its principles. There were, however, many variations in detail of this general plan, which will be briefly outlined here.

One main direction in Symbolist classicism was nostalgia for Russian classicism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century: the architecture of Petersburg and its environs, and the painting of artists like Levitsky, Borikovsky, Andrei Ivanov, Orest Kiprensky, Bryullov and Bruni. This tendency is evident in the work of members of the Mir iskusstva group, such as Benois, Somov and to a lesser degree Bakst. It greatly endeared itself to the rich art patrons and sponsors of the period, such as Polyakov (publisher of Vesy) and Ryabushinsky (publisher of Zolotoe runo). They came from families whose fortunes had been made in industry, and the idealised aristocratic past portrayed in paintings like Benois' Versailles series gave them the landed ancestry they craved.¹

The Mir iskusstva group was dominated by painters and applied artists, and their journal gave more space to illustrations and to articles on art than to literature and literary criticism. There was, however, also a pronounced 'rococo' strain in Symbolist poetry, especially in Kuzmin's Aleksandrinskie pesni and his play Kuryanty lyubvi, and in some of Akhmatova's early poems.² The Symbolist littérateurs had little nostalgia for Russian neo-classical literature; even in the poetry of the period Russian classicism is represented by sculpture, architecture and painting.

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1. On the rococo as an escape from industrialisation, see Gusarova, Mir iskusstva, 24
 2. As, for example in 'Alisa' and 'Maskerad v parke' from 'Vecher' (Stikhotvoreniya i poemy 41-2)

Another, and more important, form of classicism found in Symbolist literature was inspired directly by the art and literature of classical Greece, rather than by eighteenth-century interpretations of them; and in particular, by Attic tragedy and the dithyramb, which were held to have mystical-religious significance, and to originate from the cultic rites of Dionysus. This kind of classicism was directly inspired by Nietzsche, above all by his early essay Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik. The leading exponent of Nietzschean, Dionysiac classicism was Vyacheslav Ivanov, in whom allegiance to Dionysus was mingled with mystical Christianity.¹ It was, however, a central interest of the entire Symbolist movement, and most of the major writers voiced opinions on Dionysiac classicism; some, for example Merezhkovsky and Voloshin, aligning themselves with Ivanov, others, in particular Bely, attacking his position. The Dionysiac interpretation of classicism, with its emphasis on transcendent states, was associated with another, less exalted, literary phenomenon; the use of classical themes to accommodate and make respectable sensational, even pornographic, literary material.²

The Nietzschean cult of the Dionysiac was one way in which the Symbolists subverted the neo-classical tradition. Another was their refusal to recognise

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1. In 'Nietzsche i Dionis' (Po zvezdam 1-21) Ivanov criticises Nietzsche's failure to stress the resemblance between Dionysiac cult and Christianity.
 2. As, for example, in Kuzmin's story Kryl'ya.

classical art as the consummation of all human creative endeavour. The Symbolists had been made aware, partly by their interest in academic classical philology, that the Greek and Roman civilisations had not been the first, or the only, civilisations in the Ancient World. They had themselves been preceded by other cultures with high levels of artistic achievement. They felt that these cultures had been primitive, but that this primitivism was exciting:

Будущая живопись хочет видеть художника, сошедшего с надоевшего конька *épatement du bourgeois*, снобизма! Пусть художник будет дерзок, несложен, груб, примитивен. Будущая живопись зовет к лапидарному стилю, потому что новое искусство не выносит утонченного -- оно престилось им.

Элементы недавней живописи -- воздух, солнце, зелень: элементы будущей -- человек и камень.

Будущая живопись сползет в низины грубости -- от живописи теперешней, культурной, отымающей свободную волю исканий -- в мало исследованные области лапидарного стиля.

Будущая живопись начнет с ненависти к старой, чтобы вырастать из себя другое поколение художников, в любви к открывшемуся новому пути, который нам полужнаком, страшен и органически враждебен.

И предшествующий глаз скользит по полированным формам Праксителя Гермеса, невольно останавливается на детском рисунке: он точно чувствует, что свет прольется через ребяческий лепет нарождающегося нового классического искусства.¹

Bakst, the author of this passage, took considerable interest in non-Hellenic and pre-Hellenic cultures in his own work. In his painting 'Gibel' Atlantidy', for example, the immense figure of a stone Minoan goddess is shown rising up in front of the ruins of Atlantis.² The philosopher Rozanov was also interested in the predecessors of the Greeks and Romans.

1. Bakst, 'Puti klassitsizma v iskusstve', 61

2. See reproduction in Gusarova, Mir iskusstva, 48

in particular the ancient Egyptians.¹

The Symbolists' eclectic tastes led to a great breadth of reference in their writings. Elements from many different historical and geographical origins are combined: Russian folk art, nineteenth century high culture, Sanskrit and Persian literature and art, classical Greek and Latin literature and art, Latin American art, St Petersburg street songs, modern vaudeville, street theatre and café literature. These elements are found together not only in the movement as a whole, not only in the oeuvre of individual authors, but in single works. Symbolist authors deliberately attempted to achieve ahistorical, disconcerting and disruptive effects in their use of literary material. At the same time, their adoption of 'vulgar' 'primitive' and 'unsuitable' material lent weight to their view that even ugliness and obscenity could be transformed by art.

The Symbolists accorded an equal status to all types of literature, and this led them to take a particular interest in mythology. Greek and Roman mythology were no longer seen as the province of traditional, 'anthology', poetry, a collection of charming and unchanging poetic subjects. They were now linked with mythologies of different origin, and regarded as the expression of the collective subconscious, of fundamental beliefs about nature and psychology. They were a form of literary activity which had indirect and elusive links with reality. Symbolist writers drew on Greek and Roman myths and legends

1. See Rozanov's articles 'Chto skazal Tezeyu Edip?' and 'Afrodita-Diana'

for their poetry; they combined them with myths from other cultures, and practised mifotvorchestvo, or the composition of texts in the manner of myth.

'Classicism' for the Symbolists was no longer a well-defined and undisputed term. It signified an attempt to reproduce the literature and mythology of the classical world, particularly classical Greece, with academic accuracy. But the reproduction of this world was surrounded by many layers of cultural reference, and was often so idiosyncratic it was quite unlike the original. The 'new classicism' of which Bakst wrote had little to do with the actual works of art produced in Attic Greece or in Rome, and was inspired by the imagined ideals which were their source:

Ведь для греков герои, боги, богини, простые смертные
 -- лишь предлог для воспевания обнаженного тела...
 Будущая живопись повернет туда же!
 Конечно, наряд ли на холстах и стенах вновь появятся
 Аполлоны, Афродиты и Паны.
 Ведь Миллэ воспевал, через призму Вергилия, прекрасный
 силуэт французского крестьянина и, в сущности,
 был не так далек от пути будущей живописи.
 Нет основания предполагать, что исключительно
 эллинические сюжеты явятся необходимостью, только
 потому, что идеал будущей живописи совпадут с
 идеалами античных поэтов.¹

1. Bakst, 'Puti klassitsizma v iskusstve', 61.
 Another important element in Symbolist classicism, which could not be discussed in full here, is the influence of Platonic philosophy, especially through the prism of V. Solov'ev's writings. This influence was particularly important in the early poetry of Blok. (See Magomedova, 'Blok i antichnost')

4. ANNENSKY'S CLASSICAL BACKGROUND

There is no shortage of memoirs of all lengths about Annensky. The longest is by his son, Valentin Krivich (first part published 1925, continuation published 1983). Sergei Makovsky's two collections of memoirs contain useful information, though they are not always accurate; there is a substantial article by the historian Mitrofanov, and a number of obituaries by colleagues, such as Zelinsky and Varneke. Articles in encyclopedias published in the early years of this century are an invaluable source for the biographer: the second edition of the Brokgauz-Efron encyclopedia contains a substantial and informative article on Annensky by Zelinsky.¹ In 1983 a publication by the Soviet scholars Roman Timenchik and Aleksandr Lavrov made available numerous interesting recollections of Annensky by relatives, friends and colleagues. The fullest and most important of these is the second part of Krivich's memoir; but there are also sketches by Tatiana Bogdanovich, Voloshin, Erberg, and Boris Varneke.² Lavrov and Timenchik's publication is edited to an exemplary standard; there are many pages of useful biographical notes. A useful summary of the most important biographical facts about Annensky to emerge from the archival publication can be found in Fedorov's recent study.³

1. See Novyi ents. slovar': Annensky, Inn. Fed.

2. Lavrov and Timenchik, 'IA v neizdannnykh vospominaniyakh'

3. Fedorov, Innokenty Annensky, chapter 1

Despite the wealth of information, some basic facts about Annensky's life remain unclear. Until recently, the year of his birth was in question (was it 1855 or 1856?). The editors of Knigi otrazhenii provided conclusive proof that he was in fact born in 1855 (KO 670). Family history, however, held otherwise. Krivich asserts that the earlier date, given on Annensky's official documents, is incorrect.¹ Printed sources which pre-date Annensky's death (and could therefore have been corrected by him) sometimes give his date of birth as 1855, sometimes as 1856.² Other important facts still remain unknown or unresolved: the biographies of some of his siblings are obscure: his elder brother Nikolai, born in 1843, was a well-known journalist and political activist, and his life is well-documented, as is that of his wife, nee Aleksandra Nikitichna Tkacheva, sister of P.N. Tkachev. The dates of birth of Annensky's sisters are, however, unknown, and details of their lives are scanty. Fedorov states that there were four Annensky daughters. Two girls were born in 1840 and 1842; he gives no details of their biographies, not even their names.³ No records are available anywhere else; it is possible that they died

1. Krivich, 'IA po semeinym vospominaniyam', 216

2. The autobiographical memoir published in Vengerov, Kritiko-biog. slovar', 6, gives A's date of birth as 1856, which suggests that he, at least, believed he had been born then.

3. Fedorov, Innokenty Annensky, 5

in infancy. In the 1850s, two more daughters were born; Fedorov does not give their names.¹ But I have been able to establish that one was Lyubov' Fedorovna, who married the famous French ethnologist Joseph Deniker (1852-1918), and lived in Paris from 1877. The second, Mariya Fedorovna, had the married name of Strakhova, and it is possible that her husband was the well-known theologian and philosopher Nikolai Nikolaevich Strakhov (born 1852), who was professor at the Khar'kov dukhovnaya akademiya.²

This section is not concerned with Annensky's biography in a general sense, with the (admittedly fascinating) issues of his relationship with his wife and his female friends. For a general biography, the reader is directed to Fedorov's essays on Annensky, and above all to his recent book. I intend to concentrate on Annensky's education, his teaching, and his activities in the field of classicism. I shall not deal with the administrative and bureaucratic aspects of his career as a headmaster, since an interesting, if tendentious, account of his problems with the highest levels of the Tsarist educational hierarchy can be found in Fedorov's book. But there are difficulties even with the restricted task I have set myself. Annensky's sluzhebnyaya kar'era is fairly well documented in the memoirs of his contemporaries, and in the records of institutions with

1. Fedorov, Innokenty Annensky, 6

2. This information is based on the recollections of S.A. Bogdanovich, in whose personal archive I saw unpublished photographs of M.F. Annenskaya-Strakhova and Valentin Krivich, his first wife Natasha von Stein and second wife Lena, and other members of the Annensky family circle.

which he was associated (such as the yearly reports of the Obschestvo klassicheskoi filologii). But a recital of what his acquaintance Mitrofanov described as 'posluzhnoi spisok chinovnika, i pritom chinovnika ne iz samykh vidnykh, ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya',¹ would make pretty dull reading. Unfortunately, the main memoir of Annensky as scholar and teacher (by Varneke) is bilious and biased ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ tone; the accusations made by Varneke that Annensky kowtowed to the authorities are also ironic in view of the fact that Varneke himself was shot in 1944 for collaborating with the Germans.²

The details of Annensky's literary career, which are intrinsically more interesting, are also more elusive. The first part of his son's memoir covers the 1880s and 1890s in great detail, but at this stage Annensky's only literary acquaintances were minor figures like the poet 'Vii'.³ The recollections of his writer friends, such as Sergei Makovsky, Voloshin and Adamovich, are sketchy, since most of them knew him only at the end of his life. Some of them are also inaccurate; some, such as Georgy Ivanov's Peterburgskie zimy, are almost certainly invented; almost all are self-consciously 'literary' in a way depressingly familiar to students of the Symbolist period.

It is difficult to give any coherent account of Annensky's adult life because of what he himself termed

1. Mitrofanov, 'IA', 282

2. Lavrov and Timenchik, 'IA v neizdannyykh vospominaniyakh', 71-6

3. Krivich, 'IA po semeinym vospominaniyam', 226. The second part of Krivich's memoirs is much less detailed and is confusingly presented; the recollections of A's meetings with the Symbolists are inferior to Makovsky's.

'sklonnost' razbrasyvat'sya v zadaniyakh', his variety of different and even disparate interests.¹ Throughout his life, though, his interest in the classics and in classical education was a central and to some extent a unifying force.

By far the most important source of information about Annensky's schooldays is his own memoir, 'Moe zhizneopisanie', first published by Fedorov in 1984. Between the ages of ten and seventeen Annensky followed the standard gimnaziya course at a private school (perhaps run by his sister-in-law), later at the Vtoraya Progimnaziya and at the private Gimnaziya V.I. Berensa. In 1868 his studies were interrupted for over a year by ill-health. At this stage Annensky's classical studies were not very distinguished. Russian and geography were his favourite subjects; he appears to have had no special interest in Latin. Whilst at school he had little chance to learn Greek ('K sozhaleniyu, ya tol'ko god s nebol'shim zanimal'sya grecheskim yazykom, obuchenie kotorym ne bylo obyazatel'nyim'). Whilst studying on his own for the attestat zrelosti, he found Greek particularly problematic ('glavnoe zatrudnenie dlya menya sostavlyali zanyatiya grecheskim yazykom').²

Annensky's cousin, Aleksandra, had a qualification as a private tutor (diplom domashnei uchitel'nitsy), and his brother Nikolai had two degrees: a degree in law

1. Vengerov, Kritiko-biog. slovar' 6, 342

2. Fedorov, Innokenty Annensky, 8-9

from Kiev, and the degree of kandidat istoriko-filologicheskikh nauk granted to him at the St Petersburg university in 1873. They were therefore well able to give Innokenty Fedorovich ^{an education} equivalent to or better than that of the klassicheskaya gimnaziya. In 1874 Annensky failed his first attempt at the university matriculation examination as an external candidate, but in 1875 he passed it, and entered the Istoriko-filologicheskii fakul'tet. He left the university in 1879 with the degree of kandidat (then the normal first degree).

As has been noted earlier in this chapter, the fact that Annensky studied on the Istoriko-filologicheskii fakul'tet does not mean that classical philology was the sole, or even the main subject of his course. But it has been asserted, notably by Fedorov, that Annensky was attached to the klassicheskoe otdelenie in the latter part of his university career: 'Svoei spetsial'nost'yu on izbral klassicheskuyu filologiyu'.¹ This appears not to have been the case. In his autobiographical sketch for Vengerov's dictionary, Annensky describes himself as having studied under I.P. Minaev, an extremely distinguished scholar of Sanskrit and Buddhism. His specialities are given as Sanskrit and comparative philology; his gold medal essay was on the South Russian dialect.² Annensky also studied

1. Fedorov in Lirika, 4; Innokenty Annensky, 12

2. Vengerov, Kritiko-biog. slovar' 6, 341-2

under the noted professor of Slavonic philology V. Lamansky, and his first published article was a contribution to Commentationes Philologicae, a Festschrift for Lamansky.¹

At university, Annensky overcame the difficulties of his early years, and his academic performance was impressive. He completed the course in four years, which was unusual at Tsarist universities, where the 'perpetual student' was the norm. His achievements were sufficient to qualify him for an academic career; however, his material circumstances were not. His father, who had been an important civil servant in Siberia, suffered setbacks in his career when the family returned to St Petersburg, and finally disaster occurred when he had a stroke and was unable to work.² Innokenty Fedorovich acquired his own financial responsibilities even before he graduated. In 1877, when working as a tutor on an estate in the Smolenskaya guberniya, he became attached to his employer, a widow fifteen years older than himself, with two sons by a previous marriage, Nadezhda ('Dina') Khmara-Barshchevskaya. They married on September 23, 1879, and eight months later, on June 20, 1880, their only son Valentin was born.³

1. 'Iz nablyudenii nad yazykom i poeziei russkogo severa'

2. Fedorov, Innokenty Annensky, 6

3. Ibid., 13-14. The names of Annensky's stepsons were Platon and Immanuel.

Annensky's three, rapidly four, dependants left him no choice of career; he quickly found employment as a teacher of classics at the school run by Ya. Gurevich, a distinguished teacher and the editor of Russkaya shkola, father of the writer Lyubov' Gurevich. He also taught Russian at the private Pavlovsk institute for young ladies. His selection of the classics as a main subject may well have been a move to ensure promotion: directors and inspectors of gimnazii were usually teachers of classical languages.¹

In 1891 Annensky was appointed to the directorship of a private gimnaziya in Kiev, the Kollegiya Pavla Galagana (KO 671). He was later to be director of the Vos'maya gimnaziya in St Petersburg (1893-6) and at the Nikolaevskaya gimnaziya in Tsarskoe Selo (1896-1906).² In 1906, however, he was transferred from his post by the authorities because he had written in defence of some of his pupils who had taken part in the riots of 1905.³ He then occupied the post of inspector of the St Petersburg uchebnyi okrug, which he resigned shortly before his death. One of the main duties of his post was to act as chief examiner in the attestat zrelosti. An interesting insight into Annensky's standing as a classical scholar is given

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1. Leipkina-Svirskaya, Intelligentsiya v Rossii, 153
 2. The Tsarskoe Selo gimnaziya is not to be confused with the famous litsei at which Pushkin was educated, which had moved to Petersburg in the 1840s, and with which A. was quite unconnected, pace Hayward and Clarence Brown.
 3. Novyi ents. slovar', Annensky, Inn. Fed.

by Varneke's allegation that he was rejected for the post of head of the Istoriko-filologicheskii institut in St Petersburg in 1906.¹

From 1898 Annensky also worked for the Ministerstvo narodnogo prosveshcheniya as a member of its Uchenyi komitet, or Advisory Committee, which discussed teaching methods and materials used in Russian schools. Members were also required to review school books ex officio in the Ministry's Journal.²

It appears that Annensky's character as an administrator did not suit the oppressively bureaucratic character of the Russian gimnaziya. His colleagues, such as Mitrofanov, have left recollections of his time as a director in which respect and affection are tempered with irritation:

До сих пор я вспоминаю об этих годах, как о лучшем времени в моей жизни. В критике на порядки, заведенные в гимназии, конечно, не было недостатка, как это всегда бывает при всяком явлении, выходящем из обычной нормы; и, правда, следить за ремонтом гимназической прачешной, разбираться в сортах говядины, подававшейся к пансионскому столу, сажать в карцер учеников за преждевременное курение ими папирос И.Ф. был не мастер, да и не охотник при всей своей добросовестности к службе.³

As Annensky's career progressed, he became increasingly disillusioned, and began to believe that the only value of his job was that it offered him a means of propagating interest in classical literature. In the

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1. Lavrov and Timenchik, 'IA po neizdannym vospominaniyam', 76
 2. Ents. slovar', Ministerstvo nar. prosveshcheniya.
 3. Mitrofanov, 'IA', 283

first of his 'Pedagogicheskie pis'ma', published in 1892, he had been contemptuous and dismissive of contemporary attacks on classical education:

Развитой ум и тонкий вкус не котируются на рынке, где царит этот промышленник, бог с ним! [....] Нормальное общее образование преследует одну цель -- развитие ума, т-е. логического мышления и фантазии.¹

Seven years later, a letter to his friend Anna Borodina shows a new defensive and desperate attitude:

Вы спросите меня: „Зачем Вы не уйдете?“ О, сколько я думал об этом... Сколько я об этом мечтал... Может быть, это было бы и не так трудно... Но знаете, как Вы думаете серьезно? Имеет ли нравственное право убежденный защитник классицизма бросить его знамя в такой момент, когда он со всех сторон окружено злыми неприятелями? Бежать не будет стыдно? (КО 448)

Annensky's time as an inspector, which he hated, was relieved by his activities as a lecturer on the Raev courses of higher education for women, where he specialised in classical literature.²

His commitment to teaching was backed up by considerable pedagogical talent. His methods were very different from the mechanical rehearsal of grammatical formulae which constituted 'classical education' in official terms even after 1890. He was one of the first classicists in Russia to introduce stagings of drama at the gimnazii. In 1893, the Vos'maya gimnaziya in St Petersburg staged a performance of Euripides' Rhesus in his translation and directed by him. As

1. 'Pedagogicheskie pis'ma. Pis'mo vtoroe', 46-7

2. Mitrofanov, 'IA', 282

Krivich points out, this staging awakened more love of classical literature in the pupils than many hours of parsing Greek sentences.¹ Annensky himself felt it had been a great success.²

Annensky's teaching abilities were recognised and praised by many of his colleagues. Zelinsky has left a description of his eccentric and dramatic lecturing style:

Составив заранее тщательный план своего курса и, в частности, предстоящих лекций, он, однако, ничего писанного с собой на кафедру не брал. [...] Художник „медлительной речи“ сказался и здесь. Слушательницам памятли были те моменты, когда красноречивый только что лектор внезапно умолкал; наступала пауза, иногда довольно длинная. Это значило, что лектор набрел на мысль, которой он особенно дорожил. Ее он не хотел выразить первыми встречными словами: он надумывал обороты, подбирали термины, старался найти требуемую формулировку.³

Annensky's talent for impressing his listeners appears also to have been used in his duties as school inspector. Mitrofanov's statement that the schools under Annensky's authority positively delighted in his visits may be taken with a pinch of salt.⁴ But a first-hand account of a meeting with him as examiner illustrates that he made a lasting impression on one

1. Krivich, 'IA po semeinym vospominaniyam', 253. Rhesus was staged again in 1910 by the Pervaya gimnaziya in St Petersburg (see Germes 1910, 5, 151-2)

2. 'Res na gimnazicheskoi tsene', 369

3. Zelinsky, 'IFA kak filolog-klassik', 3; see also Mitrofanov, 'IA', 283

4. Mitrofanov, 'IA', 283

gimnazist. The artist Yury Annenkov relates in his memoirs how a disaster in the oral examination in the subject of 'theoretical arithmetic' nearly deprived him of the chance of going to university. The following day, he was examined by Annensky in Latin translation, and asked to translate a section of Ovid's Metamorphoses:

Не осознав того, что я делаю, и глядя на Анненского, присутствие которого меня чрезвычайно волновало, так как я читал его поэзию, я закрыл книгу и стал читать по памяти мой перевод, отчетливо скандируя гекзаметр. Когда я прочитал последние строки [...] экзаменатор посмотрел на попечителя учебного округа. Анненский, улыбнувшись впервые за дни экзаменов, произнес, посмотрев на меня:

„Перевод, молодой человек, страдает неточностью: у Овидия, как вы знаете, рифм нет...“ [....]

На другой день директор вызвал меня в свой кабинет.

„Начальник учебного округа,“ сказал он, „переделал вчера вашу арифметическую единицу на тройку с минусом, заявив, что математика вам, по-видимому, в жизни не пригодится. Аттестат зрелости вам обеспечен.“

Двери университета, о котором я так мечтал, раскрылись передо мной. Но я не догадался даже писать Анненскому благодарственное письмо. На следующий год Анненский умер.¹

Annensky's talents as a teacher are illustrated by the fate of his schools when he left. Zorgenfrei's study reveals that by 1907 there were no pupils in either the Vos'maya or the Tsarskosel'skaya gimnaziya learning Greek.² The interest in classical languages Annensky had personally inspired did not survive his absence.

Annensky's position as director of a school rather excluded him from mainstream academic life, which was

1. Annenkov, Dnevnik moikh vstrech 1, 61-2. This account has gone unremarked by previous biographers. There is a minor inaccuracy: Annensky was inspektor, not popечitel', of the uchebnyi okrug.

2. Zorgenfrei, 'Neobyazatel'nyi grecheskii yazyk', part 1, 84

increasingly concentrated round the universities and specialist institutions. The heavy burden of teaching and administrative duties allowed him comparatively little time for academic research. The zagranichnye komandirovki available to him were even fewer than those available to academics. In 1890 he made a trip to Italy in the company of Professor Shmurlo, a historian. The diaries he kept at the time of the trip suggest that he was more impressed by and interested in the artefacts of medieval and Renaissance Italy than in the remains of classical Rome.¹ Annensky was never able to visit Greece, and his only other trips abroad were to France.²

Annensky's contacts with the academic world were mostly made through the Obshchestvo klassicheskoi filologii i pedagogiki. He was a member of its organising committee from 1900, and presented a number of papers at meetings; he was also regularly involved in the discussions which followed the meetings. He does not seem, however, to have had informal social contacts with the classical philologists at St Petersburg university or elsewhere. The selection of his letters so far published does not include any addressed to distinguished classicists, and his son's memoirs do not suggest that any well-known classical philologists visited the house regularly.³ His closest friendships were with

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1. Krivich, 'IA po semeinyim vospominaniyam', 232-245
 2. Lavrov and Timenchik, 'IA v neizdannyykh vosp.', 106-8
 3. Krivich, 225-231; see also Varneke in Lavrov and Timenchik 74

female relatives or the wives of colleagues, such as Ol'ga Khmara-Barshchevskaya, the wife of his stepson; her sister Nina Begicheva; Ekaterina Mukhina, the wife of a teacher at the Tsarskoe Selo gimnaziya; Tatiana Bogdanovich, who was brought up in his brother's household. His letters to these friends are remarkably frank, often to the point of self-pity, and his character here is very different from that which comes over in the respectful, but distant, portraits of him by Varneke and Zelinsky.

Annensky's relations with the academic establishment were not close; his relations with the literary establishment were yet more remote. His brother Nikolai was editor of Russkoe bogatstvo, which published literature as well as political articles; but the brothers were not close in later life. Innokenty Fedorovich rarely published in the tolstye zhurnaly of the liberal press, had no editorial interest in them, and apparently little enthusiasm for what they published. Mitrofanov suggests that his attitude was even tinged with hostility:

Оба брата, сохранившие, впрочем, до конца жизни лучшие отношения, были людьми совершенно различного духовного склада: И.Ф. держался всегда вдалеке от той партии, видным лидером которой был Н.Ф., и не без некоторого пренебрежения относился вообще к политике.¹

Annensky was naturally far more attracted by the literature of the Symbolists and Decadents; he knew French Symbolist poetry well and had direct contact with some of the

1. Mitrofanov, 'IA', 281

poets and writers of Paris.¹ He was also receptive to the Symbolist movement in Russia from its inauguration; but his personal acquaintance with the Russian Symbolists came late. In March 1909 Nikolai Gumilev, who had been a pupil of Annensky's at the Tsarskoe Selo gimnaziya, introduced him to Sergei Makovsky, Maksimilian Voloshin, and Vyacheslav Ivanov. Annensky was invited to collaborate on the new Symbolist journal Apollon, in which he took a great deal of interest until his death (KO 662).

But even at this stage relations were distant. Some of the reasons for this were personal. Annensky was much older than most of the Symbolists: he was ten years older even than Vyacheslav Ivanov, the doyen of the group. The sedate domestic arrangements described by his son are in bizarre and comic contrast to the home lives of Bely, Bryusov, Ivanov or Kuzmin. A snug and provincially respectable household was regulated by elderly and stereotypically devoted servants, and evening parties were held in which each new guest was greeted with the words: 'Chto novogo v mire nauk i iskusstv?'.² A vivid account of the impression made by Annensky's establishment on an outsider has been given by Kornei Chukovsky, an acquaintance:

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1. Lavrov and Timenchik, 'IA v neizdannyykh vospominaniyakh' 106-8
 2. Krivich, 'IA po semeinym vospominaniyam', 229. On A's equally fearful literary 'evenings' after 1900, see Varneke in Lavrov and Timenchik, 75

Вообще он держался очень не просто: словно накрахмаленный. Сан директора гимназии наложила на него свою печать. Странно было думать, что он -- единноутробный брат Николая Анненского, неугомонного остряка, у которого душа была даже чересчур нараспашку. [...] Никакого сближения не произошло, да я не смел мечтать о сближении: робел перед ним до безъязычия. Особенное впечатление произвел на меня его монументальный кабинет, где было множество французских и древнегреческих книг.¹

Annensky's advanced sense of his own dignity must have presented problems to some of his literary acquaintances, who were inclined to treat him as a nonentity. Makovsky, for example, describes him as 'malo komu izvestnyi perevodchik Evripida i direktor gimnazii v Tsarskom Sele', a description which underrates Annensky's standing.² This attitude has deceived some modern commentators, such as McDuff:

Annensky's life was obscure and tormented. [...] He was very much part of the bourgeois establishment of his time. He seems to have felt acutely the contradiction between his 'respectable' position as a headmaster and academic on the one hand, and his poetic vision which almost by coincidence became associated with the 'scandals' of Russian symbolism on the other.³

In reality, the most bitter contradiction lay between the 'decadent' excesses of the Symbolist movement on the one hand, and Annensky's well-regulated respectability on the other. His son reveals that he was loath to admit male guests to his house in unstarched shirts:

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1. Chukovsky, 'Ya chuvstvoval takuyu gor'kuyu vinu', 304-5
 2. Makovsky, 'IA -- kritik', 126. As a metropolitan headmaster of the fourth chin, A. was something of a znachitel'noe litso, not the Akaky Akakevich of Makovsky's portrait.
 3. McDuff, 'IA -- poet and critic', 200-1

Отец вообще терпеть не мог никаких мягких рубашек и не признавал никакого облегчения в костюме, называя это полу-шутя „распущенством“. [...] Он искренно возмущался, если кто-нибудь из близких надевал так называемое „русское платье“.¹

There is no doubt that Annensky found the petty bureaucracy of his career annoying; but he was intolerant of the Symbolists' conduct, and regarded their activities with contempt:

Политиков все же нельзя не уважать. Это люди мысли, люди отвлеченности. Они безмерно выше Мережковских уже по одному тому, что у тех, у Мережковских, именно отвлеченности-то и нет, что у них только инстинкты да самовлюбленность проклятая, что у них не мысль, а золотое кольцо на галстуке. С эсдеком можно грызться, даже нельзя на грызться, иначе он глотку перервет -- но в Блоке ведь можно только увязнуть. Искать Бога -- Фонтанка 83. Срывать аплодисменты на Боге... на совести. Искать Бога по пятницам... Какой цинизм! (КО 485)

In the Apollon editorial office, Annensky's inflexibility led to conflict. The poet Volynsky, who had originally been a member of the editorial board, left after a violent disagreement with Annensky (КО 631). Annensky's long essay on the Symbolists, 'O sovremennom lirizme', which was abrasively phrased, caused great offence to a number of its subjects, above all Sologub. (КО 631) His views on poetry only became influential after his death, when the Acmeists used him as a figurehead for their programmatic articles on poetry.

Annensky's whole literary career was characterised by an attempt to reconcile his academic and poetic interests, an attempt which was never wholly successful. As Varneke put it, 'Nigde on ne slivalsya s ostal'nym fondom, ne daval chuvstvovat', chto eto ego nastoyashchaya,

1. Krivich, 'IA po semeinym vospominaniyam', 230

rodnaya emu sreda'.¹ He was not fully accepted by the literary establishment, and had difficulties in publishing his writings. The academic establishment, for its part, mistrusted his literary aspirations. Varneke spoke for most of his contemporaries when he wrote:

Кому не нравятся ни „Тихие песни“, ни обе Книги отражений, тот легко сможет заставить их на полках своей библиотеки томом Театра Еврипида и кипой оттисков хотя бы „Педагогических писем“. Эти работы постоят за себя сами.

1. Varneke, 'IFA -- nekrolog', 47

2. Ibid., 45

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER ONE

APPENDIX A

Figures for those attending the boys' gimnazii, compared with other schools (excluding Poland and Finland)

Year	Gimnazii		Real schools	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1855	77	17,817	-	-
1865	96	26,789	-	-
1875	157	40,443	41	7,475
1881	213	60,800	87	19,482
1891	207	52,969	102	22,084
1894	207	54,590	102	22,672
1898	208	66,819	110	32,842
1900	212	71,584	111	37,924
1902	216	80,487	121	42,296
1904	223	89,966	141	46,835
1906	230	91,000	150	50,000
1908	283	106,000	176	59,000
1910	322	114,000	230	66,000
1912	391	128,000	270	75,000
1914	453	152,110	291	80,800

Source: Hans, History of Russian Educational Policy, 235

Population of the Russian Empire, (without Finland), 1855-1914, and figures for those attending all schools

Year	Population	Number attending all schools
1855	71,108,000	400,000
1865	75,125,000	800,000
1875	90,218,000	1,200,000
1880	97,705,000	1,600,000
1885	108,787,000	1,900,000
1890	117,787,000	2,500,000
1895	123,920,000	2,800,000
1900	132,960,000	4,500,000
1905	143,980,000	5,600,000
1910	160,748,000	7,200,000
1914	175,140,000	9,500,000

Source: Hans, History of Russian Educational Policy, 242

Number of students at universities in the Russian Empire (not including Finland), 1850-1914

1850	3,018
1855	3,659
1860	5,443
1875	5,569
1880	8,193
1885	12,939
1890	12,495
1894	13,944
1900	17,606
1902	17,808
1906	24,454
1914	35,695

Sources: Besancon, 73; Leipkina-Svirskaya, Intelligentsiya v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine 19 veka, 56; Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Universitety, 799; Leipkina-Svirskaya, Russkaya intelligentsiya v 1900-1917 godakh, 23-24

Percentage by faculties, 1880-1899

	1880	1885	1894	1899
Yurid.	22,3%	30.2%	36.9%	43.1%
Med.	46%	38%	37%	28.1%
Fiz.-mat.	20%	21.2%	20.3%	22.9%
Istor.-fil.	11.3%	9.8%	5.2%	3.9%
Vost.yaz.	0.4%	0,8%	0.6%	1.1%

Source: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Universitety, 799
The percentages by faculties before 1880 and after 1899 were not available to me.

APPENDIX B

Timetables of classical languages at gimnazii, 1864-1914

1. 1864

Classes	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Latin	5	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Greek	-	-	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Teaching week total	30	31 $\frac{1}{4}$	33 $\frac{3}{4}$	33 $\frac{3}{4}$	33 $\frac{3}{4}$	33 $\frac{3}{4}$	33 $\frac{3}{4}$

2. 1871

Classes	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Latin	8	7	5	5	6	6	6	6
Greek	-	-	6	6	6	6	6	7
Teaching week total	23	27	31	30	29	29	28	29

3. 1890

Classes	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Latin	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5
Greek	-	-	4	5	6	6	6	7
Teaching week total	23	28	29	29	29	29	29	29

4. 1902

Gimnazii with Latin only (paragraph IV of Vysochaishee povelenie, 20.6.1902)

Classes	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Latin	-	-	5	5	5	5	5	5
Greek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teaching week total	26	28	28	27	27	28	29	29

Gimnazii with Greek also (paragraph III of Vysochaishee povelenie, 20.6.1902)

Classes	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Latin	-	-	5	4	5	5	4	5
Greek	-	-	-	4	6	6	5	5
Teaching week total	26	28	28	27	29	29	29	29

5. 1914

Classes	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Theology	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Russian	6	6	4	4	4	4	4	3
History	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	4
Geography	3	3	2	2	-	-	-	2
Science	4	4	4	4	3	3	2	2
Physics	-	-	-	-	2	3	3	2
Maths	4	4	5	5	4	3	3	2
Cosmography	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Foreign lang	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	4
Graphic arts	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	-
P.E.	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
'Special'	-	-	5	5	-	-	-	-
'Additional'	-	-	-	-	6	6	6	6

'Additional' subjects included Latin in the klassicheskie gimnazii.

Sources

1. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Gimnaziya, 702; Rozhdestvensky, Istoricheskii obzor, 438
2. Bol'shaya entsiklopediya, Gimnazii, 712; Rozhdestvensky, Istoricheskii obzor, 527
3. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Gimnaziya, 703
4. Novyi ents. slovar', Gimnaziya, 532
5. Ibid., 533; Pedagogicheskaya entsiklopediya, Gimnaziya, 569

APPENDIX C

Timetable of classical languages at Prussian Gymnasien, 1882

Classes	VI	V	IV	IIIa	IIIb	IIa	IIb	Ia	Ib
Latin	9	9	9	9	9	8	8	8	8
Greek	-	-	-	7	7	7	7	6	6
Teaching week total	28	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30

Source: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Gimnaziya, 697

APPENDIX D

Timetable of zhenskie gimnazii in the Russian empire administered by the MNP

Classes	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Theology	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Russian	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Maths	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Geography	2	2	2	2	-	-	2
History	-	-	2	2	3	3	2
Science	-	-	-	2	2	3	3
Calligraphy	2	2	1	1	-	-	-
Handicrafts	-	-	2	2	2	2	1
<u>Voluntary course (a)</u>							
German	5	5	4	3	4	3	2
French	5	5	4	3	4	3	2
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Pedagogy	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<u>or (b)</u>							
Foreign lang	5	5	4	3	4	3	2
Latin	6	6	6	5	5	5	5
Greek	-	-	5	5	6	5	6
Hours pw with classics	24	24	30	30	30	30	30

The private gimnazii were organised according to the rules of the MNP; the Gimnazii vedomstva Imperatritsy Marii did not have classical languages on the curriculum.

Source: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', Gimnaziya, 707

Numbers of pupils at zhenskie gimnazii and progimnazii in the Russian empire (not Poland and Finland) 1855-1914

Year	Schools	Pupils
1855	61	2,033
1865	120	9,129
1875	192	30,417
1881	259	46,791
1891	303	55,527
1894	306	55,866
1898	336	88,753
1900	368	107,769
1902	415	128,186
1904	499	157,444
1906	583	184,186
1908	657	215,000
1910	759	248,000
1912	899	290,000
1914	978	323,577

Source: Nicholas Hans, History of Russian Educational Policy, 235

Le Paradis n'était pas grand; parfaite,
chaque forme ne s'y épanouissait qu'une
fois; un jardin les contenait toutes.
-- S'il était, ou s'il n'était pas, que
nous importe? mais il était tel, s'il
était. Tout s'y cristallisait en une
floraison nécessaire, et tout était
parfaitement ainsi que cela devait être.
-- Toute demeurrat immobile, car rien
ne souhaitait d'être mieux.
André Gide

CHAPTER TWO

'Mir okamenelyi, kristalizovavshiisya':
Classicism in the literary essays

Annensky produced literary essays and reviews throughout his career. They are by far the most significant branch of his literary output in terms of time spent on them and the number of words written. His first published work was a review of A. Małecki's comparative and historical study of Polish grammar, which came out in 1881, when Annensky was twenty-five, and had just left university.¹ On the day of his death, November 30 1909, he was due to read an unpublished essay on Euripides to a meeting of the Obshchestvo klassicheskoi filologii in St Petersburg.²

Annensky wrote with untiring energy: over the twenty-eight years he published regularly, and produced in total around fifty essays and two hundred reviews, some of which remained unpublished until after his death. None was less than five hundred words in length, and although some were merely brief summaries of the contents of particular books, the majority were serious review articles of considerable length. Annensky's literary energy and prolificity were not unusual by late nineteenth-century Russian academic standards; for example, his colleague Zelinsky produced considerably more; but Annensky's publication list is impressive for a working schoolmaster with a heavy teaching load.

The pattern of his literary essays and reviews differs

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1. 'Małecki, Antoni d-r, Grammatyka', described by A as his first publication in 'Avtobiografiya' (KO 495)
 2. 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa u Evripida...', part 1 , 359, note

sharply from that of his poetry, drama and prose-poems, which were almost all written between 1900 and 1909, in far smaller quantity: four neo-classical plays, twenty-six prose poems, and about three hundred lyrics, many of which were less than twenty lines long.¹

This mass of material is daunting, and study is further complicated by the fact that the essays and reviews were published in a wide variety of journals, some specialist and some non-specialist, many with small circulations. After 1898, when Annensky was appointed to the Uchenyi komitet of the Ministerstvo narodnogo prosveshcheniya, one of his official duties was to review school text books and chrestomathies for the Ministry's journal. After 1906, when he was dismissed from his post as Director of the Gimnaziya, the volume of his reviews increased sharply. In this journal alone he published about sixty reviews, and several essays. He also wrote on a regular basis for a number of other periodicals, including educational journals (Russkaya shkola and Vospitanie i obuchenie), classical-philological (Filologicheskoe obozrenie and Germes), and general literary (Pereval, Mir Bozhii and Apollon). In the 1880s he contributed regularly to Bibliograf, a digest with general and current bibliographical items and brief reviews. He was an editorial collaborator on many of these journals. Occasional reviews by him appeared in Rech' and Golos severa. These essays and reviews were not published in collected form during Annensky's lifetime.

1. This number does not include Annensky's early unpublished poems, which are generally not held worthy of serious critical study (see Chapter 6, page 300)

In 1906 a collection of essays, Kniga otrazhenii, appeared, and it was followed by another, Vtoraya kniga otrazhenii, in 1909; but these essays had not been published elsewhere and were specially written, except for one in the second volume, 'Geine prikovannyi'.¹

The problems created by the scattered publication of Annensky's essays during his lifetime have not been resolved since his death. The two collections of essays were republished in 1969, in a facsimile edition titled Knigi otrazhenii. But not until 1979 was there any extensive reissue of other essay material. In that year an excellent Soviet edition (also, confusingly, entitled Knigi otrazhenii) of Annensky's literary criticism appeared. Both collections of essays were republished in this volume; it also made available much useful and previously inaccessible material; some of Annensky's prose poems, numerous letters, and sketches for essays. Besides the Knigi otrazhenii, the volume contains fifteen essays. Unfortunately, even this is very far from being a complete collection of Annensky's literary criticism: at least twenty essays and all his reviews are omitted.

There is no complete bibliography of Annensky's essays and reviews. Felix Ingold describes the bibliography of about 400 items in his book of 1970 as 'das erste vollständige Verzeichnis sämtlicher Schriften von und über Innokentij Annenskij'. But this claim is not true of this bibliography, nor of the revised version of it which came out in 1975 in Russian Literature Triquarterly.

1. Publication details as in Notes by Podol'skaya et al. to Kniga otrazhenii and Vtoraya kniga otrazhenii (KO 579-606)

The journal publication is by far the fullest bibliography of Annensky available, but it omits most of the reviews published in ZMNP, and some of the essays.

The compositional and publication history of Annensky's essays on classical literature is particularly complex. They were never published in a collection. They appeared in several periodicals, among them Filologicheskoe obozrenie, ZMNP, and Germes. Even the essays on Euripides never appeared together; their fate, like that of the Euripides translations, was imbrangled.¹ Essays on all nineteen plays were planned, and also essays on the fragments.² The essays on the fragments were never written, and it seems likely that Annensky did not write essays on Hecuba, Andromache and Heraclidae.³ Of the remaining fifteen essays, one (on Phoenissae), is a brief introduction rather than an essay, and one covers two plays (Orestes and Electra).

Like Annensky's translations, the essays on Euripides were published in periodicals and in separate editions before 1906, normally with the plays they concerned (the only exception was 'Ion i Apollonid', which came out separately in 1902). Six essays appeared in the first volume of Teatr Evripida; one, 'Kiklop i drama satirov', was

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1. On the composition and publication of the translations, see Chapter 3, 135-6
 2. See Annensky's Introduction, TE 1906, vi
 3. The entry on Annensky in Vengerov, Kritiko-biog. slovar' 6, 343 describes the latter two essays as 'ugotovleny k pechati'; but, if they ever existed, they had disappeared when Zelinsky put together his edition

published here for the first time.¹ One essay, on Iphigenia in Tauris, was published separately in 1910.

When Zelinsky took over the edition of Teatr Evripida his treatment of the essays was less cavalier than his treatment of the translations. He rejected the three studies of the Bacchae altogether, but his alterations to the essays he published were not very significant.² When he emigrated to Poland, two of the fifteen essays Annensky had completed remained unpublished.³ 'Tragediya Ippolita i Fedry' is the only essay on Euripides which has been republished since Zelinsky's edition was curtailed; it appeared in Knigi otrazhenii in 1979. The various Soviet editions of Teatr Evripida omit all the essays. Annensky's other essays on classical literature have never been republished.

The range of publication vehicles for the essays is matched by that of the subject-matter: it reflects Annensky's activities as schoolmaster, poet, and amateur of the classics. His varied and apparently disparate interests baffled some of his contemporaries; some even imagined several I.F. Annenskys assiduously writing essays. Voloshin wrote to Annensky of this confusion in a letter sent shortly after their first meeting in 1909:

Вы существовали для меня до самого последнего времени не как один, а как много писателей. Я знал переводчика Еврипида, но вовсе не соединил его с тем, кто писал о ритмах Бальмонта и Брюсова. (ST 16)

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1. The other five essays were on Alcestis Medea Hippolytus Ion and Heracles
 2. In the preface to TE 1916 he describes the essays on the Bacchae as obsolete (page ii)
 3. See Podol'skaya's note (KO 604)

But Annensky's wide interests were concentrated in one particular area: that of khudozhestvennaya literatura. He did not write articles on history, politics, or even on philology in the narrow sense. The range did not include all literature; he wrote on written, rather than oral works, with the exception of one essay on the folk poetry of northern Russia, 'Iz nablyudenii nad yazykom i poeziei russkogo severa' of 1893. Despite his early training in Sanskrit, Annensky's essays do not include studies of Oriental literature, and there are only passing references to Sanskrit works. His reviews cover rather more ground: besides critiques of numerous literary works, translations from classical languages and of literary anthologies for use in schools, there are reviews of grammars and textbooks on syntax.

Most of Annensky's essays and reviews fall into three categories. The first is essays and reviews of Russian and West European poetry, prose and drama, mostly of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most important of these appeared in the Knigi otrazhenii, but there are others, such as 'Chto takoe poeziya?', 'O sovremennom lirizme' and essays on Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol' and Goncharov. The second category is the essays on classical literature; on Euripides, and also on Lycophron and Xenophon. The third category is essays devoted to the teaching of literature and the literary language in schools; these include the 'Pedagogicheskie pis'ma' and the essays on the pedagogical significance of Polonsky, A.K. Tolstoy and Apollon Maikov. The first

category of essays is much larger than the others: the proportions are roughly three to two to one respectively. The chronological sequence is also interesting. The essays on 'aesthetic education' were mostly written before 1895, though the essay on Maikov dates from 1898. The essays on Euripides and other classical authors nearly all date from between 1894 and 1906; after this Annensky wrote only four more essays on classical literature.¹ The essays on Russian and modern European literature largely date from after 1904; and all of them were written later than 1893.

Annensky began his career with essays on education, and his pedagogical interests affected all his literary criticism, though they are less evident in the later essays. Barbara Conrad rightly pointed out the importance of Annensky's educational ideas in all his work; they are particularly obvious in the essays, such as 'Khudozhestvennyi idealizm Gogolya', which were originally given as talks to pupils at the gimnaziya; but they pervade his literary criticism in general:

Er hat immer seine pädagogische Verpflichtung darin gesehen, durch seinen Unterricht bei den Schülern das ästhetische Empfinden zu wecken, ihr Kunstverständnis zu fördern -- davon zeigt eine ganze Reihe von Aufsätzen, ja, wie mir scheint, ist seine künstlerische Biographie aufs engste mit seinem Lehrberuf -- und umgekehrt -- verbunden.²

1. 'Maski Eleny' finished June 1908 (KO 478); 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa' finished July 1908 (KO 480); essay on The Trojan Women, finished mid-July 1909 (KO 488); essay on Supplices, finished late 1909 (KO 488)

2. Conrad, IFAs poetische Reflexionen, 167-8 footnote.

Annensky's essays and reviews attracted little critical attention in the sixty years after his death. Only one of the numerous obituary articles on him deals with the essays.¹ Sergei Makovsky, who wrote a study of Annensky's criticism in the early 1960s, speaks of him as a forgotten writer and a fin-de-siècle curiosity.² But by the late 1960s the situation had changed. The facsimile edition of Knigi otrazhenii in 1969 was followed by the publication of two full-length studies by Barbara Conrad and Felix Ingold, and since then there have been numerous articles, including two substantial introductory essays in the Soviet Knigi otrazhenii. There have also been several doctoral dissertations.³ Current critical opinion rates Annensky's literary criticism as highly as his poetry, and as much attention has been given to it recently as to his lyrics.

However, the wealth of writing on Annensky's criticism is deceptive. Interest has been confined to the Knigi otrazhenii and to other essays belonging to the first category as defined above, notably 'Chto takoe poeziya?' and 'O sovremennom lirizme'. There has also been one article on Annensky's pedagogical theories, albeit in a rather obscure Dushanbe publication.⁴ The classical essays, on the other hand, have not been the subject of any book or article since Annensky's death, and the most lengthy analysis available is six pages in V.S. Setchkarev's book,

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1. Chulkov, 'Traurnyi estetizm'
 2. Makovsky, 'IFA -- kritik'
 3. Articles by Podol'skaya, Malysheva, Fedorov, Ponomareva; theses by Tucker and McDuff.
 4. Vlasov, 'Metodicheskaya sistema IFA'

in which they are discussed as a preamble to his chapter on Annensky's neo-classical dramas.¹

Concentration on the Knigi otrazhenii has been marked by certain recurrent assumptions. The essays in the two collections, and the other essays on modern literature, have repeatedly been described as 'subjective'. 'Annensky's attitude towards literary criticism was most peculiar,' Setchkarev writes.² James West, in his study of Vyacheslav Ivanov, describes Annensky as an 'impressionist' critic.³ Sergei Makovsky describes Kniga otrazhenii as 'subjective', 'mannered' and 'stylised':

Мало замеченная книга мало кому известного переводчика Эврипида и директора Царско-Сельской гимназии, по стилю -- сугуба-субъективная книга, даже не без несколько манерной стилизации местами.⁴

Some critics feel that the 'subjective' style is accompanied by a general lack of coherence and logic. Chukovsky used the term 'aesthetic nihilism' for Annensky's criticism; Khodasevich savagely condemned Knigi otrazhenii as 'tetrad' uchenicheskikh sochinenii' and 'ryad razroznennykh, nichem mezhdub soboi ne svyazannykh statei'.⁵ Other critics, such as Barbara Conrad and Felix Ingold, have felt that Annensky's essays on modern literature are close to the work of the German Romantics, such as Schlegel and Fichte, and the French Symbolists, such as Mallarmé, Verlaine, and

1. Setchkarev, Studies in the Life and Work of IA, 155-162

2. Ibid., 209

3. West, Russian Symbolism, 247

4. Makovsky, 'IFA -- kritik'. When KO was published Annensky was in fact no longer Director of the Gimnaziya.

5. Chukovsky, 'Ob esteticheskom nigilizme'; Khodasevich 'IFA: Kniga otrazhenii'.

René Ghil.¹

This selective approach to Annensky's literary criticism has led to a polarisation of the Knigi otrazhenii and the essays on modern literature on one hand, and the essays on classical literature and education on the other. The latter have repeatedly been defined as more academic. Setchkarev argues that Annensky's 'thorough scholarly interests' affected the style of his essays on classical literature, and particularly on education, which is less subjective than that of the collected essays:

In his articles published in the magazine Russkaja Škola, Annenskij is less 'original' than in the Books of Reflections. This of course is easily explained by the selection of his readers -- serious pedagogues are not inclined to follow impressionistic escapades, however spirited and refined they may be.²

Some critics have maintained that the Knigi otrazhenii are not only less academic than Annensky's other essays, but also more interesting. The editors of the Soviet Knigi otrazhenii, for example, distinguish between Annensky's literaturno-pedagogicheskie stat'i and his later essays, to the evident detriment of the former. (KO 577) This viewpoint is not totally unreasonable; there were practical pressures on Annensky. He contributed both to academic and to literary journals, and naturally tended to observe the house style of the journal for which the essay or review was intended. The review article on modern

1. Conrad, IFAs poetische Reflexionen, 49-68 et passim; Ingold, IFA: Sein Beitrag, passim; see also Bauer, Artur Schopenhauer, 167-179

2. Setchkarev, Studies in the Life and Work of IA, 249-250

Russian poetry which he wrote for Apollon, 'O sovremennom lirizme', is much more idiosyncratic than are his bread-and-butter reviews for ZMNP; one senses a desire to impress the literary glitterati of St Petersburg.

But I do not believe the distinction is as clear as earlier critics have suggested. The emphasis which has been placed on the divide between scholarly essays on classical literature and subjective, idiosyncratic essays on Russian literature clearly results from a misapprehension of Annensky's abilities as a classical scholar on the one hand, and of his critical principles in his essays on Russian literature on the other.

In this chapter, I shall analyse the approach which Annensky adopted in his essays on classical literature; I shall show that his treatment of the classics was idiosyncratic and that the divide between the essays on modern and on classical literature was not so deep or so significant as has been supposed. I shall discuss some aspects of Annensky's views on classical literature which are central to his poetics. My reading of the essays is not definitive; I do not suggest that Annensky's interest in classicism is the only important factor in his literary criticism. However, I believe that his nostalgia for an imaginatively conceived picture of Greek art was an important part of his idealistic aesthetic. Throughout his life he was preoccupied with classical literature, returning to it again and again; it was an area which he found at once reassuring and deeply disturbing, and its effect on his essays was both unifying and profoundly disruptive.

As a prelude to the discussion of Annensky's essays on classical literature, I shall summarise briefly some features of the Knigi otrazhenii which I think are important. The first impression made by these collections is that they are indeed, as Setchkarev put it, 'most peculiar', self-consciously literary and subjective. In the foreword to the first volume Annensky emphasised that his criticism was eccentric, and in particular that his choice of material was not objective: 'ya zhe pisal zdes' tol'ko o tom, chto mnoi vladelo'. (KO 5) No attempt is made to justify the selection of particular authors or works, some of which do not belong to the literary canon. Podol'skaya remarked on this, and described Annensky's choice of works as 'strange':

Наряду с такими шедеврами, как „Гамлет“, „Мертвые души“, „Преступление и наказание“, [Анненский] нередко обращается к произведениям второстепенным -- таким, как „Странная история“ Тургенева, „Анфиса“ Л. Андреева, и др. (КО 51)

Annensky disregarded not only conventional standards of literary value, but also academic ideas about chronology and genre. In Vtoraya kniga otrazhenii, a study of Hamlet follows studies of Andreev and Heine and precedes a study of Ibsen's Brand. Poetry, prose and drama are jumbled up. Kniga otrazhenii is divided by genre, but the essays are not placed in chronological sequence.

The approach in individual essays is also markedly subjective. Historical and biographical facts about the authors are ignored. In 'O sovremennom lirizme' Annensky was later to attack the reader's interest in such facts: 'Vprochem, ne vse li ravno, kak zhil Valery Bryusov'. (KO 341)

The essays are concerned instead with 'literariness' (not defined but understood to be the formal characteristics of the text), and with what Annensky described in the foreword to Vtoraya kniga otrazhenii as 'problema tvorchestva' (KO 123). The central preoccupation of the literary text, it emerges, is the literary text itself; even committed works, for example the 'three social dramas', are shown to be inward-looking and self-conscious. Three Sisters is said to be about the class of people who cannot distinguish between literature and life, 'literaturnye lyudi', and Hamlet's central frustration is that of the artist: 'estetizm lezhit v osnove ego natury' (KO 168).

The style of the essays is self-consciously colloquial in places, in others elevated and poetic, and direct statement is avoided. At the beginning of 'Geine prikovannyi' Annensky launches into an imaginative account of Heine's last months:

Жизнь Гейне стала в это время, помимо муки, какая-то «отвлеченная». Лица друзей уже стирались для него узором обоев; любовь приходила, как сиделка, с состраданием, с услугой, забыв о своих требованиях; смех точно прикрывал судорогу; самый поцелуй уже не томил и не опьянял -- это было скорее символ, ускользающая мечта, что-то чужое и случайное... (KO 153)

Throughout the Knigi otrazhenii and the other essays on modern literature, Annensky avoids the impersonal and academic authorial мы, and makes conspicuous use of the first person, 'ya dumayu', 'mne kazhetsya'. The essays are occasionally given an anecdotal character: Annensky introduces himself into the narrative. In 'Umirayushchii Turgenev' he concludes a, by implication, first-hand account

of Turgenev's funeral with an example of personal association:

Теперь, когда незаметно для самого себя я продвинулся с площади и в темноватый вестибюль театра и тусклый день желто смотрит на меня уже сквозь его пыльные стекла -- когда временами, через плечо соседа, я вижу даже самое окошко кассы... О, теперь я отлично понимаю ту связь, которая раз навсегда сцепила в моей памяти похороны Тургенева с его последней повестью. (КО 37)

The idealist philosophy expressed by Annensky was also close to that of the Symbolists. In the essay 'Khudozhestvennyi idealizm Gogolya' there is a bald and simple statement of his dualistic world-view. Being is divided into 'this world' and 'the other world', 'the world of things' and 'the world of ideas', 'I' and 'the Other'. The split is not, however, irreconcilable; it may be transcended by human intellectual activity, mysl':

Нас окружают и, вероятно, составляют два мира: мир вещей и мир идей. Эти миры бесконечно далеки один от другого, и в творении один только человек является их высоко-юмористическим (в философском смысле) и логически-непримиримым соединением.

В силу стремления, вложенного в нас создателем, мы вечно ищем сблизать в себе мир вещей с миром духовным, очищая, просветляя и возвышая свою бренную телесную жизнь божественным прикосновением к ней мира идеального, и в этом заключается вся красота и весь смысл нашего существования. (КО 217)

The theoretical statement from Annensky's Gogol' essay makes a number of points typical of French Symbolist definitions of poetry. The French Symbolists believed in a mysterious second level of spiritual reality which was morally superior to the concrete, corrupt world:

En dépit de la diversité de leurs tempéraments et de leur philosophie ou de leur croyance, nous discernons

d'abord chez tous ces poètes une même inquiétude devant l'aspect quotidien des choses, le sentiment qu'il y a une mystère au fond du tout: aux uns comme aux autres, l'expérience poétique a révélé une réalité cachée sous l'apparence.¹

The sense of a 'hidden reality' was essential to Russian Symbolist theory also. Blok wrote:

Либо существуют те [лиловые миры], либо нет. Для тех, кто скажет "нет", мы остаемся просто "так себе декадентами", сочинителями невиданных ощущений, а о смерти говорим теперь только потому, что устали.²

In her lucid and informative essay on the concept of myth in the Symbolist aesthetic, Zara Mints gives a summary of the Symbolists' philosophy which makes it clear how close Annensky's view of a deep, but reconcilable divide was to theirs:

Для романтического „двоемирия“ характерна прямая связь с платонизмом. Противопоставление вечных идей и их материальных „теней“ неотделимо здесь от их ценностной иерархии (идеи принадлежат миру сущностей, первопричин и первооснов -- „тени“ образуют мир кажимостей, вторичный и сам по себе безжизненный). Пантеизм символистов противопоставляет „двоемирию“ -- „многомирие“ и соответственное снятие иерархии в оценке „миров“. Характерный перевод Коневским термина „пантеизма“ как „всебожие“ (с интересным противопоставлением его „единобожию“ романтиков) находит ближайшее соответствие в „протеизме“ Брюсова: „И всем богам я посвящаю стих“.³

The subjectivism and self-consciously literary style of Annensky's essays recall the literary criticism

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1. Michaud, Message poetique du symbolisme, 708
 2. Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh, 5, 432
 3. Mints, 'O nekotorykh "neomifologicheskikh" tekstakh', 90
This essay is one of the best short introductions to Symbolist aesthetics; unfortunately, Mints pays practically no attention to Annensky's literary criticism and poetry.

of the Symbolists and Decadents. Several of the essays written on Annensky's own poetry by his contemporaries, such as Punin, Arkhipov and Ivanov have an imaginative, fictional character. The Symbolists' theoretical statements are wayward and metaphorically phrased, and are often digressive in character. The following passage from Blok's essay 'O sovremennom sostoyanii russkogo simvolizma' is typical:

С того момента, когда в душах нескольких людей оказываются заложенными эти принципы, зарождается символизм, возникает школа. Это -- первая юность, детская новизна первых открытий. Здесь еще никто не знает, в каком мире находится другой, не знает этого даже о себе; все только „перемигиваются“, согласные не том, что существует раскол между этим миром и „мирами иными“; дружные силы идут на борьбу за эти „иные“, еще неизвестные миры.¹

Annensky's subjectivism is rather different from that of his Symbolist contemporaries, however. His tone is conversational, not hieresiarchal, and his essays are not wilfully obscure in the manner of Mallarmé's, Vyacheslav Ivanov's or even Blok's. There may be a lack of logical connection between the points he makes about literary texts, but each separate point is clearly expressed.

The 'symbolism' and 'impressionism' of Annensky's essays on modern literature is inconsistent. As T.A. Ponomareva pointed out, his methods are often those of the academic establishment of his day:

Методические принципы критической прозы Анненского тесно связаны с традицией русского академического литературоведения.²

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1. Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh, 5, 427
 2. Ponomareva, 'IA i A. Potebnya', 64

Annensky's respect for akademicheskoe literaturovedenie is evident in the fact that he had acquainted himself with the critical literature on the texts he studied. There are no footnotes, and references to sources are given in an opaque and rather coy way: 'odin mastityi uchenyi [....] nebrezhno zametil gde-to' (KO 65); 'ya chital kak-to v knige odnogo nemetskogo uchenogo' (KO 79). Nevertheless, it is possible to trace the references, and it is clear that Annensky knew works by Georg Gottfried Gervinus, Kuno Fischer, Georg Brandes and Yury Nikolaev on Hamlet, and by I. Milovidov, Pisarev, Pavel Annenkov and M. Mikhailov on Pisemsky.¹

Other important aspects of the essays temper their 'subjective' and 'impressionistic' character. The strong educational drive which inspired Annensky is evident even in these superficially 'poetic' works. In 1906 Annensky wrote to Sergei Sokolov, the publisher of the almanach Grif and the journals Zolotoe runo and Pereval, and explained that the purpose of his essays was to correct popular opinion about literature:

В „Весех“ меня назвали эстетическим нигилистом -- это неточно, так как я ничего не отрицаю. Но действительно -- для меня нет большего удовольствия, как увидеть иллюзорность вчерашнего верования. (KO 468-9)

1. See Podol'skaya's notes to the two essays in Knigi otrazhenii (KO 602-3 and 586-8); she remarks 'mozhno polozhit', chto Annensky vedet zdes' skrytuyu polemiku s M.E. Saltykovym-Shchedrinym' (KO 587)

The style of 'O sovremennom lirizme' is whimsical, but its purpose is clear: to attack the practice of certain well-known poets, such as Sologub and Bryusov, a purpose typical of Annensky's criticism. His choice of texts may negate academic standards of excellence, but his desire to undermine 'illusion' about literature, and by implication to reveal the 'truth', indicates that these standards do, after all, influence him.

It was not in itself unusual that Annensky's essays should combine academic and literary elements; this was typical of Symbolist literary criticism and literary theory. Both Vyacheslav Ivanov and Bely wrote essays in which ornamental and fanciful prose was combined with philosophical terminology, philology, and scientific or pseudo-scientific use of diagrams and schemata. What was unusual about Annensky's work was the academic tradition with which he chose to ally himself. He deliberately avoided specifically Symbolist philosophical jargon, and did not use Solov'evian terminology, such as Vechnaya zhenstvennost' or Mirovoi Dukh. He shied away from abstract issues as well as from abstract language; literary-theoretical observations are always woven into an analysis of particular texts. The abstract-sounding titles of the essays 'Iskusstvo mysli' and 'Chto takoe poeziya?' are misleading; the former is a close study of Prestuplenie i nakazanie, the latter a comparison of Homeric epic with French Symbolist poetry. As Podol'skaya points out, the academic tradition to which Annensky was close was that of mainstream, politically conscious, Positivist criticism:

Общественные и литературно-эстетические взгляды народничества были рано усвоены Анненским и своеобразно преломились в его творчестве. (кн 502)

The refined, aesthetic character of Annensky's essays is mingled with contempt for aestheticism. In a fragment of an unpublished essay he describes the formula 'art for art's sake' as 'ne tol'ko mertvaya, no dazhe nikogda ne zhivshaya'. (KO 504) Even when he polemicises with the Populist tradition, he accords it a higher status than would have been allowed by most of the Symbolists. This difference is piquantly illustrated by Khodasevich's vicious attack on Annensky's essay 'Bal'mont-lirik':

Нас больше заинтересовала бы последняя статья книги „Бальмонт-лирик“, как написанная приличным человеком иного литературного лагеря, если бы не было в ней полемики с бульварными критиками, с мнениями „общества“, в чьих глазах г. Анненский зачем-то старается „оправдать“ Бальмонта, и если бы сам он не сделал в ней ужасающего признания: „Я лично успел (?) более или менее разобраться (?) в творчестве одного из новых поэтов -- К.Д. Бальмонта...“ А ведь прошло ровно десять лет с тех пор, как вышла вторым изданием книга „Chefs d'oeuvres“.

To summarise: Annensky's Knigi otrazhenii and his essays on modern literature are superficially creative in style, and Symbolist in philosophy, but this style and philosophy are confusingly and sometimes incongruously combined with academicism and traditionalism. The problems presented by the essays on classical literature are diametrically opposed to those of the Knigi otrazhenii. They outwardly proclaim their closeness to the academic tradition. Annensky's knowledge of classical literature, in particular of Euripides, was extensive, and was commended by his

1. Khodasevich, 'IFA. Kniga otrazhenii', 138 Chefs d'oeuvres is, of course, by Bryusov, not Bal'mont; Khodasevich is clearly using it here as an example of the Symbolist movement to which Bal'mont belonged.

academic colleagues. Varneke praised the thoroughness of Annensky's studies in his obituary of the author:

Да, Еврипида он знал лучше, чем кто-либо другой в России, и не только его текст, но и огромную литературу, ему посвященную, занимающую не один шкаф в его вместительной и богатой библиотеке. Он вел особенную тетрадь, куда заносил заглавия работ об Еврипиде.¹

Signs of this extensive reading can be seen in the essays on classical literature. In 'Posmertnaya Ifigeniya Evripida', an essay on Euripides' Iphigenia in Aulis, there is a short introductory literature survey with references to some twenty-five previous studies of the play.² Annensky also discusses the question of critical editions, which had not concerned him in the Knigi otrazhenii. In his essay on Euripides' Heracles, he mentions the editions of Bekker, Wecklein, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Weil, and the variants suggested by the different editions.³

In the essays on classical literature there is extensive quotation in Greek and Latin, and often no translation is offered. The essay on alliteration in Lycophron's poetry contains many pages of examples in Greek illustrating different types of consonance, with only a brief introduction in Russian.⁴ The linguistic demands made on the reader in the essays are extended by detailed discussion of the significance and etymology of Greek and Latin words: in the essay 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa' the etymology of the name 'Iphigenia' is considered at some length, and various possible explanations for its origin

1. Varneke, 'IFA -- nekrolog', 40

2. 'Posmertnaya Ifigeniya', 67-8

3. 'Mif i tragediya Gerakla', passim

4. 'Iz nablyudenii nad yazykom Likofrona'

are given.¹

The essays on classical literature contain literary-historical information, not found in Knigi otrazhenii. Annensky impresses the specific problems of the classical text on the reader. In 'Antichnaya tragediya' there is some consideration of the contamination of Attic tragedies by later authors, in special acting editions, and by various editors.² The last section of the essay on Rhesus is devoted to the question of the dating and authorship of the play, with extensive summaries of different critical opinions, and the essay on Iphigenia in Aulis has an introductory section in which the vexed issues of the authenticity of the exodus and parts of the parodos are dealt with.³

Annensky also pays some attention to historical questions: as he put it in the introduction to Teatr Evripida, 'po chasti mifov i kul'tury', that is, Greek literary life, religion and philosophy. The essay on Iphigenia in Tauris opens with a description of the variants of the cult of Artemis found in different regions of Greece, and of their sociological significance; that found in Sparta, for example, is a reflection of the rost grazhdanstvennosti in the state.⁴ Some of the characters and happenings in the plays are said to bear a direct relation to actual historical persons or phenomena: in Hippolytus, we are informed, Phaedra's rationalism displays the influence of Socrates: 'pered nei

1. 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa', part 2, 416-7

2. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 20-1

3. 'Res, tragediya', 123-7; 'Posmertnaya Ifigeniya', 68-70

4. 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa', part 2, 419-420

bessonnyimi nochami vstavali problemy Sokrata' (KO 385).

In Medea, Jason's eloquence is said to be an unfavourable representation of the emergence of the Sophist philosophers.¹

The plot of Iphigenia in Tauris, in which a statue of Artemis is stolen from barbarians and brought to Athens, is linked by Annensky to rising Athenian nationalism in the fifth century.²

Annensky's concern to observe academic standards of factual accuracy and systematic presentation in his own essays on classical literature was reflected in his reviews of works on classical literature by other authors. He was sharply critical of errors and of vagueness. In his review of Merezhkovsky's translation of Daphnis and Chloe, he savages the introduction, because Merezhkovsky's dating of Longus' work is hundreds of years out.³ In another review, of A. Tambovsky's edition of Anacreon in Russian, he ridicules the author for the Schwärmerei and loose writing of his introduction. He quotes and mocks one particularly unfortunate passage:

„Нет мы сами прекрасно видели, что Анакреонт испытал в своей жизни не мало глубоких огорчений". -- Вряд ли стоит обсуждать историческую ценность этого замечания.

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1. 'Tragicheskaya Medeya', part 3, 491
 2. 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa', part 2, 419-420
 3. 'Dafnis i Khloya. Drevnegrecheskii roman Longusa', 34
 4. 'A. Tambovsky. Anakreont. Pervoe polnoe sobranie ego sochinenii', 47. The emphasis in the passage which I have quoted is Annensky's

Annensky's approach to the classical world was superficially historical. In his essays on Euripides -- particularly the earlier essays -- he gives an account of the classical world which stresses its separateness from modern life. In the passage cited here he speaks about the development of the cult of Dionysus in the Ancient World:

Вакхические, горные оргии были в Греции и при Эврипиде и позже; оттуда они перешли даже в Италию, к этрускам и римлянам; римские матроны еще в начале II века античной эры с горящими факелами и в одежде вакханок сбегали к Тибру, а разнузданность служителей Вакха (quos) nihil nefas ducere вызвала в 186 гдду до Р.Хр. суровый декрет сената, которым запрещались вакханалии, как вредные беспорядки. (Т. Liv. XXXIX, 8-19)¹

The approach of most of the Russian Symbolists, on the other hand, was syncretic and ahistorical. The essays on classical literature and the Ancient World written by Ivanov and Merezhkovsky concentrate on the significance of classical history and literature for the modern world. Historical facts and dates are suppressed:

Так круговой дифирамбический хор распался на два вида, и развитие продолжалось в двух отдельных руслах. Хор в козлиных масках выработал "драму сатиров", которая выбрала в свой состав все, что было в первоначальном дифирамбе неустроенного, импровизированного, разнузданного и резвого. Все же героическое, похоронно-торжественное и плачевно-поминальное, высокое и важное стало достоянием того дифирамба -- музыкального диалога между хором и протагонистом-героем -- откуда вышла трагедия.²

1. 'Dionis v legende i kul'te', LXXI

2. Ivanov, 'Primechaniya o difirambe', Sobranie sochinenii, 2, 196. In Merezhkovsky's essay on Daphnis and Chloe a lengthy comparison is made between Longus' contemporaries and the Symbolists: 'Oni takzhe, kak i my, lyudi glubokorazdvoennye, lyudi proshlogo i budushchego'. (Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, 19, 203)

Annensky's respect for the academic tradition, his knowledge of classical literature, and of classical scholarship, are not open to doubt. But his approach to scholarship was passive and his essays are not the work of an original scholar. He never produced a book, or even a dissertation, on classical literature; his sketch on alliteration in Lycophron's poetry is the only essay on classical literature which is directly academic in approach. Annensky's main contribution to classical studies was as a teacher and translator, and almost all his essays and reviews are connected with these activities. The only edition of a classical text he undertook was a textbook containing extracts of Xenophon's Memorabilia, with a long introduction on the history of Greek philosophy.¹ Most of his reviews on classical literature concern Russian versions of Greek and Latin authors, or school editions of the classics. By far his most important essays were the studies of Euripides' plays which he wrote as companion pieces to his translations.

Hitches in publication notwithstanding, the essays were intended for a particular collection, and this gives them a certain coherence. Like the translations, they were intended for a wide public, not for a narrow circle of experts. In his essay on Apollon Maikov, Annensky complained of the ignorance and hostility which characterised the Russian public's attitude to classical literature (KO 292-3), and in 'Genrikh Geine i my' he argued that the enduring popularity of Heine's poetry in Russia was partly due

1. Ksenofont. Vospominaniya o Sokrate v izbrannykh otryvkakh

to Heine's hatred of classicism:

Самая антиклассичность Гейне сближала его с нами. Стоит прочесть „Северное море“, и вы поймете, что классическая застылость контуров и даже эмблематичность олимпийцев прямо-таки была ему не по душе, оскорбляла его эстетически. (КО 398)

All Annensky's activities in the field of classical studies were directed towards propagating the cause of classical literature. He did not feel that this polemical purpose would be well served by narrow classical scholarship of the kind he had ridiculed in his essay 'Chto takoe poeziya?':

Имена навархов, пльвших под Илион, теперь уже ничего не говорящие, самые звуки этих имен, навсегда умолкшие и погибшие, в торжественном кадансе строк, тоже более для нас не понятном, влекла за собою в воспоминаниях древнего Эллина живые цепи цветущих легенд, которые в наши дни стали поблекшим достоянием синих словарей, напечатанных в Лейпциге. (КО 254)

Annensky dismisses the minutiae of textual analysis and exegesis contemptuously in the words 'poblekshee dostoyanie'. He was aware that this reader would require some information on cultural and literary history, because without it there would be no chance of appreciating the 'umolkshee i pogibshee'. He could not rely on the level of knowledge in his reader he had been able to rely on in the Knigi otrazhenii, which he had prefaced by the remark, 'Ya pishu tol'ko o tom, chto vse znayut, i tol'ko o tekh, kotorye vsem nam blizki' (КО 123). But the historical issues are discussed at an introductory and elementary level; they are never the central concern of the essays.

Political history is not discussed at all; it is possible

to read all the essays without gathering who were the central figures in Athens of the fifth century, what the main political issues were, or even that there was such a thing as the Peloponnesian War. It is possible that Annensky intended to concern himself with this in a long essay, 'Evripid i ego vremya', which was written as the introduction to the second volume of Teatr Evripida. However, the only part of the essay which has been published suggests that here again he was concerned with cultural history.¹

Even the social issues which Annensky set out to discuss in the essays on Euripides tend to be handled superficially, and often problems are resolved hastily and unconvincingly. In the essay on Iphigenia in Tauris, Annensky contends that the reason for the fact that Artemis was served by female, rather than male, priests was entirely practical: women were not necessary to the Greek state for defence purposes, and so they could be spared their normal social duties.² This argument does not indicate a very sophisticated understanding of the nature of ritual on Annensky's part, or a profound interest in it.

Annensky's essays on Euripides do not suggest any great affection for the history of Attic Greece, and it is not interpreted as a model for life in the present. In the Foreword to his classical drama, Melanippa-filosof, he expresses a feeling of distaste for life in Attic Greece which is implied in many of his essays:

1. 'Afinskii natsionalizm i zarozhdenie idei mirovogo gosudarstva' (on the philosophy of cosmopolitanism and the attitude to slavery in fifth-century Attica)

2. 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa', part 1, 363

Автор томится среди образчиков современных понятий о прекрасном, но он первый бежал бы не только от общества персонажей еврипидовской трагедии, но и от гостеприимного стола Архелая и его увенчанных розами собеседников с самым Еврипидом в главе. (ST 308)

The views of the German Romantics, for whom Republican Athens was an ideal of political freedom and freedom of conscience, are not reflected at all in Annensky's essays; nor is any sophisticated critique of the Athenian state attempted.

Annensky's essays take account of some of the preoccupations of the late nineteenth-century classical-scholarly world, and give some account of the favoured methods of criticism (archaeological, textological, historical). But he adopts no recognisable scholarly methodology and no particular orientation; he even ignores the structural analysis Zelinsky had brought to the study of Greek literature. Of all contemporary classicists, he is closest to Wilamowitz; he lacks Wilamowitz' enormous erudition, but his essays on Hippolytus and Cyclops are clearly influenced by the German scholar's work on those plays.¹ Like Wilamowitz, Annensky modernises, though his literary principles are those of Modernism, not Realism.

The brief and generalised treatment of historical issues in Annensky's essays was not well received by the classical-philological establishment in Russia. When Zelinsky edited the second edition of Teatr Evripida, he

1. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Griechische Tragödien, volume 1 [Hippolytus], volume 3 [Cyclops]

was perturbed that Annensky had not supplied a detailed commentary and notes for the plays dealing with historical, political and linguistic points. He accordingly provided them himself, and excised what he described as 'neudachnye s filologicheskoi tochki zreniya soobrazheniya' from the introductory essays to the plays.¹ Zelinsky's own nauchno-populyarnye stat'i in the collections Iz zhizni idei were concerned with historical, social, religious and philosophical issues.² In Annensky's essays the focus is on the texts as 'literature', particularly on their formal characteristics. As Teatr Evripida progressed, less and less attention was given to historical issues. The titles of the essays indicate this change; the early essays are given the title of the play: 'Res, tragediya, pripisyvaemaya Evripidu', the later essays literary titles such as 'Poeticheskaya kontseptiya Al'kesty'.

Discussion of the formal and linguistic aspects of the plays is not technical; Annensky shied away from this as he did from history. In the essay on Hippolytus, he wrote that he was not going to concentrate on 'facts':

Поэтических красот стиля, лиризма, экономия пьесы, удивительной стройности в распределении партий по отдельным сценам мне, к сожалению, не приходится трогать вовсе. Дело в том, что я намерен говорить не о том, что подлежит исследованию и подсчету, а о том, что я пережил, вдумываясь в речи героев и стараясь уловить за ними идейную и поэтическую стройность трагедии. (КО 363)

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1. Zelinsky in TE 1916, ix. His reservations were shared by Varneke ('IFA -- nekrolog')
 2. Zelinsky, Iz zhizni idei; first published in 1905, it ran to several editions. It seems likely that in some cases Z. was directly polemicising with Annensky; his essays on Iphigenia in Aulis (1900) and classicism in Maikov's poetry (1899) were written immediately after essays by Annensky on the same subjects were published.

The essays on Euripides are just as 'subjective' as the essays on modern literature. Annensky is concerned with such vague and indefinable matters as 'zvuki' 'torzhestvennyi kadans strok' and 'zhivye tsepi tsvetushchikh legend'. His resolution of textological questions illustrates this concern. He does admit the importance of such questions, but is inclined to conservatism; for him there is little doubt that Euripides was the author of Rhesus.¹ The yardstick against which passages of doubtful authenticity are measured is not historical probability, but 'the artistic unity' of a text. His views on the exodos of Iphigenia in Aulis are determined by poeticheskoe chuvstvo, and he argues that it is genuine not because of internal linguistic evidence or external historical evidence, but because 'iskhod predstavlyaetsya mne vpolne garmoniruyushchim s samoyu tragediei'.² His rejection of part of the parodos is based on similar grounds:

Мной руководили не столько соображения о позднейшем происхождении этого каталога в лирической форме, сколько соображения субъективно-эстетические: я не мог почувствовать ни художественной связи трех последних строфических пар с предшествующей частью парода, ни поэтической их цели или идей.

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1. This at least is what A. argues in 'Res, tragediya'; but in 'Res na gimnazicheskoi tsene', written thirteen years later, he calls the play 'edva li prinadlezhashchaya klassicheskomu veku tragediya'. (367)
 2. 'Posmertnaya Ifigeniya', 70
 3. Ibid.

Poeticheskoe chuvstvo also determines the order of the translations and essays. Annensky followed neither of the conventional practices for arranging Euripides' plays, alphabetical order and chronological order, insofar as this can be established. His arrangement appears to have been based on thematic considerations: Iphigenia in Tauris and Helen, which were to be published in the second volume of Teatr Evripida (1906), are both tragedies about women suffering the aftermath of the Trojan War.¹ In the first volume, there is an obvious resemblance between the heroines of Medea and Hippolytus; and the remaining four plays are unusual and eccentric interpretations of the genre of tragedy.²

In all the essays on Euripides, the problems of character are discussed. Annensky's view is ahistorical. The plays represent universal and ever-recurring psychological conflicts of different types; historically and nationally specific elements are played down. In 'Tragediya Ippolita i Fedry' it is argued that the play presents the universal and eternal conflict of men (Theseus and Hippolytus) and women (Phaedra and her Nurse). This psychological problem has incidental elements: Hippolytus is a follower of Artemis, Phaedra and her Nurse belong to the gynekaion, a specifically Greek institution; but Annensky's analysis is concerned almost exclusively with the abstract struggle of rationality and irrationality:

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1. See letter to Anna Borodina of 6.8.1908 (KO 480). It is not clear which other plays might have gone in to volume 2, but it is possible that The Trojan Women would also have been suited by its subject matter.
 2. One of the four, Cyclops, is not a tragedy at all, but a satyr play (see Chapter 5 of the present study)

Если я правильно понимаю Еврипида, смысл его знаменитой сцены лежит в проблеме женской души. Как в „Алькесте“ своеобразное раздвоение душевных состояний послужило подкладкой изящных сцен между Адметом и Феретом и Адметом и Гераклом, так в „Ипполите“ Федра и кормилица изображают сознательную и бессознательную сторону женской души, ее божественную и ее растительную форму. (КО 385)

Annensky's ahistorical approach to character often modernises Euripides. The dramatis personae are portrayed as decadent early twentieth-century aesthetes. One such is Admetus in Alcestis:

Адмет не атлет, это натура созерцательная. Он питомец муз, но занятия философией не ослабили в его гармонической натуре религиозного начала: в Адмете нет гордыни Пенфея, Беллерофонта, Иксиона. Он любит музыку: и лиру, и ливийскую флейту, скульптуру любит до самозабвения.¹

Even the god Apollo in Ion shares the feelings of an aesthete and a poet. Annensky argues that his apparent cruelty in causing Creusa suffering is caused by his creative delight:

Аполлон играл с Креусой и Ионом. Зачем? Какая странная игра, скажете вы. Разве она достойна богу? Не знаю. Но, во всяком случае, глубоко-человечный юмор трагедии, который среди всех ужасов и проклятий умеет показать светлую улыбку бога, вовсе не похож на потеху над человеческим страданием. Впрочем, игра Аполлона с людьми не умерла и до сих пор, хотя мы стали несколько туги на ее понимание, только играет уже -- не сам Аполлон, а его дети -- поэты, и игру их зовут искусством.²

Sometimes Annensky's emphasis on the resemblance of his characters to modern aesthetes is hard to accept. His

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1. 'Poeticheskaya kontseptsiya Al'kesty', part 1, 95
 2. 'Ion i Apollonid', 545

insistence that Medea's hatred of Jason is motivated by the feelings of a poet rather than by straightforward sexual jealousy denies the character much of her force, and bowdlerises Euripides' portrait.¹

As in the Knigi otrazhenii, Annensky's view of literature as self-contained and inward-looking, independent from social and historical issues, is accompanied by a self-consciously poetic authorial style. In all the essays, the main discussion of the text is in the form of an extended, 'synthetic' synopsis. This is not a bald summary of the plot; it is an imaginative reconstruction of it, with the use of different narrative voices. Impersonal academic narrative is interrupted by first person colloquial outbursts from the critic, affected hesitation, questions and discussion. In the following passage from 'Tragicheskaya Medeya' a factual statement of Medea's actions is suddenly interrupted by an exclamatory section in which the reader's thoughts are anticipated and countered:

Медееа готовит план мести, который погубит всех ее врагов, но вместе с ними ведь погибнет и она сама... А дети? Судьи Еврипида не занимаются этой деталью... Притом же, где тот филистер который не любил бы помечтать о том, каковы должны быть истинные герои?²

Besides the neutral narrative voice, we hear the imagined voice of the reader -- 'А дети?' -- and statements by two characters, the Philistine and the Critics of Euripides.

1. 'Tragicheskaya Medeya', part 3, 483-4: 'V Medee zhivet poet, ei nuzhen tol'ko mechta vlasti'. The sexual passion of Medea for Jason was also suppressed by Annensky in his translation of the play (see Chapter 3 of this study)

2. 'Tragicheskaya Medeya', part 3, 488

The narrative is further varied elsewhere by interruptions from one of the fictional characters, which are given in different ways. There are direct quotations from the Greek original, or from Annensky's translation. Sometimes direct statements are given in Russian paraphrase ("Udalivshis' iz zhizni," govorit Fedra, "ya eshche do zakata nasyshchu Kipridu" KO 393). Sometimes the characters' observations are given as indirect summary or as erlebte Rede. In the following extract from 'Tragicheskaya Medeya', Annensky's evaluation of Medea's feelings at a distance is interrupted by a dramatic rendering of her thoughts in erlebte Rede:

Но вот приговор коринского царя дает толчек скопившейся силе. Медея сбила первый камень и чувствует прилив энергии. Месть должна совершиться сегодня же. А как унижилась Медея! Она, которая не молила даже родного отца, дошла до лести, и перед кем? О, Креонт дорого ей заплатит за эту вынужденную ласку.¹

Annensky's use of different voices was obviously partly a result of the fact that he was an accomplished lecturer who liked to read his essays out loud.² It also makes the subjectivity of his approach evident; he is not a detached scholar, evaluating Euripides from a distance, but a reader and poet who is involved with and 'reflects' the characters. In 'Tragicheskaya Medeya' Annensky uses the characters' speech to suggest insidiously that Jason is not a sympathetic character. His thoughts are always

1. 'Tragicheskaya Medeya', part 3, 487

2. 'Izvestno, chto Annensky lyubil chitat' napisannoe im "po svezhim sledam"' -- Podol'skaya. (KO 610)
Annensky's essays 'Antichnaya tragediya', 'Ion i Apollonid', 'Tavricheskaya zhritsa' were originally written as lectures.

summarised: 'soderzhanie rechi Yasona svoditsya k sleduyushchemu'. He does not analyse where Euripides 'meant' our sympathies to lie, but makes the reader share Medea's position.

The subject of the essays on Euripides is similar to that of the Knigi otrazhenii: the poeticheskaya sushchnost' of the text. But there are important differences between the collections. As we have seen, in Kniga otrazhenii and Vtoraya kniga otrazhenii Annensky was often critical of contemporary literature, and was eager to debunk modern figures.¹ In the essays on Euripides he was attempting to impress the beauties of classical literature on his Russian audience, and he almost invariably appears as an apologist for Euripides' practice; he takes issue with negative appraisals which have been made by other critics. He even makes out a case for Rhesus, which has generally been found wanting in artistic merit, and counters suggestions that it is not tragic by putting forward Hector, not Rhesus, as the hero.² When objections are voiced by Annensky about some aspect of Euripidean drama, they are set aside with the contention that it is Euripides' imperfections which make him a great dramatist. In 'Tragicheskaya Medeya' Annensky eulogises certain problem scenes in Euripides' plays:

Я люблю у Еврипида небрежность и причуды, в которых так часто блещет гений. Трагик будто смеется над тщательностью отделки, над выдержанностью общего впечатления, будто хочет показать, что красота

1. See this chapter, page 96

2. 'Res, tragediya', 110-2

и поэзия лежит не в одной гармонии: какой свежей, правдивой нотой прозвучит у него иногда воинственный пыл Иона, пляска стариков в „Вакханках“, или дерзкая пародия на сценические приемы Эсхила среди поэтического и трогательного свидания старого кормильца Агамемнона с его нищей и униженной царевною (в „Электре“).¹

Annensky's task in the essays on Euripides and elsewhere is sometimes extended, and he becomes an apologist for classical dramatic practice or classical literature in general, and defends its particular character. In 'Ion i Apollonid' he attacks modern critical statements that the classical dramatic device of stichomythia is unsatisfactory, and states his own preference for it:

Утратив способность выражаться стихомифически, современные драматурги, во всяком случае, потеряли одно из могучих средств расчленять сложную психологическую ситуацию. При этом, если говорить о естественности, то монологи, эти речи из дома сумасшедших, столь развившиеся со времени Шекспира, и весьма еще ограниченные у древних, ничего не прибавляют к нашим сценическим иллюзиям.²

In the opening paragraphs of his article on Alcestis, he argues that in many ways classical drama was more satisfactory than modern drama, because the demands of the classical stage gave it more diversity; music and dance were used, and it was necessary to please an audience composed both of illiterates and of educated people.³ He also praised classical poetry; in his essay on Apollon Maikov he devotes a paragraph to the stylistic beauty of the poetry of Horace. (KO 293)

1. 'Tragicheskaya Medeya', part 3, 492

2. 'Ion i Apollonid', 543

3. 'Poeticheskaya kontseptsiya Al'kesty', part 1, 73

Annensky rarely criticised any classical author; he expressed mild distaste for Longus' Daphnis and Chloe, the style of which he found pallid and mannered, but his objections were more on moral than on formal grounds. He found the descriptions of love and erotic games in the book 'razvrashchennye popytki, pri pomoshchi kotorykh ritor draznil voobrazhenie svoikh presyshchennykh chitatelei'.¹

Annensky's purpose in writing the essays on Euripides and on other classical authors was to argue the outstanding merits of classical literature, and for him its canonical status is not in doubt: it is the source of all modern literature. But his feelings for antiquity did not lead him to argue that classical literature was necessarily superior to all other literature. He did not believe in a lost Golden Age of literature, any more than he believed in a lost paradise of morals. In his essay 'Chto takoe poeziya?' he attacks this view:

Последним из поэтов был Орфей. Отчего же был? Разве черное весло Орфея красивее в золотистом тумане утра, чем в алых сумерках? Золотой век поэзии в прошлом -- это постулат, но даже не Евклидов. (КО 205)

There is a distinction between classical and modern literature in Annensky's thought, as there is between real and ideal; classical literature is idealised. But the distinction, like that between the mir veshchei and the mir idei, is not hierarchical, nor is it irreconcilable. In all Annensky's literary criticism, an attempt is made to

1. 'Dafnis i Khloya. Drevnegrecheskii roman Longusa', 38

reconcile classical and modern literature by using the comparative method. Euripides' plays are compared at length with each other and with their sources in Greek legend, and Euripides' versions are compared with those by other authors, in particular Sophocles and Aeschylus.¹ The dramas are also compared with modern literary works in profusion and on occasion even in confusion. In his essay on Alcestis, for example, Annensky draws a fairly obvious parallel between the plot of Euripides' play and the plot of Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale. Several other literary parallels are mentioned in passing, but are not developed.² In other essays, Ion is compared with Leconte de Lisle's Apollonid, and the heroine of Medea with Lady Macbeth. In some of these cases there is obviously evidence for 'influence' in a historical sense. There is no doubt that Ion is the source for Apollonid, which is close to the Greek original; Iphigenia in Tauris is certainly the primary source on which Goethe and Rucellai based their plays; some motifs in Shakespeare's plays may well go back to Euripides. It was these historically proven cases of influence which Annensky had mentioned in his introduction to Teatr Evripida:

Даже в самое последнее время, уже после Леконта-де-Лиль, Еврипид влиял и влияет на фантазию таких поэтов, как Суинберн, Катюлл Мандес и Мореас.³

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1. See in particular 'Khudozhestvennaya obrabotka mifa ob Oreste
 2. 'Poeticheskaya kontsepsiya Al'kesty', part 2, 97
 3. TE 1906, v

But there are also numerous cases where there is no evidence at all for a historical connection, and we have what Varneke described as 'otryvochnye i sovershenno sluchainye sopostavleniya'.¹ Examples of these are the comparison of Alcestis and the Sanskrit epic the Mahabharata, which must have been meaningless to the majority of Annensky's readers, and the comparison of Euripides' ideas about love in Hippolytus with Christian charity in the Gospels:

Чем более вдумываюсь я в это обстоятельство, тем более кажется мне, что философ сцены, который создал, т.е. пережил и Федру, и Ипполита, и в самом деле был одним из немногих эллинов, которые „уготовили путь господави“, -- только ему грезилось не сантиментальное христианство житий, а мечта и философский идеализм Евангелия. (КО 393)

Annensky's essays on modern literature contain many references to the classics, likewise with and without historical foundation. Hamlet, for example, is compared with Orestes: 'Gamlet ukhodit kornyami v Oresta' (КО 172). Heine's bedridden years at the end of his life are likened to the torments of the captive Prometheus, which is suggested by the adjective 'prikovannyi'. Direct references in the essays alternate with elaborate metaphors drawn from Greek literature, the meaning of which is often opaque. In the essay 'Brand-Ibsen', for example, Annensky uses the legend of Pygmalion as a metaphor for realist art:

Есть старая сказка о ваятеле, которому удалось оживить свое изваяние. И когда в его создании загорелась чуждая ему и совсем другая душа, то он обрадовался, потому что любил свою статую. Я никогда не мог читать

1. 'IFA -- nekrolog', 40

этой сказки без глубокого уныния. И в самом деле, никто не произнес более сурового приговора над искусством. Неужто же, чтобы обрести жизнь, статуя должна непременно читать газеты, ходить в департамент и целоваться? (КО 177)

Other such ornamental classical references are found in 'Yumor Lermontova', where Tolstoy's concept of trud is described as 'lish' chernyi kamen' Sisifa' (КО 137), and elsewhere in Annensky's prose. Even his private correspondents were subjected to classical allusions: in a letter to Anna Borodina of November 1908, Annensky described bibliophiles as like pious Athenian worshippers of Pallas Athene who dressed the Palladium in ritual vestments (КО 482).

When Annensky compared classical literature and modern literature, he did not do it to the disadvantage of modern literature. In his essay on Iphigenia in Tauris, he acknowledges the superiority of Goethe's version to the Greek original, particularly in the refinement of its expression of feeling.¹ In 'Chto takoe poeziya?' his defence of modern poetry rested on his contention that it was psychologically more advanced than classical poetry:

С каждым днем в искусстве слова все тоньше и все беспощадно-правдивее раскрывается индивидуальность с ее капризными контурами, болезненными возвратами, с ее тайной и трагическим сознанием нашего безнадежного одиночества и эфемерности. (КО 206)

1. 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa', part 4, 494

Annensky's respect for the modern and the classical tradition led him to take a particular interest in neo-classical literature, which he saw as an attempt to synthesise the traditions of classical literature with modern and national literature. It was a continuous, but by no means homogeneous tradition. In 'Ion i Apollonid' he argues that French neo-classicism differs from that of Germany because the most important neo-classicists in Germany, Schiller and Goethe, knew very little Greek.¹

Neo-classicism does not and must not slavishly imitate the classics, Annensky argued; it was a 'reflection' of the original, 'odin iz masok dlya vechnogo geniya Antichnosti'.² Each generation turns to the interpretations made by successive earlier generations of neo-classicists, as well as to Greek and Latin texts:

Но тревожной душе человека XX столетия добродетель пасторали едва ли ближе бранной славе эпоса, и символы Гомера возбуждают в нас уже совсем другие эмоции. Ахилл дразнит нашу фантазию своей таинственной и трагической красотой. Волшебница Кирка рисуется нам с кошачьей спиной, как у Берн-Джонса, а на Елену мы уже не можем смотреть иначе, как сквозь призму Гете или Леконта де Лиля. (КО 205)

It was natural that Annensky's interest in the neo-classical tradition should be extended to Russia, and indeed almost all the lyric poets whom he wrote on -- Maikov, Polonsky, Pushkin, *A.K. Tolstoy* -- produced some poems that belonged to this tradition. In Annensky's essays praise of individual writers of a neo-classical cast is tempered

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1. 'Sluchainost nadelila luchshikh poetov Frantsii prevoskhodnym znaniem grecheskogo yazyka' -- 'Ion i Apollonid', 531
 2. 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii', part 4, 288

with regret that the neo-classical tradition in Russia should be fragmented and underdeveloped:

На пороге XIX в. русская сатира уже смеется над поэтическим наследием Горация, классицизмом: классицизм теряет у нас таланты и делается достоянием рифмачей, с одной стороны, и пародий -- с другой, а в русской литературе надолго устанавливается недоверие к французскому классицизму, который мы окрестили и до сих пор зовем ложным, несмотря на поправки, внесенные в суждении Лессинга современными нам учеными немцами. (КО 293)

Annensky's criticism was intended to interest the Russian public in Greek and Latin literature, and to stimulate the growth of a Russian neo-classical tradition. According to Zelinsky, the rebirth of such a tradition, or 'Slavonic renaissance' was one of the preoccupations of Annensky's career:

Античность далеко еще не сказала нам своего последнего слова. [...] Не раз беседовали мы с покойным на эту тему, не раз рисовали себе картину грядущего „славянского возрождения“, как третьего в ряду великих ренессансов после романского -- XIV-го и германского -- XVIII-го веков. [...] И мы уверены: когда наступит возрождение -- наступит имя И.Ф., как одного из ее предтеч, озарится новым блеском.

Annensky's idea of the 'Slavonic renaissance', like his descriptions of classical literature, was complicated. He admired the erudition and complexity of the French Parnassians, which he praised in his essay 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii',² But in his essay 'O sovremennom lirizme', he criticised the unnecessary

1. Zelinsky, 'IFA kak filolog-klassik', 9

2 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii', part 1, 185

and ostentatious academicism of Vyacheslav Ivanov's poem

'Sud ognya':

В основе стихотворения лежит культовая ахейская легенда об одном из многочисленных Еврипилов. При дележе Троянской добычи фессалиец Еврипил выбрал себе кованный ларец, работу Гефеста -- в нем оказался идол Диониса Эсимнета, и, открывши свое приобретение, герой сошел с ума. С обычным мастерством поэт, стяжавший себе известность великолепием своих вакхических изображений, передает нам заболевание Еврипила. [...] Тут не знаешь даже, чему более изумляться: тонкости ли изображения или его колориту; сжатости ли стихов или их выдержанному стилю. Но кто знаком, скажите, у нас с легендой Еврипила? (КО 332)

Annensky makes it clear that he objects, not because he does not understand the reference, but because he feels that it is a self-indulgent display of erudition. Vyacheslav Ivanov's poetry comes off relatively lightly in the essay; Bryusov's is described as 'letopis' nepreryvnogo uchenichestva i samoproverki' (КО 341), and Annensky declares that it is hardly worth trying to understand the obscure references in Sologub's poetry at all (КО 355). In a review of Bunin's collected works published in Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya, Annensky rebukes this writer for showing off his knowledge of the classics, remarking tartly, 'K zhanru Bunina kak-to malo idet deshevaya eruditsiya latinskikh tsitat'.¹

Annensky's plans for the revival of neo-classical literature were very far from the academicism of Symbolist writers, whose poems he contemptuously described as kriptogrammy. The revival was not to be based on imitation of specific devices in classical poetry, or the style of

1. 'I. Bunin. [Sobranie sochinenii]', 237

any one author. Russian poetry was to be 'classical' in a general sense, and was to model itself on the polished artistry of Greek and Latin literature. Annensky gives a detailed definition of classicism in his essay on Apollon Maikov. The poetry of Horace, which he takes as quintessentially classical, is formally perfect; it also has the moral qualities of self-restraint, abstinence, and detachment:

Гораций был едва ли не самым искусным из всех поэтов. [...] Философ собственного творчества и иллюстратор своих поэтических теорий, он до такой степени воплотил в себе культурно-ассимилирующую силу Рима, что отдельные черты его типа до сих пор живут в поэзии итальянцев и французов независимо от того, к какому направлению принадлежит тот или другой романский лирик: уважение к поэтической речи, склонность к ее стилизации, искусное пользование размерами и красивая строфичность, умеренность в выражении чувств, изящный эпикуреизм, созерцательное и вдумчиво-насмешливое отношение к жизни, культ красоты, чуждый болезненной мечтательности. (КО 292-3)

Maikov's poetry is likewise praised for these qualities, and for its classical rationalism and detachment:

Мир окаменелый, кристаллизовавшийся, отраженный дает себе знать вдумчиво и спокойно, он не волнует, не мучит, не вызывает на борьбу, не ставит запросов; легче поддается и анализу и гармонизации. (КО 283)

In Annensky's essay on Bal'mont, written six years later, the qualities of self-restraint and judgement in the work of art are indicated by the word dobrodetel', 'virtue', which is distinguished from moral', 'morality, ethics'. (КО 97)

This extension of the normal meaning of the Russian word dobrodetel' may be derived from the Greek ἀρετή, which indicated excellence of any kind, not necessarily moral.

Annensky's definition of classicism has polemical overtones. In his essay on Maikov, he had stated that Russian literature had two abiding faults, which were derived from its Byzantine origins and from the bureaucratic reforms of Peter the Great. The first fault, whose effects have been widespread and pernicious, is mysticism:

Мистицизм, закрывавший от людей солнце и стиравший краски, был неумолим по отношению к нашей поэзии: в его черный синодик записаны лучшие русские имена: Жуковских, Гоголей, Толстых и Достоевских -- он заносил свою тяжкую руку даже над головой Пушкина, но был предупрежден рукой Дантеса. (КО 293)

The second fault is tendentiousness, exemplified by the genre of sluzhilaya satira which originated in the eighteenth century. (КО 293-4) Annensky saw classicism as a necessary corrective to these faults in Russian literature; its rational character would counterbalance excessive mysticism, its artistichnost' excessive political zeal.

The definition of classicism has a historical, as well as a national, context; the idea that classical literature exemplifies formal perfection and restraint is traditional; this is how the word 'classicism' is often understood. Annensky's view of classical literature recalls the eighteenth-century theoreticians, in particular Winckelmann's formulation of Greek art as 'eine edle Einfalt und eine stille Größe' in his seminal work of 1755, Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst. Annensky deliberately detached himself from contemporary ideas about the classical world by phrasing his ideas about classical literature as he did.

Annensky's classical ideal also recalls Nietzsche's concept of the Apollonian as expressed in Die Geburt der Tragödie, a work with which Annensky was certainly familiar: he cited it at the beginning of his essay on Vlast' t'my (KO 63).¹ According to Nietzsche, classical art was the product of a synthesis of two principles, the Dionysiac, which was ecstatic, intoxicated, and inspired, and the Apollonian, which represented law, culture, restraint and artistic illusion. These principles revealed themselves more or less in certain types of art. Sculpture and architecture were associated with the Apollonian, music and dance with the Dionysiac; in classical tragedy they were most perfectly synthesised. The decline and decadence of the classical world was caused by attempts to suppress the Dionysiac principle. Nietzsche saw Euripides' drama, which he attacked, as an example of this rationalising tendency:

Jenes ursprüngliche und allmächtige dionysische Element aus der Tragödie auszuscheiden und sie rein und neu auf undionysischer Kunst, Sitte und Weltbetrachtung aufzubauen -- diese ist die jetzt in heller Beleuchtung sich uns enthüllende Tendenz des Euripides, [....] ein Dichter, der mit heroischer Kraft ein langes Leben hindurch dem Dionysus widerstanden hat -- um am Ende desselben mit einer Glorifikation seines Gegners und einem Selbstmorde seine Laufbahn zu schließen, einem Schwindelden gleich, der, um nur dem entsetzlichen, nicht mehr erträglichen Wirbel zu entgehen, sich vom Turme herunterstürzt.²

Annensky's ties with the conventional classical-philological establishment, and his admiration for Wilamowitz, were strong enough for him to regard Nietzsche's work as

1. See also Chapter 4 of this study, page 192

2. Die Geburt der Tragödie, 81-2

a distortion of historical fact about the Ancient World; in 'Vlast' t'my' he referred to Die Geburt der Tragödie as 'rebyachaya skazka', though he praised its brilliance (KO 63)¹ But Nietzsche's work was a convenient point of reference in arguing his own view of classicism. The Russian Symbolists, in particular Vyacheslav Ivanov, had used Die Geburt der Tragödie as an authority for their perception of the classical world, which was religious, mystical and ecstatic. Ivanov had rebuked Nietzsche for not giving enough emphasis to the Dionysiac qualities in his work, and had compared him to Euripides' Pentheus: 'Nitsche tak zhe propovedal Dionisa -- i iskal zashchity ot Dionisa v sile Apollonovoi'.²

Annensky's interpretation of Nietzsche was almost certainly produced in response to Ivanov's, and is diametrically opposed to it. He emphasised the anti-mystical, anti-religious character of Nietzsche's work. In a fragment of an unpublished essay, 'Zametki o Nitsche', he argues that the philosopher was really, unknown to himself, an Apollonian:

Ницше глубоко ошибался в природе своей радости. Она не была дионисовской, а более подходила к типу аполлоновской. Это была радость мысли. Единственная, которая дает людям идею человечества. (KO 589)

Annensky's defence of Apollonian, traditional classicism was a leitmotiv in all his criticism. His reading of Ion was influenced by his polemic with the Symbolists. He argues that Euripides' conception of Apollo is central to the play,

1. On Wilamowitz' antipathy to Nietzsche, see Hist. of Class. Philology, xii

2. Ivanov, Po zvezdam, 2

and that the god is 'tragically justified' in it; he emphasises Euripides' connection with Apollonian cult:

Еврипид был близок к культу Аполлона -- это был его наследственный культ; может быть, именно поэтому он дважды оправдал Аполлона (в "Электре" и "Ионе"), тогда как ни Гера, ни Дионис, ни Киприда не был им трагически оправдан.¹

Annensky's defence of the traditional understanding of classicism as order and formal beauty against the reassessment in Nietzsche's work and his attack on the mystical cult of Dionysus are central to his work. It would, however, be wrong to present his classicism as coherent and unified. In his 'Zametki o Nitsshe' he had maintained that Nietzsche exemplified the ideas of his age, a time that was 'strastno tsinischieski antonimichnyi' (KO 589). Annensky's own literary theory was equally contradictory. He praises one classical model, Horace, for harmony and coherence; another, Euripides, for breaking down traditional genre models and for deliberate fragmentation. According to Sergei Makovsky's recollections, Annensky was depressed by the extent to which he was himself tainted with the Dionysiac emotion:

Анненский почитал себя плохим слугой Аполлона, бога красоты и меры. Последнее обстоятельство приводило его даже в некое трогательное смущение. "Ведь я старый прислужник Диониса, насмешливый сатир (он ставил ударение на а), моя муза -- менада, как бы ни прогнали меня из храма Светозарного и Лученосного. И тут же успокаивал себя тем, что эти боги -- близкие родственники² и поэтому, исповедуя одного, служишь и другому..."

1. 'Ion i Apollonid', 533

2. Makovsky, 'Innokenty Annensky', 242-3

Although Annensky rejected classicism as understood by the Symbolists, his criticism was heavily influenced by Symbolist perceptions; as a reviewer of the second edition of Teatr Evripida wrote, 'izvestno, chto pokoinyi Innokenty Fedorovich byl v znachitel'noi stepeni modernistom'.¹ His essays attempt to reconcile a traditional perception of the form of classical works of art with a Symbolist perception of the nature of language, of myth.²

Annensky's essays are concerned to some extent with the study of concrete, historical Hellenic legends, and their geographical variants. This is not, however, his major interest. He was preoccupied with the unity of legends and not with their diversity, with 'myth' in a general sense. In 'O sovremennom lirizme' he describes myth as 'obshchenarodnyi' (KO 333), and distinguishes it from legend, which is historically and geographically determined. Legend is individual, and myth general:

Есть несколько сил, которые мешают словам расплываться в беглой символике. Первая заключается в культовой легенде. Афродита забывает мистическую дальность своего символа Ашторет, и реческий лодочник заставляет ее возникнуть из эгейской пены прямо готовой гречанкой. (КО 338)

But Annensky was not primarily concerned with comparative mythology, any more than with the history of Greek myth; he was interested in the nature of representation which was found in mythology. In 'Mif i tragediya Gerakla' he

1. Dil', 'Teatr Evripida', 450

2. Significantly, in a review of 1907 Annensky attacks a traditional, Winckelmannian perception of classical art with the words 'Eto uzh sud'ba grecheskogo iskusstva kharakterizovat'sya obshchimi mestami'. 'Robert Zaichik. Lyudi i iskusstvo ital'yanskogo vozrozhdeniya', 83

speculates that the ultimate origin of myth was collective primitive perceptions of nature and psychology: it had 'nachal'noe, mozhet byt' praariiskoe, sootvetstvie s tem ili inym yavleniem iz oblasti solyarnoi ili atmosfericheskoi'.¹ The word mif is used interchangeably with simvol and slovo to indicate the ultimate transcendental link between the polarities of real and ideal, subject and object, mind and matter:

Благороднейшее назначение слов -- связывать переливной сетью символов я и не-я, гордо и скорбно сознавая себя средним -- и притом единственным средним, между этими двумя мирами. Символисты справедливее всего называть, по-моему, тех поэтов, которые не столько заботятся о выражении я или изображении не-я, как стараются усвоить и отразить их вечно сменяющиеся взаимноположения. (КО 339)

The link is not stable; it alters according to the character of the object and the perspective of the subject, as is indicated by the words 'perelivnaya set'.

When Annensky uses the words slovo, mif and simvol he is not describing the character of all language. In 'O sovremennom lirizme' the language of the nauchnyi tekst is rigidly distinguished from the poetic utterance:

Каждая область знания точно ищет освободиться от пут метафоры, от мифологических сетей речи -- но уж, конечно, не для изысканности стиля, а чтобы уйти в терминологию, в беззвучность, в письмо, в алфавит на аппарате Морзе. Что же будет она делать -- скажите -- со стихом, этим певучим гением мира, уверяющим ее в вечности Протея и бессмертии непрестанно творимой легенды? (КО 339)

Scientific discourse is direct and unambiguous; but poetic

1. 'Mif i tragediya Gerakla', 100. On the Symbolists' perception of myth, see Chapter 1 of the present study, 54-5

language has an indirect relation with its material, which it radically transforms.

Annensky's statements about the nature of language, like his statements about literature in general, are contradictory. His philologist's interest in the etymology and semantics of particular words jostles uncomfortably with his view that poetic language is elusive and indefinable.¹ In 'O sovremennom lirizme', by far his most radical statement about poetry, he interrupts a discussion of Bryusov's poetry with an excursion into the exact meaning of the Greek words ἄρρητον and ἄφατον . (KO 342) In a review of Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky's Rukovodstvo k izucheniyu sintaksisa russkogo yazyka, Annensky argues that language has certain fixed and universal rules, such as those of grammar, which are known to every speaker, and the disruption of which is remarked by every speaker, an argument which restricts the radical powers of poetic language.² G.M. Ponamareva has shown that some of Annensky's linguistic theories are close to those of Potebnya and other members of the psikhologicheskaya shkola. The latter argued that the literary text was ambiguous, it had vnutrennyaya and vneshnyaya forma, but that this ambiguity was stable and could be illuminated by close reading.³

Annensky's theories of the word and of the artistic

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1. Annensky also made incongruous statements about the need for poetic language to be 'ordinary'. (See my article, 'Bacchic Revels?', in Essays in Poetics 1985, 2)
 2. 'D.N. Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky. Rukovodstvo', 214
 3. Ponamareva, 'IFA i Potebnya', 66-8

text were deeply divided. He was faithful to the academic tradition. His views on language were partly based on the study of ancient texts in dead languages, and were 'philological' as defined by Voloshinov / Bakhtin in an essay of 1928, 'Western linguistics':

Under the pressure of the needs of philology, linguistics has always based itself on the completed monologic utterance -- the ancient literary text as the ultimate reality. It was in work on this sort of dead monologic utterance, or rather -- on a series of such utterances with nothing more in common than the language in which they were written,¹ that linguistics evolved its methods and categories.

But Annensky simultaneously argued a contradictory, Symbolist perception of the word or the poetic text as 'the ultimate reality' in a different sense: a god-given, elusive messenger between two worlds.

Annensky's writings on the classical text are affected in particular by the unresolved contradiction in his views on language. In accordance with academic and literary traditions, it is seen as self-contained, historically specific, and autonomous, elevated to a unique and inviolable position. Classical form is perfect, smooth, without contradictions, and coherent, the model for all later literature. At the same time Annensky argues that all literature, including classical literature, is fragmentary, unresolved and contradictory, that it is not straightforward, but complex and demanding. No single meaning can be extracted from the text, but a huge number

1. Bakhtin School Papers, 43

of different meanings, some of which may not be obvious to the author. The theme of classicism is present in all Annensky's literary essays, but it does not unify the essays and reviews; it illumines the inherent contradictions.

The educational message of Annensky's literary essays is an obvious link between his criticism and his drama and poetry. He was an example of the type of writer ironically described by Wolf Friedrich as 'die auch-dichtende Gelehrsamkeit'.¹ His essays were written in part as a commentary on his own literary works, an exercise which he had recommended to the Russian Symbolists in 'O sovremennom lirizme':

Отчего бы поэту, в самом деле, не давать к своим высокоценным пьесам комментария, как делал в свое время Леопарди? (КО 332)

Conversely, his poetry and dramas were dependent on his literary essays, and were written to illustrate theories which he had begun to develop in the 1890s, before he had written much serious poetry. The idiosyncratic classicism which is expounded in his essays and which he exhorts the Russian public to follow is developed, with all its contradictions, in his literary works. His translations are eccentric versions of the classical models; and his original dramas and poetry were written to be the foundation of the eagerly-awaited 'Slavonic renaissance'.

1 Quoted in Stephan, Studien zum Drama des russischen Symbolismus, 100

Будь жаворонок нив и пажитей -- Вергилий,
Иль альбатрос Бодлер, иль соловей Верлен
Твоей ловитвою -- все в чужеземный плен
Не заманить тебе птиц вольных без усилий.

Мой милый птицелов -- и верно, без
насилий
Не обойдешься ты, поэт, и без измен
Хотя б ты другом был всех девяти камен,
И зла ботаником, и пастырем идилий.
Вячеслав Иванов

CHAPTER THREE

'S Proteem bud' Protei' -- Translations from
classical Greek

In late 1907 Aleksandr Blok summarised the current state of Russian literature in a letter to his mother.

Publications abounded, but there were few original works:

Я очень осведомлен в современной литературе и сделал выводы очень решительные: за этот год, в конечном итоге: 1) переводная литература преобладает над оригинальной; 2) критика и комментарий -- над творчеством.

Blok's analysis is true not only of 1907, but of the entire Symbolist movement. He himself produced numerous literary essays, and several translations; all the other Symbolists wrote essays and manifestos, and translated widely. Bely was the only Symbolist who does not seem to have been interested in literary translations. Some of the Symbolists (though not Blok) were more prolific as translators and essayists than as writers. Twenty-one of the twenty-five volumes of Merezhkovsky's collected works are devoted to essays and translations.²

The Symbolists' translations have at least as much merit as their essays. They were the result of much effort and concentration; many of them are outstandingly successful; and the Symbolists' experiments with verse translation undoubtedly helped to found the outstanding tradition of tvorcheskii perevod in Russia in the present century. The excellence of their translations has been

1. Blok, letter to his mother 27.11.1907, Sochineniya v 8 tomakh, 8, 219

2. Merezhkovsky, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, volumes 1-21

widely recognised, and they have been widely reprinted and anthologised in the Soviet Union.

The Russian Symbolists' emphasis on literary essays followed French Symbolist traditions: the major French Symbolists all wrote essays and manifestos. Their interest in translation, on the other hand, was an innovation. The French Parnassians were avid translators: Leconte de Lisle, for example, put Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus into French; but translation was not important for the Symbolists. Mallarmé translated Poe into French, but this was a significant exception. For Russian poets, translation was a way into the new poetic ideas circulating in France. It helped them to assimilate French Symbolism and introduce it to the Russian public. Before 1900, they translated almost exclusively from French literature; thereafter, from other European languages as well.

Annensky's literary career is typically Symbolist. As has been shown, his first contact with literature was through essays and reviews, he was always active as essayist and reviewer, and his kommentarstvo was the centre of his literary work. His translations were no less significant. He produced far more translations than original poetry; he translated nearly eighty lyric poems and over twenty thousand lines of dramatic verse altogether -- contrast his original output (four neo-classical dramas, thirty prose poems, and about three hundred lyric poems). By 1900, before he had published even one original poem, he had brought out several translations, and his first collection of poems, Tikhie pesni,

His translations were fairly well-known in his lifetime, and their popularity lasted after his death; they were frequently anthologised; and in 1923-1939, when few of Annensky's poems were republished in the Soviet Union, more than fifty of his translations, (including extracts from them), appeared in anthologies.¹

Valentin Krivich states that his father knew fourteen languages, including Sanskrit, Hebrew and one African language.² But Annensky's translations do not indicate the full breadth of his linguistic talents. He never attempted any translations from Sanskrit or Hebrew, and apart from one poem by Longfellow, the only modern European languages represented are German and French. He covered a wide range of contemporary and near-contemporary authors, particularly French poets (among them Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Leconte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme), but he never worked on medieval, renaissance or even eighteenth-century authors.

Annensky's professional and private interest in classical literature naturally led him to translate from Greek and Latin. He was particularly active as a translator of Greek; his most important achievement was his Russian version of all Euripides' plays (including Rhesus), a job which took nearly twenty years. He also put a few Greek and Latin lyrics into Russian: poems by

1. See Ingold, 'A Bibliography'; Voronkov, Drevnyaya Gretsya i drevnii Rim

2. Krivich, 'IFA po semeinyh vospominaniyam', 200

Horace, Bacchylides and Simonides of Ceos, and one of the 'Homeric Hymns'.¹

The textual history of Annensky's translations from French and German is not complicated. Most of them came out in Tikhie pesni as a separate section entitled 'Parnasty i proklyatye'. About twenty others were first published in Posmertnye stikhi (1923). Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii included six more, and all Annensky's translations from French, German and English are now accessible in this edition. Most of them were republished in Sozvuchiya in 1979.

The fate of Annensky's classical translations, like that of his essays on classical literature, is less happy. Even the Euripides translations have not been published in a single edition. Annensky never managed to translate the fragments, but had finished translating all nineteen complete plays by his death. He intended to publish the translations, with the essays on them, in a three-volume edition (Teatr Evripida), but only the first volume appeared. After Annensky's death, a six-volume edition was planned; it was edited by Zelinsky, and was also called Teatr Evripida. Only three volumes of this had come out when Zelinsky emigrated, and it was abandoned. In 1960 a third Teatr Evripida appeared; but even this did not contain all Annensky's translations, since the manuscripts of Prositel'nitsy (Supplices) and Troyanki

1. Horace Odes II, 8 III, 7; III, 26 (ST 229-231); Odes I, 5; I, 13: Razbor stikh. perevoda ... Porfirova, 11-12, 15 Bacchylides, Ode XVI, see 'Yunye zhertvy'; Simonides of Ceos, Fragment 13, in Golosovker, Lirika drevnei Ellady, 48-9; see also Appendix.

(The Trojan Women) appear to have been lost at some stage after Annensky's death.¹ The edition was republished under different titles in 1969 and 1980.² Two translations (Res and Finikiyanki) were only ever published in periodicals. The first publications of all the remaining fifteen translations took place in various editions; many first came out, like the essays, in ZMNP.

Matters are further complicated by Zelinsky's aggressive editing. He was not content to leave the translations more or less untouched, as he had been with the essays. He admitted himself that he had changed nearly 5,000 lines (out of about 16,000) in the plays which he edited. He may have made other, unadvertised, changes.³

Annensky's translations of classical lyrics have never been collected. Most are not even in Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii or Sozvuchiya, though the editor of the latter, Fedorov, states that it contains all Annensky's translations of lyric poetry: 'Nastoyashchim izdaniem okhvativayutsya vse prinadlezhashchie poetu perevody liricheskikh i neskol'kikh epicheskikh stikhotvorenii'.⁴ In fact, the only classical translations in either of these volumes are the Horatian odes first published in Tikhie pesni. (ST 229-31). Other translations are difficult to find; some have been printed only once; and Annensky's archive in TSGALI may contain unpublished translations from Greek and Latin.

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1. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 5
 2. As Ėvripid: Tragedii
 3. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 5
 4. Sozvuchiya, 164

The critical history of Annensky's classical translations is also obscure. In accordance with the lively interest in Symbolist translation, his translations from modern languages have been widely studied, though they have not yet been the subject of a monograph. Besides Fedorov's introduction to Sozvuchiya and his remarks in the preface to Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii and his recent book, there have been several articles.¹

Little interest has been shown in Annensky's classical translations -- or for that matter in those by other Symbolist poets. When the first volume of Teatr Evripida was published in 1906, several reviews appeared, mostly by classical scholars.² The first two volumes of Zelinsky's edition also attracted one or two reviewers.³ After that, Annensky's Euripides was ignored until the 1960s. The Soviet editions of Annensky's Euripides contain short introductions of little interest.⁴ Little has been written on Annensky's translations of poetry; many critics, like the editor of Sozvuchiya, appear to have been ignorant of their existence. Busch has covered Annensky's Horace translations, including those in the essay on Porfirov; his remarks are brief, and far from

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1. Fedorov, 'Dva poeta' (Sozvuchiya 5-17); see also (ST 55-60); Innokenty Annensky, 101-111; articles by O'Bell, Gifford, Byrns and Kotzmanidou, Borker, and Ritz, 150 Jahre russische Heine-Übersetzung, 315-321
 2. Zelinsky, 'Evripid v perevode IA'; Varneke, 'Teatr Evripida'; see also reviews by Nilender, Kholodnyak
 3. Dil', 'Teatr Evripida' (on vol. 1); Gel'd, 'Teatr Evripida' (on vol. 2)
 4. Golovni in Teatr Evripida 1960; Yarkho in Evripid, Tragedii, 1969, 596-8

exhaustive, but interesting.¹

The only significant study of Annensky's classical translations -- indeed, the only significant study of Russian early twentieth-century translations from Greek -- is Armelle Goupy's doctoral thesis (1968).² This is a detailed account of Annensky's translations of Euripides; special attention is given to his Medea and Hippolytus. Goupy makes lengthy comparisons of Annensky's version of Medea with the original and attempts to reconstruct his translating principles; she also discusses his policy on the resolution of Greek metre. She concludes that Annensky's approach to the text was both scholarly and literary:

L'intuition poétique est donc l'ultima ratio de l'art de traduire d'Annenskij. [...] Irremplaçable et souveraine, elle ne se suffit pas à elle-même mais s'exerce à la lumière d'une ample et riche érudition.³

Goupy applauds this combination of erudition and intuition, calling it 'a harmonious conjunction' and 'a dynamic synthesis'.⁴ She considers Annensky's metres a felicitous compromise between Russian and Greek practice:

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1. Busch, Horaz in Rußland, 209-211; 'Zwei vergessene Übersetzungen von IFA'; on Horace see also Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 44-62
 2. Goupy, L'Euripide russe. Her article 'L'art de traduire selon Annenskij' is a digest of many of the most important points in the thesis.
 3. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 130
 4. Ibid.

La traduction des parties lyriques du Théâtre d'Euripide admet la substitution de mètres russes traditionnels aux formes antiques; elle adopte aussi la transportation d'un système de versification dans un autre. Mais quelle que soit la formule à laquelle il s'arrête, le poète-traducteur est constamment guidé par le souci d'établir un rapport étroit entre les moyens d'expression de la lyrique grecque et ceux de la poésie nationale.

Goupy's thesis covers a neglected area in detail, and contains much of value. Her analysis of the Russian text and comparison of it with the Greek original are systematic and interesting, and her work will undoubtedly be the basis of all future study of Annensky's Euripides translations. But I question her adulatory account of Annensky's abilities as scholar and translator. The preceding chapter has shown that Annensky's essays were not significant contributions to original scholarship. When he was preparing the translations, he consulted numerous different editions, and did extensive research on the critical literature.² It is doubtful, though, whether this research is evident in the finished text; the translations are certainly not, pace Goupy, equal to critical editions of Annensky's plays:

Annenskij a apporté sa contribution à l'étude du texte d'Euripide, et le philologue est fondé à consulter sa traduction au même titre qu'une édition critique.³

Zelinsky, the foremost expert on classical literature in Russia, was hostile to Annensky's versions. This is clear not only from the drastic alterations he made to Annensky's

1. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 179

2. Varneke, 'IFA -- nekrolog', 40

3. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 41

text, but from the articles he wrote on Teatr Evripida. His frankest statement was in a letter to Rozanov written in 1917 in defence of his editorial stringency:

Перевод этот достаточно-таки слаб. Как филолог, покойный не находился на высоте своей задачи; как поэт, он, без сомнения, на много голов выше меня -- но борьба с физическими трудностями не дает развить его вдохновению. Еврипид у него большею частью тлеет, а не горит, и только здесь и там вспыхивает. Я знаю, что это не Еврипид, что это какой-то слабый лепет, в которой едва слышен могучий голос греческого трагика, а иногда и прямое извращение его мысли.¹

Goupy is aware of Zelinsky's hostile attitude, and refers to his alterations as 'une sévère critique' of Annensky's methods as translator. But she dismisses his objections, implying that Zelinsky has simply not understood Annensky's translation and the approach he adopted:

Il prétend de fonder en raison une critique dont on s'aperçoit bientôt qu'elle est affaire de goût personnel, mieux vaudrait dire simple réaction d'allergie.²

Goupy's defence of Annensky illuminates the precise nature of the problem: he was not a scholar, Zelinsky was. In defence of Annensky's scholarship, Goupy states that some of his readings of individual lines which seemed eccentric to his contemporaries have been independently upheld by later scholars.³ The few examples which she gives are clearly happy coincidences, and do not constitute satisfactory evidence that Annensky was a notable scholar.

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1. Zelinsky in TE 1917, xvii-xviii
 2. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 161
 3. Ibid., 25-7

Goupy's evidence for Annensky's ample et riche érudition is thin, and her discussion of his intuition poétique, the second part of her formulation, is incomplete. She shows that Annensky's translation of Medea was determined by his views on the 'central unity' and 'psychological motivation' of the text, but does not comment on how successful this method was. Her thesis ignores the texts' merits as Russian literature, together with their relation to the Russian literary tradition and to Annensky's own poetry. She does not discuss whether the translations find an appropriate Russian idiom.

When Annensky's Euripides translations were first published, few commentators discussed their accuracy, but the style was universally attacked. The Symbolist critic Filosofov condemned Annensky's Hippolytus in one sentence: 'Stikh g. Annenskogo grub, tyazhel, a inogda i komichen'.¹ The classicist Nilender, writing in Vesy, was less categorical, but also had serious reservations:

Нас решительно не удовлетворяет язык перевода, по-видимому, сознательно избранный переводчиком. Мы считаем решительно неуместными в переводе с древне-греческого латинизмы, галлицизмы и германизмы: каковы, например, у г. Анненского сентенция корпус фальшивый шарлатанский на манер траур герольды узупатор ватерпас султаны тон трюм бант марш банкет барьер и т.д.²

In short, Annensky's translations provoked the dislike of both scholars and littérateurs.

In my view, Goupy's analysis of Annensky's intentions is

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1. Filosofov, 'Teatral'nye zametki', 9
 2. Nilender, 'Teatr Evripida', 231

correct. He wanted his classical translations to be both scholarly and literary, an ambition he shared with some of the other Symbolists. Unlike Goupy, I do not see this as a source of 'harmonious conjunction', but of unproductive dissonance and confusion. I feel that Annensky's scholarly ambitions made his translations from Greek wooden and lifeless, and I consider them, in Mikhail Gasparov's phrase about Bryusov's version of the Aeneid, plodotvornaya neudacha.¹

I begin with a brief account of Symbolist theories of translation, especially Annensky's. I shall then analyse some examples of Annensky's translations, my choice of illustrative material being selective. It would clearly not be practicable to attempt an account of all Annensky's Euripides translations, and so I shall confine myself to some sections of a single play, Hippolytus, which was also translated by Merezhkovsky. The disadvantage of this method is that it will not be possible to discuss whether Annensky's ideas about translation evolved over the long period when he was working on Euripides.²

The problems of Zelinsky's alterations to Annensky's text will not be dealt with; Annensky's Ippolit will be cited from the original publication, in ZMNP in 1902.

I also intend to discuss Annensky's translation of one other Greek poet -- Bacchylides, since this translation has been ignored in previous studies. I shall compare it

1. Gasparov in Bryusov, Torzhestvennyi privet, 13

2. The peak of Annensky's enthusiasm for translating Euripides seems to have been between 1900 and 1906. After the publication of Teatr Evripida in 1906, his attitude to the translations became increasingly world-weary as he grew more absorbed in his original works.

with Vyacheslav Ivanov's version of another ode by Bacchylides.

I shall place more emphasis on Annensky's intuition poétique than on his ample et riche érudition. I shall not make line-by-line comparisons of the Russian version with the Greek originals in order to establish how accurate a translator Annensky was; I shall be concerned with the Russian idiom in which he chose to realise his version. The patchy history of translations from classical languages in Russia made the selection of a literary idiom a particular problem, as Varneke pointed out:

Для перевода комедий и особенно трагедий образцами стиля и тона могут служить наши оригинальные трагедии и комедии. И если стихотворные переводы Плавта производят такое удручающее впечатление на всякого, не лишённого вкуса читателя, то виноваты в этом не одни только переводчики, склонные Плавта ставить на одну доску с бытописателем „Растерянной улицы“. Беда в том, что навсегда, по-видимому, утеряна связь с нашей оригинальной комедией „в стихах“, со стилем Капниста, Грибоедова, Шаховского и Хмельницкого.¹

In the late nineteenth century, as classical scholarship expanded in Russia, the publication of classical literature in translation also increased. Sophocles, Homer and other well-known authors enjoyed most popularity, but recently-discovered texts were also published (e.g. a fragment of Sophocles' satyr-play Ichneutai and fragments of Euripides' Hypsipyle translated by Zelinsky), as were works by lesser-known authors (e.g. Zenon and Epiktetes).²

1. Varneke, 'Teatr Evripida', 231

2. Zelinsky, 'Novonaidennaya satiricheskaya drama'; 'Tsaritsa-prisluzhnitsa' -- see Voronkov, item 2413 For Epiktetes and Zenon, see Voronkov, item 2487; Prozorov, item 1854

Many translations were by classical scholars or by schoolmasters. They had two main functions. There were literal versions of texts published in critical editions as supplements to the commentary, such as Latyshev's translation of some lines from Euripides and the scholia to Euripides in the collection Scythica et Caucasica.¹ Then there were versions for schools: cribs to classical texts set for the attestat zrelosti examination. Their purpose was functional: they were in prose, and had no literary pretensions. It is instructive to look at one such translation by a late nineteenth-century academic. In the early 1890s the tireless V.A. Alekseev translated eight of Euripides' plays, which appeared in the Deshevaya biblioteka edition and were approved for use in real'nye uchilishcha.² They were in lumpy, convoluted, ugly prose. The following sample is from Euripides' Hippolytus (epodos to the second choric ode):

Оную евбеянку, невинную, но знавшую уз брака девушку, по воле Афродиты, корабль разлучил с семьею, и, словно беснующую вакханку, она дала ее в жены сыну Алкмены, справив среди резни и пожара кровавую свадьбу. Бедная невеста!

Bednaya drama, the reader is tempted to add.

Not all translations by classical scholars were as bad. Zelinsky's involvement with Hellenism, and his desire to popularise classical literature, led him to take a particular interest in translation. In his essay 'Drevnii mir

1. See Voronkov, item 2385

2. The plays were Medea, Iphigenia in Tauris, Iphigenia in Aulis, Hippolytus, Bacchae, Alcestis, Ion and Heracles. (Prozorov, items 742-9)

3. Quoted by Filosofov, 'Teatral'nye zametki', 9

i my' he criticised the low standards of Russian translation from the classics.¹ He himself translated Euripides' Bacchae and Cicero.² His translations were published in Vestnik Evropy, a literary and general social periodical, except for the Bacchae, which appeared in Filologicheskoe obozrenie. They were metrical and far more readable than Alekseev's prose. In 1914 Zelinsky published a translation of Sophocles' Sledopyty (Ichneutai). The extract below is taken from one of Silenus' speeches:

Силен (в благородном негодовании)
 Как? Звука испугались вы? Из воска
 Вас вылепили, что ли? Негодяи,
 Зверье проклятое! Ведь вам страхи
 Мерещатся, чуть шелхнется куст!
 Лишь к рабской, дряблой, недостойной службе
 Вы приспособлены, и только мясо
 Я вижу в вас, да языки, да.... будет!
 Нужда нагрянет -- на словах всегда вы
 Надежны, а дойдет до дела -- трусы!
 Таков ли был родитель ваш, отродье
 Негодное?³

Zelinsky's translation is far better than Alekseev's, but his handling of comic invective is uneasy; the markedly literary verse form which he chooses does not accord well with Silenus' terms of abuse. His translation has no great merit.

Despite Zelinsky's commitment to popularisation, he had little respect for translation as a craft. It was a means to an end, a way of encouraging people to learn Greek and Latin and read the classics in the original. In

1. Zelinsky, 'Drevnii mir i my', part 2, 19

2. Zelinsky, 'Vakkhanki'; Tsitseron, Rechi

3. Zelinsky, 'Novonaidennaya satiricheskaya drama', part 2, 149

'Drevnii mir i my' he argued that translations were always necessarily inferior to the Greek original:

Не будем пренебрегать переводами, но не будем также считать их достаточной заменой подлинника. Шопенгауер сказал, что они относятся к подлиннику (он имеет в виду античную литературу), как цикорий к кофе; кто-то другой сказал, что они передают лишь изнанку ковра. Это, пожалуй, несправедливо; скорее можно будет сказать, что при своеобразных условиях древней речи каждый перевод древнего произведения на один из новых языков будет относиться к подлиннику приблизительно так же, как деревянные модели человеческого тела, которыми пользуются при прохождении анатомии, к действительному человеческому телу.¹

This patronising academic view of translation was alien to the Symbolists. As has been said, translation was central to their literary activities, and they considered it as creative as writing an original poem. Translating for them, as for Baudelaire, was analogous to the process by which the poet deciphers and communicates the mysteries of the universe:

Si nous étendons la démonstration (non seulement nous en avons la droit, mais il nous serait infiniment difficile de faire autrement), nous arrivons à cette vérité que tout est hiéroglyphe, et nous savons que les symboles ne sont obscurs que d'une manière relative, c'est à dire selon la pureté, la bonne volonté, ou la clairvoyance native des âmes. Or, qu'est qu'un poète (je prends le mot dans son acception la plus large) si ce n'est un traducteur, un déchiffreur?

As Annensky put it in the poem 'Drugomu': 'I veshchikh snov ieroglify raskryv / Uzornuyu pishu ya chetko frazu'. (ST 156)

Despite the importance of translation to the Russian

1. Zelinsky, 'Drevnii mir i my', part 2, 19

2. Michaud, Message poétique du symbolisme, 722

Symbolists, none wrote a treatise on it, or evolved a theory of translation. There was exchange of opinion between them in reviews; but from this one can only establish their guiding principles. They were eager to detach themselves from academic methods of translation. Bryusov attacked the dogmatism of academics in his essay 'Fialki v tigele', and distinguished it from the attitude of the 'real poet':

Пушкин, Тютчев, Фет брались за переводы, конечно, не из желания „послужить меньшей братии“, не из снисхождения к людям недостаточно-образованным, которые не изучили или недостаточно изучили немецкий, английский или латынский язык. Поэтов, при переводе стихов, увлекает чисто художественная задача: воссоздать на своем языке то, что их пленило на чужом, увлекает желание -- „чужое вмиг почувствовать своим“, желание -- завладеть этим сокровищем.¹

Filosofov defended Merezhkovsky's translation of Hippolytus, which scholars had attacked for inaccuracy, by claiming that they simply lacked artistic taste:

Ученые рецензенты-специалисты отнеслись к переводу г-на Мережковского недоброжелательно. С добросовестностью настоящих учителей гимназии, они накинулись на поэта за неточность перевода, за искажение подлинника, как будто все дело в букве, а не в духе. Но разве можно убедить в этом специалистов,² беспощадно нас всех мучивших на школьной скамье?

The Symbolists' methodology of translation was not systematised; it depended on their definition of language. Like the French Symbolists, the Russian Symbolists defined poetry as 'musical'. They did not mean by this that the

1. Bryusov, 'Fialki v tigele', 11

2. Filosofov, 'Teatral'nye zametki', 8-9

structural and compositional qualities of poetry were like those of music. The meaning of 'music' was much vaguer: it was the non-visual, emotional qualities of language which could not be analysed intellectually.

Blok wrote in 'O sovremennom sostoyanii russkogo simvolizma':

Миры, предстающие взору в свете лучезарного меча, становятся все более зовущими; уже из глубины их несутся шемающие музыкальные звуки, призывы, шопоты, почти слова.¹

This idea was formulated rather more clearly by Wyzewa, one of the French Symbolists:

La poésie véritable, la seule qui demeure irréductible à la littérature proprement dit, est une musique émotionnelle de syllabes et de rythmes.²

The Symbolists argued that word-for-word translation, bukval'nyi perevod, was impossible; the translator's task was to capture the 'music' of poetic language in the new version. Annensky was in agreement with these ideas:

Лексическая точность часто дает переводу лишь обманчивую близость к подлиннику, -- перевод является сухим, вымученным, и за деталями теряется передача концепции пьесы.³

None of the Symbolists discussed the details of the translator's method, nor the important question of how to decide which aspects of the poem were essential, musical,

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1. Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh, 5, 427
 2. Michaud, Message poétique du symbolisme, 778
 3. Razbor stikhotvornogo perevoda...Porfirova, 2

and which could be sacrificed. They gave more attention to 'music' in the literal sense than had previous translators: to the metre and sound effects of the original. All the Russian Symbolists produced metrical translations. As Bryusov put it, 'Stikhi, perelozhennye prozoi, dazhe khoroshei prozoi, umirayut'.¹ But there was no discussion about whether to retain the original metre, merely suggest it, or ignore it. The identification of musicality was left to the judgement of individual translators. Bryusov's review of Chulkov's translations of Maeterlinck argues that Chulkov's attention to the imagery of the original rather than to its sklad and dvizhenie is misconceived. But Bryusov does not reflect on taste and judgement in general: his review simply expresses a difference of opinion on the characteristics of Maeterlinck's poetry.²

Annensky's recipe for translation, like Bryusov's, did not go beyond subjective comments on individual authors. In 1909, he sent his friend Nina Begicheva two variants of a translation of Heine's 'Ich grolle nicht', and appended some interesting comments on his working method:

Это не Гейне, милая Нина, это -- только я. Но это также и Гейне. Обратите внимание на размер, а также на то, что "Ich grolle nicht" начинает первую и заканчивает вторую строфу, отчего в первой получилась двойная рифма, причем на тот же гласный звук.

К пению, я думаю, подойдет.

"Лопающегося сердца" и "грызущего змея" я избежал, и счастлив. Да это и у Гейне не символы, а эмблемы. (КО 493)

1. Bryusov, 'Fialki v tigele', 10

2. Ibid., 13-17

Annensky translated by appropriating certain isolated features of the original, and working them into his own style. Fedorov has described this process as sub'yektivnoe svoeobrazie prelomleniya originalov and russifikatsiya.¹ The effect is little different from an original poem by Annensky with quotations from Heine or Baudelaire. Annensky's version of René Henri's 'Poème', 'Grozoyu polden' byl tyazhelyi napoen' is so Annenskian that the editors of the authoritative Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii classed it as an original poem by Annensky.²

Annensky's translation of Leconte de Lisle's poem 'Epiphanie' ('Yavlenie bozhestva') is a good example of his approach to a modern literary text. Like many of his translations, it appears to have occupied him for some time, and two versions exist. The first appeared in Tikhie pesni, and has been reprinted in most subsequent editions of Annensky's works. It is given below with the French original:

Явление божества

Над светлым озером Норвегии своей
Она идет, мечту задумчиво лелея,
И шею тонкую кровь розовая ей
Луча зари златит среди снегов алее.

5 Берез лепечущих еще прозрачна сень,
И дня отрадного еще мерцает пламя,
И бледных вод лазурь ее качает тень,
Беззвучно бабочек колыблема крылами.

10 Эфир обвеет ли волос душистых лен,
Он зыбью пепельной плечо ей одевает,
И занавес ресниц дрожит, осеребрен
Полярной ночью глаз, когда их закрывает.

1. Fedorov, 'Dva poeta', Sozvuchiya, 12

2. (ST 219). The mistake was corrected in Lirika -- see note, page 354

15 Ни тени, ни страстей им не оставят дни,
Из мира дольного умчались их надежды:
Не улыбались, не плакали они,
И в голубую даль глядят спокойно вежды.

20 И страж задумчивый мистических садов
С балкона алого следит с улыбкой нежной
За легким призраком норвежских берегов
Среди бессмертных волн одежды белоснежной. (ST 262)

Épiphanie

Elle passe, tranquille, en un rêve divin,
Sur le bord du plus frais de tes lacs, ô Norvège!
Le sang rose et subtil qui dore son col fin
Est doux comme un rayon de l'aube sur la neige.

5 Au murmure indécis du frêne et du bouleau,
Dans l'étincellement et le charme de l'heure,
Elle va reflétée au pale azur de l'eau
Qu'un vol silencieux de papillons effleure.

10 Quand un souffle furtif glisse en ses cheveux blonds,
Une cendre ineffable inonde son épaule;
Et, de leur transparence argentant leurs cils longs,
Ses yeux ont la couleur des belles nuits du Pôle.

15 Purs d'ombre et de désir, n'ayant rien espéré
Du monde périssable où rien d'ailé ne reste,
Jamais ils n'ont souri, jamais ils n'ont pleuré,
Ces yeux calmes ouverts sur l'horizon céleste.

20 Et le Gardien pensif du mystique oranger
Des balcons de l'Aurore éternelle se penche,
Et regarde passer ce fantôme léger
Dans les plis de sa robe immortellement blanche.¹

1. Leconte de Lisle, Poemes tragiques, 66-7

Annensky's procedure in this poem was much as he described in the letter about Heine. He has retained the vowel colour (particularly long a, for example in the second stanza), and the consonance of the original -- he renders 'Quand un souffle furtif' as 'Efir obveet li volos'. To do this he has introduced certain words, such as efir, which are not present in the original. The translation is metrical: a standard Russian metre, the six-foot iamb, has been used. The number of syllables is identical to the original (twelve), but the effect is very different. The long, balanced French sentences have been made rather short and compressed, for the number of words to a line is smaller in Russian. The effect is agitated rather than contemplative, and only in the last stanza is anything resembling the measure of Leconte de Lisle's poem reproduced.

Certain central images, such as the Gardien pensif and the vol silencieux de papillons have been retained, though the personification has been played down; capitals are not used. Annensky has kept some characteristic Parnassian adjectives, such as transparent and divin, though their position in the poem has been altered. On the other hand, doux, frais and céleste have been replaced by adjectives of light and colour typical of Annensky's own poetry: alyi, svetlyi and goluboi. Some of the phrases used in the translation, such as otradnyi den' and lepechushchie berezy, are Russian poetic clichés which assimilate the piece to the Russian literary tradition in general rather than specifically to Annensky's own poetry. A few trivial alterations have also been made, perhaps to

fit the metre. Annensky has altered orager (singular) to sady, and balcons (plural) to balkon.

Annensky's version of Leconte de Lisle's poem is a success. He has adapted a theme and imagery untypical of his own poetry by using marked Annenskian devices. The result is an 'imitation', a new Russian poem, rather than a literal account of the French original.¹

When translating the classics, Symbolists met a problem which they never resolved: should they approach literary works from different historical traditions and cultures in the same way as modern European literature, or differently? Despite their absolutist and open-ended notions of literature and of the symbol, they believed that certain writers were 'more Symbolist' than others, and developed their own literary hierarchy accordingly:

Si l'on donne au mot symbole le sens élargi que nous lui avons donné, on avouera que les poètes symbolistes ont été rares. Je ne vois guère qu'Eschyle, Dante, Rabelais, Goethe.²

In their literary essays, the Russian Symbolists concentrated on those writers who were more Symbolist, and their choice of texts to translate was similar. The overwhelming majority of the pieces selected were contemporary or

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1. The version of 'Yavlenie bozhestva' given in one of A's notes to 'Lekont de Lil' i ego Erinnii' has variants of the last two stanzas; it may be a later version of that printed in Tikhie pesni. The editors of KO do not comment:

Ни тени, ни страстей им не сулили дни --
От нас ли, гибнущих, крылатого не тянет?
Не улыбались, не плакали они,
И небосвод один к себе их вежды манит.

И померанцевых мистических цветов
С балкона этого, склоняясь, страж безмолвный
Следит за призраком норвежских берегов
И как одежд его бессмертно-белы волны. (KO 408)

2. Saint-Antoine quoted in Michaud, Message poétique, 748

near-contemporary French lyrics, particularly by the Parnassians and the proklyatyē, as they called the French Symbolists; they also favoured the German Romantics. The only Symbolist to translate much from English was Bal'mont, who was also alone in working on exotic poetry: he translated some Indian and Mongolian verse. The Symbolists' main source, apart from French poetry, was classical literature. Not only Annensky, but most of the major Symbolists translated the classics. Some (Vyacheslav Ivanov, Kuzmin, Bryusov, Minsky and Merezhkovsky) translated many texts; Ivanov worked mainly on Greek lyric poetry, Bryusov on Latin; Merezhkovsky did several Greek tragedies, Minsky a new Russian version of the Iliad.¹ The only major Symbolists who did not translate from the classics were Bely, Bal'mont and Sologub. Blok translated some Latin lyrics, but these translations are insignificant.²

The Symbolists' interest in French literature was independent of formal study; but most of them, as has been said (Chapter 1) had some kind of classical education. This did not necessarily mean they had an outstanding command of Greek and Latin; indeed, most were imperfectly educated, and knew it. Bryusov wrote in 'Fialki v tigele':

Все мы потратили больше семи лет на изучение классических языков, читали на уроках и Одиссею и Илиаду в оригинале, но редко кто из нас знаком с Гомером не по Гнедичу и Жуковскому.³

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1. See appropriate entries in Voronkov, Drevnyaya Gretsia
 2. Magomedova, 'Blok i antichnost'', 42
 3. Bryusov, 'Fialki v tigele', 11

TO ALL READERS IN THE DUKE HUMFREY & SPECIAL COLLECTIONS READING ROOMS

A large portion of our Special Collections (manuscripts and rare books) and associated open-shelf reference works *will be moving to the Radcliffe Science Library for about 4 years while the New Bodleian Library benefits from a major refurbishment. A temporary SC reading room (Lankester Reading Room) for SC readers will open at the RSL on Monday, 7 December 2009.

*** Open-shelf books in the Special Collections Reading Room in the New Library ('X' and 'Z') will be transferred on 3-4 December (following the permanent closure of the SCRR) and Duke Humfrey open-shelf books will move on 16-17 December (when the reading room will be closed).**

For details of the progress of the move which begins today and is scheduled to finish by 2 April 2010 view www.ouls.ox.ac.uk/scmoves. This URL includes a link to a weekly updated list of decanted collections to enable you to establish where materials are to be consulted, or to predict when material may be in transit and unavailable (we reckon, at worst, material may be unavailable for up to 2 weeks).

It would help us considerably if you would return to the stacks manuscripts and rare books not in current use to facilitate the decant. We will, however, endeavour to reserve essential material for your continued use during the move on request. Please ask the staff about this service.

We thank you for your co-operation at this challenging time. Please be reassured that your research needs are uppermost in our mind when planning the transitional service. We look forward to seeing many of you at the Radcliffe Science Library and continuing to provide the same level of readers' services as we do now.

**Colin Harris, Superintendent of the Special Collections Reading Rooms,
16 November 2009**

The main effect of the Symbolists' contact with the ancient world was to make them timid and defensive about translating Greek and Latin literature. They wrote introductions to their classical translations, which they had not felt it necessary to do with their translations from French, and made ostentatious reference to their own erudition, as if to justify their handling of forbidden material. Ivanov's introduction to his translation of Bacchylides' Ode 17 is turgidly academic in style:

Мы сочли уместным обратить внимание читателей ниже сообщаемым переводом не этот исключительный по своему историко-литературному значению памятник.¹

The semi-academic character of Annensky's translations is typically Symbolist. His translations of French and German poetry were done privately, and he appears not to have thought of publication at first.² But his translations of classical poetry were specifically for publication, and most were published shortly after they were written. He shared the Symbolists' defensive feelings about translating from the classics, but was more vehement. In his introduction to Teatr Evripida he wrote:

Работа моя над Еврипидом была строго филологической, в чем может убедиться всякий, кто знает текст Еврипида и сам работал над критикой текста вообще.³

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1. Ivanov, Sobranie sochinenii, 1, 816
 2. Many of them, like his poems, were done first of all for his friends. In 1900 he sent Borodina a copy of Sully-Prudhomme's 'L'idéal' with the words 'Poeziya Pryudoma tak astral'na, chto ona dolzhna vam nraivit'sya' (KO 449)
 3. TE 1906, vi

The Symbolists' attitude to classical poetry was more faint-hearted than to contemporary poetry. They argued here for the very technique of bukval'nyi perevod they had attacked elsewhere. Annensky was the sternest advocate of this. His attitude even to the translation of French literature was more rigid than that of his contemporaries. In 1909 he gave Voloshin a sound schoolmasterly rap over the knuckles for minor inaccuracies in a translation of Paul Claudel's poem 'Les Muses':

Маковский показывал мне клоделевских „Муз" в Вашем переводе, и я просидел за ними часа четыре.... Ну, уж и работа была. Но отчего, скажите, Вы послали брульён? Нет ли тут просто недоразумения? Я сверил половину с текстом... Нет, Вы должны переработать это. Этого требует музыка прежде всего. А потом и имена: и Ваше и Клоделевское. (КО 490)

Annensky's views on translating classical literature were unbending. In 1908, he reviewed Merezhkovsky's translation of Euripides, and criticised some lines, ending with the acid comment: 'Evripid ne zaslužil takogo k sebe otnosheniya so storony russkogo perevodchika'.¹ He argued that any translator of Euripides must have a thorough knowledge of Greek:

Для приличного перевода Еврипида отнюдь не достаточно тех скудных знаний по греческому языку, которые выносятся из гимназий [...] Здесь нужно солидное изучение и языка вообще, и автора в частности, эпохи, в которую он жил, культурных условий,² в которых протекло его своеобразное творчество.

Two points arise. Firstly, when Annensky disagrees with Voloshin's translation from French he reproves him for

1. 'Perevody D.S. Merezhkovskogo', 239

2. Ibid., 238

carelessness; when he disagrees with Merezhkovsky he accuses him of ignorance. Secondly, Annensky's criticisms of Merezhkovsky's Euripides pick up deviations from the Greek which are quite trivial, and which distort the text much less than his own versions of Leconte de Lisle.

Other Symbolists also argued that bukval'nyi perevod was the only permissible approach to classical texts. For Vyacheslav Ivanov, this meant above all rigid adherence to the original metre:

Поэтический истолкователь чужого стихотворения, переменяющий его метр и ритм, подменивает иною, чуждою -- его музыкальную душу.¹

Bryusov was also an advocate of literal translation, as Mikhail Gasparov records:

Ответ напрашивается один: классическую поэзию нельзя переводить так, как можно переводить поэзию новейшую: в новейшей поэзии можно непосредственным ощущением отличать главное от второстепенного и переводить одно точнее другое вольнее, в классической нет второстепенного, там все главное и все требует точного перевода.²

Gasparov himself appears to accept without question the view that classical texts are sacrosanct, that 'tam vse glavnoe'. Most of the Symbolists also accepted this, and did not seem to be conscious that there could be a different view. Only Merezhkovsky argued the opposite: that it is easier to translate classical texts than modern texts, since all readings of them must necessarily be provisional:

1. Ivanov, Sobranie sochinenii, 1, 818

2. Gasparov in Bryusov, Torzhestvennyi privet, 11

Все мелочное, временное уходит с временем, остается лишь вечное; и ясною должна быть только цепь, соединяющая наши помыслы и желания с душой великого поэта и пророка.¹

Merezhkovsky was also unusual in not writing lengthy explanatory introductions to his translations; his versions of Medea, Prometheus Bound, Antigone and Oedipus at Colonus have no introductions, and the pieces on Oedipus Rex and Hippolytus are very brief.²

The Symbolists' attitude to translating classical texts was profoundly conservative, with individual variations. The self-consciously radical and ahistorical stance of their essays on classical literature is not evident in their translations. They did not create a new canon of classical authors: with few exceptions, the authors they worked on were already enshrined in Western tradition. The most popular Symbolist choices were Virgil, Horace, Sophocles, Homer, Sappho, Euripides, Anacreon and Pindar. More obscure works, such as the Orphic texts, the mystical character of which might have been expected to recommend them to the Symbolists, were left untouched. Nor, surprisingly enough, were they particularly interested in Hellenistic literature. Even their choice of works by favoured authors was not innovative. For example, Merezhkovsky ignored Euripides' Bacchae, despite its links with Dionysiac cult, and concentrated on traditional favourites, Medea and Hippolytus. The main Symbolist discoveries were made by Vyacheslav Ivanov, who

1. Merezhkovsky, 'Tragediya tselomudriya i sladostrastiya', 66

2. See Merezhkovsky, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, volumes 20 and 21

translated some Greek poets, for example Hipponax and Mimnermos, who fall outside the traditional canon.

The Symbolists' conservatism affected their versions of the classics in two main ways. They preserved far more of the imagery and exact wording of classical originals than of modern French originals, and were reluctant to compress or paraphrase. As a result, their translations were often verbose. When strict fidelity to the original was combined with attempts to imitate classical metrics, the result was usually laboured. Bryusov's translations of Sappho, for example, are wordy and metrically uneasy:

Ты кудри свои, Дика, укрась, милая моя, венками,
И ломкий анис ты заплети сладостными руками.
В цветах ты грядешь; вместе с тобой -- благостные
Хариты.
Но чужды богам -- те, кто придут, розами не увиты.¹

In fact, many of the Symbolists' translations are little different from those produced by academics: less accurate, but no more inspired.

The Russian literary language chosen by the Symbolists for their translations was also conservative. As Bryusov's words about Zhukovsky and Gnedich's versions of Homer indicate, they associated classical authors with the language of the early nineteenth century.² In their own translations, they sought to imitate the nineteenth-century tradition. The style is self-consciously 'high'; poeticisms abound (in Bryusov's Sappho fragment above both gryadesh' and blagostnyi occur). Where they used

1. Bryusov, Torzhestvennyi privet, 193

2. See this chapter, page 154

Russian, rather than specifically classical, metres, these were traditional. They did not use the dol'nik or other forms of tonic verse, and the metrical innovations found in original poems by the Symbolists are not evident here.

The texts I have chosen to analyse represent the two main genres of classical poetry which the Symbolists chose to translate: the Greek lyric and Attic tragedy. They had little interest in comedy, or for that matter in prose: Kuzmin translated Apuleius' The Golden Ass, but not until long after the Revolution.¹

The first case-study is Euripides' Hippolytus. Its plot is among the most familiar in Greek tragedy, and it has enjoyed lasting popularity in the West. By the late nineteenth century it had been translated into many different European languages, and several Russian versions existed. Not only V.A. Alekseev, but also P.D. Shestakov and E.P. Shneider had translated the entire play, and A. Tambovsky extracts of it.² Further literal versions of it were clearly not necessary. It was therefore ideal material for free, literary versions, and it seems reasonable to expect that Annensky and Merezhkovsky, the two Symbolists who worked on it, would have attempted to produce explicitly Symbolist reworkings of the text.

The introductory essays which both poets wrote for their translations present typically Symbolist readings of the play. Merezhkovsky sees it as a dualistic conflict

1. Kuzmin, Apulei Lutsei, Zolotoi osel

2. Shestakov, Gippolit; Proizvedeniya Evripida v perevode E.P. Shneidera, Vyp. 1; Tambovsky, 'Proklyatie zhenshchin' -- see Prozorov, items 727, 741, 1842

of passion and reason, represented symbolically:

Также-же, как [Эврипид], мы поняли, что трагедия мировой жизни заключается в окружающей, в проникающей всех нас великой борьбе двух великих начал, так же, как он, увидели, что говорить о ней можно только символами, и как он -- слишком острым и тонким сознанием еще не сумели найти последней гармонии последнего соединения.¹

Merezhkovsky also argues that the philosophy of the play prefigures Christian ideas about sexual love and chastity.

Annensky's essay on *Hippolytus* has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2; it makes a greater show of scholarship than Merezhkovsky's, but is as ahistorical, and many of Annensky's ideas are similar to Merezhkovsky's; he also stresses the links between Hippolytus and Christianity, and dwells on the play's symbolic significance.

And yet Merezhkovsky and Annensky's Symbolist readings of Hippolytus do not seem to have affected their translations. Neither has translated the moral terminology of the play so as to heighten its connection with Christianity: everywhere we have 'the gods', not 'God', for example. The symbolic unity of the text has not been emphasised. In her analysis of Annensky's version of Medea, Goupy showed that the translation uses the key word gnev for several different Greek words, and that this plays up his reading of Medea's character.² This does not seem to have been Annensky's practice in Hippolytus. In translating Phaedra's climactic speech, Annensky (like Merezhkovsky), uses several different words for the powers and functions of the intellect (Annensky

1. Merezhkovsky, 'Tragediya tselomudriya i sladostrastiya', 64

2. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 98 ff

has um, duma, rassuzhdenie, serdtse, razmyshlenie, reshenie, mysl'; Merezhkovsky um, razum and a variety of different verbs. Neither poet emphasises the antithesis between passion and reason which both saw as central to the play.¹ Their renderings of the choruses convey the symbolism of the original, but do not enhance it.

The language of both translators is traditional. It abounds in poeticisms; in the scene between Hippolytus and the hunters at the beginning of the play, Annensky has vosslavit', deva, chado, charuyushchii, otradnyi, and in the same passage Merezhkovsky has dscher', deva, chertogi, obitaet.² Annensky uses more anachronisms and poeticisms than Merezhkovsky, but does not modernise the language systematically. Goupy asserts that his language is more colloquial than Merezhkovsky's:

Là où Merezhkovskij emploie des prépositions verbales de type littéraire -- les seules qu'il connaisse -- Annenskij demande à la langue parlée ses constructions sans verbes où des mots appartenant à diverses catégories morphologiques, un adjectif, un adverbe, une interjection, ont fonction de prédicat.³

But Annensky's use of colloquial language is restricted. He has made more effort to distinguish between the discourse of the various characters than Merezhkovsky; his Nurse's speeches contain popular expressions not found in Phaedra's speeches:

-
1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 2, 179-180; Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 18-20
 2. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 1, 142-3; Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 6-7
 3. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 141

Ну, рассуди-ж... Кто спорит... было б лучше
 Не полюбить... А полюбила ты,
 Так уж отдайся-ж лучше добровольно,
 Есть у меня и средство от недуга
 Любовного -- ни чести не вредит,
 Ни разума оно не потемняет.¹

In the above passage the particle -zh is used twice, and there is much ellipsis: A polyubila ty / Tak uzh otdaisya, for example. But these devices are studied, and stand out unnaturally against the specifically literary forms found elsewhere in the Nurse's speeches. In an earlier address to Phaedra she uses a foreign word and some overtly figurative language:

За то повинны казни? Станный приз...
 Или поток Киприды остановишь?
 Ты уступи ему -- тебя волной
 Он ласково обнимет, а попробуй
 Надменно или нагло спорить с ним.²

Annensky's language is less even than Merezhkovsky's. He is more literal: he paraphrases less, uses more words, and the sentence structure is complex. He uses many poeticisms, but also gratingly anachronistic and popular language. The mixture of styles recalls his own poetry, but there is a difference. There, as Lidiya Ginzburg pointed out, the language is not normative; no qualitative distinction is made between 'high style' and 'low style':

Вовсе нет игры на круглых переходах от низкого к высокому, от высокого к низкому -- столь милых романтическому сознанию XIX века.

Меру ценности вещей -- тем самым и высоты слов -- поэт ищет теперь в их символической связи с душевными муками и радостями человека. Шипы не ниже струн, потому что и те и другие являются знаками важных душевных событий.³

1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 2, 184

2. Ibid., part 2, 181

3. Ginzburg, 'Veshchnyi mir', 355

In the translations there is a linguistic norm: the high style of early nineteenth-century poetry; lapses from it have an effect which is unsettling, and sometimes even bathetic or unintentionally comic.

In one way Annensky is definitely more conventional than Merezhkovsky: he appears to have bowdlerised. Goupy has given an example of this from Medea. For line 286, the Greek text of which means roughly, 'You are angry because you have no man to sleep with', Annensky has 'Bez muzha ostaesh'sya i toskuesh''.¹ There is nothing so striking in Hippolytus; but Annensky's version of the following section of the parodos is much coyer than Merezhkovsky's:

Жребий несчастный жен
Разве он тайна мне
Немощи робкие, сколько таится в них
Мрака душевного.²

Merezhkovsky renders the same lines as:

Но от века нрав у женщин
Непокорный, прихотливый --
И в беременности тяжкой
И в порывах сладострастья.³

Annensky's main Modernist innovation in his translations was external: he inserted long stage directions, which are, of course, his own. Moreover, they aid the appreciation of the reader in a particular way: they are not descriptions of classical theatrical conventions; they are imaginative recreations of Greek landscape and architecture:

1. Goupy, L'Euripide russe, 115

2. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 1, 148

3. Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 11

Ипполит юноша с локонами золотисто-белого цвета и строгим лицом; у него светлые голубые глаза, его одежда и приемы более говорят о палестре, охоте и играх, чем о войне и лагере. В руках у него венок из полевых цветов.¹

Annensky's stage directions attracted comment from contemporary reviewers, mostly unfavourable. Zelinsky's alterations to them were received with approval:

Известно, что покойный Иннокентий Федорович был в значительной мере модернист; это заметно, м. пр., в сценических ремарках издания 1906 года; Ф.Ф. столь бережно вернул их к античности, что нужна тщательная и вдумчивая сверка двух редакций, чтобы вообще заметить перемену.²

Merezhkovsky has far fewer stage directions, and they are strictly functional, for example, 'Ippolit vbegaet iz dvortsa, negoduyushchii. On ne zamechaet Fedry. Za nim kormilitsa'.³

Some of the technical suggestions in Annensky's stage directions recall the Naturalistic theatre. For example, he is fond of the pause; and he attempts to break up the long set-piece speeches by using rows of dots. This gives his rendering of Phaedra's speech on love and morality the character of an agitated internal monologue, not a public statement:

Но я хочу с тобою проследить
Решенья ход... Когда Эрота жало
Я в сердце ощутила, как его
Переносить, я стала думать, честно...
И начала с того, чтобы затаить
Его, как можно глубже. Проку мало
Для нас в речах. Пусть иногда язык

-
1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 1, 142
 2. Dil', 'Teatr Evripida', 450
 3. Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 26

Поможет нам другого образумить,
Но раны нет больней, чем от него.

[Пауза]

Я думала потом, что пыл безумный
Осилью добродетелью...

И вот,

Когда ни тайна, ни борьба -- к победе
Не привели меня, [тихо]
осталась смерть.¹

Annensky's fragmentary style here has an important effect on the characterisation of Phaedra. She is presented as an introverted modern neurotic, not as a powerful woman who will provoke Hippolytus to misogynistic outbursts. Merezhkovsky's version of the same passage is more direct and the tone which he adopts grander:

И вот, каким путем я шла, -- внимайте:
Когда в груди моей зажглась любовь,
Чтоб легче страсть перенести, пыталась
Я, от людей сокрыв ее, молчать:
Кто языку веряет тайны сердца,
Другим вредит и самому себе.
Преодолеть я разумом хотела
Любовь мою. Но тщетно. И теперь
Я умереть решила.²

The metre used by both Annensky and Merezhkovsky is conventional: the basic metre for dialogue and speeches is the five-foot iamb, which had been used in several nineteenth-century neo-classical tragedies, including Katenin's Andromakha and Mei's Serviliya. Its effect can be monotonous, as Nilender pointed out in his review of Annensky's translations.³ Annensky is slightly more inventive than Merezhkovsky; in some of Phaedra's speeches he uses amphibrachs:

1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 2, 179

2. Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 19

3. Nilender, 'Teatr Evripida', 51

Подняться хочу я... Подняться с изголовья
 Мне голову дайте... Нет силы... Все тело
 Мое разломило... За белые руки
 Возмите меня вы, за слабые руки!¹

The choric odes are rendered in standard Russian metres, such as dactyls and trochees; as in the original, they are metrically distinct from the text, but Annensky and Merezhkovsky do not attempt to imitate the original metres exactly or even approximately.

I shall now analyse three extracts from Hippolytus to illustrate how Annensky handled three different types of dramatic discourse: the speech, the dialogue, and the chorus. Passages from Merezhkovsky's version will be quoted as a comparison.

The first extract is from the Prologue, in which the deus ex machina, Aphrodite, addresses the audience, and announces her intention to destroy Hippolytus through his stepmother Phaedra. It is a functional piece: important information is communicated to the audience about the events of the play, some of which depart from the tradition of myth and legend. A succinct exposition of the function of the tragic prologue is given in the Pauly-Wissowa encyclopedia:

Die Funktion der Prologoi in der Tragödie ist vorwiegend die der Exposition; sie enthüllen die Grundzüge der Sagengestaltung, die der Dichter in seiner Tragödie durchführen will; da meist die gleichen Sagenstoffe wiederbehandelt wurden, betonten sie die Änderungen, die jeweils am allgemein bekannten Gang der Ereignisse vorgenommen wurden und beleuchteten so den Gegensatz zu früherer, meist der letzt vorgegangenen, Darstellung des Stoffes.²

1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 2, 169

2. Der Kleine Pauly, Prologos

Annensky appears to have tried to preserve most of the details of the original; this, combined with the constraints of scansion, has led to obscure Russian which it would be nearly impossible to recite. His version of the passage in which Aphrodite describes Phaedra's love for Hippolytus unnecessarily complicates a central part of the speech:

Когда ж Фесей, чтобы себя омыть
 От пролитой им крови Паллантидов,
 В изгнание из Аттики с женой
 Сюда, в Трезен, свой парус направляет
 На целый год -- несчастная, мечты
 Безумные со стонами мешая,
 Здесь от Эрота жала сохнуть стала.
 Она молчит. Из челяди никто
 О тайне и не знает. Только страсти
 Не суждено угаснуть без следа;
 Отцу о ней я расскажу, Фесею.

It is not at all clear that neschastnaya refers to Phaedra, whose name is not mentioned until the end of the prologue. The language is clumsy, particularly the inverted passive, strasti / Ne suzhdeno ugasnut' bez sleda. The original is marked by consonance, which Annensky has attempted to retain, using repeated p m and n, but the sound of the translation is marred by the awful jingle on stalo and zhalo (Zdes' ot Erota zhala sokhnut' stala). The metrical and syntactical unit are not properly reconciled: in the first half of the extract, a single sentence spans five lines.

Merezhkovsky's version is shorter and simpler, but all the important information is retained. We learn that Phaedra is in love with Hippolytus, that she has told no-one about this, and that Theseus is absent, but about

1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 1, 141

to return. He has left out some details, such as place names, and has inserted 'uvidev Ippolita' to pad one line, but these changes are relatively unimportant. The version reads easily and is dignified:

И пожелал Тезей
Очиститься от крови Паллантидов,
В изгнание к трезенским берегам
Приплыл, и здесь, увидев Ипполита,
Страдает Федра, любит и молчит.
Причины мук ее никто не знает,
Но пред царем я Федру обличу.¹

The long speeches in Hippolytus are interrupted by passages of dialogue between up to three characters and the chorus. These dialogues are formally constructed: the characters normally exchange one line each; occasionally exchanges of distichs or hemistichs are found, but fairly strict parity is maintained between speakers. This construction, which is typical of all Greek drama, is known as stichomythia.² Stichomythia is fast-paced, tense exchange, which is frequently in question and answer form, and can sound like a series of riddles.

In one important dialogue the Nurse tries to ascertain the cause of Phaedra's unhappiness. Both Annensky and Merezhkovsky appear to have felt unhappy with the stylised construction of stichomythia, and have attempted to alter it. Annensky preserves the exchange of single lines between the characters, but attempts to slow down the pace, using punctuation to break lines in the middle. He has also included much detail in his version, which means that he loses the sense of antithesis between Phaedra

1. Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 6

2. See also the entries for stichomythia in Oxford Classical Dictionary, Der Kleine Pauly

and the Nurse's utterances:

Кормилица
 Нет на руках твоих, надеюсь, крови?
 Федра
 Душа во мне... душа заранена.
 Кормилица
 Иль это враг тебе какой подстроил?
 Федра
 О, нет, мы зла друг другу не хотим:
 Но он убьет, и я убита буду.
 Кормилица
 Перед тобой Фесей не согрешил?
 Федра
 Мне перед ним не согрешить бы только.¹

Merezhkovsky has made no attempt to retain the structural principles of stichomythia; he not only breaks lines in the middle, but uses rows of dots to introduce pauses. But his version is more compressed than Annensky's and the antithesis comes across better in the ne...a construction he uses twice:

Кормилица [шопотом, в ужасе]
 Руки твоей не запятнала кровь?
 Федра
 Не руки я, а душу осквернила...
 Кормилица
 Быть может, враг оклеветал?
 Федра
 Увы!
 Не враг меня, а друг любовью губит,
 И сам того не знает.
 Кормилица
 Чем-нибудь
 Обидел муж?
 Федра
 О, еслиб мне пред мужем
 Самой не быть виновной никогда!²

Neither Merezhkovsky nor Annensky's version of the dialogue is particularly dramatic, and there is no sense of contrast in pace between this passage and the long speeches.

1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 2, 175

2. Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 15-16

Symbolists writing on classical tragedy tended to emphasise the chorus, in accordance with their admiration for the philosophy of Nietzsche, and their view of drama as a collective experience.¹ Annensky was not a Nietzschean but the choric odes appealed to his taste for lyrical, rather than dramatic, poetry.

The third choric ode in Hippolytus, which separates Phaedra's suicide and Theseus' return, is typically Euripidean. Its connection with the action is tenuous; it expresses the desire to flee in figurative language; in the first stanza the image of a sea-bird hiding in the cliffs is used, and there is a mythological reference to the destruction of Phaethon.

Both Annensky and Merezhkovsky have used conventional literary language. Annensky uses poeticisms such as zemnye vysy, bregi, devy, and the high-style instrumental ending -oyu; Merezhkovsky uses stai pernatye, devy, blagovonnye. These are more appropriate here than in the speeches and dialogues, since the choric odes were the oldest part of Greek tragedy, and linguistically the most archaic. Even so, the greater simplicity of Merezhkovsky's version is preferable. Annensky's substitution of the abstract (and incomprehensible) phrase zemnye vysy for the concrete 'rocks and cliffs' is gratuitous, and his rendering of the final two lines is very curious Russian:

О, еслиб укрыться могла я
Туда, в эти земные выси,
О, еслибы велением бога,

1. See Chapter 4 of this study

Меж птицами вольною птицей
 Вилась я. Туда бы стрелой,
 Туда бы я хотела, где море
 Синее, к брегам Эридана,
 Где в волны пурпурные, блеском
 Отцовским горящая волны,
 Несчастные девы, не слезы
 В печали по брате погибшем,
 Янтарное точат сияние.¹

Both versions are metrical: Annensky's metre is amphibrachic, and Merezhkovsky has chosen an anapaestic metre. Merezhkovsky's irregular line length is a better choice, as it is more of a contrast with the five-foot iamb of the speeches and dialogues:

Прочь отсюда в пещеры глубокие,
 Где живут только стаи пернатые!
 Далек, далеко я помчалась бы
 Вольной птицей морской
 Через валы Адриатики
 На побережье пустынное
 Эридановых вод,
 Где оплакивают брата,
 Фаетона, сестры-девы
 И к отцу речному богу
 В темно-синюю волну
 Превращенные в деревья
 Точал слез янтарно-светлых
 Благовонные струи.²

Annensky's Euripides translations are, as Filosofov maintained, much less successful than Merezhkovsky's, even though Annensky's original poetry was better than Merezhkovsky's. It is, of course, unjust to compare a translator of all Euripides' plays with one who worked on only two. Some of the defects of Annensky's Euripides can be explained by lack of time. But his other translations from Greek are also disappointing.

1. Annensky, 'Ippolit', part 2, 195

2. Merezhkovsky, 'Ippolit', 30

Annensky's most important translation of Greek lyric was his version of Bacchylides' Ode XVI, 'Theseus, or the Athenian Youths and Maidens', to which he gave the title, 'Yunye zhertvy, ili Fezei Vakkhilida'. The original is a narrative poem of 132 lines, arranged as six strophes, which describes Theseus' journey to Crete. There is an encounter between him and Minos; Minos challenges Theseus to prove his divine origins by fetching a golden ring from the bottom of the sea. The hero accomplishes this task, and returns with gifts from Amphitrite. The poem ends with a few lines of praise to Apollo. Annensky also translated a second ode by Bacchylides, Ode XVII or Theseus, which was first published in a Soviet anthology in the 1930s.¹

Bacchylides was an early fifth-century lyric poet, traditionally said to have been born on Ceos. He had the sixth place in the Alexandrian canon of nine lyric poets, and worked in several genres, including dithyrambic odes, paeans, and **πικρὸν νεῖα** or ritual songs for a chorus of young girls.² Annensky's interest in his work may have been prompted by Euripides' alleged admiration for Bacchylides.³ He was not the only Symbolist poet who was interested in Bacchylides. Vyacheslav Ivanov translated Ode XVII, which also relates to the deeds of Theseus, though it is a spoken dialogue (between a chorus and Aegeus), not a narrative poem. Ivanov also translated a paeon fragment and some of the **ἔρωτικά** or love songs.

1. See Appendix.

2. See entries on B. in Oxford Classical Dictionary; Der Kleine Pauly; article by Zelinsky in Novyi ents. slovar'

3. Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, ed. Jebb, 74

Annensky and Ivanov's work on Bacchylides illustrates their leanings to academicism. Bacchylides is far less well-known than his contemporary, Pindar, and has left little trace in later literature, though Horace apparently admired his work.¹ Indeed, until the late nineteenth century, little of his work was known directly. Then, in 1896, a papyrus despatched to the British Museum from Egypt was found to contain substantial fragments of important works in several genres, mainly *διθυράμβου* and *ἐπινίκια*. This discovery naturally excited classical scholars. News of it rapidly reached Russia, and Annensky and Ivanov both published their translations shortly after the publication of Kenyon's edition of the Bacchylides papyrus in 1897.² Annensky's appeared in ZMNP in 1898, Ivanov's in his verse collection Prozrachnost' in 1904.

Bacchylides was not a poet of great profundity, nor is his language complex. In this he is traditionally contrasted with Pindar.³ Many of his odes are balladic in character, with a strong narrative drive. 'The simple and direct method of heroic epos is that in which Bacchylides treats mythology', Jebb writes.⁴ It is customary to praise Bacchylides rather patronisingly for elegance of style. The Pseudo-Longinus spoke of his *καλλιγραφία* and *γλαφυρόν*; Jebb refers to 'the curious felicity which is often found

1. Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, 77

2. The Poems of Bacchylides, from a Papyrus in the British Museum, ed. Kenyon

3. See Stern, 'An Essay on Bacchylides Criticism'; Zelinsky's article in Novyi ents. slovar'; Jebb in B., The Poems and Fragments, 59-61

4. Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, 58

in [Bacchylides'] phrases'.¹

On reading Annensky and Ivanov's versions, one has the impression that they must be translations of two quite different poets, neither of which is Bacchylides. Annensky's version is relatively straightforward. The total number of lines is the same as the original, but the strophic divisions are slightly different. The first strophe and anti-strophe have twenty-five, not twenty-three lines, the second strophe and anti-strophe twenty-one, not twenty-three; only the epodoi have the same number of lines as the original: twenty. No attempt has been made to preserve the original metre, which Jebb describes as 'difficult and obscure', and which is a combination of many different types of feet, including iambs, trochees, paeons, anapaests and cretics.² Annensky uses only two metres: trochees and amphibrachs. He also uses rhyme in the second strophe and antistrophe to add some variety to his metrical pattern.

Annensky's translation of Bacchylides, like his translations of Euripides, is verbose and detailed. Bacchylides' narrative flow is lost under a welter of subordinate clauses and inversions:

О Кносийских ратей повелитель,
Или ты сейчас же бросишь, воин,
Над ребенком плачущим глумиться,
Иль пускай немеркнувшей денницы

-
1. Longinus, On the Sublime, XXXIII; Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, 78
 2. Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, 115-6

Мне сиянья милого не видеть,
 Если я сорвать тебе позволю
 Хоть одну из этих нежных веток.
 Силу рук моих изведай раньше, --
 А чему потом случиться надо,
 Это, царь, без нас рассудят боги.¹

Annensky's ornate style lacks simplicity and directness and sometimes obscures important elements in the narrative. For example, Minos refers to the ring which Theseus is supposed to fetch from the deep as eta zlataya krasa, a phrase which is completely meaningless: it could refer to a beaker, a necklace, or a bracelet.²

Zelinsky described Bacchylides as a poet of little originality; it is clear that the genres in which he worked had fairly rigid traditions.³ They also demanded specifically Doric words and grammatical forms.⁴ Annensky has attempted to suggest this with a mixture of devices from the Russian oral epic tradition, and commonplaces from high literature. He does not use explicitly regional words or phrases, but contrives a general folksiness. He uses elements characteristic of the bylina: formulae, such as doblestnyi vityaz'; pleonasm, such as Sem' yuniits, sem' yuniikh yuniitsev; and popular syntax, such as a devy, chto krashe dennitsy. These are combined with high-style words, such as desnitsa, dscher', zlataya, uzret', and poeticisms, such as v volny s siyayushchikh lilii. Annensky has laid particular emphasis on the epithets of the gods; in the

1. 'Yunye zhertvy', 41-50

2. Ibid., line 65

3. Zelinsky in Novyi ents. slovar', Vakkhilid

4. Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, 79

opening strophe the following passage occurs:

И пока в угоду деве браней
 На сиявший парус Бореады
 Налегали девы, Афродита,
Что таит соблазны в диадеме,
Меж даров ужасных жало выбрав,
 В сердце Миносу царю его вонзила.¹

The goddesses Artemis and Aphrodite are both given brief descriptions (deva branyaya and chto tait..).

Annensky's idiom is similar to that used in the Euripides translations, though the self-conscious anachronisms are missing. The effect in Russian is uneasy. It has no affinity with the style of any recognisable Russian literary genre; yet there are two genres which would have been most suitable for Russian renderings of Bacchylides: the verse skazka and the Russian literary ballad. Annensky has also paid little attention to the sound of the poem. There are cacophonous combinations of consonants, particularly zh, sh and s, which are unfortunate in a poem intended for dramatic recitation:

Жало скорби грудь ему пронзило
 Под ея блистающим покровом,
 И уста промолвили: "О, чадо
 Из богов сильнейшего -- Кронида."²

Ivanov's version of Bacchylides is remarkable for two reasons. He attempts to reproduce the metrical pattern of the Greek original, substituting stress for quantity. Jebb has rendered the pattern of the Greek as follows:

1. 'Yunye zhertvy', 6-11

2. Ibid., 19-22

- - - - -
 κ, - - - - -
 - - - - -
 5 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 κ - - - - -
 - - - - -
 10 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 κ, - - - - -
 - κ, - - - - -
 - - - - -
 15 - - - - - 1

Ivanov's rendering is very close. The first strophe is given below as an example:

x x x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x x x
 5 x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x x x
 10 x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x x x x
 x x x x x x x x
 15 x x x x x x x x x x

1. Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments, 118

To make the metre work, Ivanov has distorted a number of stresses, for example vépritsa, nađezha, po sérdtsu. The spondees are curious in Russian:

Хор
Провещай слово, святых Афин царь,
Роскошных Ионян властодержец!
Продребезжала почто трубы медь?
Песнь бранную зычно протрубила?
Али нашей земли концы
Обступил и ведет грозу сеч
Враждебных ратей вождь?¹

Ivanov commented that translating with the original metre meant that the Russian text could be sung to the original musical setting (were it ever discovered).² This statement hardly holds up, however, since the many consonant clusters in his version would make it unsingable.

The second feature of Ivanov's translation is an attempt to assimilate Bacchylides to his own hieresiarchal and ornate lyrical style. This translation was a companion piece to Ivanov's original difiramby, 'Orfei', 'Ganimed' and 'Gekliady'. He has ignored the simplicity of Bacchylides' verse, and has given it an exclamatory, Dionysiac character like that of 'Rasterzannyi Orfei':

Мы -- смута и стоны, Орфей, Орфей!
Мы пут перепоны, тугу цепей
Хотим стряхнуть! Сойди зачерпнуть,
Захлебнуть нашу горечь в земную грудь!

Мы телами сплелись, Орфей, Орфей!
Волосами свились, как поле змей!
Тоска нам гложет белу грудь --
Грудь хочет, не может со дна вздохнуть!³

1. Ivanov, Sobranie sochinenii, 1, 818

2. Ibid., 817

3. Ibid., 801

Bacchylides' dithyramboi are, as Zelinsky pointed out, not hymns to Dionysus, but ballads.¹ In Ivanov's version, however, Theseus is absorbed into the Dionysiac tradition of the dithyramb he had described in his article 'Primechanie o difirambe':

Как бы ни ставился вопрос о происхождении греческой трагедии, в форме Бакхилидова „Тезея" нельзя не видеть звена, соединяющего трагедию с первоначальным дионисическим хоровым „действом". Повидимому, первоначальный культовой дифирамб, выделив из себя трагедию, продолжал утвердаться в своей лирической особенности и породил параллельную трагедии форму, образец которой перед нами.²

Ivanov was the only Symbolist who produced genuinely Symbolist versions of classical texts. Both his choice of works to translate and his method of translation were innovatory. His version of Bacchylides is eccentric, but it is at least more than a pallid imitation of late nineteenth-century academic translations.

Annensky's translations from Greek were probably the least successful activity inspired by his interest in classicism. They are vastly inferior to his translations from French, and to his translations of Horace.³ But it is only fair to point out that Annensky's translations of classical Greek texts, like those of many other Symbolists,

1. Novyi ents. slovar', Vakkhilid

2. Ivanov, Sobranie sochinenii, 1, 816

3. Annensky's Horace translations are unlike his other classical translations, as Armelle Goupy pointed out. They are much less literal: 'Elles sont si éloignées du texte latin quant à la proportion des termes qu'elles accueillent sous la forme d'un équivalent formé par le dictionnaire que, même dans la pratique d'Annenskij, ils constituent un cas-limite'. L'Euripide russe, 54

were pioneering in their day. Moreover, they have not been superseded. Annensky's Euripides, whatever its faults, is the only complete version available to the Russian reader. (The same is true of Kuzmin's Golden Ass). Annensky's translations are also important in the context of his literary career. It is illuminating to analyse why they are not a success in themselves; their connections with his original works are also significant. Annensky cut his poetic teeth on these translations; some of his original works were directly inspired by them, and others undoubtedly benefited greatly from his experience with them.

Если на богов Олимп не
распространяется закон эволюции,
им суждено, по крайней мере,
выродиться.
Анненский

CHAPTER FOUR

'Vechnoe iskanie tainy krasoty':
The neo-classical tragedies

Annensky's literary career began in earnest only after 1900, when he was forty-five. Before 1900 he had published articles, reviews and five of his Euripides translations. His poetic output before 1900 was very small, and he published no lyrics until after 1900.¹ The first original works he published were plays: Melanippa-filosof came out in 1901, Tsar' Iksion in 1902. They were published in small print-runs by a minor publisher in St Petersburg. Melanippa is dated March 1901; Iksion, which is not dated, was probably finished shortly after Melanippa. It is not clear when Annensky began writing Melanippa; none of his published letters mention the play, but it is likely that he started it in late 1900.²

Annensky wrote a third play, Laodamiya at much the same time; it was completed in June 1902 (KO 450). But it was not published until 1906, when it came out in the almanach Severnaya rech'. Between completing and publishing the manuscript of Laodamiya Annensky made some minor revisions, as was often the case when he published original works. The line 'Esli startsam mechta tyazhela' became 'Esli duma plecham tyazhela', for example.³ Most of the

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1. See Chapter 6 of this study
 2. Fedorov asserts that Melanippa was written in 1899, but gives no evidence for this early dating (ST 29)
 3. On the textual history of Laodamiya, see Annensky's letter to Borodina, 14.6.1902 (KO 450-6). The assertion by the editors of KO that the differences are due to 'opiski' is unconvincing: we are clearly dealing with a primary version of the text (KO 651)

text, however, was left unaltered.

Annensky's three tragedies have many elements in common. All three are subtitled 'tragedy' -- in the case of Laodamiya, 'lyrical tragedy' -- and all three are in verse. The verse used, as in Annensky's translations of Euripides, is chiefly unrhymed iambic pentameter. All are based on Greek myths, and all imitate the form of Attic tragedy. None of the three has ever enjoyed much popularity. The three tragedies are the most neglected of Annensky's mature works; there has been far less attention given to them than to his poetry, his literary essays, or even to his later original 'Bacchic drama', Famira-kifared.

This neglect is partly due to the manner of their publication: since Melanippa and Iksion were both originally published by an obscure publisher, they were not reviewed in the powerful literary journals, nor even in specialist classical-philological journals except Filologicheskoe obozrenie. The only other items published were newspaper reviews.¹ Laodamiya, which was published in a literary almanach, reached a rather wider audience. A number of the Symbolists read it, including Bryusov and Sologub. Bryusov's review of Laodamiya was lukewarm: he stated that it was the best thing in Severnaya rech', but went on to say that it was lacking in vigour, was forced and pretentious in style, and that the opening was particularly weak. The level of his attention to the piece can be gauged from the fact that he states it is in iambic tetrameter

1. For reviews of Melanippa, which were unfortunately unavailable to me, see Ingold, 'A Bibliography', items 164, 165, 166, 167, 168. Varneke's reviews for FO are summarised in Lavrov and Timenchik, 129

(not pentameter).¹ Vyacheslav Ivanov devotes considerably less attention to Annensky's neo-classical tragedies than to Famira-kifared in his article 'O poezii Innokentiya Annenskogo'. Blok had hardly remarked any of the plays until Annensky sent him autographed copies in 1906; he sent a polite, but non-committal letter of thanks.²

Most recent critics have observed that the tragedies are very close to the classical tradition, and have left it at that. Nina Denissoff, for example, wrote that Laodamiya was a tragedy: 'en vers, en quatre actes, d'une manière très antique, très grecque'.³ Fedorov writes: 'Chto kasaetsya khora v tragediyakh Annenskogo, to rol' on vpolnyaet v osnovnom takuyu zhe, kak u antichnykh avtorov'.⁴ This view has been dictated by the belief that Annensky was an outstanding classical scholar, which has already been questioned in Chapters 2 and 3. Simon Karlinsky, for example, argued:

Annenskij and Vyačeslav Ivanov's [....] attempts to revive Greek tragedy were supported by a deep knowledge of its origins and development.⁵

There are only five detailed studies of Annensky's drama: by the Soviet Marxist critic I. Dukor, by Vsevolod Setchkarev in his book on Annensky and in his essay 'Laodamia in Polen und Rußland', by the Russo-Hungarian critic Lena Szilard, and by Fedorov in his recent book. The pages in Setchkarev's book given to the plays are no more than

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1. Avrely, 'Sbornik Severnaya rech'
 2. Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh, 8, 151, 163
 3. Denissoff, 'La Guerre de Troie', 65
 4. Fedorov, Innokenty Annensky, 237
 5. Karlinsky, Marina Cvetaeva, 258

extended and rather confusing synopses of the plot, with isolated remarks on metre, style and characterisation. Fedorov's study is marred by his failure to give a clear statement of the historic features of Attic tragedy, where Annensky's tragedies differ from the Attic model, and where they are similar.¹ The other three essays all study Annensky's works in the context of Symbolist drama in general, and are focused on Laodamiya, since the subject of this play was also used by Sologub in Dar mudrykh pchel and Bryusov in Protesilai. The problem with this approach is that Sologub and Bryusov's plays post-date and were directly inspired by Laodamiya; hence, any differences between the three versions of the subject can be explained ^{by the fact that} that Sologub and Bryusov were striving not to imitate Annensky in detail.²

The study of the three Protesilaos -- Laodamia plays has also been concerned more with variations in subject matter than with formal aspects. No clear picture has emerged of the extent of classical influences in any of the plays, even Laodamiya. Both Setchkarev and Szilard have remarked that the material of Laodamiya is Euripidean, and the language is not, but have failed to develop this point. Dukor's essay is more systematic, but it is hostile to the 'decadence' of Symbolist drama in general, which is

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1. Having argued on page 237 of his study that the chorus in Annensky's tragedies is like that of Attic tragedy, Fedorov then says of Famira: 'Khory menad v Famire-kifarede eshche bolee, chem v predshestvuyushchikh p'esakh, udalyayutsya ot svoego antichnogo prototipa' (238).
 2. Bryusov, Protesilai, in Polnoe sobr. soch. i perevodov, vol. 15; Sologub, Dar mudrykh pchel, in Sobranie sochinenii, 8

contrasted unfavourably and often inaccurately with 'classical drama' (of which period, and whether of Greek or Latin origin, is not specified).

This chapter is a more detailed study of Annensky's plays than has previously been undertaken. For the first time, Annensky's theoretical statements about tragedy will be analysed, and their relation to the plays will be illuminated. It will be shown that Annensky's tragedies, though more explicitly classical than his other works (except his translations), have an idiosyncratic and sometimes bizarre admixture of decadent and Modernist elements. More attention will be given to Melanippa and to Iksion than to Laodamiya, since the last play has been most widely studied in the past.

There is no doubt that Annensky's desire to write classical tragedies was inspired by his work on translating Euripides into Russian. The subjects of Annensky's tragedies were covered by the Greek author in plays which are now lost or of which unsubstantial fragments survive.¹ There are also parallels between Annensky's plays and some of the surviving plays of Euripides. The fate of the heroine of Melanippa -- she has two sons fathered by a god -- recalls the fate of Creusa in Ion; the madness of Ixion, personified as Lyssa, recalls that of Heracles, who is tormented by the same goddess.

The doll theme in Laodamiya recalls the statue of the heroine in Alcestis, a play which Annensky translated

1. See this chapter, page 198 ff

just before he wrote Laodamiya (it was published in 1901). But there is no particular connection between Annensky's plays and the other plays by Euripides Annensky was working on in the early 1900s (Electra, Hippolytus and Orestes).

Three very important observations can be made about Annensky's choice of Euripides as model. The first is that, unlike the Russian tragedians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (for example Sumarokov and Katenin), his tragic ideal was Greek, not French, in origin: his tragedies are based on first-hand knowledge of Attic tragedy.¹ Secondly, they are based on the practice of one particular author at a specific historical period, rather than on a notional idea of Greek tragedy in general. The third important fact is that Annensky chose Euripides, who had traditionally been considered the least of the three great tragedians of classical Greece, and who had been neglected even by the most Hellenist of neo-classicists, the Weimar classicists of Germany:

Nach allgemeiner Meinung der Goethezeit überragten Aischylos und Sophokles den Euripides bei weitem. [...]. Für Goethe verkörperten [Aischylos und Sophokles] den 'hohen Stil' bzw. den 'schönen Stil'.²

In fact, only Goethe, of all the German neo-classicists, wrote tragedies which showed Euripides' influence: Iphigenie in Tauris and Act III of Faust II, both of which Annensky knew, and which he had analysed in two of his essays on Euripides.³

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1. Katenin's subject in Andromache was Greek, but the form of his drama owes nothing to Attic tradition.
 2. Brown, 'Der Chor und chorverwandte Elemente', 247
 3. 'Tavrisheskaya zhritsa' [IT] and 'Ion i Apollonid' [Faust].

Annensky's choice of Euripides departs from most neo-classical tradition, and also from the tastes of his contemporaries. Vyacheslav Ivanov's neo-classical tragedies are modelled on Aeschylus, not Euripides, and the neo-classical plays written by Bryusov and Sologub are not based on the subject-matter or modelled on the style of any one Greek author. The only real precedent for Annensky's interest in Euripides is Leconte de Lisle. L'Apollonide is based on Euripides' Ion, to which it is fairly close. Annensky had discussed L'Apollonide in his essay on Ion, and had described the French poet's style as 'divnoe sochetanie impressionizma s chisto ellinskoi krasotoi izobrazheniya'.¹ The play was not a slavish imitation of the Greek original; it was a reconstruction, with modern elements:

Ион французского поэта вовсе не неокор, и в его Креусе не надо искать дочери легендарного Эрихфония и страшной мстительницы за нарушенные права туземной династии и старого культа. Леконт де Лиль, конечно, сумел бы - повторить все это в звучных стихах, ставя нас на почву условно-археологическую. Но он был поэт-мыслитель и имел концепцию.²

Annensky's view of Leconte de Lisle was in harmony with his reading of Euripides, whom he had described in 'Antichnaya tragediya' as the most modern of the three great tragedians, praising his psychological acuity and realism.³ Leconte de Lisle's method in his neo-classical plays seems to have directly inspired Annensky. In his introduction to Melanippa, he sets out his intentions in

1. 'Ion i Apollonid', 553

2. Ibid., 547

3. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 27

a paragraph whose phrasing recalls 'Ion i Apollonid':

Для трактования античного сюжета в распоряжении автора было два способа или метода: условно-археологический, более легкий, и мифический, который показался ему заманчивее. Этот метод, допускающий анахронизмы и фантастическое, позволил автору глубже затронуть вопросы психологии и этики и более, как ему казалось, слить мир античный с современной душой. (ST 308)

The play was not to be an academic reconstruction of Euripides' dramatic technique; Annensky has not set himself the 'thankless task' (neblagodarnaya zadacha) of directly imitating the Greek poet (ST 307). He intends to combine Modernist and Greek elements, to 'slit' mir antichnyi s sovremennoi dushoi'. Similar observations are made in the introductory essays to the other two plays. In the Foreword to Iksion, he states categorically, 'Avtor staraetsya kak mozhno men'she podrazhat' antichnoi tragedii' (ST 371), and in the Foreword to Laodamiya he speaks of Hermes as a decadent figure, 'blednoe otrazhenie svoego klassicheskogo sobrata' (ST 446).

As Annensky's phrase sovremennaya dusha indicates, he was particularly interested in modernising the psychology of the characters. He says of Leconte de Lisle's Creusa:

Креуса Леконта-де-Лиль не героиня и не львица; она -- слабая,¹ нежная женщина, живущая нервами, порывами, вспышками.

In his essay of 1908, 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii', Annensky had argued that the French Parnassians'

1. 'Ion i Apollonid', 549

poetry expressed modern psychological truths in classical form.¹

Two elements in Annensky's plays are immediately obvious. The plots are taken from classical sources, and the characterisation is modernised. What precisely Annensky understood by 'classical form' is harder to establish. Unlike Vyacheslav Ivanov, Annensky wrote no essays on the theory of tragedy; his views on the genre in general must be summarised from a number of different essays. 'Antichnaya tragediya', the title of which sounds promisingly broad, is in fact largely devoted to an analysis of Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound, and to biographical studies of the three great tragedians. Annensky concludes by discussing the relevance of tragedy to the modern world, but the terms which he uses are extremely vague. Tragedy is universal and eternal: it is 'universal'naya forma tvorchestva, poskol'ku ono yavlyaetsya vechnym iskaniem tainy krasoty'.² The words 'vechnoe iskanie tainy krasoty' are not illuminating, and do not indicate how tragedy is to be distinguished from poetry or from the novel, both of which Annensky had described in similar words in his essay, 'Simvoly krasoty u russkikh pisatelei' (KO 128-136). For a clearer statement of what Annensky meant by the universality of tragedy, we must turn to three essays from Knigi otrazhenii, under the general title of 'Three Social Dramas', on Pisemsky's Gor'kaya sud'bina, Tolstoy's Vlast' t'my, and Gor'ky's Na dne.

1. 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii', part 1, 179

2. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 41

From these essays it is clear that Annensky did not follow the large number of his Symbolist contemporaries, especially Vyacheslav Ivanov, who, under the influence of Nietzsche, considered that tragedy was a direct development of the ecstatic cult of Dionysus, embodying the principles of Dionysiac religion, and in essence musical. Ivanov wrote in his essay 'O sushchestve tragedii' that tragedy was a 'maenad':

Трагедия -- менада, и действующее лицо ее в древнейшем действе единственно -- менада. Действие происходит между богом и злохновенной им женщиной, представленною хором; но древний хор сознает себя одним лицом, говорит о себе в единственном числе.¹

These Symbolist interests were well summarised by the French critic, Claudine Amiard-Chevrel, in her article on Symbolist poetry, which significantly does not mention Annensky:

Ce n'est pas tant la tragédie elle-même qui les intéresse, telle que nous en connaissons les textes et les représentations, mais l'époque lointaine où le peuple entier célébrait le sacrifice de Dionysos, le moment imprécis où le dithyrambe est devenu tragédie, où les rondes² liturgiques se sont transformées en chœur.

Annensky's views were different. He did not argue that tragedy -- at least of the classical period -- was primarily religious or ritualistic in nature. Its origins were in cultic rites, but these origins were of little

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1. Ivanov, 'O sushchestve tragedii', Sobranie sochinenii 2, 197
 2. Amiard-Chevrel, 'L'antiquité et l'esthétique théâtrale', 10. See also Gurevich, 'Mechty i mysli', 156-7

significance by the fifth century. His essay 'Antichnaya tragediya' analyses only the aesthetic characteristics of the genre: legends of Dionysus, he argues, were chosen as subjects of tragedy because Dionysus' life made good drama.¹ And in his 'reflection' of Tolstoy's Vlast' t'my, he contrasts this play, which for him is without doubt a tragedy, with Nietzsche's idea that tragedy is a musical phenomenon, expressed in Die Geburt der Tragödie. He points out that, by a coincidence, Tolstoy's play was published in the same year as the second edition of Nietzsche's tract:

В 1886 г. вышло в свет две замечательные книги. Одна из них [....] говорила о происхождении трагедии из духа музыки, другая показывала на примере, до какой степени трагедия, эта излюбленная Дионисом форма обнаружения духа, -- может сознательно и, не переставая быть художественно, стать чужой музыке. (КО 63)

Some of Annensky's contemporaries remarked the striking difference between his ideas and those of mainstream Symbolism; the well-known drama critic Lyubov' Gurevich advised her readers to consult Annensky rather than Ivanov on the subject of tragedy.² Vyacheslav Ivanov contrasted Annensky's ideas with his own in his essay on Annensky:

Он писал античные драмы не потому, чтобы хотел ими утвердить какой-либо эстетический тезис, но потому, что близок был ему античный миф и казался общечеловеческим и общеприменимым, [...] и потому, что он привык жить в этих снах о Греции или скорее тешиться своими самодовлеющими "отражениями" Греции.³

Ivanov's view that Annensky's interest in Greek drama

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1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 14
 2. Gurevich, 'Mechty i mysli', 157
 3. Ivanov, 'Poeziya IA', 298

was not 'aesthetic' signifies only that Annensky's aesthetics, which were anti-mystical and anti-Nietzschean, were different from his own emphasis on religion, morals and social duty. Annensky's view of tragedy was more traditionally 'classical' than Ivanov's: he returned to the most conventional source of genre directions for tragedy, Aristotle's Poetics, though he interprets Aristotle idiosyncratically.

His eccentricity of approach is evident in the studies of Vlast' t'my, Na dne and Gor'kaya sud'bina. These three 'social dramas' have no outward connection with the classical world: they are set in Russia in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and are not titled tragedies; their political and social commitment is manifest. But Annensky illustrates that they nonetheless conform to a view of tragedy which can be traced back to Aristotle. Gor'kaya sud'bina, for example, inspires pity (sostradanie) and fear (uzhas), as Aristotle had directed tragedy should; but the factors which produce these emotions are not the same as in classical tragedy:

Ужас, то есть основа трагедии, заключается в Горькой судьбине не в сильных страстях, не в героических движениях духа, не в роковом сцеплении случайностей, не в остроте незаслуженных страданий, а в какой-то душной сутолоке задыхающихся людей, которых заперли в темную баню. Из драмы нет просвета, как нет и выхода из жизни, которая в ней изображается.

Но Горькая судьбина не была бы художественным произведением, а Писемский художником, если бы он не смягчил нам ужаса своей драмы силою человеческого сострадания. (КО 58)

And in the essay on Na dne it is argued that the classical idea of fate is central to the modern social drama, though

it has been recast as environmental determinism:

Самое Дно Горького, как элемент трагедии, не представляет никакой новости. Это старинная судьба, та εἰμαρμένη, которая когда-то вырвала глаза Эдипу и задушила Дездемону. (КО 74)¹

These social dramas even conform in some degree to Aristotle's formal recommendations for drama, since they observe the 'Unities' -- at least in a restricted sense:

В трагедии, конечно, нет классических единств места и времени, но единство действия соблюдено с большой и нарочитой точностью. В пьесе буквально нет ни одного явления, которое бы не было нужно для ее развития, и действие развивается цельно и непрерывно. (КО 60)

Tragedy is seen by Annensky in two ways. It is a genre with classical origins, whose characteristics, established in ancient times, have been modified by history. At the same time, it is a genre which had a particular significance and appeared in a particular form in fifth-century Attica. Tragedy is a historical phenomenon and a phenomenon which transcends history. In his essays on the Social Dramas Annensky studies the transcendental features of tragedy; in 'Antichnaya tragediya' he makes a historical study of Attic tragedy, with much detailed description of masks, costumes, and staging, and also of the biographies and literary careers of the three great tragedians. His three tragedies follow this pattern: they are surprisingly close to the classical pattern in certain minute details, but their allegiance to tradition in broad matters is idiosyncratic.

Since Annensky's plays are likely to be unfamiliar to

1. Greek ἡ εἰμαρμένη : that which is allotted, apportioned (from μεῖρομαι)

some readers, and the only synopses available (Setchkarev's) are over-long, confused and rather unhelpful, it seems best to summarise them here in brief.

Melanippa opens with a prologue in which the eponymous heroine, daughter of Aeolus and granddaughter of Hellen, the rulers of a small state in Thessaly, describes how she has been seduced by a man whom she takes to be the river and sea god Poseidon. The result of this liaison was twin sons, whom the god instructed her to hide in the fields, where they would be looked after. She confided her secret only in her nurse. The arrival of her father from abroad is imminent, and she fears discovery. Aeolus duly returns from consulting an oracle, and joyfully relates that his descendants are to bring him glory. He encourages Melanippe to marry. A stable-boy enters: two foundlings have been discovered suckling from a cow. Aeolus orders that they be produced. Then an argument ensues about what should be done with the boys. Aeolus, under pressure from his father, concludes that they should be put to death. Melanippe pleads eloquently for their life; when this fails, she reveals that they are her children. Her assertion that they are a god's sons is deemed blasphemous; she retracts it, but Aeolus orders that she should be blinded. After the blinding, her mother Hippe appears in an epilogue in the form of a star, and announces that Melanippe's descendants have been provided for by Poseidon and will found two Greek states.

Iksion concerns the (rather better-known) legendary king, who was sentenced to torment by the gods for the

murder of his father-in-law, which was the first murder ever committed. This part of the myth precedes the action of the play. At the opening Ixion is discovered on the slopes of Olympus, accompanied by the goddess Lyssa (madness). Suddenly, Iris, the cup-bearer of the gods, appears, and announces that Zeus has pardoned Ixion. He ascends to Olympus, where he tastes the food of the gods and is granted immortality. At the banquet, he conceives a wild passion for the goddess Hera, who rebuffs him. Later, the goddess Apate (Deception) appears, and says that she will lead Ixion to Hera. Ixion departs and spends the night with a woman he takes to be the goddess; but in the morning Apate tells him that what he thought was Hera was a cloud-image she made in the shape of the goddess. The whole episode, it emerges, was planned by Zeus, who now decides on a terrible punishment for Ixion. Hermes arrives and announces that Ixion is to be strapped to a flaming wheel and endure eternal torment.

Laodamiya concerns the wife of the legendary Thessalian king Iolaos. She has been left by him on her wedding day when he departed for the siege of Troy. She longs for his return; a messenger arrives and announces his heroic death, which she refuses to accept as true. Hermes appears in disguise, leading the shade of Iolaos, and allows him and his wife three hours together. When Iolaos returns to Hades, Laodamia's reason fails and she falls in love with a wax image of her husband. Her father Akastes arrives, and demands to know why no funerary rites have been carried out, and he orders that a fire is built to begin them. A servant boy comes on stage and tells how

he has seen Laodamia fondling a wax statue. Akastes is appalled, the more so when his daughter emerges dressed as a maenad. He asks, then orders her to burn the doll. Laodamia's pleas are in vain; and when the doll is put on the fire she flings herself after it.

One important distinction between Annensky's plays and the plays written by the neo-classicists active a hundred years before him, as has been pointed out, is the classical subject and classical setting of Annensky's tragedies:

With the two exceptions of Hamlet (laid in Denmark) and Aristona (laid in Persia) all [Sumarokov's] tragedies have ostensibly Russian subjects, remotely derived from the chronicles.¹

Some of the plays written by the French neo-classicists, such as Racine's Andromaque, took their plots and settings from classical legend. This was true also of certain plays written by Russian authors in the early nineteenth century (for example, Ozerov's Edip v Afinakh, and Katenin's Andromakha). The sources of these plays, however, were well-defined and circumscribed: most plots were taken from the Trojan cycle. Annensky's sources were much more esoteric. He ignored familiar and favourite legends like those of Prometheus, Bacchus and Ariadne, Iphigenia. The legends he chose were obscure: the legends of Melanippe and Ixion were not popular even in classical times, and the legend of Laodamia was only briefly popular in late antiquity.

Annensky lays much stress in his introductions to the

1. Brown, A History of Eighteenth-Century Russ. Lit., 124

plays on the authentic origins of the legends: different variants are given in detail, and sources are cited (in footnotes) -- the more necessary since he eschews the variants given by the most popular authors, such as Homer. He affects an academic, rather turgid style, referring to himself in the first person plural, as my, or in the third person singular, as avtor. Annensky recommends these forewords as surveys of some of Euripides' fragments in his introduction to Teatr Evripida; they are in the same vein as his other essays on Euripides, though more official in tone. They are not detailed or technical enough to interest a specialist, and are clearly intended as introductions for the non-specialist, much in the manner of encyclopedia articles.

Despite this exaggerated emphasis on the origins of his material, Annensky departs from classical norms in that he is not bound by the particular local or historical traditions he so meticulously surveys. His choice of the three legends was inspired by Euripides' use of them, but he does not adopt the particular variants chosen by the Greek author (which can be determined from surviving extracts of the lost plays, citations from them, and descriptions of them). Melanippa is extremely close to the plot of Euripides' Melanippe-sophē; the events in Annensky's plays are almost identical to the synopsis of Euripides' work in Pauly's Realenzyklopädie, including Melanippe's speech in defence of her children, the agōn between Melanippe and Aeolus, and the epilogue in which the deus ex machina, Hippe, appears on stage to predict the future of Melanippe's children and the glory of Hellen's

is a word,
testimonia

descendants.¹ This is not the case with Iksion and Laodamiya. The plots of both plays are amalgamated from several sources; there is little attempt to discover what might have been used by Euripides; instead, all extant versions, or a historically incompatible selection of them, are combined in a non-existent Ursage. Annensky remarks only one departure from the version used by Euripides in the introductions: the death of Laodamia by fire rather than by the sword. An equally important alteration (the fact that in Annensky's version Laodamia's husband's name is originally Iolaos, not Protesilaos, for which there is only one classical authority, and which was not found in Euripides' version) is not mentioned by Annensky.² The plots of Annensky's plays are not a result of the invention of new myths (mifotvorchestvo) but of the adaptation and conflation of existing variants. There is little in any of the plays that is not found in one of the variants, but there is, equally, no single variant which contains all the events in the play.³

Much is also made of the parallels between the myths on which the plays are based and other better-known myths with similar content. In the introduction to Iksion, Annensky comments on the similarity between his hero and Prometheus (ST 572). Sometimes such references are cross-

1. Paulys Realenzyklopädie, Melanippe

2. Paulys Realenzyklopädie, Laodamia

3. For a summary of the variants, see Annensky's introductions to the plays, and the articles in Roscher's Lexikon on which he based them. The variants of the Laodamia legend are summarised in Zelinsky, 'Antichnaya Lenora'.

cultural: in the introduction to Laodamiya, the heroine is described as 'drevnegrecheskaya Lenora', a reference to Bürger's poem; the comparison between Euripides and Bürger was also made by Annensky's friend and colleague Zelinsky in an essay of 1906.¹ Annensky's literary essays describe mythology as 'universal', transcending geographical and historical boundary.² The fusion of different layers of myth shows the practical application of his belief that myth was universal.

The setting of all the plays is classical and Greek, but the plays take place in the periphery, not the heartland of Greece. All three are set in Thessaly, to the east of the Hellenic mainland, a large and mountainous area particularly famed for horse-breeding. The landscape, of mountains and the sea-coast, is alluded to in all the plays, and there are references to specific landmarks, such as Mount Olympus and Mount Pelion. But none of the plays is set in a recognisable town. Melanippa takes place in 'an old town in Magnesia', which, as Droysens historischer Handatlas indicates, could be any of about twelve on this large peninsula. Iksion takes place 'on the slopes of Olympus', which is a whole mountain range, not a single peak; Laodamiya is set near Phylake, a legendary town which, if it existed at all, was probably near the site of Phthiotic Thebes.³ The exact era when the plays are set is no more definite. Iksion

1. Zelinsky, 'Antichnaya Lenora'

2. In the introduction to Iksion, the hero is described as 'sverkh-chelovek antichnogo mira' (ST 372)

3. Der Kleine Pauly, Phylake

and Melanippa belong to the legendary prehistory of Greece, and Laodamiya to a later but equally indefinite time: the era of the Trojan Wars.

The world in which the characters live is recreated in a manner which is both specific and vague. There is minute reference to certain details of classical life, such as costume and fighting, weaponry, religious cult, women's pursuits, (for example, the weaving with which both Laodamia and Melanippe occupy themselves). In her opening monologue, Melanippe alludes in some detail to the ritualistic duties of unmarried women:

Или, детей кормившая, дерзну
Я в хоровод войти девичий, или
Я на алтарь душистый свой венок
С безбрачными решусь отдать богине? (313)

The historical allusions in the plays are always comprehensible to the non-specialist, though; and their effect is modified by the presence of glaring anachronisms and Russicisms. The number of these is much greater in the later plays. A search of Melanippa produced no anachronisms, and the only examples of Russicisms were svirel' (ST 322) and khorovod (ST 313), the national specificity of which is open to doubt. But in Iksion there are numerous exotic words: tuberoza and levkoi (378), kalambur (437), artistichnost' (437); in Laodamiya the modern skripka and smychok (490) replace the Greek lira; there is talk of a bedhead (izgolov'e), which is hardly characteristic of Greek furnishing (490); there is talk of terem Eleny (456), pesochnye dvortsy (498), and atlas (508). In all the plays tsar', tsaritsa and

tsarevna are used throughout. Annensky's plays, as he termed it, are not an 'archaeological' recreation of Greek life, but an impressionistic portrayal in which certain details take on symbolic significance and stand for 'the Greek way of life' in general.

The timeless quality of the plays is stressed by the presence of numerous fantastical beings, such as centaurs, nymphs, walking ghosts and the like. This is particularly true of Iksion, which resembles a sort of Olympian mystery play. Immortals abound, and even the hero is granted immortality soon after the beginning of the play. In French and Russian neo-classical drama the intrusion of the supernatural was very small, and the events were usually portrayed as historical fact. The tension in Annensky's plays between accuracy and anachronism, supernatural and historical, was not characteristic of his neo-classical predecessors.

The conflict between authenticity and modernity is also central to the characterisation in Annensky's plays. The characters have the outward traits of those in Greek and neo-classical tragedy. The heroes belong to the highest social class: all are members of royal houses, albeit not of the most illustrious and famous houses (such as those of Thebes and Athens). Their standing is expressed in Greek and not in modern terms; the stage directions make it clear that the houses they inhabit are relatively simple -- an undecorated pillared facade is indicated -- and they are certainly far from palaces in the modern sense. The manner in which the heroes live is equally unassuming. They are surrounded by crowds

of subjects and slaves, but their royalty is very much a dramatic convention without direct bearing on the plot. This aspect of Annensky's dramas was singled out as authentically Greek by the classical scholar Boris Varneke in his obituary of the author.¹ It is certainly very far from the traditions of neo-classical drama, in which the characters frequently referred to their royalty and the duties it imposed on them. In Faust II, for example, Helen speaks of the self-control which should be exercised by those of royal birth:

Es ziemet Königinnen, allen Menschen ziemt es vielleicht,
Sich zu erfassen, zu ermannen, was auch drohend
überrascht!²

In Annensky's plays, royalty is an issue with little significance, and certainly without the real political bite it had in the dramas of seventeenth or eighteenth century France, Germany and Russia. There is little interest in issues of state in Annensky's plays, and the heroes do not themselves allude to their royalty. Only in Laodamiya is royalty of any significance: the heroine finds her social standing burdensome, since it impairs her private feeling for her husband; the conflict between official duty and inner life is exemplified by her refusal to acknowledge her husband's heroic title, Protesilaos.

The minor characters conform to the standard types of Greek tragedy, though some of them seem in fact to

1. Varneke, 'IFA -- nekrolog', 41

2. Goethe, Faust, lines 8915-6

be inventions of Annensky's, with no precedent in Euripides' versions. The Nurse in Melanippa and the Nurse in Laodamiya recall the character in Hippolytus, although their role in the plot is less important. The other slaves, like their counterparts in Greek tragedy, play only minor roles, and are stereotyped figures. The stable boy in Melanippa and the boy slave in Laodamiya are distinguished only by feeble-minded superstition and malice respectively.

Externally, the characters resemble the stock types of Greek tragedy; internally, however, the heroes exemplify the dusha sovremennogo cheloveka of which Annensky had spoken in his introduction to Melanippa (ST 308). Often mythological tradition has been altered, very much in the manner of Leconte de Lisle's plays. Leconte de Lisle's *Creusa* is a much softened version of the vengeful and proud Greek original:

Pourtant, ce meurtre est lâche, et mon coeur en murmure.
 Il mettra sur mon nom une longue soillure.
 Cet Éphèbe, si beau dans sa jeunesse en fleur,
 A-t-il causé ma honte et voulu ma douleur?
 Et dès que je l'ai vu, sur les marches sacrées
 Du temple, couronné de ses boucles dorées,
 L'arc en main, souriant dans la lumière, et tel
 Que m'apparut jadis l'éclatant Immortel,
 Un invincible attrait ne m'a-t-il pas charmée?¹

Annensky's version of the Greek Ixion, a bogoborets who was the epitome of arrogant greed and villainy, is a thoughtful, unaggressive man undone by obsessional sexual passion. The whole notion of 'heroism' is called into question by these characters.

In his essay on the French Parnassians, Annensky

1. Leconte de Lisle, L'Apollonide, Derniers poèmes, 122-3

wrote that one of the most important aspects of the classical heritage was the ideal of heroism:

Только благодаря античным мифам возникла та категория героизма, без которой в нашем творчестве, вероятно, не образовалось бы ни поэмы, ни трагедии, ни романа. А таким образом античный миф все еще не только определяет материал, но и самые формы нашей творческой мысли.

The essay does not indicate whether modern literature should continue or subvert this ideal. In his introduction to Melanippe, however, it is clear that this play at least was intended to continue the classical tradition:

Только эта жизнь, кристаллизовавшаяся в ярких героических явлениях и славных муках, и может быть предметом трагедии. (ST 308)

All Annensky's heroes undergo torment in a direct, physical sense: Melanippe is blinded, Ixion is sentenced to undergo everlasting torture strapped to a flaming wheel and Laodamia burns herself to death. However, this does not make them heroes in Annensky's terms. Heroism is indicated by the nobility of response to suffering: not merely muki, but slavnnye muki. This nobility is certainly shown by Melanippe and Ixion, both of whom respond to adversity with dignity, and both of whom make stately final speeches. Melanippe is radiant:

Несчастьем и слепотою точно
Унижена царевна. Но свечи
Она своей еще не потушила,
И, чтобы жить, обманов и надежд
Не надо ей.... О бог, о чистый разум! (ST 365)

Ixion nobly restrained:

1. 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii', part 2, 179

Ты ждешь моих проклятий...
 Говорят,
 Что человек, идя на казнь иль пытку,
 Прощается иль проклинает.
 Нет,
 Вся из души моей уж вышла злоба. (439)

These closing speeches are formulaic in character, and very like those made at the end of Attic tragedies by the hero (for example, in Oedipus Rex and Heracles).

Another formula taken from Attic tragedy is the implicit comparison of the heroes with some of the subsidiary characters, to the disadvantage of the latter. The bigoted old men in Melanippe, and the mean-minded servants, illuminate the heroine's integrity, and her more than ordinary stature.

The case of Laodamiya is rather different. The heroine by no means conforms to the pattern of slavnye muki, and when she receives the news of Iolaos' death, she first abuses the messenger as a liar, then insists that his version must be incomplete. During the final scenes of the play she descends first into pathetic childishness, fondling her waxen husband, then into Bacchic-inspired madness. She is not set off to advantage by the other characters in the play, since the messenger behaves with more dignity in adversity than she, and her father Akastes is a more sympathetic character than Hellen and Aeolus, and is genuinely concerned for her. She does not even have a concluding speech, but throws herself mutely onto the fire. It is evident that the concept of heroism in the play has moved away from slavnye muki; Laodamia's nobility is unimportant. We are no longer in the world of classical heroic formulae, but of

psychopathology.¹

Annensky's words kristalizovavshiisya and yarkie geroicheskie yavleniya -- as opposed to deistviya -- suggest another aspect of his heroes: their passivity. The tragedies which befall them are not of their own creation. The birth of Melanippe's sons is at the will of Poseidon, and her blinding is a punishment dictated by her authoritarian father. The death of Iolaos is nothing to do with Laodamia, and happens far away from her. The passivity of Ixion is still more remarkable. The Greek Cain has become a passive individual; his one morally culpable action, the murder of his father-in-law, precedes the events of Annensky's play; and has no relevance to them. A hero in the mould of the Nietzschean Übermensch or the Titans of Vyacheslav Ivanov's plays has been transformed into an example of resigned suffering very close to the lyric hero of Tikhie pesni and Kiparisovyi larets. The play cannot be intended to be a reply to Ivanov's plays, since it predates Tantal and Prometei, but it polemicises with the Romantic ideal of the Promethean hero, which is partly the inspiration of Ivanov's plays.²

The great passivity of Annensky's characters means that they cannot be condemned for their own downfall in moral terms; they do not commit sins, not even sins of omission. This is contrary to the standard nineteenth-century

1. Annensky's last drama, Famira-kifared, continues the decline of the heroic tradition (see Chapter 5 of this study)

2. Ivanov's Tantal was first published in 1905, his Prometei not until 1915, and it is more likely these plays were produced in response to Annensky's than vice versa.

interpretation of Aristotle: the Greek philosopher's recommendation that the hero's downfall should be a result of *ἁμαρτία*, or fault, was determined by a reading of the word as 'moral weakness'.¹ Annensky did not comment on the interpretation of *ἁμαρτία*, but he almost certainly shared the views of his contemporaries, since he regarded classical literature as essentially didactic and moralistic:

Эллинская поэзия наших дней не берется учить, как та античная, которая некогда жила этой высокой тенденцией. [...] Она уступила ее поэзии индивидуалистической, где тенденция античности из желания учить выродилась в страстишку поражать и слепить несбыточностью, дерзостью, пороком и даже безобразием.²

Decadence in the sense of derzost' and porok is almost absent from Annensky's writings; the decline of the characters from their heroic prototypes is indicated solely by their inability to act.

However one interprets Aristotle, the passivity of Melanippe, Ixion and Laodamia in no way recalls any of the vivid and active characters of the Attic stage. Euripides, whose plays Annensky had described as 'static' and 'analytical',³ nonetheless created dynamic characters: Medea, Heracles, Phaedra. The stoicism of Annensky's characters resembles the well-bred restraint of certain characters in neo-classical drama, such as Katenin's Andromache, though their inability to act is tinged with

1. 'Die lange als moralisch mißdeutete *ἁμαρτία* bedeutet für Aristotle ein von moralischer Beschränktheit verursachtes Verfehlen des Richtigen' Der Kleine Pauly, Aristotle.

2. 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii', part 3, 288

3. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 27

fin de siècle angst and neurosis. At times, their reflection and meditation is dangerously undramatic, and Annensky is forced to move the centre of interest on to minor characters, such as the old men in Melanippa, or the gods.

In most neo-classical tragedy, the gods take no part in the action; the characters sometimes refer to them, but the references are stylised and insignificant. In Racine's Bérénice Titus exclaims:

N'en doutez point madame, et j'atteste les dieux
Que toujours Bérénice est présente à mes yeux.¹

This is no more than a conventional figure of speech, which certainly gives no sense that the gods are in any way involved with the fate of the characters.

In Annensky's plays the gods are far more than the subject of passing reference; they are a central part of the world in which the characters live. They appear more often than in most Attic tragedies, and in greater numbers. Some actually come on stage: Hermes, the messenger of the gods, in all three plays; Iris and Hera in Iksion; Hippe, Melanippe's mother, 'in apotheosis'. Other gods, who are invisible, are equally important. The plot function of all the gods goes far beyond that of the traditional deus ex machina, who was often used as a means simply of bringing an awkward plot to a conclusion, as in Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris. Poseidon, in Melanippa, brings about the heroine's pregnancy, and

1. Racine, Oeuvres complètes, 172

foreordains the fate of her children, which is then communicated by Apollo. Zeus, in Iksion, personally engineers the downfall of the hero through his agents Lyssa and Apate. In Laodamiya, where the presence of the gods is less important, the return of the hero from the underworld is supervised by Hermes.

Annensky's gods are also characterised, although sketchily (realistic detail is obviously out of the question for supernatural beings). With the exception of the solicitous Hippe and the attractively cynical Hermes, the gods are uniformly superficial, to quote Annensky, 'legko zhivushchie', remote from emotion and indifferent to human sufferings, except as entertainment.¹ They are not immoral, they are amoral, Hermes explains in Laodamiya:

Корифей
 О бог, ужель страданья наши точно
 Для вас игра?
 А жертвы-то? А мольбы?
 Гермес
 Они нужны, но вам... Свободны боги,
 И этот мир, о женщины, для нас --
 Раскрытая страница книги, только. (ST 485)

Sometimes the indifference of the gods is satirised. Hera is vain and vapid; she encourages Ixion's professions of passion, then causes his downfall out of egotism: 'dlya sebya / Khotim my byt', ne dlya muzhei prekrasny', she announces. (ST 405)

Annensky is at pains to stress the Greek character of his gods. Their names are given in Greek, not Latin, forms,

1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 21; the Greek phrase used by A. is
 ῥεῖα ζῶντες

and the depiction of the gods, blasphemous or at least irreverent as it might seem to modern readers, accords with that typical in classical Greece, where the gods inspired fear rather than love, as Dodds describes:

Divine law, like early human law, takes no account of motive and makes no allowance for human weakness; it is devoid of that humane quality which the Greeks called *ἐπιείκεια* or *φιλανθρωπία* [....] Of the major Olympians, perhaps only Athena inspired an emotion that could reasonably be described as love. 'It would be eccentric', says the Magna Moralia, 'for anyone to claim that he loved Zeus.'

Classical literature contains many satirical portraits of the gods; in the Iliad the Olympians bicker and deceive each other and men much in the manner of Annensky's gods, and of the dramatists, Euripides in particular often portrays the gods in a hostile manner. Apollo in Ion treats Creusa in a disgraceful fashion; Death in Alcestis is nothing short of a buffoon.

The frivolity of the gods also means that religious practice in a narrow sense is necessarily discredited in the plays. Worship of the gods as individuals is unreasonable, since they patently do not deserve it. Those characters who offer worship are either ignorant and benighted, like the servants, or bigoted and unsympathetic, like Aeolus and Hellen. Only Melanippe is shown to be sincere, and she does not believe in the gods as individuals; she believes in a transcendent moral force:

1. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational, 35

Кто б ни был ты, о Зевс, на небесах
 Эфирных -- бог иль разум, сновиденье
 Ожившее иль гордая мечта...
 Но я тебя зову, великий пращур... (311)

In the course of the play this supreme force emerges, and is recognised by Melanippe in her concluding speech as that of Reason, which lies beyond the gods and is not represented by any one of them.

Since the gods are amoral, they cannot represent any absolute standard of right and wrong. They represent rather the power of irrational fate, which is beyond the understanding of human beings. The characters do not allude to Fate in the abstract, as was the case in neo-classical drama, and its place is evidently taken by the gods collectively. Fate is only once benevolent, when Melanippe's misfortune is shown to be incidental to plans for the future glory of her sons; most of the time it is unambiguously malevolent, and the characters are at the prey of forces which will their destruction. Annensky's concept of fate does not correspond to the Greek word nemesis, or righteous punishment; it is closer to the idea of phthonos, according to which the gods and mankind are in permanent conflict, and the gods jealously will the destruction of their opponents.¹

It is not the character of the gods which Annensky modernises, nor is the extent to which they are satirised modern; but their absolute domination of the drama is a novelty. Annensky wrote in his essay 'Antichnaya tragediya'

1. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational, 29-31

that the Greeks considered the gods fundamentally unsuited to tragedy.¹ It is significant that Euripides' satirical portraits of gods appear in plays (Ion and Alcestis) which are not tragedies in the conventional sense. In Annensky's plays, the gods' untragic world-view leads the reader to question the stoicism and silent suffering of the other characters, whose beliefs are faintly ironised. The reader's sympathies are manipulated, and it is impossible to identify absolutely with the heroes.

Annensky has also modernised the symbolic significance of the gods, in accordance with his rationalist beliefs about myth.² In the Notes to the Lyrical Sections of Melanippa, Annensky explains how the myths narrated by the chorus, which they take to be literally true, in fact are only an indirect reflection of the changing seasons:

Второй музыкальный антракт посвящен старой легенде о Гере и Ио, которая послужила в этом виде сюжетом для одной не дошедшей до нас и, вероятно, сатирической драмы Софокла. В ней отразились природные явления, связанные с народным благосостоянием: с одной стороны -- разлив илистой горной реки Инаха, с другой -- засуха. (ST 626-7)

Likewise, the Centaurs are said to represent Attic conceptions 'o grubom byte gornykh naezdnikov', mingled with folk belief in mountain or cloud spirits. (ST 627)

There is one element in Annensky's dramas which

1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 21

2. See Chapter 2 of this study

can only be derived from classical theatrical practice: the presence of a chorus. The chorus is without doubt the most problematic aspect of Greek drama for a modern audience, as was observed by R.W.B. Burton:

This traditional element in Greek tragedy strikes modern taste as its strangest and least intelligible feature.¹

Its presence has often been explained, in fact, as the mere relic of tradition, with no dramatic virtues and many obvious vices; it has been said to slow down the action and to make it uncomfortably artificial:

С развитием трагедии как драмы, поэты положительно борются с этим неустрашимым пережитком.²

The chorus fell out of favour even in Latin literature, and few classical revivalists before the nineteenth century attempted to reintroduce it in any form, let alone as it is found in Greek drama. There are very few exceptions: a modified chorus appears in Racine's Athalie, Schiller's Die Braut von Messina, and in Goethe's Faust II, Act III. The chorus is absent from Russian neo-classical drama of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is significant that one commentator finds the presence of a chorus in Annensky's Laodamiya and Bryusov's Protesilai sufficient grounds for describing the plays as authentically neo-classical:

Annenskij et Brjusov ont conçu leur pièce d'une manière très dépouillée, très antique -- le choeur

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1. Burton, The Chorus in Sophocles' Tragedies, 1
 2. Zelinsky in Ents. slovar', Khor

y tient une place très importante.¹

One reason for the disfavour traditionally shown in Western drama towards the chorus was a narrow understanding of its functions. August Wilhelm Schlegel's description of it as 'ein idealer Zuschauer', an ideal spectator, suggested that it was detached from the central action and that its dramatic function was limited to observation and sententious comment.² In fact, this was only one of its roles in Attic drama:

Der Chor der klassischen Tragödie ist ein vielfaches, nicht einfaches Gebild.³

By the late nineteenth century it was appreciated that the chorus could have a very wide range of dramatic functions. Zelinsky's article on it in the Brokgauz-Efron encyclopaedia mentions that it could represent the retinue of the hero, replace an extra character, cover for action off-stage, and heighten dramatic tension by its exclamations.⁴ The growth of understanding of and knowledge about the chorus in the academic establishment was accompanied by an upsurge of literary interest. Many of the Russian Symbolists, in accordance with their post-Nietzschean view of tragedy as a religious phenomenon, emphasised the religious nature of the chorus, which was supposed

1. Denissoff, 'La Guerre de Troie', 67

2. Brown, 'Der Chor und chorverwandte Elemente', 244

3. Ibid.

4. Zelinsky in Ents. slovar', Khor

to embody the Dionysiac origin of drama and to facilitate religious participation by the audience in the theatrical mystery. This view was expounded particularly by Vyacheslav Ivanov.¹

As one would expect, Annensky's view of the chorus was very different from that of Ivanov. In his essay 'Antichnaya tragediya' he plays down the religious origins of the chorus, as he does those of tragedy: its 'musical nature' is seen to create dramatic variety, not mystic union with the Dionysiac principle.² It is of some importance also that Annensky based his practice in this aspect, as in so many others, on Euripides' drama, not on Sophocles' or Aeschylus'; in Euripidean drama the chorus is of lesser importance. Aristotle had criticised Euripides' failure to dramatically integrate the chorus in his plays:

The Chorus should be regarded as one of the actors; it should be an integral part of the whole, and take its share in the action. The model is the practice of Sophocles, and not Euripides. In subsequent authors the choral songs in a tragedy have no more connection with the plot than with that of any other play.³

The less important role played by the chorus in the dramatic scenes reflects its less significant place in the play as a whole:

Die Ära von Aischylos und Sophokles [wird] allgemein

-
1. Ivanov, 'O krizise teatra', Sobranie sochinenii, 2, 218
 2. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 41
 3. Aristotle, On the Art of Poetry, 62

als die Blütezeit des griechischen Chors angesehen. Viele Beurteiler weisen auf seine geminderte Bedeutung bei Euripides hin.

In Annensky's plays, the number of lines given to the chorus is noticeably smaller than the number given to it in Vyacheslav Ivanov's plays, which are Aeschylean in character.² The dramatic role of the chorus is also smaller: most of the lines are grouped in vstupitel'nye pesni and muzykal'nye antrakty, the equivalent of the great lyrical odes of Attic tragedy, the parodos and stasimon. There are few interventions by the chorus in the body of the text. In the central dramatic scenes of the three dramas (Act III in Melanippa; Act III in Laodamiya; and Acts IV and V of Iksion), the chorus is almost silent. It never takes an active part in the action, unlike the Tolpa in Ivanov's Prometei, which is manipulated by Pandora into betraying the hero.³

The choric passages in Annensky's dramas are markedly distinct from the dramatic dialogues, and are rarely directly connected with them. They do not refer to events on stage, but to general themes (such as love, marriage and separation in Laodamiya), or to myths and legends obliquely connected with the plot or the heredity of the characters (the 'divine marriages' of Zeus in Melanippa).

1. Brown, 'Der Chor und chorverwandte Elemente', 247

2. Comparative (approximate) figures:

<u>Melanippa</u> total lines	1500	chorus	321
<u>Iksion</u>	1560		371
<u>Laodamiya</u>	1435		417
<u>Tantal</u>	1200		354
<u>Prometei</u>	1100		300

3. Ivanov, Prometei, Act 2, Scene 6

When the chorus comments on events, it does so in a general and metaphorical way. Melanippe's tragedy and that of her family is represented as the destruction of an eagle's nest (the eagle being Zeus' totem):

О, печальная, тихая ночь,
 О, гнездо разоренной семьи!
 Не на радость тебя на земле
 Свил когда-то небесный орел.
 Над тобой, о безумная дочь,
 Плачут нежные очи мои,
 И жалею в полуночной мгле
 Я тебя, одинокий Эол...
 О, гнездо разоренной семьи,
 О, печальная, тихая ночь...
 (366)

The separate identity of the chorus is intensified by the fact that it is characterised, a tendency which increases in the later plays. The chorus members are a distinct body of individuals (in Melanippa mountain women; in Iksion Oreads; in Laodamiya wives and widows of Phylake). In Iksion there is a rather facetious attempt to portray the Oreads as innocent but gigglingly vapid young women: when Iris relates the story of the nymph Dorippe's appearance on Olympus, their comments are gushing:

Ирида
 Вы чарам нимф дивиться бы должны,
 А не моим... Узнать была я рада,
 Что во дворце, украдкой от жены,
 Одна из вас... Дориппа-ореада.
 [Смех]
 Корифей
 Мы польщены, мы очень польщены. (ST 366)

The mythological content of the choric passages is much higher than in the dramatic dialogues. In

the choric odes many myths and legends are related; Melanippa is especially rich in mythological reference. The chorus accepts the legends as literally true, and its members are closer to the gods than the isolated heroes. In Laodamiya, the heroine loses interest in Hermes as soon as she discovers that he has brought back Protesilaos, and the god is left with the Coryphaeus and the nurse for a talk about the relevance of worship. (ST 482)

The choric passages also have more abundant imagery than other sections of the plays. The choruses in Laodamiya stand out particularly, perhaps on account of the infrequency of mythological references in them. The richness of language is sometimes so great that the effect is surrealistic:

Развейтесь косы.
 Падите, росы,
 Из тучи черной!
 Увит цветами,
 Стань лоскутами,
 Вуаль узорный!
 Ты ж, к изголовью,
 Залитой кровью
 Прильнув щекою,
 В тоске бесслезной
 И ночью звездной
 Не знай покою. (490)

Sense is subordinated to musical effect, which is intensified by the very short lines, with frequent rhyme and strongly marked rhythm. In all three plays, the dialogues are in iambic pentameter, as in Annensky's Euripides translations. Annensky avoids the iambic trimeter, which can sound rather heavy in Russian; Vyacheslav Ivanov's attempts to

use it in his plays were unsatisfactory. In the choric odes, Annensky also comes to a compromise with tradition. As in his translations, he does not imitate the Greek metres used; in his plays he also makes abundant use of rhyme, another step away from Greek metrical tradition. But the marked lyricism in the choric odes, and their distinctive metrical character, make them resemble the Greek originals at least in outline. Rhyme is also occasionally used for the choric interventions in the main text, which gives these an epigrammatic and sententious weight.

The lyrical character of the choric odes is not, though, an end in itself, pace Dukor:

Символисты считали, что музыкальное начало должно реализовать себя в хоре. Отныне хор становится, на ряду с отдельными героями, активным фактором действия. И, наконец, во имя сохранения соборности, народности, уничтожается партер: он должен быть очищен для хорового танца и хоровой игры.

The musicality of Annensky's choruses functions dramatically, not mystically, unlike the choruses of his Symbolist contemporaries. The choruses here are intended as relief after the tragic intensity of the dialogues, as is indicated in the introduction to Melanippa:

Читатель поймет также, что в некоторые моменты, для того чтобы ослабить излишнее напряжение нервов и освободить душу для новых впечатлений, чтобы, так сказать, ободрить ее, автору приходилось прибегать в хорах к простоте и спокойствию почти эпическим. (308)

1. Dukor, 'Problemy dramaturgii simvolizma', 119

The lyrical passages work in much the same way as the comic scenes in Shakespeare's plays; the audience is given time to relax, so that it should not become blasé about the suffering depicted. But the presence of the chorus is constant, unlike that of the Shakespearian comic, and it does not move off-stage in the dramatic scenes. In these its function is rather different.

Annensky's chorus acts as a counterbalance to the hero, as he had suggested it should in his introduction to Melanippa: 'Khor individualizirovan, sostavlyaya garmonicheskoe dopolnenie k geroine tragedii' (ST 308).

Firstly, like the chorus in Attic tragedy, Annensky's chorus builds up the reputation of the hero, although this works differently in each of the three plays.

In Laodamiya and Melanippa, the members of the chorus compose the heroine's retinue; they are bound to her by service, and also by gender, since they are women. As with the minor characters, their lowly position emphasises her greater status, and impresses on the audience that this character is out of the ordinary.

In Iksion the chorus of nymphs is not directly connected with the hero; their sex is different, and they are spirits, not human beings. The distance between chorus and hero is greater than in the other plays. But the chorus nonetheless comforts the hero and expresses respect for him.

In the closing scenes of the plays, the presence of the chorus intensifies pathos, as it expresses shock and dismay at the fate of the hero, often by repetitive exclamations -- 'uzhas, uzhas!' -- though Annensky never

employs this classical device with as much frequency as Schiller did in the closing scenes of Die Braut von Messina. Sometimes the chorus narrates events which have occurred off-stage in such a way as to heighten pathos. In Melanippa the coryphaeus warns Aeolus of his daughter's terrible state:

Но вот они... О, вот они... владыка,
Собрать теперь все силы должен ты...
То, что сейчас увидишь ты, ужасно. (ST 358)

The short, epitaph-like passages assigned to the chorus also have this function: 'Prosti i nas, stradalets...' (ST 439), 'Esli nit' u slepoi razvilas'' (ST 307), and 'O pechal'naya, tikhaya noch'' (ST 366).

But in some scenes the chorus' role is more complex, and it expresses open disagreement with the hero. In the central scene of Melanippa, the agōn between the heroine and her father, Aeolus is moved to fury by Melanippe's speech on behalf of the foundlings, and describes her words as 'unmaidenly':

Я б не хотел бранить тебя. Но стыд
Девиций и дочерний, Меланиппа,
Ты, кажется, забыла. Исступил
Пожалуй, нас один и тот же демон,
Лишь пути я его порвал скорей.
Гей, вы, рабы, змеенышей за мной...
Царевна, здесь не место вам, я вижу,
Покинутый давно вас терем ждет. (ST 349)

The audience is inclined to sympathise with Melanippe, and regard her father as a bigoted patriarch; indeed, there is some reason for this. But the coryphaeus' words make it clear that Melanippe's rhetoric is repellent to Greek society in general:

Твоим словам прекрасным я дивлюсь,
Но смелый их полет меня пугает. (ST 346)

Euripides' *Melanippe* was one of the examples given by Aristotle of unsatisfactory and unconvincing characterisation; such intellectual content would not have been found in a woman's discourse:

It would be inappropriate for the poet to represent a woman as valorous in this way, or masterly in argument.¹

In Annensky's case nicety of social observation is less important than is emphasis on the enormity of his heroine's action, and the way it places her outside society. Similarly, in *Iksion*, the remarks of the chorus emphasise the hero's isolation -- the nymphs comment on his great impudence in loving a goddess. In *Laodamiya*, the chorus classify the heroine's actions as madness, bred.

In his introduction to *Melanippa*, Annensky wrote that his chorus was unlike that of Attic tragedy because it was 'individualised'² This is not really the case. It is no more 'individualised' than the chorus of goggle-eyed tourists in Euripides' *Ion*, for example. Its relationship with the hero, of alternate praise and censure, is parallel to that in Greek tragedy, and its presence allows for many of the same effects, such as tautness of action, and the use of a very small number of separate speaking characters. What has altered is

1. Aristotle, On the Art of Poetry, 48

2. See below, page 221

the attitude of the audience. The chorus was an expected, indeed an inevitable, feature of Attic drama, and its appearance did not startle the audience. This was not at all the case in the early twentieth century. Annensky has therefore taken some trouble that the chorus' interventions should seem dramatically justified. In Euripides' Medea, there is a much-criticised dramatic awkwardness: the chorus learns of Medea's intention to murder her children, but does not act to stop her crime. In Melanippa, on the other hand, the prologue in which the heroine explains the origins of her children occurs before the entry of the chorus, and there is no cause to wonder why the coryphaeus does not betray her to Aeolus. Annensky's plays are carefully structured for an audience which does not take the chorus' presence for granted.

Paradoxically, the unfamiliarity of the chorus is also worked on, with important results: the chorus acts as an alienation device. It is immediately clear that the drama in no way adheres to the norms of naturalistic characterisation, and that it is not a realistic action. The chorus also contributes to the polyphonic structure of the drama. The independent voices of the hero and subsidiary characters in conflict alternate with those of the disinterested gods. The chorus manipulates the audience's emotions by aligning itself with first one, then another party. The author's own voice is not heard, and his opinions cannot be guessed at: there is no personazh-klyuch.

The structure of Annensky's tragedies observes the norms not only of Attic drama, but of neo-classical drama too. The traditional unities of time, place and action, to which Annensky had paid particular attention in his essays on the three Social Dramas, are observed. Annensky's plays resemble Attic drama, rather than neo-classical drama, in that these are dictated by the presence of the chorus, not simply adopted of themselves. He is also less strict than neo-classical dramatists in interpreting the unity of time, and closer to Attic dramatists:

The fact that the chorus was normally present throughout the action imposed certain conditions from which the modern dramatist is free. [...] Change of place is very rare. [...] It might be expected that the constant presence of the chorus would also require that the action should be continuous in time, though in fact this so-called 'Unity of Time' was not strictly observed. Aristotle (Poet. 5) notes that it was the usual practice to represent (in a play lasting up to three hours) events which could fall within about twenty-four hours, so that considerable intervals of time¹ might be supposed to elapse during a choral ode.

All Annensky's plays do indeed take place within twenty-four hours, but time on stage is not exactly equivalent to that represented, and we must assume gaps in chronology. In Laodamiya the distinction between stage-time and real time is made clear when Hermes marks the three hours the heroine may spend with Iolaos in about three minutes. But Annensky followed neo-classical tradition in affirming the formal advantages of the unities, feeling that they were in keeping with his mythological subject:

1. Oxford Classical Dictionary, Tragedy, paragraph 17

По глубокому убеждению [автора], античный миф органически связан с той формой, в которой он изображался на сцене афинскими трагиками V века. Шекспировские формы существуют для более сложных фабул. (307)

One may assume that he was attracted by the concentration and tension of Attic drama, which does characterise his own dramas to some extent; Iksion, the play in which the hero is least central, and in which there is a host of minor characters, is the least dramatically successful of the three. The use of the unities has also another function: it suited Annensky's anti-naturalist stance to adopt a highly self-conscious form.

The plays are ordered in the manner of classical drama. Sections of dialogue of roughly equal length are interspersed with choric odes, labelled akty and antrakty respectively. The acts are divided into numbered scenes, which, though it does not accord with classical practice, does follow Annensky's practice in his Euripides translations, as well as that of numerous other translators of the classics, among them Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

The language of Annensky's plays is the one aspect which has consistently been described as modernised. The editor of Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii, Fedorov, expresses an extreme version of this view when he states that the language of the plays is very close to that of everyday speech: 'Bolee vsego zdes' vpechatlyayet pochti bytovaya razgovornaya prostota rechei personazhei, osobenno geroev'. Annensky certainly makes no attempt to imitate Greek diction or idiom, which in any case would hardly be possible. Only in Melanippa is stichomythia used,

and then sparingly:

Корифей
Тебя томит недуг... или печаль?
Меланиппа
Не знаю, чем томлюсь, но только гасну.
Корифей
Ты в хоровод девичий наш войдешь?
Меланиппа
О нет... О нет... Не надо хоровода.
Корифей
Иль девы ты божественной не чтишь?
Меланиппа
Я чту ее.. Но издали, увы... (316)

The diction and syntax conform, however, to a self-consciously poetic high style which recalls eighteenth- and nineteenth-century verse drama, and the archaising language of Annensky's Euripides translations, and which is very far from razgovornaya prostota. The sentences are measured, the constructions often unnatural, and there is much use of archaisms: usty (ST 316), deva (317) are invariably used in place of the modern guby and devushka. The use of anachronisms heightens rather than lessens the artificiality of the language, since it disrupts its unity altogether. The formality of the plays can be readily appreciated if one compares a passage from Melanippa (the most formal of the plays) with a passage from one of Annensky's dramatic lyrics, 'Nervy', in which the speech of a husband, wife, servant and street vendor alternate. In the lyric poem everyday speech is certainly imitated, if in a stylised form. The diction of the characters is staccato and elliptical, and lines are frequently broken:

„Ты думаешь -- не он... А если он?
 Все вяжет, боже мой... Посудим хоть немножко..."
Морошка, ягода морошка!
 „Вот только бы спустить лиловую тетрадь?"
 „Что, барыня, шпинату будем брать?"
 „Возмите, Аннушка!" (ST 163)

In the following passage from Melanippa, on the other hand, the pace of the dialogue is slow, and the characters speak without interrupting each other:

Эол
 Но дочери не вижу... Меланиппы:
 Здорова ли она? И где отец,
 Богами нам еще хранимый Геллен?
 Меланиппа
 Отец мой и державный царь, твоим
 Так сладко мне внимать словам, и взору
 Так милы глаз веселые лучи...
 Эол
 Малютка, ты бледна и похудела...
 Пусть счастьем и миром над тобой
 Луч Гелия отныне засияет...
 Ты не больна, надеюсь, Меланиппа? (ST 327)

As in Annensky's translations, the norm is high-style and the colloquial interventions stand out. In Melanippe's formal plea to her father for the life of her sons, the colloquial particle zh and the imperative skazhi stand out incongruously amongst unusual and high-style diction (zhrets, veshchii) and awkward syntactical inversions (Ili nado / Sredi rabov...):

Когда убийство
 Виновного готовится, то суд
 Его решил, я думаю... А кто же
 Судею был, решившим смерть малюток?
 Иль дряхлый тот уже незрячий жрец,
 Иль, может быть, твой конюх? Или надо
 Среди рабов трусливых судей нам
 Искать, отец?... Мне стыдно...
 Говорил
 Про вещей знак Эол землетрясения,
 Что Геллену он речь венчал. А если
 То Посейдон разгневанный тебе
 Свою волну послал для вразумленья? (ST 347)

The jerky, uneven quality of Annensky's language differs sharply from the uniform diction and flowing periods of Leconte de Lisle's plays. The following passage comes from a speech by Ion in L'Apollonide. It contains no anachronisms, and no specifically French references:

O Laurier, qui verdis dans les Jardins célestes
 Que l'Aube ambrosienne arrose de ses pleurs!
 Laurier, désir illustre, oubli des jours funestres,
 Qui d'un songe immortel sais charmer nos douleurs!
 Permits que, par mes mains pieuses, ô bel Arbre,
 Ton feuillage mystique effleure le parvis,
 Afin que la blancheur vénérable du marbre
 Éblouisse les yeux ravis! ¹

The imagery used in the plays is directly and obviously modernised. Many of the central images belong to the Greek world, but there is a studied quality about them, as there is about the references to Greek customs; they are obviously planted to give the drama an authentically 'Greek' feel. Often, too, they are used in an elaborate and decadent manner. In the fifth act of Iksion, the hero addresses the sun in the following rather lurid words:

Я таинства перед тобой и этим
 Меж розовых пеленок там в эфире
 Новорожденным солнцем не дерзну
 Разоблачать, ты знаешь... (ST 429)

The double epithets customarily used for the gods in Greece, such as 'owl-eyed Athena', are replaced by invented alternatives, 'sinekudryi bog' (Poseidon), 'rumyanyi bog',

1. Leconte de Lisle, L'Apollonide, Derniers poèmes, 92

(Dionysus).

An explicitly Symbolist feature is the construction of an overall pattern of imagery, so that individual words become loaded with significance; a practice Armelle Goupy has argued that Annensky followed in his translations.¹ The symbolism of Annensky's plays is more systematic than that in his translations. In Melanippa, Iksion and Laodamiya, the mythological references are only obliquely connected with the plot, but Annensky is careful that the choric odes should have internal coherence: for example, in Melanippa all the choric odes allude to the loves of Zeus and the disasters brought by his attentions to mortal women.

In all the plays, extended chains of images are constructed. Certain key-words are repeated; one of these, as in Medea, is more; the sea, in Melanippa and Laodamiya, the sea dominates the landscape, and is addressed by the heroine in her opening speech. In Melanippa, it is personified as Poseidon and is central to the plot. Marine imagery is extended to many objects not literally connected with the sea, such as the sky:

В эфире
Дельфийской не внемлю я лире...
Безмолвны
Померкшие синие волны
В эфире. (ST 315)

Even the heroine's hair is linked with the sea:

В Магнесии уж после Меланиппой
Я прослыла за волны черных кос... (ST 311)

In Laodamiya, the sea metaphorically represents the

1. See Chapter 3 of this study, page 161

distance that separates the women and their menfolk,
and the longing they feel for them:

Как парусов далекой синевы
Не разогнать желанья полным словом,
Мне не дано утешить вас, увы! (ST 450)

At the end of the play, marine imagery is used by Akastes
for the irrational forces which have overtaken
Laodamiya:

Удар веслом безумья,
А слезы ведь текли у ней из глаз
И с молоком мешались в чаше медной. (ST 506)

Other important natural features which gradually acquire
symbolic connotations are the mountains of Magnesia
in Melanippa, and the alternation of day and night
in the same play. The heroine's black hair and the
black veil she wears show her association with night,
which she alludes to in her opening speech. Her blindness
is another aspect of this association, and it is possible
that Annensky is indirectly alluding to the Greek
regional cult of Melanippe as a goddess of death.¹
The heroine's mother Hippe, metamorphosed into a star,
stands for the opposite qualities of light and reason.
In the course of the play, the symbolism of dark and
light is reversed, and Melanippe, who had previously
symbolised blindness, attains a new rationalism. Her
superficial lack of sight is balanced by a new inner vision:

1. See Roscher's Lexikon: Melanippe

Пусть кровь глаза мои запечатлела,
 Пусть язвы сердце мне терзают... Ты
 Не угасай во мне, эфир, и жребий
 Свой не сменю на счастье темных душ. (ST 366)

The use of key-words gives the plays inner coherence, which transcends the fragmentation of characterisation and occasionally of narrative. It is noticeable that Iksion, the least successful of the three plays, is also the play in which the key-words are the least evident. The use of these words or symbols also links the three plays, making them a tragic trilogy interpreted in a Symbolist manner. They are not an Aeschylean trilogy, since they do not use the same characters, but they have more coherence than the trilogies of Sophocles and Euripides, who presented on occasion three quite disparate plays as a trilogy. Annensky's plays repeat certain motifs, such as Zeus' love affairs in Melanippa and Iksion, the fiery end of the hero or heroine in Iksion and Laodamiya, the sea, in Melanippa and Laodamiya. The plays are very loosely connected, and the style differs in each, but there are certain repeated themes, and the relationship between them resembles that between the poems in Annensky's lyric trilogies, or trilistniki, the preferred arrangement in his later collection, Kiparisovyi larets.

The particular key-words used are also a link with Annensky's poetry. The sea is not a central feature of the primarily urban landscape of his poems, but in two poems, 'Dva parusa lodki odnoi' (ST 155) and 'Svechka gasnet' (ST 82) it appears as the element of passion.

The case of the central symbol of the wax statue in Laodamiya is more striking. In the lyrics 'Chernaya vesna' and 'Moya toska' wax symbolises the frailty and corruption of the body:

Пусть травы сменятся над капищем волненья
И восковой в гробу забудется рука... (ST 171)

The fire by which the statue is consumed also appears in the lyrics, where it symbolises the consuming forces of passion or of the creative imagination:

Ее факел был огнен и ал,
Он был талый и сумрачный снег,
Он глядел на нее и сгорал,
И сгорал от непознанных нег. (ST 116)

Sometimes the symbols of wax and fire are united in that of the candle, which contains them both and is consumed by itself ('Svechka gasnet' and 'V zatsvetayushchikh sirenyakh'). The wax Iolaos therefore represents Laodamia's self-destructive passion for her husband. As a statue it is also linked with statue symbolism in the lyrics, such as Trilistnik v parke. It represents the frailty of the work of art, which though formed by a human being, is not human.

It is evident from this brief comparison of Annensky's poems with his plays that the two genres are interdependent, and that reading the poems can elucidate the plays, and vice versa. It can certainly save the critic from V.S. Setchkarev's solecism. Setchkarev flatly denied that the statue in Laodamiya had any symbolic significance, adding baldly: 'Auch im Symbolismus ist nicht alles

Symbol'.¹ In general his conclusion could be defended; in this particular case it is clearly wrong.

Though many of the symbols in Annensky's plays have a classical origin, there is no attempt to reproduce the significance which they had for the Greeks. For example, in classical times wax was considered to have magic properties, and dolls made of it were used in occult rites.² In Bryusov's version of the Laodamia legend the occult connection is of some importance: the heroine appeals to Hecate, a goddess of women and sorcery, to raise Protesilaos.³ In Annensky's play, on the other hand, the magic properties of wax are of little importance. Laodamia's attachment to the doll expresses her immaturity, not her familiarity with sorcery.

The overt symbolism of Annensky's plays affects the way in which they are read. The characters are not presented in a historically or archaeologically accurate manner, but they are not portrayed realistically or naturalistically either. Human behaviour is abstracted to an ethical or aesthetic problem: in Melanippa the conflict between ritual observance of the gods and individual conviction, in Iksion the destructive power of sexual love, and in Laodamiya the irreversibility of death. Because there is no raisonneur in any of the plays, and no guidance is given in any of them about which

1. Setchkarev, 'Laodamia in Polen und Rußland', 370

2. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational, 293-4

3. Bryusov, Protesilai, Act III

character is supported by the author, the plays are analytical, not sententious. The other-worldly, idealistic outlook of the heroes links them with the personae of Annensky's poetry, but the plays are not a vindication of idealism, as Vyacheslav Ivanov argued:

Есть орфический стих: „Олимп -- улыбка бога; слезы -- род людской". Кажется, что этот стих мог бы служить эпиграфом ко всем драмам Анненского. Отношение между двумя мирами таково, что гибель и казнь на земле равны благословию от богов, горькое здесь -- сладкое там.

The chorus, the gods and the subsidiary characters have different ideas, and all of them carry weight in the drama.

The historical viewpoint of the plays is important also to any discussion of their message. In all of them, there is tension between the modern viewpoint of author, audience and hero, and the classical world which the characters belong to. This tension is least evident in Melanippa, the most 'Euripidean' of the plays, but even here the rationalist attack on religion at the centre of the play owes at least as much to Annensky (who expressed similar ideas in his lyrics 'U sv. Stefana' and 'Buddiiskaya messa v Parizhe') as to Euripides. Iksion relates the tragic consequences of loving a goddess, and the punishment of the hero's arrogance, but it is also a Romantic fable of the transience and illusion of all love. The hero's passion for Hera, grand as it is, will not last, as the goddess herself tartly remarks:

1. Ivanov, 'Poeziya IA', 303

А ты забыл, скажи, златую Диву?
 Не долго же ты любишь, Иксион.
 И слабое, должно быть, сердце хочешь
 Лишь дерзостью желания прикрыть. (412)

The hubris of Ixion is a subject proper to Greek tragedy; with themes like the isolation of the individual and the falsity of ideals of everlasting love we are firmly on Symbolist territory.

By far the most interesting conflict of classical and Symbolist ideas occurs in Laodamiya, where the situation found in the other plays is reversed: outwardly Symbolist themes are resolved in a way which recalls the classical tradition. The heroine's emotion for her dead husband is decadent in character and leads her into excesses of behaviour, such as the transfer of emotion to her husband's statue. The play dwells on the unnatural character of the relationship between Laodamia and Iolaos (it is of great importance that their marriage was never consummated). The relative popularity enjoyed by this play, compared with the other two, is evidence of the topicality of its theme in the early twentieth century. On the other hand, Annensky's play is considerably less sensational than are the other two Russian versions of the story, by Bryusov and Sologub. Annensky plays down the physical aspects of Laodamia's passion for her husband, and her Bacchic speeches are restrained: she prays for spiritual unity with her husband:

На дальней Ниссе,
 В лазурном море
 Обветованной,
 Где в кинамонах
 Пестреют птицы,
 Два сердца, боже
 Соедини
 В блаженном браке,
 Живое с мертвым,
 Как солнце с тьмою
 В душистой роце,
 Слила дриала
 В отрадный сумрак. (ST 500)

The status of Laodamia's Bacchic madness is not clear. Unlike the deviant behaviour in Sologub's Dar mudrykh pchel, it is not directly held up for the reader's admiration. The chorus states at the end of the play, 'I bezum'e lyubyat poety' (ST 508), but it is not clear whether the author counts himself one such 'poet'. Laodamiya is a study of irrational passion, not an evaluation of it, and it is quite possible Annensky's views coincide with those eloquently expressed by Akastes:

Что же делать? Нам
 Ведь не одним терпеть... Ты черный жребий
 Полюбишь свой,
 [Лаодамия припала к его фаросу и плачет]
 как к старости привык
 Бессильной я, дитя, и бестолковой. (ST 503)

The Symbolist praise of Dionysiac passion conflicts in the play with more traditional classical ideals of self-restraint, dignity and rationality.

The complexity of the moral picture in Annensky's plays contributes to their literary interest; they are more subtle and stimulating than are Vyacheslav Ivanov's monolithic and neo-romantic dramas. But this subtlety

makes it difficult to imagine how they could have been staged. There is a paucity of theatricality, of striking scenic effects; most of the exciting action happens off-stage. The technique of off-stage action can be explained by Annensky's desire to imitate Attic tragedy; but a more serious criticism is the abundance of discussion in the plays, particularly in Iksion, where some speeches are of positively epic length (for example, one of Iris' is 108 lines long). The inconclusive and fragmentary focus of the dramas, the absence of direct statement, leads to a lack of punch.

Like his translations, Annensky's plays have elaborate stage directions; but, as in the translations, these have the character of scene-setting for a reader, not instructions for a director. The impression given by the tragedies is borne out by their theatrical history: none of them was taken up by a stage company, even when Symbolist drama was at the height of its popularity.¹ Extracts of Laodamiya did appear in an anthology for reciters published in 1911.²

The three plays which Annensky wrote between 1901 and 1902 are a homogeneous and independent group, and after 1902 he did not return to writing tragedies. His next classical play, Famira-kifared, was very different in character, and it will therefore be discussed in a separate chapter.

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1. Varneke, 'IFA -- nekrolog', 42, describes how an attempt to perform Iksion did not come off.
 2. O.E. Ozarovskaya, Shkola chtetsa: Khrestomatiya dlya dramatich. kursov, [1913] (see Arkhipov, 'Bibliografiya', item 320)

Диана, берегись! старик сатир не
дремлет.
Я слышу стук копыт. Рога прикрыв
венцом,
Вот он, любовник нимф, с пылающим лицом,
Обезображенным порывом страсти зверской,
Уж стана нежного рукой коснулся дерзкой.
Фет

Mit welchem festen unerschrockenen Griffe
faßte der Grieche nach seinem
Waldmenschen, wie verschämt und weichlich
tändelte der moderne Mensch mit dem
Schmeichelbild eines zärtlichen,
flötenden, weichgearteten Hirten!
Nietzsche

CHAPTER FIVE

'Zhadnaya pytlivost' i bogataya fantaziya':
Famira-kifared, a 'Bacchic drama'

Annensky did not abandon neo-classical drama after completing Laodamiya. He wrote only one further play, but it, too, is classical. In August 1906 he announced to his close friend Anna Borodina that he had completed a new tragedy, Famira-kifared (Thamyris the Citharede). The writing of the work had cost him a good deal of time and anxiety:

Я сбыл [.....] еще одно -- дело не дело -- которое мучило меня уже давно. Лет шесть тому назад я задумал трагедию. [.....] В марте я бесповоротно решил, или написать своего „Фамиру“ к августу, или уже отказаться навсегда от этой задачи, которая казалась мне то непосильной, то нестойчей. (КО 468)

Annensky's published letters (which seem to represent his correspondence only selectively) rarely discuss his original works in detail. There are lists of items recently completed, or sometimes brief synopses of works sent to friends for approval. It is unusual for him to expand at such length about the composition of a work, or to record such great anxiety about it. The only other original tragedy mentioned in his correspondence is Laodamiya, which he sent to Borodina with a letter making it clear he felt the play would be well received (КО 450-6).

The anxiety which Annensky felt about Famira-kifared seems to have persisted, for it was not published during his lifetime, unlike his three earlier tragedies, and he did not apparently make any attempt to place it with

publishers. This was most unusual at this stage of his life. Much of what he wrote before 1900 remained unpublished until after his death, but he made great efforts to have all that he wrote after 1900 published; his desperate attempts to place his lyric poetry in particular attracted the ridicule of the Symbolist establishment.¹ Famira-kifared is the only complete major work which he seems to have been content to leave unpublished.

In the last two years of Annensky's life, when his contacts with other writers had become more frequent, he often read lyric poems, and occasionally other works, aloud at informal 'evenings' in his house at Tsarskoe Selo.² He also took part in public readings organised by the Obshchestvo revnitelei khudozhestvennogo slova. Famira was not read aloud publicly, however, until December 18, 1909, some weeks after Annensky's death.³ Even then it does not seem to have attracted much attention; of Annensky's colleagues on Apollon, only Makovsky and Ivanov were familiar with it prior to publication.⁴

Unlike some of Annensky's works which were not published in his lifetime, such as his translation of Hecuba, the manuscript of Famira was complete when he died; it even had an introduction and a dedication. It seems likely,

1. See Chapter 6 of this study, page 303

2. Makovsky, 'IA', 236-8; Adamovich, 'Vecher u A'

3. 'Pis'ma k S.K. Makovskomu', 220

4. It appears that A. read it aloud to Makovsky privately before his death ('Pis'ma k S.K. Makovskomu', 220) Ivanov's 'O poezii IA', written in 1910, places a lot of emphasis on Famira, which suggests he may have read it in manuscript.

therefore, that he stopped trying to publish or even publicise the play because of his friends' hostility to it, which he describes in the previously quoted letter to Anna Borodina:

И вот теперь уже состоялось чтение моего „Ф“.
Екатерина Максимовна Мухина находит, что это безусловно высшая из моих трагедий. Но, кажется, пока только ей да Аркадию Андреевичу „Фам.“ мой и понравился. (КО 468)

Annensky's difficulties with Famira were caused by the fact that it was different in conception and realisation from his earlier tragedies. This can partly be explained by its later date of completion. Laodamiya was finished in 1902, four years before Famira. Famira also took much longer to write: Annensky wrote all three earlier tragedies in little more than a year, between 1901 and 1902; Famira took six years. Moreover, at this period Annensky was intensely active as a writer: his first collection of poetry Tikhie pesni, his first collection of essays, and numerous individual essays and reviews appeared between 1904 and 1906. He was also starting to put together a second collection of lyrics. He continued work on his translation of Euripides: he worked on translations of Ion and Cyclops, and in June 1905 completed an essay on Cyclops and the satyr play, the last items to go in to the first volume of Teatr Evripida (КО 459)

Neither Ion nor Cyclops is a conventional tragedy. In his introduction to Teatr Evripida, Annensky described them as 'distinctive' (kharakternye).¹ In the former

1. TE 1906, x

play the tragic ending is averted (Annensky called it a 'romantic drama').¹ The latter play is not a tragedy at all, but the only surviving example of a quite separate genre, the satyr play. It is likely that the experience of studying and translating these non-tragic dramas inspired the modifications of the tragic genre to be observed in Famira.

Annensky's anxiety about Famira, and that of his first audience, has been echoed by the uncertainty of critical opinion. When Famira was first published in 1913, it was moderately popular. It was twice reprinted in 1919, and it was probably more widely-known than any of Annensky's works apart from his lyric poetry. It was favourably reviewed by Vyacheslav Ivanov, Gumilev, Mandelstam and lesser-known figures, such as Arseny Al'ving. The popularity of the play is indicated by the fact that Gumilev's Akteon, first published in 1914, parodies its plot, characterisation and style.² Famira also had the distinction of being staged, unlike all Annensky's other plays, and, indeed, unlike many Symbolist dramas in general; it was one of the first productions mounted by the famous avant-garde director Aleksandr Tairov at the Kamernyi teatr in Moscow. The performances took place at the height of Annensky's

1. TE 1906, x

2. Acteon's language, like Thamyris', is characterised by double epithets and elaborate imagery: see his speech to the moon, Gumilev, Sobranie sochinenii, 3, 27-8; and my essay, 'Bacchic Revels?'

popularity as a writer, in late 1916.¹ But Famira's success was brief, and is partly to be attributed to the sentimental attachment to the mythologised figure of Annensky which was inspired by the manner of his death. Most of the contemporary reviews refer to the difficulty of the work; one early critic wrote, 'slishkom slozhna p'esa sama po sebe', Ivanov described it as 'eklekticheskii barocco', and Gumilev as 'stremlenie k prekrasnoi trudnosti'.²

The critics' confusion about the play, and general ignorance about it, are illustrated by the number of alternative titles in circulation. The play was originally published as Фамира-кифаред. It is so spelt in Arkhipov's bibliography, and in Fedorov's edition; this accords with another spelling of the word citharede as кифаред in the poem 'No dlya menya svershilsya vydel' (ST 218). But the majority of Russian critics, as well as the director, Aleksandr Tairov, have stubbornly called the play: Фамира Кифаред. In Mandelstam's review it appears as Фамира-кифаред. Both the latter spellings have the disadvantage of recalling the suffix -ед, or eater, as in самоед, hence 'Thamyris the cithera eater'. This would, however, be no crazier than Slonim's translation of the title, Thamira of the Cither, A Bacchic Tragedy, which is equally meaningless in Greek, Russian and English.³

1. On Tairov's production, see this chapter, page 295 ff.

2. Tugenkhol'd, 'Pis'mo iz Moskvy', 72; Gumilev, 'Pis'mo o russkoi poezii' 1914, 129; Ivanov, 'O'boezii IA', 301

3. Slonim, The Russian Theater, 189

Famira fell from favour after 1920, and was not reprinted for over thirty years; it also received very little critical attention. Most references to it are in general histories of the Russian theatre, and are concerned with Tairov's production, not with the text of the play itself.¹ There are only two recent contributions of any length on Famira. Simon Karlinsky described the play as 'amongst the finest accomplishments of Russian Symbolist poetry' in his book on Tsvetaeva.² He is also the author of a short article, 'Frustrated Artists and Devouring Mothers in Čechov and Annenskij'. This is a comparative study of Famira, Chekhov's The Seagull, and Freudian theory, which argues that there is a similar attitude to destructive maternal love in the three authors.³ Vsevolod Setchkarev's book on Annensky has a chapter on Famira. He tends, in general, to praise Annensky's writing excessively, but has serious doubts about this play:

It has neither the unity and conciseness of Laodamiya, nor the clear structure of Tsar'-Iksion, nor the impressive simplicity of Melanippa-filosof.⁴

The confusion and incomprehension which have been caused

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1. See, for example, Slonim, The Russian Theater; Lo Gatto, Storia del teatro russo.
 2. Karlinsky, Marina Cvetaeva, 258
 3. Karlinsky rules out direct influence but fails to point out that the similarity lies essentially in a common conception of Greek myth.
 4. Setchkarev, Studies in the Life and Work of IA, 194-5

by Famira seem to stem from the fact that it is anachronistic and idiosyncratic. Annensky himself wrote in the introduction, 'Ot klassicheskogo teatra ya ushel daleko' (ST 511). Karlinsky felt that the play was set in a 'Franco-Russian, herb-scented, psychedelically illuminated fin de siècle Greece'.¹ Setchkarev found the play even more puzzling:

It is a complicated psychological play, comprising decadence in antique forms, and its end does not satisfy as do the clear, logical conclusions of the three previous plays.²

Gumilev argued that Annensky's main innovations in Famira were linguistic:

Конечно, мы не знаем, как говорили древние греки, язык их поэтов -- не разговорный язык, но все же нельзя поверить, чтобы в их словах звучали отголоски Бальмонта и Верлена.³

Mandelstam, on the other hand, felt that the modernisation was psychological: Annensky had approached his material 's boleznennoi ostorozhnost'yu sovremennogo cheloveka'.⁴

None of the critical articles and reviews on Famira to date have analysed the play in depth; nor has there been any attempt to explain why Famira should be different to the earlier plays.⁵ It is not simply

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1. Karlinsky, 'Frustrated Artists', 230
 2. Setchkarev, Studies in the Life and Works, 195
 3. Gumilev, 'Pis'mo o russkoi poezii' 1914, 129
 4. Mandelstam, 'Famira-kifared'
 5. Fedorov's chapter in Innokenty Annensky discusses Famira without taking much account of the differences between it and the other plays (221-249)

because Famira is idiosyncratic and Modernist in character; the earlier tragedies were this also, yet they have been persistently described as 'Euripidean', a term which has never been applied to Famira. Many aspects of Annensky's fourth play are very close to the pattern of modernised classical drama developed in Melanippa, Iksion and Laodamiya.

The key to the problem of Famira is in the subtitle of the play. The earlier plays had all been subtitled tragedy, or, in the case of Laodamiya, 'lyrical tragedy'. Famira is called a 'Bacchic drama', a term which has no precedent in the classical tradition, and which indicates that it has non-tragic elements. Vyacheslav *Ivanov* is the only critic to have commented on this, and he also correctly identified the source of the alien elements -- the specifically classical genre of satyr-play:

Драма „Фамира“ -- причудливое и странное „действие“, на половину трагедия, на половину (и это соединение по-шекспировски гениально) „драма сатиров“¹

This chapter is intended to present the first study of the satyr-play elements in Famira. It will be concerned with the Greek tradition of the satyr-play, with how Annensky adapted elements from it, with their function in the play, and with how they affect its theatricality. The genre of satyr-play is obscure, and is unfamiliar to non-classicists. Annensky's interest in it was far more esoteric than his interest in classical

1. Ivanov, 'O poezii IA', 308

tragedy; but his treatment was no more reverent: he altered it as freely as he altered classical tragedy, and in many ways more successfully. I share the opinion of Johannes Holthusen that the satyr-play elements in Famira make it the most interesting of Annensky's dramas, though I would go further than him and state that they contribute to its success as a text for reading, as well as a script for performance:

Vom streng poetischen Wert einmal abgesehen, würde ich „Famira-kifared“ [...] als Annenskijs gelungenstes Theaterstück ansehen, gerade weil hier die zweite Ebene (das Satyrspiel!) der Handlung Raum schafft.¹

The plot of Famira is more complicated than that of Melanippa, Tsar'-Iksion or Laodamiya; though the central action is simple enough, there are numerous subsidiary characters and episodes. The hero Famira, (Thamyris or Thamyras), is a citharede, or poet who accompanies his song on the cithara, a seven-stringed wooden instrument analogous to the lyre, but of different form. He is the son of the Thracian king Philammon, but his father rejected him when his poetic ambitions were discovered. Argiope, his mother, is a nymph whom Zeus attempted to seduce in the form of a lizard; when she brushed him off her body by mistake, he sent a wasp to torment her. She spent twenty years pursued by it; it was then killed by Papposilenus or Silenus, an old satyr.

The action of Famira-kifared begins when Argiope

1. Holthusen, '[Setchkarev], Studies', 443

returns to Thrace to look for her son. First of all she speaks to his old Nurse, then she encounters a chorus of Maenads, whose song inspires her with incestuous passion for Thamyris. When he returns from a poetry contest, she attempts to ingratiate herself with him, but fails altogether until she promises to arrange for him to hear the Muse Euterpe play. She and Papposilenus then organise a contest between Thamyris and Euterpe -- the only circumstance in which mortals may hear the gods play. At the contest Thamyris is so overwhelmed by the beauty of Euterpe's playing that he cannot play at all, and so loses automatically. He is punished by losing his musical ear. When he discovers this punishment he leaves the stage in despair, and blinds himself. Whilst he is off-stage, the ghost of his father Philammon (who has committed suicide) appears and warns that further punishments await Thamyris and Argiope. In the final scene, Thamyris reappears, and the deus ex machina, Hermes, arrives to state that he will live the rest of his life in poverty and isolation. His mother, transformed into a bird, will accompany him on his wanderings.

The legend on which Famira-kifared is based is Ancient Greek, as with Melanippa, Laodamiya and Iksion. But Thamyris is even more obscure than the heroes of the earlier plays. He was not popular in Greek literature; the Oxford Classical Dictionary dismisses the majority of legends about him as 'unimportant tales'; and he does not figure in neo-classical literature, unless one

post-Homeric tradition, as is the nature of Thamyris' punishment: Homer's meaning is not clear, and the suggestion that Thamyris was deafened and blinded himself comes from later tradition.

Annensky has invented some elements of the plot of Famira, in particular the histories of the hero's parents. The suicide of Philammon has no basis in classical tradition, nor has the miserliness to which Thamyris' nurse refers (ST 516). There is not much information in classical sources about Argiope; she is usually said to be a nymph who was seduced by Philammon, and afterwards ran away in shame; there is an alternative version according to which she lived with him until she was found to be pregnant, when he rejected her. The elaborate story of Zeus' attempt to seduce Argiope, the attack by the wasp, and her subsequent wanderings has no classical source. The story of Io, who was seduced by Zeus, and whom the jealous Hera transformed into a cow and caused a gad-fly to pursue round the earth, is the probable source of Annensky's version. The story is quoted by him in 'Antichnaya tragediya'; significantly, the traditional gad-fly is here replaced by a wasp:

Нежная дочь Инаха, которая ничего не делала в своем тереме, чтобы понравиться Зевсу, и дерзкий тиран [Prometheus], который сделал все, чтобы его ужаснуть -- оба являются жертвами олимпийца на длинный ряд лет. И на сцене перед нами с одной стороны бог, прикованный молотом Гефеста, с другой -- чудовище -- телка, гоняемая по всему миру осой.¹

1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 9

But there is no classical source for the story that Zeus appeared to Argiope, or for that matter to any of his other loves, in the form of a lizard; this piece of 'mythology' was invented by Annensky, as he invented the incestuous love of Argiope for her son. There are some changes of emphasis in the play. The traditional contest between Thamyris and the 'Muses' has become a contest between Thamyris and a single Muse -- Euterpe. The fate of Thamyris has been altered: in Homer he was 'a singer without memory'; in Annensky's play the maimed singer's inability to forget is a central part of his punishment, which he contrasts with the fate of Arachne:

Благословенны боги, что хранят
 Сознание нам и в муках.
 Но паук
 Забвения на прошлом... он добрее. (ST 578)

In Laodamiya, Iksion and Melanippa, Annensky had stuck closely to the classical sources of his plots, displaying originality only in the manner in which he combined different versions of the same legend. In Famira Annensky handles myth much more freely. This shift in the use of classical material had been anticipated in the conclusion to 'Antichnaya tragediya', in which Annensky indicated that he felt free invention in the classical manner was the most productive method for modern literature:

Область фрагментов из античных трагедий и мифов
 должна являться, по-моему, лишь одним из источников
 для свободной творческой работы. Лишь свободному

воссозданию греческих мифов суждено пойти далее школьного упражнения на готовую тему.¹

Famira is the only play written by Annensky which is not based on a fragment of Euripides; this removed him from the restrictions of writing in the manner of the Attic author. Thamyris is mentioned in Euripides' Rhesus (921-5), but the reference is insignificant:

It was when we Muses, all arrayed
with instruments, went to the gold-soiled mountain-mass
of Pangaeus, and the high contest of melody
with the great Thracian singer, and we blinded² him,
Thamyris, who had vilified our craft of song.

The introduction to Famira indicates Annensky's lessened respect for the mythological canon: it is not at all like the detailed, pseudo-scholarly, footnoted accounts of sources in the introductions to the earlier plays. It is brief, has no footnotes, and gives no summary of the classical tradition; Annensky refers in passing to a single classical source, Sophocles' play. His main concern is to dissociate his version from the Thamyris story written by his ex-pupil (at the Eighth St Petersburg Gimnaziya) Aleksandr Kondrat'ev:

Во всяком случае ни со сказкой г. Кондратьева, ни, вероятно, с драмой Софокла мой „Фамира“ ни имеет ничего общего, кроме мифических имен и вышеупомянутого остова сказки.
(ST 511)

Famira, then, is less academic than the earlier plays; it is also more self-conscious. The characters allude to other classical legends in the text, and even to

1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 41

2. Grene and Lattimore, The Complete Greek Tragedies, 4, 126

classical authors. Thamyris compares himself unfavourably with Orpheus, saying 'Uvy! ya ne Orfei' (ST 542), and Papposilenus warns him of failure in the contest with the Muses, alluding to the ghastly fate which befell Marsyas. We are expected to believe that a mythological character has read Herodotus:

Тэ... тэ... тэ... тэ.... МОЙ МИЛЫЙ... А УСЛОВЬЯ?
 Про Марсия ты слышал? Иногда
 Заглядывать полезно... в Геродота. (ST 545)

There are literary parallels in the text which are not remarked by the characters: the end of Famira is a reminiscence, with parodistic overtones, of the end of Oedipus Rex. In both plays there is an incestuous relationship between mother and son, and in both the hero blinds himself. But the transformation of Thamyris' mother into a self-possessed pichuzhka is absurd when set beside the tragic death of Jocasta.

Annensky also refers to his own tragedies in Famira. The blinding of the hero recalls the heroine's fate in Melanippa-filosof. The final speeches of both characters are similar: both praise the powers of reason left to them, despite their blindness. But Thamyris' tone is resigned and stoical, where Melanippe's was ecstatic.

The literary parallels place Famira in the tradition of classical tragedy, but at the same time illuminate how different the play's tone is from that of classical tragedy. The play is a further stage in the decline of the classical tradition. As in the earlier plays, mythological representation is undercut and ironised by

a realistic, prosaic understanding of life:

Ты не кормила его, а бросила, и он жил без тебя двадцать лет. И вот сегодня, шальная, ты налетела вороной и покончила с ним в один день. (ST 571)

This distinction is emphasised in Famira by the use of prose passages to express the realistic perception of life, and verse for the mythological narratives, and by the insertion of invented and absurd detail into the classical sources for the play.

One final modification which Annensky has made to the mythological tradition is the setting of the play. Thamyris was a Thracian in Homer, and in most later variants of the legend, but accounts differ as to where the contest took place. The location of the places mentioned in Homer is not known, and various hypotheses are in circulation; but Annensky seems to be alone in assuming that the contest was in Thrace.¹ His siting of the contest has symbolic significance; it indicates his move from Hellenic Greece to a place outside the borders -- but a place which is not too far away.

The handling of the mythological tradition is the main innovation in Famira; the characterisation and structure of the play are in the same adapted pseudo-Euripidean style as before. The number of speaking characters is about the same as in Attic tragedy, and in Annensky's earlier plays: there are six (Thamyris, Argiope, Papposilenus, Philammon, Hermes and the Nurse).

1. Paulys Realenzyklopädie, Thamyris

The Satyrs with blue and pink ribbons, and the Langorous Satyr, are simply members of the chorus, who have the functions of the coryphaeus and parastatos of Greek tragedy. No more than three characters appear together in one scene. The central characters have the conventional attributes of figures in Attic tragedy, and of the heroes of Annensky's own tragedy: they are divine (Hermes), semi-divine (the nymph Argiope, Silenus), or of royal blood (Thamyris and his father Philammon). Their behaviour accords with their status; in the second scene, Argiope treats the Nurse in the manner of one accustomed to command, and the Nurse responds with appropriate subservience. As in his earlier plays, Annensky uses the stock types of Attic tragedy: Hermes, the deus ex machina, who has the role of the conventional messenger, is characterised to a greater extent; he is cynical, even camp.

The main characters closely resemble those in the earlier plays: they are discursive rather than active, and rationalistic, rather than impetuous. As in Iksion, Annensky has altered an active, arrogant classical bogoborets to a passive figure. In Homer's account, it was Thamyris' hubris which led him to challenge the Muses:

For he boasted that he would surpass...

In Famira, on the other hand, the hero's challenge to Euterpe is simply a means of hearing her play, and he makes the challenge at Papposilenus' instigation:

С Евтерпой петь -- нельзя, но состязаться
И с музами возможно. Об заклад
Побейся с ней... (544)

Annensky's character is too remote from life to feel professional, or any other, pride, and he despises those worldly honours which have been accorded him; even his own victories in tragic contests fail to interest him. There is little which is conventionally heroic in Thamyris; the stoicism and impassivity of Melanippe, Ixion and Laodamia has developed in him to a state which is close on idiocy. He has been aptly described by Fedorov as 'ne ot mira sego' (ST 41).

The impetus for the action in Famira comes entirely from subsidiary characters, and the drama of the scenes in which the hero appears comes from the contrast of the passion they hope to provoke in him and his astonishing indifference. Only Thamyris' closing words resemble those of the hero of Attic tragedy; they are conventionally epigrammatic and sententious, like those of Euripides' Heracles:

The man who would prefer great wealth or strength
more than love, more than friends, is diseased of soul.¹

In Thamyris' case, the conventional formula is in odd contrast to the rest of the hero's speeches.

The only main character in the play who is developed to any extent (apart from Papposilenus, of whom more later)

1. Euripides, Heracles 1425-6; Grene and Lattimore, The Complete Greek Tragedies, 3, 337

is Argiope. The main dramatic interest is provided by her vacillations from incestuous passion to jealousy and guilt. The tragic action as a whole is wanting in tension. The plotting is rather loose, and there is no real attempt to build up suspense. There are several episodes which do not advance the climax of the play at all, such as the reappearance of Philammon.¹ Even the central action: Argiope's passion for Thamyris, her contrivance of the contest, and her prayer to Zeus to destroy him, depends on a series of random events which are not logically linked, and which have no steady basis of naturalistic psychological motivation. The play works by a series of contrasts, not by a forward linear progression.

Annensky has constructed the dialogue in Famira according to the principles used in his earlier plays. Stichomythia is absent altogether; it is not used even to the limited extent it was used in Melanippa. Statements break off in mid-line, and a single line of verse may be divided between two or even three characters. The question and answer formula of stichomythia is, however, retained:

Нимфа
 Чей это дом, скажи мне. Не Фамиры?
 Старуха
 Так, госпожа, Фамиры.
 Нимфа
 Где ж он сам? (ST 515)

1. See this chapter, page 282 ff.

The speeches in Famira are constructed in much the same way as in the earlier plays; there are naturalistic devices, such as pauses and rows of dots, to suggest hesitation and incoherence, and rhetorical questions are frequent; as before, these are combined with formal syntax and unnatural inversions:

Я помню -- день
 Так жарок был. Охотой утомившись,
 Заснули мы в горах. И вот оса,
 Запутавшись в косе моей, гуденьем
 Заставила меня привстать -- и вмиг
 Два черные и выпуклые глаза
 Меня заворожила... Там, зеленым
 На солнце нежась телом... (ST 526)

But the set-pieces of Attic tragedy favoured by Annensky in his earlier plays have been dropped. Famira has no prologue; when Argiope enters, she does not address the audience, and her history and purpose in visiting Thrace must be deduced from her actions and from the explanations which she gives to the Nurse. The main speeches in the play do not come at climactic points in the plot, and there is no agōn, or central scene of disputation. Thamyris' speeches are lyrical outbursts in which he describes emotional and aesthetic experiences. His description of the contest with Euterpe does not relate the facts of the contest; it refers only to the effects of her playing on him. Thamyris' interventions in scenes with other characters are also lyrical rather than dramatic, and often have little direct relation to the content of the speeches which they interrupt. As Argiope is telling him her history, he bursts in:

Заря сравнялась с небом. Вижу солнце,
И золото слепит меня. О нет --
Я отойду. Иль пойте глуше, струны! (ST 528)

Famira, like Annensky's earlier plays, observes the unities; the entire action takes place over one day, from sunrise to sunrise, and the scene does not move from outside Thamyris' hut. Thamyris is present in most of the scenes, and when he is not, the action directly concerns him, with the exception of one scene, which will be discussed later. The action is continuous; Annensky has abandoned the anachronistic act divisions of his Euripides translations and neo-classical tragedies, and the scene divisions simply indicate entrances and exits.

The stage directions in Famira are even more lengthy and elaborate than in the earlier plays. Only some relate to the staging; sketchy indications are given that the costumes should be long, loose robes, reminiscent of Greek dress. A new feature is the description of nuances of light which would have been beyond the resources of an amphitheatre. This picks up a point made in 'Antichnaya tragediya', in which Annensky had criticised a performance of Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound given in the classical manner, suggesting that the producers were foolish to ignore the technical advances made by the modern theatre, particularly in the field of lighting:

Дело в том, что сцена с начала до конца лирической трагедии освещена одинаково. Два часа не дают вам иллюзии драматических суток с разнообразием светил и теней и смены настроений. Положим, у греков этого тоже не было, но в том-то и дело, что у нас ведь это есть, и уже давно.¹

1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 4

The stage directions make it clear that, as in Annensky's earlier tragedies, the characters are not supposed to wear masks, and suggest changes of expression far too subtle to be noticed in an amphitheatre. The remarks in Famira are often actively intrusive; they describe the emotions of the characters, duplicating information already conveyed by the action and dialogue, and their tone is often melodramatic. When Argiope enters, she is said to have 'nervous movements' and 'the triangle of her brow is agonisingly (tomitel'no) white' (ST 513)

Some critics of Famira have argued that the language of the play is colloquial. This view was particularly prevalent among Annensky's contemporaries, such as Gumilev:

Его персонажи взяты из античного мира, они не делают ничего, что не было бы свойственно их эпохе, но их разговоры, за исключением обще-поэтической повышенности (драма написана в 1906 г.) остро современны.¹

In fact, the modernisms and colloquialisms in Famira, as in Annensky's earlier plays, are few, and their effect is superficial. Anachronisms like skripach and kreml' occur, and there are occasional colloquial passages in the speeches of the main characters. In Scene Four Thamyras suddenly drops his lyrical tone and turns to Argiope with the incongruously colloquial question:

Как?
А сказка уж окончилась? Жалею... (ST 527)

1. Gumilev, 'Pis'mo o russkoi poezii' 1914, 129

But, as in Annensky's Euripides translations and his neo-classical tragedies, the poeticheskaya povyshennost' of the speech of the major characters is much more noticeable than its contemporary flavour. The language of Argiope's life-story, for example, is ornamental and full of poeticisms. There is much use of participles, verbal nouns, archaisms (zheny for zhenshchiny, palata, chelnok, for example -- ST 529). Syntax is often unnaturally inverted: Zhen / On bol'she ne laskaet (ST 529). The following passage is typical, especially the central section which I have emphasised:

Постой, постой... О да, я понимаю,
 Что ты меня не любишь, что простить
 Не можешь ты безумной нимфе детства
 Холодного, без ласки и без тех
Нам памятных навек причуд ребячьих,
 Когда бранит нас мать, потом смеется,
 Потом, лаская, плачет, а в окно
 Глядят деревья, и таких больших,
 Таких зеленых, веющих так сладко,
 Уж больше не бывает никогда. (ST 530-1)

The style is elevated and poetic. A characteristic device is the use of elaborate double epithets, which often suggest colour tones, such as temno-zvezdnyi, struisto-svetlyi, sladkozvuchnyi (ST 530). Sometimes the same effect is produced when adjectives are used together, linked by a comma or i: zamedlennyi i nezhenyi, zelenye, veyushchie tak sladko. This device was parodied by Gumilev in Akteon; the adjectives he uses are patently absurd. Annensky's use of double epithets recalls the odic tradition of the eighteenth century, and Tyutchev's poetry in the nineteenth.¹

1. See Tynyanov, Arkhaisty i novatory, 381-2

The language of Famira is less reminiscent of the poetry of Annensky's Symbolist contemporaries than that of Pushkin, Baratynsky and other poets of the nineteenth century. Famira's closeness to the nineteenth-century tradition is emphasised by the use of five-foot iamb for most of the dramatic sections, though substitution of other metres is more frequent here than in Annensky's other plays, as Yury Lotman has indicated.¹

Annensky has adopted the chorus of Attic tragedy in Famira, as in Melanippa, Laodamiya and Iksion, but his handling of it differs in his last play. The chorus speaks about the same number of lines as before: roughly a quarter of the total, but they are differently distributed. There are fewer choric odes than before, they are shorter, and they no longer divide the play up into sections of equal length. The chorus' interventions in the dramatic scenes are longer and more important. This indicates Annensky's attempt to integrate the chorus dramatically; its members are not merely passive observers, but active participants in the action who bring about several important links of the plot. The Maenads' song is the cause of Argiope's incestuous love for her son; one of the Satyrs, Papposilenus, kills the wasp which has plagued Argiope, judges the poetry contest, and brings the news of Thamyris' defeat. The stage directions indicate that the chorus should be extremely active: in the opening choric scene, several different tempi of dancing are required, and the Maenads are

1. Lotman, 'Metricheskii repertuar IA', 125

directed to run about 'with flying thyrsi, whirling plaits, laughter, whistling and music' (ST 519).

The chorus in Famira does not remain on stage throughout the action, as Annensky pointed out in his introduction: 'khor pokidaet tsenu' (ST 511). There was a tradition in Attic drama that the chorus was on stage from its first entrance until the climax of the play, though exceptions to this tradition were tolerated.¹ In Vyacheslav Ivanov's Tantal, which is a more academic and self-conscious imitation of classical drama than Annensky's plays, the chorus is off-stage for long periods at the end of the play. Annensky, however, follows the practice of his model, Euripides: the chorus remains on stage even when taking no part in the action. In Iksion, Scene Nine, the Oreads are asleep, and their presence is not dramatically necessary, but Annensky directs that they should remain where they are (ST 415). In Famira the chorus is never off-stage for very long; it is, however, significant that its absence should be tolerated at all.

The chorus members in Famira are characterised, as they were in Iksion. There are aethereal Bacchae, sensual Maenads, and coarse Satyrs. The style of choric odes allotted to each group is different, but in general the odes depart from the style of Annensky's earlier choric odes. The lines are shorter, the composition of the stanzas less elaborate, and the imagery simpler than before:

1. Der Kleine Pauly, Chor

Стены белые покинув,
 И знобимы и палимы,
 В царство снежных исполинов
 Всё полями -- долго шли мы.
 Неба зной, полей роса ли, --
 В нас желанья не слабели.
 Или даром побросали
 На рабынь мы колыбели? (ST 533)

Annensky's choric passages in Famira depend less on complex visual imagery, and more on musical effects -- assonance, consonance -- than the choric odes in his tragedies.

But the most significant novelty in Famira is the composition of the chorus: it is divided into three groups. Double or even triple choruses are found in classical tragedy, and two of the groups, the Maenads and the Bacchae are perfectly proper tragic figures. The presence of Satyrs, on the other hand, is an alien feature. There is no classical tragedy in which satyrs take part; their coarse, folkish character was unsuited to its elevated style. The chorus as a whole is a bridge between the elements of tragedy and satyr-play in Famira; the women belong to the former genre, the satyrs to the latter.

Before discussing the elements in Famira which are adapted from the Attic tradition of the satyr-play, it is important that the characteristics of the genre should be summarised in brief, since it is rather obscure, at least to non-classicists. It is also helpful to know something about the nineteenth-century tradition of criticism on the satyr-play within which Annensky was working.

Little was known about the satyr-play in the early

twentieth century. Major fragments of Sophocles' Ichneutai and Aeschylus' Diktyoulkoi, which have contributed much to the knowledge of modern scholars, had not then been discovered.¹ Euripides' Cyclops -- still the only complete satyr-play available to scholars -- was the basis for study of the genre; other satyr-plays were known only from quotations and from allusions in the works of classical authors. Critics in Annensky's day had only one primary source to draw on, and it was one which has since been discovered to be atypical in some respects.²

Lack of knowledge about the satyr-play was accompanied by a lack of critical interest. Ussher's bibliography of the satyr-play in his edition of the Cyclops lists under thirty items published before 1910, including critical editions of Cyclops. The Cyclops had been translated into Russian before Annensky's version appeared (an anonymous version was published in Moscow in 1877), and a version by A. Artyushkov appeared three or four years after Annensky's.³ But Annensky's essay on the satyr-play was the first to appear in Russian, apart from general articles in encyclopedias. The only other articles ever to appear on the satyr-play in Russian were by Zelinsky and Varneke, friends of Annensky who were quite likely inspired by his work.⁴

1. Euripides, Cyclops, ed. Ussher, 172

2. Ibid., 173

3. See Prozorov, item 730; Voronkov, item 2431

4. Zelinsky, 'Novonaidennaya satiricheskaya drama'; Varneke, 'K istolkovaniyu dramy satirov'

The attitude to the satyr-play current at the turn of the century was a mixture of puzzlement and a certain prudish disapproval of the genre's coarse humour. As late as 1941 G.M.A. Grube could write that the Cyclops was of little interest, and toss it a condescending bone with the words: 'It is all good, though none too clean fun'.¹ Wilamowitz was less squeamish about the play's coarseness, which he euphemistically termed lack of prudery in sexual matters, but he considered it of little intrinsic interest; it had some literary-historical value as the single surviving example of a lost genre. He held it to be rapid, conveyer-belt work, and biliously added, 'Die Übersetzung hat sicher die zehnfache Arbeit gekostet'.² Passive disapproval became active bowdlerisation, as is illustrated by a comparison of the modern translation of Cyclops by William Arrowsmith with that done by Wilamowitz. Arrowsmith's translation of lines 179 ff., the Coryphaeus' remarks about Helen, is openly foul-mouthed:

When you took that woman, did you all take turns
and bang her? She liked variety in men,
the fickle bitch! Why, the sight of a man
with embroidered pants and a golden chain
so fluttered her, she left Menelaus,
a fine little man. I wish there were
no women in the world -- except for me.³

For the passage underlined above, Wilamowitz has the coy:
'nahm sie gleich / Ein jeder auf ein Stündchen in sein Zelt'.⁴

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1. Grube, The Drama of Euripides, 448
 2. Wilamowitz, Griechische Tragödien, III, 15
 3. Grene and Lattimore, The Complete Greek Tragedies, 3, 241
 4. Wilamowitz, Griechische Tragödien, III, 58

Annensky's essay on the satyr-play shows that his attitude to the genre was more favourable than that of his contemporaries. He felt that it was full of life and vigour.¹ It was a natural complement to tragedy, since tragedy illustrated human divinity; the subject of the satyr-play was the bog-zver', the bestiality of divinity.² He also, typically for a nineteenth-century scholar, saw it as a moral action: 'Iskhody satirovskikh dram vsego chashche imeli nravouchitel'nyi kharakter'.³ For him it seemed exciting and artistically innovative to study and imitate the satyr play. But nonetheless some features of the genre had to be toned down and made acceptable to the sexual reticence of his contemporaries, particularly in the world of scholarship.

Ethical and aesthetic judgements about the satyr-play have changed, and there has also been controversy about the genre's characteristics and history. Special attention has been given to the question of whether satyr-play or tragedy is the primary form; though, given the lack of documentary evidence, discussion is necessarily speculative.⁴ Annensky's essay on Cyclops does not enter the debate about whether the satyr-play is the source of tragedy or vice versa, nor does it specify in

1. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 628

2. Ibid., 597

3. Ibid., 595

4. Ussher's discussion on the relative merits of different satyr-play writers in the introduction to his edition of Euripides' Cyclops, for example, is necessarily entirely speculative.

detail what he conceived to be the genre's essential features. His definition of the satyr-play is based on Aristotle's definition of tragedy, which had also been the basis of his own statements about the nature of tragedy. The satyr-play, like tragedy, inspires pity and fear, but the action is less emotional, and the effect is not cathartic.¹ Some attention is given to the technical aspects of the genre, but Annensky is more concerned with the symbolic significance of the action. His attitude allowed him plenty of leeway to adapt the satyr-play in Famira. His own 'Bacchic drama' adopts certain details of the historic satyr-play, but is allied to the Attic tradition more obviously in terms of its symbolism and structure.

Annensky followed tradition in his placing of Famira. The satyr-play was never performed on its own; though it was distinct from tragedy, it was always closely associated with it, as Frank Brommer writes:

Das Satyrspiel ist in seiner Blütezeit also nicht ohne die Tragödie denkbar,² die Tragödie aber auch nicht ohne das Satyrspiel.

A satyr-play was always performed as the fourth play in a tetralogy, immediately after the tragic trilogy. Annensky wrote Famira-kifared, his fourth play, after he had produced just such a tragic trilogy: Melanippa,

1. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 601

2. Brommer, Satyrspiele, 11

Iksion and Laodamiya.

Famira does not share one noticeable formal feature of the satyr-play -- its shortness. At just on seven hundred lines, Cyclops is half the length of Iphigenia in Tauris; Ichneutai seems to have been much the same length. Famira is over fifteen hundred lines long, and has the dimensions of a tragedy, not of a satyr-play.

The setting of the satyr-play was determined by convention; the satyrs' rustic and hearty character demanded that it be set in open country. 'Deistvie sovershalos' nepremenno sredi dikogo sel'skogo peizazha', Annensky wrote.¹ In Cyclops the action takes place in front of Polyphemus' cave and a flock of sheep is called for; Ichneutai and Diktyoulkoi are also set in the country. The central part of the setting for Famira is a hut and flowery field, as is proper to the satyr-play, but this idyllic view is hemmed in by barren cliffs:

Вдали нагромождения скал [...] С гор там и сям, точно сползая вниз, осели темные и белые камни. [...] Невысокий холм, на скате которого стоит дом Фамиры, постепенно переходит в цветущую лужайку. (ST 513)

The stage direction is obviously symbolic: the meadow belongs to the pastoral Satyrs, the rocks to the tragic characters.

The most important link between Famira and the satyr-play is the presence of a chorus of satyrs. Such a chorus

1. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 595

was the defining feature of the Attic satyr-play, as Kaibel remarked:

Daß ein Satyrdrama ohne Satyrchor bestehen konnte, seinen Namen also ohne Berechtigung trug, läßt sich in keinem einzigen Falle glaublich machen.

Annensky also made this point in his essay on Cyclops:

'Drama nazyvalas' satiricheskoi potomu, chto khor ee sostoyal iz satirov'.² But he has adapted this central feature of the satyr-play: its presence, like that of the tragic choruses, is intermittent. The satyrs are absent in the first scenes of the play, and in the sixth scene, when Papposilenus (a speaking character, not a member of the chorus) appears, he is accompanied by only two young satyrs. In the last five scenes, though, the satyrs do speak as a chorus, and their presence dominates the action. In the scenes in which the satyrs do appear, their appearance, character and function are close to the choruses in the Attic satyr-play.

The appearance of Annensky's satyrs is only an approximation to the costume of satyrs on the Attic stage, which is documented in numerous vase-paintings.³ The dress of satyrs combined the features of horses and goats: they wore masks with goats' snouts, and goat-skins, but their tails were the tails of horses. Over their loincloths they wore grotesque phalloi. Most of the satyrs were young, but Papposilenus, their leader

1. Kaibel, 'Kratinos Ὀδυσσεύς', 72

2. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 595

3. See Brommer, Satyrspiele

or 'father' (always a speaking character) was older, and was fat, bald and bearded.

Annensky's essay describes the costumes of the satyrs as 'poluzverinye', and his play is equally inexact. The Satyrs have no goatskins, tails or masks, according to the remarki, and they resemble their Greek prototypes only in being young, whilst Papposilenus is old, fat and grey. Moreover, Silenus is said to have goats' horns (nebol'shie rozhki), and two of the young satyrs wear pink and blue ribbons. They are closer to the fauns of Roman and neo-classical tradition than to satyrs; the absence of phalloi symbolises their new respectability.

The behaviour of satyrs in Attic drama was stereotyped. They were 'bestial in their desires and behaviour', and often venal as well, as is clear from the plot of Cyclops, in which they shamelessly vacillate according to their own interests, and are as cowardly in deeds as they are boastfully brave in words. But Silenus was capable of a greater nobility of character:

The Silenus par excellence in these plays is the old Papposilenus, who has many weaknesses, but who also has intellectual talents. He is entrusted with the education of Dionysus, and even voices a proverbial philosophy in Pindar.¹

Annensky's satyrs are more restrained than their classical counterparts. They show appetite for physical enjoyment of predictable kinds, such as drinking and pursuing maenads over the stage. The scene in which Papposilenus tries to encourage Thamyris and his mother to join him

1. Oxford Classical Dictionary, Satyrs

in a toast, then downs all three portions himself, is not very different from the drinking scenes in Cyclops. The coarseness of the satyrs, however, is less evident than in Attic drama. They do not talk about farting and belching, and when Silenus advises Thamyris of the delights of wine and women, he does it in terms which would not affront a drawing room:

Плохо спишь
Без женщины, Фамира, если молод,
Иль доброго бокала... (ST 565)

Annensky's satyrs are very much in the tradition of Russian nineteenth-century Anacreontic poetry, in which the appearance of a satyr was the excuse for mildly risqué eroticism very far from the outspoken coarseness of the satyr-play. A typical satyr appears in Fet's 'Nimfa i molodoi satir', an early poem from the 'Antologicheskie stikhi':

Постой хотя на миг! О камень или пень
Ты можешь уязвить раздутую ступень;
Еще невинная, бежа от вакханалий,
Готова уронить одну ты из сандалий,
Но вот, косматые колени преклоня,
Он у ноги твоей поймал конец ремня.
Затянется теперь не скоро узел прочный;
Сатир, и молодой, -- не отрок непорочный!¹

Annensky has, however, accentuated a feature of the Greek satyrs not normally found in their neo-classical descendants -- their sly wisdom. The younger Satyrs in Famira are buffoons, but Papposilenus voices a commonsensical and astute view of life which contrasts with that of the

1. Fet, Sochineniya v 2 tomakh, 1, 173

heroes. This is effective in the scene in which Argiope consults him about her incestuous love for Thamyris. Papposilenus' cynicism cuts through her Schwärmerei:

Нимфа
 И зачем
 Ты возвращал меня рассудку только?
 Силен
 Ну, этим-то, положим, ты покуда
 Не очень стеснена. (ST 539)

In the scene which follows, there is a clash between Thamyris and Silenus. The hero's desire for transcendental experience is set against Silenus' hedonism:

Минутами живем мы -- не пойму
 Я счастья минералов. Ты ж кентавра
 Наслушался, должно быть, эфемер.
 Надменные умы боятся счастья,
 Которое летает, и плодов,
 Когда их надо есть не размышляя. (ST 543)

But Annensky's characterisation of the satyr-play figures is modernised. Silenus' 'proverbial philosophy' is undoubtedly authentic, but it dominates his sensuality to a greater extent than in the Attic satyr-play. The proverbs in which he speaks are not translations of Greek proverbs; they are indigenous Russian proverbs:

Холодная богиня. Здесь нашла
 Коса на камень, нимфа. (ST 540)

There is no evidence that the language of the satyr-play was appreciably different from that of tragedy. More licence in the use of colloquial and peculiar forms seems to have been allowed; Ussher suggests that it may also have been more rustic in character than the language

of tragedy.¹ Annensky argued that the satyrs' speech differed from tragic characters' speech in content rather than in form:

В сатиловских драмах чаще назывались своими именами предметы и явления обыденной жизни, (при чем предметы грубые и неприличные обозначались впрочем и описательно), таковы были: кушанья, одежды, оружия, болезни.²

The only subjects which the Satyrs discuss in Famira and the tragic characters do not are wine and sex. The Satyrs' speeches do not include many references to 'predmety i yavleniya obydennoi zhizni', but there is more concentration on the physical than in the speeches of the tragic characters. When Thamyris describes Euterpe, he alludes to the aethereal charm of her music (ST 559-560). When Silenus describes her, he gives a list of her physical attributes, such as her slender hands and haughty demeanour (ST 541). There are also some differences of register. The language of the satyr-scenes is simpler, there are fewer participles and inversions, and there are prominent colloquial and popular features: proverbs, folk words, elliptical syntax, and some modern or foreign words (spich, artist). In the following passages these features have been indicated by underlining:

Чур-чур меня! Безумья не пророчь:
Рукой подать -- фиас, и очень шумный,
В фиасе же и сам я угораю. (ST 538)

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1. Euripides, Cyclops, ed. Ussher, 204-6; cf. Obnovsky in Ents. slovar', Sat. drama, Long in his ed. of Cyclops.
 2. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 627

Ох, эти струны -- холоду напустят,
Да, как туман, отравят вас мечтой. (ST 539)

Ну что же? Тогда мы в горы;
Такие там есть уголки -- луной
И страстью облиты. (ST 540)

These features include the ellipsis of the verb to go in the phrase togda my v gory; the post-posed adjective in fias -- i ochen' shumnyi, the folk genitive ending in -u in kholodu; popular words and phrases, for example ugolki, rukoi podat', and napustit' (in the sense of 'to inspire'), the conjunction da and the interjection okh. But all these elements suggest, rather than actually imitate, colloquial speech, and the Satyrs' diction is like that of no known dialect. The satyrs' speech resembles that of the 'low' characters in Annensky's Euripides translations and neo-classical tragedies.

It seems that irregularities of metre not often found in tragedy were tolerated on a fairly wide scale in the satyr-play.¹ Annensky does not attempt to imitate these metrical freedoms exactly, but the satyrs are allowed some degree of freedom from the five-foot iambs in which the tragic characters speak. In the sixth scene, for example, Silenus speaks in irregular rhyming doggerel:

Простите мне, сестрицы.
Ваш наряд
 Нас несколько роднит. Я был бы очень рад
 Попасть в ваш нежный плен,
 Но, к сожалению, для менад
 Давно я только нежный брат.
 Меня зовут -- Папа-Силен. (ST 536)

1. Euripides, Cyclops ed. Ussher, 209-210

In the ninth scene, though, he speaks throughout in blank verse indistinguishable from *Thamyris*'.

The satyrs' choric odes are brief and not particularly lyrical; the stage directions indicate that they should be accompanied by bucolic dancing. They are composed in stanzas, with relatively primitive rhymes, and the metre suggests the lumpy rustic rhythm of the dance which is to accompany them:

Сатиры
 Любам ночи, флейте час,
 Флейте час,
 Зазнобил я губы.
 Нимфы, прилелейте нас,
 Нимфы, пожалейте нас!
 Зазнобил я губы! (ST 554)

Annensky's essay on Cyclops argues that the satyr-play was an extremely conventional genre; the main area of authorial freedom lay in how the satyrs were incorporated into a mythical plot to which they did not traditionally belong. He illustrates the problems of this task by lengthy reconstructions of the plots of Aeschylus' Amymone and his satyric Prometheus. Euripides' Cyclops is an example of the successful marriage of plot and satyrs, he argues.¹

In Famira-kifared there is a double task. The satyrs must, firstly, be introduced into a myth to which they are strange. This is accomplished quite easily: the link between *Thamyris* and the satyrs is *Argiope*, *Thamyris*' mother. As a nymph, she is one of the satyrs'

1. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 605-611

traditional companions, and it is quite plausible that she should have been a member of the thiasus, and that she should call upon her friend Papposilenus to engineer a contest between her son and the Muse Euterpe. The presence of the satyrs in the vicinity of Thamyris' hut is equally natural, since he is living on the fringe of meadows, their natural home. The participation of the satyrs in the final scenes is justified because Papposilenus has been one of the judges in the poetry contest. Papposilenus' willingness to arrange the contest can be explained by a typically pedantic desire to convince Thamyris of the folly of his ways; he anticipates the failure of the contest, and regards the outcome as educational.

The second task in Famira is the integration of the satyrs into a tragic action to which they are unsuited. Annensky has done this by imitating the relations between the hero and the chorus found in the satyr-play. In the satyr-play, the satyrs were traditionally found in the company of gods and heroes. This did not elevate their characters or alter their coarseness; they treated the heroes with no respect, and the behaviour of the gods and heroes was lowered to accommodate them to the satyrs. The satyrs in Cyclops treat Odysseus as their equal, as the low characters in tragedy could never have done, and on occasion they are actively rude to him. When the hero arrives, Silenus gives him the discourteous greeting:

I've heard of you, a glib sharper, Sisyphus' bastard.¹

As Annensky pointed out, the characterisation in the satyr-play was unstable: the characters were neither invariably dignified, nor invariably undignified:

Критика справедливо заметила, что, насколько можно судить по „Киклопу“, сатирический поэт не боялся противоречий в обрисовке персонажей и мотивировке отдельных действий. Может быть, иногда он достигал этой небрежностью даже своеобразного эффекта, действие разворачивалось легко, оно шло непринужденнее, больше похоже на жизнь с ее неизбежными несообразностями и противоречиями.²

In Famira the satyrs' relationship with the main characters is not the 'harmonious complement' Annensky had held it was in tragedy (ST 308). It resembles the relationship of chorus and main characters in the satyr-play. The satyrs are bold, even rude, with the heroes. Silenus bluntly points out to Argiope that her behaviour is folly, and she accepts his criticisms without question:

Нимфа
Я останусь
С Фамирою, Силен.
Силен
Пока тебя
Он не прогнал... Как женщины упрямы!
Что ж доказать ты хочешь?...
Нимфа
Здесь алтарь,
И дом мой здесь...
Силен
Не новые прикрасы
Не нового желанья. (ST 538-9)

1. Euripides, Cyclops, line 104; Grene and Lattimore, The Complete Greek Tragedies, 3, 237

2. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 626

The mixture of comic and serious elements in Famira is novel in the context of Annensky's own dramas; in the earlier dramas the comic elements, such as Hermes' bitter joke at the end of Iksion, are insignificant. But the tragi-comic tone of the play, and the semi-ironic attitude to the hero are typical of the Symbolist theatre. In Blok's Balaganchik Pierrot's lyrical statements about his love for Columbine alternate with comic outbursts of protest from the Author, who declares that the characters are out of control. Annensky was alone, however, in seeking the breakdown of classical tragedy within the classical tradition, in the mixed classical genre of satyr-play. A comic Satyr appears in the final scene of Dar mudrykh pchel, but his presence does not make any significant difference to the scene; he simply utters some bawdy asides.¹

In 'Kiklop i drama satirov' Annensky refers to the classical description of the satyr-play as τραγωδία παίξουσα, or 'jesting tragedy', and links it with other classical texts which attempted to undermine constrictive notions of genre, such as the semi-comic Alcestis.² He was particularly interested in those of Euripides' plays which he read as attacks on conventional genre-boundaries, for example Ion, Helen and Alcestis.

Annensky's description of the satyr-play as inconsistent, tragi-comic and realistic anticipates Bakhtin's description of late classical genres which belonged to the oblast' ser'ezno-smekhovogo, or επουρογελιοσ, such

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1. Sologub, Dar mudrykh pchel, Sobranie sochinenii, 8, 121-2
 2. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 601

as the Socratic dialogues, the symposia, and the Menippean satires. These genres rejected tradition in favour of invention, and were characterised by contemporaneity, as opposed to the 'absolute past' of myth, and by their inconsistent style -- raznogolosost' and mnogostilnost' -- with especial emphasis on colloquial speech:

В некоторых [жанрах] наблюдается смешение прозаической и стихотворной речи, вводятся живые диалекты и жаргоны.¹

The fact that the satyrs do not appear in every scene of Famira, that it is not an exact imitation of the satyr-play, means that the action can be read on two levels. Thamyris' lyrical outbursts in the earlier scenes have absurd elements, but the reader is invited to read them straight. Two interpretations of the play are possible: we can see Thamyris as a posturing and misguided idiot, or as a stoical hero in the mould of Melanippe and Laodamia. The satyr scenes are not simply light relief which intensifies the effect of the tragic scenes in the manner of the comic scenes in Shakespearian tragedy, as Ivanov read them.² They raise serious doubts about the meaning of the play. Thamyris' love of inanimate objects, such as stones, links him with the lyric hero of some of Annensky's poems, for example 'Nosha zhizni svetla i legka mne' (ST 181). Annensky also identified himself with Silenus, however, as Makovsky recalled.³

But the polyphonic character of Famira should not

1. Bakhtin, Problemy poetiki Dostoevskogo, 124

2. See this chapter, page 246

3. See Chapter 2 of this study, page 126

be over-emphasised. Despite the many stylistic levels in the play, the norm remains the lyrical, high-style speeches of the main characters, which is disrupted only intermittently by stylised colloquial interventions. The ambiguity of the action is also undermined by its transparently didactic purpose. In accordance with Annensky's reading of the satyr play as a moral action, he has used the plot of Famira as an allegory. The characters are types: the Artist; the Nymph; the Satyr; which was not true of the earlier heroes.

In Annensky's essay on the satyr-play the satyrs are glossed as nature spirits, who represent the ever-changing face of the woods; 'veyanie lesa i radostnaya nezlobnost' bessmertnykh', he says, quoting Horace.¹ But in Famira the satyrs' function as nature spirits is of little importance; their association with Dionysus is much more significant, as it was for other scholars of Annensky's generation.² Dionysus does not appear in Famira, and the satyrs do not sing hymns to him, but they are described as 'Bacchus' nurses' (ST 536), Silenus' traditional role, and they are certainly part of the thiasus. Silenus often refers to Dionysus' train, and he greets the Maenads, worshippers of the god, as his equals in dress at least: 'Vash naryad / Nas neskol'ko rodnit' (ST 536).

The symbolism in Famira is of such importance that it often dominates the action to the detriment of dramatic tension. This would have been inconceivable in Attic

1. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 597

2. Obnovsky in Ents. slovar', Sat. drama; Kaibel, 'Kratinos
Obuvshye'

tragedy, where the action most certainly had symbolic or religious significance, but was also 'an exciting series of events' and interest in 'the study of the characters' was great.¹ The chorus scenes in Famira are not a commentary on the main action, and are not even related to it; they portray scenes of lyrical ecstasy and brute appetite in which the reference to the main characters is symbolic and indirect; the only connection is that these emotions are shared by the main characters. This was allowable in classical tragedy: the chorus scenes in Euripides, and in Annensky's own neo-classical tragedies, are tied in loosely. But the norms of classical tragedy would not have allowed that dramatic scenes be completely irrelevant to the plot, as is the case with a central scene in Famira.

The scene in which Thamyris' father Philammon returns from the dead has not been anticipated by any previous scene in the play. Indeed, in the second scene, the Nurse has told Argiope that the king is still alive, though living in misery:

Угрюм
И строг наш царь... И золото он любит,
Но в слитках, а не в косах. (ST 516)

It is therefore confusing when Philammon turns up without warning, and the scene in which he appears does not develop the plot. It follows the contest with the Muses, and the punishment of Thamyris; the action

1. Oxford Classical Dictionary, Tragedy

of the play is complete. The only conceivable dramatic reason for the scene is that there must be some action on stage to cover the period when Thamyris is off-stage blinding himself. But since this purpose could have been accomplished as easily by a chorus scene, the justification for the appearance of Philammon can only be its symbolic function.

The majority of the characters in Famira live on a different level from ordinary mortals. The satyrs, the gods, Argiope, whose suffering has not aged her, are all immortal, and even the mortal Maenads are attached to a god's train. The hero, who is surrounded by strange beings, takes on some of their attitudes to life. He despises earthly existence, describing humans as 'sacks of warm blood' (543) and longing for 'starry heights' (ST 530). Only the Nurse is an ordinary human, and her part in the play is small and unimportant; Thamyris' mortal father has not figured in the play. In two of the earlier tragedies, on the other hand, (Melanippa and Laodamiya), the only living relatives of the central characters were male. In one of his essays on Hamlet, Annensky pointed out that the father was the more important parent in Greek society (an argument produced by Euripides' Orestes in his own defence, Orestes 554-5):

Что такое мать? Гамлет уходит корнями в Ореста. А для Эсхила рождавшим был еще отец, а не мать --
τίκτέι ὁ θρῶϊκῶν (KO 172)¹

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1. 'Problema Gamleta', from which this quotation comes, was written at the same time as Famira (see note, KO 602). The appearance of Hamlet's father's ghost is clearly a possible source for the Philammon scene.

The presence of Philammon is not to be explained by pedantic desire to conform with historical fact, though; this would have been uncharacteristic of Annensky. Thamyris is 'more the son of his father than his mother' in an important symbolic sense: he is mortal. His transcendent art cannot save him from rotting in the grave, and we are reminded of the limits set on his earthly existence just after he has tried to exceed them by his experience of divine music.

All critics of Famira have recognised that the action is symbolic, but interpretations of the symbolism have varied widely. Fedorov felt that the message of the play, like that of Annensky's earlier tragedies, was democratic: it celebrated the moral victory of mankind over the gods:

Удары судьбы не могут сломить героев и героинь этих трагедий. [....] Они до конца остаются воплощением человеческого достоинства перед лицом судьбы, перед лицом несправедных богов, по своему произволу распоряжающихся людьми. Эпиграфом ко всей драматургии Анненского могло бы служить тютчевское:

Пускай Олимпийцы завистливым оком [....]

Подобная мысль, правда, не высказана ни прямо, ни косвенно ни одним из персонажей трагедий Анненского, но именно моральная победа человека над олимпийцами, его нравственное превосходство -- вот окончательный смысл каждой из трагедий. (ST 42-3)

Fedorov himself indicates in the passage I have underlined that his view cannot be justified by reference to Annensky's plays; his interpretation better fits Vyacheslav Ivanov's classical tragedies with their defiant bogobortsy heroes. Mandelstam's interpretation is equally unsatisfactory: he argues that the central problem of

Famira was the problem of love, and that the play showed the impossibility of genuine earthly love.¹

The fault of these readings is that they are too general. Famira is the tragedy of an artist, not of the human individual in general; this is the difference between it and Annensky's earlier tragedies. Dukor and Karlinsky both realised that Thamyris' occupation is central to the play, but produced diametrically opposed readings. Dukor felt that the play symbolised the artist in conflict with a hostile world which finally destroys him. The hero is at fault because he refuses to accept the philosophy of the satyr choruses:

Фамира гибнет не только потому, что он осмелился соперничать с музами, но и потому, что он прошел мимо того, что утверждалось лирикой, как единственная возможность человеческой радости (радость мгновения). Но иначе он поступить не мог. В этом и было его высокое предназначение, как поэт.²

Karlinsky presented the problem the other way round: the artist is innocent, but is destroyed by life, symbolised by the rapacious and predatory sexuality of his mother:

'The main problem of Thamyris is the artist's creative power and its relation to life', Vsevolod Setchkarev justly observed. Many other Russian twentieth-century writers stated this problem in some of their most important works: Majakovskij in 'About That', Cvetaeva in 'The Pied Piper', Pasternak in 'Doctor Zhivago', and Nabokov in just about everything he has written. It is interesting and possibly significant that both Čechov and Annenskij connected it with the destructive power of maternal love.³

1. Mandelstam, 'Famira-kifared'

2. Dukor, 'Problemy dramaturgii simvolizma', 149

3. Karlinsky, 'Frustrated Artists', 232

These interpretations account only for the central part of the action, the tragedy; the Satyrs and Maenads are to be seen merely as metaphors for 'life' in a basic sense, or as sensual beings, who view life as an opportunity for maximum pleasure. This reading is unduly simple. The satyrs' and maenads' traditional association with Dionysus is important, since it lends them a greater dignity than their behaviour has in itself. They are artists in a different tradition to Thamyris', whose inspiration comes from physical pleasure, and whose art is tied to earthly things. They play the flute, not the cithara, and are hostile to Apollonian music. Silenus argues the superiority of drinking to lyre-playing:

Вы отвечали: „Я не пью”,
 Как я сказал бы: „Не пою”,
 Дельфийский бог кифару предложи мне,
 Чтобы ему подтягивал я в гимне. (ST 553)

The maenads are more refined than the satyrs, but their songs celebrate physical love, sexual union with the divinity. Thamyris is inspired by a desire for the aethereal, for things that are unchanging, like stones, or immortal, like the Muse. He despises sexual pleasure, and his art is devoid of emotion:

В моей судьбе
 Ни матери, ни сестрам, ни отцу
 Нет место, сладкозвучная:
 живу я
 Для черно-светлых высей; лишь они
 На языке замедленном и нежном
 Как вечера струисто-светлый воздух,
 Мне иногда поют. (ST 530)

Of all Annensky's works, Famira shows the most obvious

influence of Nietzsche's Die Geburt der Tragödie.¹

The division between the contemplative and passive poet, and the poet whose work is ecstatic and sensual is based on the Apollonian / Dionysiac dichotomy, though, as in Annensky's essays, Nietzsche's theory has been adapted and simplified. Thamyris is a citharede, and therefore under the protection of Apollo, inventor of the lyre; the satyrs and maenads are associated with Dionysus; the panel of judges at Thamyris' contest includes the Dionysiac figure of Pan. The Muse Euterpe represents a divine synthesis of Apollonian and Dionysiac elements. Her Olympian status links her with Apollo, but she is also associated with Dionysiac art, since she is patron of flute-playing.

Vyacheslav Ivanov remarked the dualistic portrayal of the artist in Famira, showing that it involved a metaphorical contrast at every level: between motion and fixity, time and eternity, music and silence. He compared Thamyris with Euripides' Pentheus, making it clear that he saw the play as a warning against the results of ignoring the Dionysiac.² He felt that Annensky's sympathies were with the Dionysiac artist:

Он запозаривает горделивую и самодовлеющую в своей успокоенности, по-человечески „аполлонийскую” красоту, как дурной и фальшивый перевод с чужого и почти непонятного языка.

Thamyris' pale imitation of the divine Apollonian art

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1. Except perhaps for the lyric 'Drugomu' discussed in Chapter 6.
 2. Ivanov, 'O poezii IA', 309
 3. Ibid.

of the Muse is less acceptable than the crude high spirits of the satyrs.

Ivanov's reading is conditioned by his own conviction that the Dionysiac emotion was of greater importance than the Apollonian. Famira, though, is more ambiguous than Ivanov's interpretation suggests. Thamyris' loveless existence and his longing for transcendence are closer to the emotions expressed in Annensky's poetry than are the high spirits of the satyrs; in 'Moya toska' Annensky had described his Muse as bezlyubaya (ST 171). The lust of Silenus and the satyrs for wine, women and bawdy song, even in the emasculated form in which it is presented in Famira, is quite alien to Annensky's poetry; in this pleasures of the flesh are absent. The dithyrambs of the maenads are also unconnected with Annensky's lyrics.

The balance of Dionysiac and Apollonian forces is maintained throughout Famira. The Dionysiac is physically triumphant: Thamyris, the Apollonian artist, is destroyed. The satyrs' mockery of him is justified, since he is weak and passive, and his poetic statements are often incomprehensible and absurd. Yet the reader is invited to sympathise with him, not the cunning Silenus; though the latter is more than Thamyris' equal intellectually, he is not allowed to expound his philosophy at such length. It is impossible to condemn Thamyris for not taking Silenus' advice; he is doomed because he cannot act any other way. He is mortal, and cannot synthesise Apollonian and Dionysiac elements in the manner of the divine Euterpe, and so he is inevitably destroyed.

In Famira-kifared, the ubiquitous myth of a contest between a mortal artist and one of the divinities has been reinterpreted as a Modernist fable about different types of poet, with fashionable Nietzschean overtones. Annensky takes up a stance against the admiration for Dionysiac poetry current in Russia around the turn of the century. Despite the weight given to the Dionysiac case, the meaning of Famira is clear. However flawed the Apollonian artist may be, he is still capable of greater grandeur than is the Dionysiac artist, whom Annensky associates primarily with comedy.

The moral of the play is pointed by the frequent references made by the characters to the future. Argiope, for example, makes a speech in the fifth scene in which she foresees a doleful future for classical art, and by implication for the classical world as a whole:

О, Зевсова улыбка! Позже вы
Ее поймете, люди, -- мы в века
Передадим ее вам -- в серых камнях,
Где будем мы, покорны молотку
Искусного ваятеля, на ваших
Гробницах спать -- с прижатыми руками
И устремив в пустые небеса
Свои глаза, пустые тоже... (ST 527)

The idea that classical art will be neglected in the modern world is a recurrent theme in Annensky's works. At the end of Laodamiya it is voiced by Hermes:

А потом,
Когда веков минует тьма и стану
Я мраморным и позабытым богом,
Не пощажен дождями, где-нибудь
На севере, у варваров, в аллее
Запущенной и темной, иногда
В ночь белую или июльский полдень,
Я улыбнусь или влюбленной деве,
Иль вдохновлю поэта красотой
Задумчивой забвенья... (ST 485)

Significantly, both these speeches are addressed to the audience. They have no immediate relevance to the dramatic situations in which they occur, and Argiope's speech is prefixed by the address 'lyudi'. The characters step outside the classical world which they inhabit and look at it from a modern viewpoint. The tone is elegaic, and the placing and phrasing of the speeches make them so prominent that one has the impression of direct authorial intervention.

The fact that the tragic characters have foreknowledge of the future adds further weight to the conflict of Dionysiac and Apollonian elements. The satyrs, 'podvizhnye natury' as Annensky described them,¹ apparently have no future, they are tied to the classical period, and their music, too, will vanish without trace. The tragic characters, on the other hand, will live on, if only in a mutilated state. This is the meaning of Hermes' words at the end of the play:

А ты -- ты жить, ты будешь долго жить,
Хоть в нищете, Фамира, и возврата
В отцовский дом не жди... (ST 577)

Classical sculpture will also survive, even if it is ignored, like Hermes the 'mramornyi i pozabytyi bog'. Tragic myth and classical sculpture, which Nietzsche had called the archetypal Apollonian art forms, will outlive ephemeral music and drama.² The conclusions of Famira reflect those of Annensky's poem 'Drugomu',

1. 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 625

2. This symbolism is also found in Annensky's statue poems, discussed in Chapter 6.

in which he argues that his poetry will survive, though it will be neglected and misunderstood by the multitude, as Thamyris will be the butt of vulgar and uncomprehending audiences.

The nature of Thamyris' punishment also has symbolic significance. He loses his sight and his musical sense, and this is representative of the future of all artists. The modern artist will not be simultaneously poet, painter and musician, as many of the classical poets were. Sophocles, for example, was a musician, and played Thamyris in his version of the play; Euripides was a painter.¹ In the future the artist will be entirely dependent on the word. When Thamyris has lost all musical gifts and his vision, he can still understand words:

Отчего ж
Слова так ясно слышу я... а струны?
Где ж музыка, Силен? (ST 564)

His description of the Muse's song is poetically phrased, though he is no longer able to sing:

Я на закат смотрел, как розы там
Небесный путь засыпали, а ноты
Со струн ее кифары на стезю
Вздыхались и дымились... Это были
Не вы и вы -- не знаю, но грубей
Была б и тень. (ST 559)

The word is independent of painting and music, though it has some of their properties. The insistence on the autonomy of the word reflects the growing importance of the kul't slova in Annensky's theory in

1. See Annensky's introduction to Famira (ST 511); Oxford Classical Dictionary, Euripides.

the last years of his life.

By stating that the artist is a craftsman of words Annensky also declares his pedagogical purpose in writing the play, which was to illustrate a wide range of verbal effects as an example to his readers. Mandelstam's essay praised this aspect of Famira in particular:

„Фамира-кифаред" прежде всего произведение словесного творчества. Вера Анненского в могущество слов безгранична. Особенно замечательно его умение передавать словами все оттенки цветного спектра [...] Пляски и хоры Анненского воспринимаются как уже воплощенные и музыкальная иллюстрация ничего не прибавит к славе „Фамиры-кифареда".¹

The play is rich in visual imagery, in the stage directions as well as in the speeches, but the rhythmic and tonal effects are more unusual and more striking: the choruses imitate the sounds of musical instruments, and have strong dance rhythms. But sense, though subordinated to sound, is not sacrificed completely: the choruses do not invent words, and are more or less comprehensible as expressions of lust, or as love songs to Dionysus:

Хочешь, склонись,
 О Дионис,
 К нашим вуалям --
 Мы не ужалим,
 О Дионис...
 Нежно-лилейный,
 Только коснись,
 Сладостновейный,
 Затканноцветных,
 О Дионис,
 Нежно-ответных
 Воздухов -- риз, --
 Мигом совьемся
 Плющем, о боже,
 Я златоцветным,
 Ты облетелым... (ST 520-1)

1. Mandelstam, 'Famira-kifared'

The linguistic effects in Famira are one of the most interesting aspects of the play. They recall the experiments with language which Annensky made in some of his poems, such as 'Kek-uolk na tsimbalakh' and 'El' moya elinka', and the 'Trilistnik shutochnyi'. But Annensky's linguistic experiments in Famira lack the defensively self-ironising quality of his lyric poems.

Annensky also had another purpose in writing Famira: to illustrate the possibilities of a new kind of theatre. In his essay on Gor'ky's Na dne, completed about a year before he wrote Famira, he attacks Naturalist theatrical convention:

Мне лично мешали бы, я знаю, вглядываться в интересную ткань поэтической концепции Горького: весь этот нестройный гул жизни, недоговоренные реплики, хлопанье дверей, мельканье мокрых подошв, свист напилка, плач ребенка -- словом, все, что неизбежно в жизни и что, может быть, составляет торжество сценического искусства, но что мешает думать и в театре, как в действительности. (КО 72)

Annensky had always taken an interest in the theatre, though his active experience was limited to his production of Rhesus. Shortly before his death, in September 1909, his translation of Iphigenia in Aulis was performed at the Aleksandrinskii teatr in St Petersburg. Annensky had no part in the production, but took quite an interest in it, and wrote to Nina Begicheva that he was very disappointed to have missed the performance (КО 492).¹

1. Annensky's fellow classicist Tsybul'sky was unimpressed with the production, which he described as 'izdevatel'stvo i glumlenie nad antichnoi tragediei' ('I. na Mikhailovskoi tsene'). The statement that IA was performed in the Aleksandrinskii teatr comes from Podol'skaya (КО 666)

In his second 'Pedagogicheskoe pis'mo' Annensky remarks that one of the most hopeful signs in Russian schools is the increase in dramatic activity, including the performance of plays by classical authors; he considers first-hand experience of drama an essential part of aesthetic education.¹ In 'Antichnaya tragediya' he expounds at length on a performance of Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound, and discusses in general how classical plays should be performed.²

Annensky's interest in the theatre has not always been recognised. Mandelstam wrote that he was positively hostile to the theatre, and that Famira showed his hostility.³ Andrei Fedorov argues in his introduction to 'Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii' that Annensky's plays, like those of other Symbolists, were nearly unperformable:

Сценической жизни большинства этих пьес мешало отсутствие подлинно жизненного содержания (хотя бы и раскрытого в обобщенно-иносказательных формах), жизненной правды, и тем самым правды художественной, отсутствие характеров у персонажей.

Анненский писал свои драмы как поэтические произведения и, по-видимому, не думал для них о сценическом будущем. (ST 40-1)

Fedorov's remarks are dictated by the norms of the naturalist theatre, the very norms which Annensky had attacked in his theory. Annensky clearly did not write Famira with the intention of having it performed, since he was without the necessary contacts and experience. But the play was at least partly inspired by his desire

1. 'Pedagogicheskie pis'ma. Pis'mo vtoroe', 65

2. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 1-4

3. Mandelstam, 'Famira-kifared'

to shape a new kind of theatre based on classical principles, which he expresses clearly in his essay 'Antichnaya tragediya':

Я думаю, наконец, что, сообразно цели, и некоторые приемы античной сцены ждут своей очереди на нашей. Речь идет, конечно, ни об открытых театрах, масках или котурнах, а о музыке и балете, т.-е., о широком развитии лиризма и мимики, которые были так долго и так несправедливо разобщены с трагедией.¹

The satyr-chorus in Famira allows the introduction of more dance and dumb-show than a conventional tragedy, partly because the audience has no experience of the form, and hence no preconceptions about it, and partly because dancing is central to the satyrs' character.²

A play cannot be called 'unstageworthy' simply because it is not naturalist, pace Fedorov; the staging of Famira had only to wait until the play aroused the interest of a director. Annensky's dramatic principles were attractive to a section of the Russian theatrical avant-garde of the early twentieth century. Aleksandr Tairov shared Annensky's hatred of naturalistic theatrical effects; and Annensky's idea that the classical theatre was a model for the modern theatre because of its use of different genres anticipated Tairov's combination of elements from pantomime and tragedy in his productions for the Moscow Kamernyi teatr. It is no accident that Tairov chose to produce Famira, nor that this production was one of the most

1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 41

2. On the satyrs as dancers, see 'Kiklop i drama satirov', 597

successful in the early history of the theatre, and was generally considered a turning point in Tairov's career: it exemplified many of the aims of the theatre at the period:

Стремление найти тип эмоционально-трагического спектакля, развивающегося в целостности и замкнутости своих эстетических форм и подчиненного законам своей собственной выразительности. В известном смысле „Фамира-Кифаред“ достиг идеал такого спектакля.¹

The play was generally well received by critics and public, though it does not appear to have been sold out after the premiere, on November 8, 1916.² It was given seventeen times in 1916, and remained in repertory until February 1917, when the theatre temporarily closed. Despite an unfortunate juxtaposition in Derzhavin's memoirs of the premiere of the play and the bankruptcy of the theatre, we need not blame Famira for Tairov's misfortune; as the date suggests, the closure of the theatre was due to more than financial difficulties.³

There was some adverse criticism from reviewers of Tairov's methods, which were felt to ignore the spirit of the play.⁴ It would certainly be wrong to suppose that Annensky's ideas about the staging of Famira were carried out directly. His play appealed to Tairov because it was a stylised drama of mixed genre, not for any more specific reason. Tairov's Zapiski rezhissera

1. Derzhavin, Kniga o Kamernom teatre, 65

2. The premiere is given by Ingold, Derzhavin, Fedorov and others as 2.11.1916, but according to the dates of the reviews and the ob"yavleniya for the theatre in Utro Rossii and Russk. vedemosti, it was 8.11.1916

3. Derzhavin, Kniga o Kamernom teatre, 60

4. E.g. Tugenkhol'd, R-ii, Glagol', Maigur.

maintain the complete freedom of the director from any authorial wish, and in this work he fails to mention Annensky's name even once, though he refers to Famira constantly. Annensky's instructions for the set, for example, were completely ignored, because they were felt to be traditional and uninspiring:

Были игнорированы и авторские ремарки, не поднимавшиеся над уровнем весьма традиционного представления о методах декорационного оформления сцены.¹

But on the whole, the staging did not go against the author's instructions, which were simply realised in a minimalist way (stones and trees were represented by blocks which made vague allusions to features of the Greek landscape; pyramidal blocks suggested cypresses). The designer, Aleksandra Ekster, also produced costumes which were reminiscent of classical dress without historical accuracy in detail. Stylised makeup was substituted for masks.²

Other aspects of the production, such as the lighting and the acting, were more directly in line with Annensky's ideas. One of the most noticeable features of the remarki is the nuances of light they suggest, and there seems to have been some attempt to capture these in the production. A new system of stage-lighting, invented by Zal'tsman, was used; overhead lighting, rather than the commoner footlights, was used. One critic was

1. Derzhavin, Kniga o Kamernom teatre, 66

2. Photographs of the performance can be found in Tairov, Zap. rezhissera, 1970 and in Kuhlke's translation; illustrations of the costume designs in Tugenkol'd's review.

extremely impressed with what he termed the 'ostroumnoe osveshchenie'.¹

In 'Antichnaya tragediya' Annensky had dwelt on the fact that acting in Ancient Greece was not naturalistic:

Теперь актер тем лучше играет, тем больше дает он нам иллюзии действительности. Изгоняют все условное, даже гримм, потому что в артисте должна свободно проявляться душа человека. Не то было в древней греческой трагедии. Напротив, игра актера² должна была отрывать душу зрителя от реальности.

The remarki in Famira suggest stylised gesture and expression:

Tairov's acting school, with its stress on pose and gesture was well suited to give an appropriate performance.

Tseretelli's action was particularly successful:

Не кинематограф ли, через безглагольную школу которого прошел артист, дал ему этот опыт, это умение позировать, которого так недостает артистам, выросшим на чеховских „переживаниях“?³

Above all, the actors were sensitive to Annensky's experiments with language, and appreciated the range of non-rational onomatopoetic and musical effects:

В „Фамире-Кифареде“ по общему признанию лучшим местом спектакля была сцена стансов Фамиры. И она же, несомненно, была самой непонятной по тексту.⁴

Tairov's production of Famira proved that it was a play for the theatre as well as for the study, and

1. R--ii, 'Famira-kifared'

2. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 5

3. Tugenkhol'd, 'Pis'mo iz Moskvu', 74

4. Tairov, Zapiski rezhissera, 92

illustrated the work's lasting merits. The symbolism in it may seem dated and uninteresting to a modern reader, but the mixture of genres in the play, and the experimental character of its language, are genuinely innovatory. The influence of Annensky's work on Tairov was far-reaching; in his production notes for Fedra in the 1940s he referred to Annensky's theories on classical tragedy, and it is clear that the two men had a shared approach to classical tragedy, and on the way it should be adapted for the modern stage.¹

Famira-kifared is the most interesting of Annensky's dramas. It does not simply imitate and modernise the classical tradition; it undermines and disrupts it. It represents a transitional phase in Annensky's work: its use of classical myth lies half-way between the direct reference and citation of the early dramas and translations and the essays, and the indirect, allusive, 'buried' use of the classical tradition in Annensky's lyric poetry.

1. Tairov, Zapiski rezhissera 1970, 443

Хожу себе по вашим коврам и
чувствую, что чистейшей любовью
люблю красивые вещицы, не ставшие
хуже оттого, что заляпаны они
подляпиной и кровью, проходя по
одному делу с таким говном, как
вы.
Алешковский

CHAPTER SIX

'Kholodnyi sumrak ametistov': classicism
in the lyric poetry

In an autobiographical sketch first published in 1911, Annensky states that he began writing poems when he was very young. He self-ironisingly records that his first efforts had little literary merit:

Как большинство людей моего поколения, если они, как я, выросли в литературных и даже точнее -- литераторских традициях, я рано начал писать. [...] Я все-таки писал только стихи, и так как в те годы (70-е) еще не знали слова символист, то был мистиком в поэзии и бредил религиозным жанром Мурильо, который и старался "оформлять словами". Черт знает что! (КО 495)

Annensky's juvenilia have not been published in full, but some short pieces written when he was about eighteen were included in Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii (ST 12-13), and these bear out his negative appraisal of his early work. Fedorov, too, condemns Annensky's first poems:

При всей искренности [раннее творчество Анненского] еще очень бедно выразительными средствами. [...] В целом все это носит еще совершенно дилетантский характер, и кажется, что это писал другой человек. (ST 11, 14)

After the mid 1870s, Annensky stopped writing lyric poetry for about fifteen years, though he produced occasional verses and epigrams, such as the following on a successful poet writing for a popular journal:

Даюсь я Фoфан диву, [= Fofanov]
 Как мог твой гений сразу
 И унавозить "Ниву"
 И переполнить "Вазу".¹

1. Krivich, 'IA po semeinym vospominaniyam', 226. Lavrov and Timenchik suggest the reference may be to Feigin, a third-rate poet of the 1890s, not Fofanov (page 142).

Some of his prose poems may also date from this period.¹ In the 1890s he started writing lyric poetry again; the earliest dated poem in Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii, 'Nocturno', was written in February 1890. Like several of his poems, it seems to have been written as a romans: his friend the composer Sergei Bulich composed a setting for it (ST 605).

As a reviewer and translator, Annensky produced large quantities of material, often of uneven quality. His methods as a poet were different. The total number of his mature lyrics is small -- Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii contains under three hundred original poems -- an output of only ten poems or so a year. He worked very intensively on individual poems, often producing several versions of a single lyric.² His poems are also quite short. He wrote no narrative poems (poemy) and few of his lyrics are over thirty lines long.

Annensky's reviews and his classical translations were written for professional purposes; some were commissioned, and all were intended for publication. His lyrics, like his translations from the French, his essays on Russian literature and his neo-classical dramas, were written for his own pleasure, and he did not at first expect that they would be published. He occasionally read them aloud to a small circle of acquaintances, or sent them to friends in letters, invariably adding one or two mildly self-deprecatory remarks:

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1. Fedorov writes 'Tsikl ['Autopsia'] prinadlezhit, nado polagat', rannemu tvorchestvu pisatelya' (KO 649)
 2. On his work methods see Fedorov's note, (ST 582)

Твердо хочу сегодня не вдаваться в лиризм... Будем, если не веселы, то хотя бодры.

Вот Вам, однако, одно из моих лирических стихотворений. (КО 463)

Annensky did not publish any poetry until about fourteen years after he started writing in earnest. In 1904 his first collection Tikhie pesni appeared; it contained only fifty-three original poems. His unsureness about publication was marked by the coy pseudonym 'Nik. T--o', 'no-one, a translation of the reply Odysseus gives the Cyclops in the Odyssey when asked for his name.

Tikhie pesni was reviewed quite favourably, if patronisingly, by two influential critics, Bryusov and Blok, and Annensky appears to have been encouraged by this.¹ After 1904 he was more enthusiastic about publishing his poetry, but his attempts to place it ran into considerable difficulties. His lack of formal connection with the Symbolist movement meant that he did not have contacts with their journals and almanachs, which more or less monopolised the publication of lyric poetry after 1900. Sergei Sokolov, the editor of the short-lived Moscow journal Pereval, was prepared to accept some of Annensky's lyrics, but considered others too esoteric:

Относительно стихотворения: Ваше „Невозможно“ -- вещь изысканная и утонченная. Но пока „Перевал“ не занял твердой позиции, нельзя нам печатать вещей, рассчитанных на немногих избранных. (КО 655)

1. Avrely, 'Nik. T--o. Tikhie pesni'; Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh, 5, 619-621

Other Symbolists were less sympathetic. Bely found Annensky's efforts to get his poetry published ridiculous, as Gromov records:

В позднейших мемуарах Андрея Белого об Анненском рассказывается как о смешном старомодном пожилом человеке, непостижимо почему вдруг в 900-е годы затолкавшимся по редакциям со своими стихами.¹

Annensky's problems continued even after he joined the editorial board of Apollon. His influence in the journal was less wide-ranging than he had hoped, and his plans for publishing his own poetry were restricted by Makovsky. In November 1909 Annensky, upset that some of his lyrics had not appeared in the second issue of Apollon, wrote an embittered letter to Makovsky:

Я был, конечно, очень огорчен тем, что мои стихи не пойдут в „Аполлоне“. Из Вашего письма я понял, что это были серьезные причины. Жаль только, что Вы хотите видеть в моем желании, чтобы стихи были напечатаны именно в 2 № -- каприз. [...] Мне очень досадно, что печатание расстроилось. (КО 494)

In early 1909, Annensky began to compile a second collection of poems, and to start looking for a publisher for it. It was submitted to the Apollon press in mid-1909, but Makovsky procrastinated with the edition. Eventually, Voloshin helped Annensky place it with the Grif publishing house.² Annensky then set about revising the manuscript for publication, but the revisions were cut short by his death, and the volume, Kiparisovyi

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1. Gromov, A. Blok, ego predshestvenniki, 220. G. gives no exact reference, and it has therefore not been possible to trace the passage in Bely to which he refers.
 2. Timenchik, 'O sostave', 307-8

larets, appeared posthumously in 1910. It was edited by the author's son Valentin Krivich, himself a minor Symbolist poet. And Annensky's literary reputation before 1909 can be gauged by the fact that his son published as many lyrics in periodicals and almanachs as he did himself.¹ After Annensky's death, interest grew.

Kiparisovyi larets was reviewed favourably by important figures in the literary world.² His lyrics began to be published in greater quantities in periodicals, above all in Apollon.³

Interest in Annensky's lyric poetry continued after the Revolution. In 1923 Tikhie pesni and Kiparisovyi larets were republished, and in the same year Krivich put together Posmertnye stikhi, containing seventy-four original poems which had not previously been published, including one in French, 'Poésie dernière'. Krivich's memoir of his father also included several unpublished poems, mostly early works. Annensky's lyrics aroused only slight interest after 1925, but in 1939 the first collected edition of his works, Stikhotvoreniya, appeared; it made no new publications.

In 1959 a more ambitious edition of Annensky's lyric poetry was published to mark the fiftieth anniversary of his death: Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii, which remains

1. Masanov, Slovar' psevdonimov

2. For example, reviews by Avrely (Bryusov), Gumilev ('Pis'mo o russkoi poezii' 1910), Gofman.

3. 13 poems were published in Apollon in 1910-1911, 2 in Grif in 1913, 1 in Zhatva in 1916. (See notes to section 'Stikhtvoreniya, ne voshedshie v sbornik', ST 605-614)

the fullest edition of the lyrics. It contains all the poems previously published in collections and periodicals, except 'Poésie dernière'; eight poems are published for the first time, mostly parodies and book inscriptions. McDuff has dismissed Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii as 'rather selective', a description which he does not justify.¹ The main omissions, unless the TSGALI archive contains unpublished poems known only to McDuff, are the juvenilia and the prose poems.² Some of the latter appeared in Knigi otrazhenii, but most, like the juvenilia, remain unpublished. The publication of the remaining prose poems and juvenilia would only be justified on literary-historical grounds; judging by what has been published so far, Annensky's early experiments were of low quality.³

Two further editions of the lyrics have appeared in the Soviet Union, both based on Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii. Lirika, published in 1979, and edited by Fedorov, like both earlier collected editions, contains most of the lyrics in the 1959 edition except for the epigrams. Stikhotvoreniya i perevody (1981) is a curiosity. It is a large print-run (50,000) edition, abominably printed, with some astonishing errors: the poem 'On i ya' appears in it as 'On i ona' (page 104). Vladimir Tsybin's notes and introduction are uninteresting.

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1. McDuff, 'IA, poet and critic', 202
 2. A Soviet scholar I consulted said it was most unlikely that there are any unpublished mature lyrics in archives.
 3. Many of his prose poems have recently been found to be translations (see Fedorov, Innokenty Annensky, 81-4)

The only noteworthy Western publication of Annensky is the facsimile of Kiparisovyi larets (1910) brought out by Ardis in 1982. This otherwise useful volume has lamentable English translations by R.H. Morrison, too far from the original to be acceptable podstrochniki, but lacking any compensatory literary merit.

Annensky's poetry has been more widely published than his other works, most of it being readily accessible, unlike his essays, plays and translations. But one textological problem has preoccupied all Annensky specialists. Like most Symbolists, he paid close attention to the composition of his collections. Individual lyrics are arranged in mini-cycles, which are in turn ordered within the collection itself. In Tikhie pesni, groups of two and three poems are grouped under a single title: for example, 'Bessonnitsy' is the general title given to a group of three poems, 'Bessonnitsa rebenka', 'Parki -- bab'e lepetan'e"' and 'Daleko... daleko' (ST 509). Other poems, e.g. the three 'Muchitel'nye sonety', are not printed together, but are linked by their subject matter and titles into groups which cut across the linear order of the collection.

Kiparisovyi larets is also composed of micro-cycles, mostly of three poems and titled 'trilistniki', 'trefoils'. The obvious problem is that the arrangement of the book had not been resolved by Annensky's death, and, as Fedorov points out, it is unclear to what extent Krivich determined the book's final form. (ST 582) Recently the Soviet

scholar Roman Timenchik discovered important new evidence about the composition of Kiparisovyi larets: a letter from Annensky's stepdaughter and confidante Ol'ga Khmara-Barshchevskaya to Krivich containing a copy of a planned layout of the sbornik which Annensky had sent her in 1909. Unfortunately, the plan predates Annensky's death by several months, and so cannot be used as evidence of his final intentions, but it does confirm that the divisions of the collection and their titles, 'trilistniki, skladni, razmetannye listy', were Annensky's.¹

Annensky's poetry has received more critical attention than his other writings: it has been the subject of a monograph (by the Italian Slavist Bazzarelli), and several substantial articles. The publication of Setchkarev's book led to an Annensky vogue in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s; between 1970 and 1981 he was the subject of six doctoral dissertations, five of them devoted almost exclusively to the lyrics.² He has also been consistently popular in the Soviet Union and among Russian émigrés.

On closer scrutiny Annensky criticism turns out less healthy than it might seem. His popularity seems to have waned; little has been published on him since 1980. Many of the articles in Ingold's bibliography turn out, on examination, to deal with Annensky only in passing.³

1. Timenchik, 'O sostave', 309-311

2. Alexander, The Lyric Style of IA; Borker, Studies; Tittler; Nebolsine; Shapovaloff.

3. For example, Ivask, 'Poety dvadtsatogo veka'; Gifford, 'Imitation as a Poetic Mode'

Others are devoted to specialised areas, or to studies of his influence on later poets.¹

Why are there so few good general introductions to the lyrics? Perhaps because it is hard to generalize about them. On first reading his poetry appears as a series of fragmentary, disconnected or even contradictory utterances, which, though they contain few obscure or even unusual words, are yet stylistically baffling. Certainly there is an identifiable Annenskian manner. It was caught by Akhmatova in her early poem 'Podrazhanie Annenskomu': the elements are a self-absorbed lyric hero (often immersed in a book), a mutable suburban landscape, and a vague sense of uneasy nostalgia for a lost and nameless lover:

И с тобой, моей милой причудой,
Я простился. Восток голубел.
Просто молвила: „Я не забуду”.
Я не сразу поверил тебе.

Возникают, стираются лица.
Мил сегодня, а завтра далек.
Отчего же на этой странице
Я когда-то загнул уголок?

И всегда открывается книга
В том же месте. И странно тогда:
Всё как будто с прощального мига
Не прошли невозвратно года.

О, сказавший, что сердце из камня,
Знал наверно: оно из огня...
Никогда не пойму, ты близка мне
Или только любила меня.²

1. An example of the former genre is Baer on A. in Arthur Schopenhauer; of the latter, Khardzhiev on A. and Mayakovsky, and Ketchian on A. and Akhmatova.

2. Akhmatova, Stikhotvoreniya i poemy, 47

But there are many poems by Annensky, such as 'Drugomu', 'Poetu', 'Nervy', 'V vagone' and 'Peterburg', which are not 'Annenskian' in this manner at all.

The critic is not helped by external factors. The poems cannot be placed in chronological order, as Annensky dated very few of them. It seems likely that most of the poems in Tikhie pesni are earlier than those in Kiparisovyi larets, but the later collection cannot be interpreted as an organic development of the first. All that can be said is that Kiparisovyi larets is a more mature collection than Tikhie pesni; even this moderate statement would not be supported by all critics.¹ Nor is it possible to establish any order for the poems which Annensky did not include in his collections.

The lack of data also makes it difficult to discuss the creative history of individual lyrics; where two or more variants of a single poem exist, it is difficult to determine which is primary and which secondary.

Biographical criticism is quite unsuited to Annensky's poetry. Personal names and references to friends and relatives are almost absent. One of the few explicitly autobiographical poems is 'Sestre', an affectionate evocation of Annensky's childhood, and this is readily

1. Setchkarev, for example, disagrees. (Studies in the Life and Work of IA, 57)

understandable without any extra knowledge of his biography:

Вечер. Зеленая детская
С низким ее потолком,
Скучная книга немецкая,
Няня в очках и с чулком. (ST 159)

The suppression of dates and places means that the poems cannot be seen as a lyrical diary. They transcend personal experience. Despite the concrete settings of many poems, and the specific objects mentioned in them, they are curiously anonymous. In the opening stanzas of 'Toska belogo kamnya' a town is described:

Камни млеют в истоме,
Люди залиты светом,
Есть ли города летом
Вид постыло-знакомей?

В трафарете готовом
Он -- узор на посуде...
И не все ли равно вам:
Камни там или люди? (ST 120)

The subscript to the poem indicates that it was written in Simferopol', but this information does not contribute to reading it; it might as well have been set in Petersburg or Tsarskoe Selo, since local colour is entirely absent. Similarly, 'Lunnaya noch' v iskhode zimy' becomes no more comprehensible when one learns which particular branch of the Russian railways it was written on (between Vologda and Tot'ma) (ST 106-7).

The vague settings of the poems do not lend themselves to biographical elucidation, though Makovsky attempted this when he argued that the theme of disappointed love

in Annensky's poetry was the reflection of a real-life tragic love affair.¹

Other critics have adopted a more sophisticated biographical approach: moved by sympathy ^{for} ~~of~~ Annensky's early death and complicated medical history, they have placed undue emphasis on motifs of sickness, death and decay in his lyrics:

Впрочем, не в этих, в конце концов, жалких лебедях все дело; и акации, тонкие, трепетно шуршащие, с такою мелкою дрожью, и голые ветви сухой липы, и китайский павильон, и небо, так по-царскосельски призрачное, а главное -- какая-то случайная, раз навсегда сложившаяся ассоциация -- заставляют здесь вспоминать... здесь говорить... или -- если уж до того расчувствоваться -- так читать траурную книгу романтика-символиста, нашего раннего символиста, нашего величайшего символиста.²

A popular variant of the biographical approach is the attempt to characterise Annensky's philosophical and political views on the evidence of his poetry. There have been two main branches of this essentially futile activity. Émigré critics have tried to convert Annensky to Christianity, attributing the melancholy of some of his poems to a failure to find God. Khodasevich, whose normal piercing wit and intelligence appear to have deserted him in this instance, wrote in 'Ob Annenskom' that Annensky, like Tolstoy's Ivan Il'ich, realised the futility of life without religion:

Для обоих спасение заключалось в том, если бы свои „чувство и мысли“, свое человеческое „я“ сумели бы они подчинить тому высшему руководству, которое дается религией, если бы свою мучительную (у Анненского к

1. Makovsky, 'IA', 230

2. Punin, 'Problema zhizni', 47. See also Introduction, 4-5

тому же мятежную, бунтарскую, язвительную), но у
обоих одинаково страстную любовь к жизни, осветили
они любовью к Богу.¹

This view was developed with less elegance and more inanity
by Nebol'sin and Kreps.² In fact the strongest
religious element in Annensky's poetry, expressed in
for example 'U svyatogo Stefana', 'Buddiiskaya messa v
Parizhe' and 'Kulachishka' is sarcastic contempt for
Christian and non-Christian ritual.

The mirror-image of the emigre reading is the attempt
made by some Soviet critics to claim Annensky as a
socialist. Some of his poems, for example 'Starye estonki'
are held to reflect his support for the 1905 revolution
and for progressive politics. Fedorov argues that
Annensky's political commitment is evident in many poems
(ST 24). His poetry is anti-religious and anti-mystical:

Несомненно, [...] что мировоззрение, стоящее за
всем этим, не совпадает с идеализмом религиозным,
утешающим человека мыслью о зогробном воздаянии за
земные муки. Анненский отказывается от мистических
и религиозных иллюзий идеализма. (ST 38)

Fedorov's arguments, which are reiterated with still
greater fervour in his recent book, have a specific
political context: he is presenting Annensky as a
suitable candidate for inclusion in the Soviet political
canon, and justifying the republication of his works.
They are an excusable misrepresentation of Annensky,

1. Khodasevich, 'Ob Annenskom', 137

2. Nebol'sin, 'Poeziya poshlosti'; Kreps, 'Analiz
stikhotvoreniya' maintains that A. was a devout
Orthodox, but gives no evidence for this.

but a misrepresentation nonetheless. Annensky's lyrics reflect the same lack of interest in political and historical issues which was evident in his literary essays. He rarely alludes to current political events in his poems, and the Mother-Russian nationalism characteristic of certain other Symbolists, such as Blok, is absent.

The difficulties of Annensky's verse have been better handled by those critics concentrating on the text's linguistic level. One possible approach is close analysis of individual poems. David Borker's thesis concentrates on four short lyrics by Annensky, 'Verbnaya nedelya', 'Ledyanaya tyur'ma', 'Posle kontserta' and 'V vagone'. His analysis of certain references and images in 'Verbnaya nedelya' is especially helpful: he illuminates aspects of Orthodox ritual which may have suggested the puzzling reference to 'kheruvim' in the last line.¹ The problem with this approach is that the critic concentrates precisely on the sort of local and personal detail which - is not important in Annensky.

Annensky criticism by those working in the traditions of Formalism and semiotics, such as Ginzburg, Lotman, Kushner and Igor' Smirnov, has been more productive, since it illuminates the structural and organising principles of Annensky's poetry and, which is just as important, its internal conflict and dissonance.²

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1. Borker, Studies, 14 ff. For a briefer and more readable version of this analysis, see Borker's 'Intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of structure'
 2. Ginzburg, 'Veshchnyi mir', Lotman, Analysis of the Poetic Text, 107-113; Kushner, 'Intonatsionnaya nerovnost'; Smirnov, Khudozhestvennyi smysl, 72-84

Lidiya Ginzburg's 'Veshchnyi mir' is probably the best available general introduction to the lyrics.

The manifestly self-conscious character of Annensky's verse, with its epigraphs, literary references, and use of stock themes and motifs, has dictated the last significant trend in annenskovedenie: the study of how his lyrics relate to the literary tradition. This approach has been particularly popular in the last fifteen years. Subtexts have been identified for numerous poems; quotations and reminiscences of a more general kind have also been discussed.¹ But much still remains to be done. Most commentators have confined their observations to nineteenth-century Russian authors (notably Chekhov, Tyutchev and Pushkin) or to French Symbolist poets (notably Verlaine and Mallarmé). The influence of German Romanticism has gone unremarked.² There are even obvious gaps in coverage of the nineteenth-century Russian tradition: no work has been done on the connection between Pushkin's 'More' and Annensky's 'Prostimsya, more'.

Classical and neo-classical tradition is an almost completely neglected area. As has been argued above, Annensky's professional life was dominated by his interest in the Ancient World, his theories about classical literature being central to his literary activities. It has also

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1. See Borker, 'A. and Pushkin's "Osen"''; Cherny, 'A. i Tyutchev'; Ivask, 'A. und Čechov'; Prutskov, 'A.P. Čechov i IFA'
 2. Ritz, 150 Jahre russische Heine-Übersetzung has nothing on Heine reminiscences in A's original poetry.

been recorded that his main love, apart from Attic tragedy, was classical lyric poetry. It would be remarkable were his own lyric poetry to bear no trace of his classical interests. But little critical work has been done on this central question; even introductory pieces, such as Setchkarev's book and Ginzburg's article, almost ignore it. Setchkarev argues that French Symbolism was the only literary tradition important to Annensky:

There is unquestionably a very strong connection between Annenskij and French symbolism. Baudelaire, Mallarmé and many minor Symbolist poets influenced him so strongly that he tried to write exactly as they did.¹

A few critics have touched on the subject, but have argued that Annensky's poetry does not reflect his interest in the classics at all. Fedorov writes:

Для оценки Анненского важен один факт. Этот замечательный филолог-классик, переводчик Еврипида, знаток античного мира и ценитель его художественных памятников, в своих собственных стихах совершенно не обращается к античной тематике, к античным мотивам, которые всегда давали такой эстетически благодарный материал поэтам, желавшим бежать от жизни в „башню из слоновой кости“, в мир „чистой красоты“. (ST 29)

Fedorov's remarks are partly prompted by the dubious standing of classical literature and of neo-classicism, which has led another critic to apologise for Belinsky because he admired the neo-classical poetry of Maikov.² But Western critics not subject to the same constraints have also ignored classical elements in Annensky. Lubov

1. Setchkarev, Studies in the Life and Work of IA, 54

2. Priima, 'Poeziya A.N. Maikova' in Maikov, Izbrannye proizvedeniya, 6

Shapovaloff says:

Unlike many of his fellow poets, Annenskii, though himself a classicist and an expert on classical literature, avoided the use of tropes traditional in classical literature, particularly its mythological paraphernalia, perceiving their exhaustion for his era.¹

Ivask acknowledges Annensky's 'modernised, nervy classicism', but does not discuss in detail what this is.²

Such conclusions are based on a common misconception of Annensky's attitude to the classics. All critics have assumed that he was an outstanding classical scholar. They therefore expect recondite classical references and a parade of knowledge of classical texts and myth in his lyrics. But the classicism of Annensky's poetry is anti-academic, and this is in keeping with the non-scholarly approach of his literary essays, and with his strictures on the excessive academicism of Ivanov and Bryusov.

There are almost no citations from classical literature in Annensky's poetry. One important exception is the epigraph to 'Mesyats'; as Setchkarev points out, this is a fragment of the Aeneid, 1, 71.³ The line reads 'Sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore nymphae', or 'I have twice seven sea-maidens of surpassing beauty'. The source of the reference is of little significance; Annensky's poem is a light-hearted address to the moon,

1. Shapovaloff, 'IFA', 166-7

2. Ivask, 'Poety-liriki drevnei Ellady i Rima v perevode Ya. Golosovkera'

3. Setchkarev, Studies in the Life and Work of IA, 94

not a speech by the moon, and the only connection with Virgil is that the moon is personified:

Уж не ты ль колдуешь, жемчужный,
 Ты, кому остальные ненужны,
 Их не твой ли развел и ущерб,
 На горелом пятне желтосерп,
 Ты, скиталец небес празднодумый,
 С иронической думой? (ST 161)

There are no other epigraphs from classical authors to Annensky's lyric poems; even Euripides, on whom he worked for nearly twenty years, is absent. Annensky did not address any poems to Euripides or to his characters; there is only one reference to his plays, in the poem 'Drugomu'.

Annensky's poems depart from mythological tradition. The stock figures of neo-classical poetry, for instance Diana, Endymion, Narcissus, do not appear. There are no historical narrative poems on classical themes in the manner of Maikov's 'Ovidii', Polonsky's 'Kassandra' or Fet's 'Son i Pasifaya', in which narrative voice and recorded episode are contemporaneous. Annensky does not adopt a pseudo-classical persona, as Verlaine did in the poem 'Langueur', translated by Annensky as 'Tomlenie':

Я -- бледный римлянин эпохи Апостата.
 Покуда портик мой от гула бойни тих,
 Я стилем золотым слагаю акrostих,
 Где умирает блеск пурпурного заката.
 Не медью тяжкою, а скукой грудь объята,
 И пусть кровавый стяг там веет на других,
 Я не люблю трубы, мне дики стоны их,
 И нестерпим венки, лишенный аромата. (ST 270)

None of Annensky's poems is actually set in classical Greece

or Rome, or even at one of the famous sites. His Italienische Reise in the 1890s does not seem to have borne fruit, unlike Goethe's. The only lyric which is set in Italy, 'Villa Nazionale', describes a firework display in Naples, and has no connection with the country's classical past (ST 79). There are no travel-pictures of modern Greece, and no imaginative evocations of its classical past.

Annensky greatly admired the Parnassians, in particular Leconte de Lisle, whom he described as his teacher, and he wrote occasional 'epiphanies' in the Parnassian manner, in which a vision of the classical world is translated to a modern setting (as in 'Épiphanie', or 'Yavlenie bozhestva'). In Annensky's poem 'Kartinka' the poet's journey through a wet, dreary Russian landscape is transformed by the appearance of a peasant girl riding a horse who seems like a figure from another world:

Да, заснешь... чтоб быть без шапки.
 Вот дела... -- Держи к одной!
 Вгрядь -- замотанная в тряпки
 Амазонка перед мной. [....]

И в тумане затрусила
 Чтоб исчезнуть, как мираж. (ST 136)

But, unlike Leconte de Lisle, Annensky does not stress the divinity of the apparition, and the only word which links the girl to the classical world is amazonka, which is regularly used loosely in Russian to mean 'horsewoman' (as in Severyanin's poem 'Amazonka'). In 'Kartinka' the change of mood produced in the hero is emphasised, not the beauty and perfection of the vision. Annensky's

neo-classical dramas resemble Leconte de Lisle's in some respects, but he seems to have made little attempt to imitate the French writer in his lyrics.

The 'Anacreontic' lyric was one genre of neo-classical poetry which was particularly favoured in nineteenth-century Russia: light verse on wine, women and roses. Fet's poem 'Vakkhanka' typifies the genre; Maikov's 'Epikureiskie pesni' are a less explicit variant:

Мирта Киприды мне дай!
 Что мне гирлянды цветные?
 Миртом любви увенчай,
 Юноша, кудри золотые!

Мирта зеленой лозой
 Старцу венчавшись, отрадно
 Пить под беседкой густой,¹
 Крытой лозой виноградной.

Annensky did not write conventional love lyrics. His poetry follows the command made by Rilke to his correspondent in the Briefe an einen jungen Dichter, 'Schreiben Sie nicht Liebesgedichte'.² But occasionally he used traditional Anacreontic imagery in lyrics about inanimate objects, e.g. 'Dal'nie ruki':

Вы -- гейши фонарных свечений,
 Пять роз, обрученных стеблю,
 Но нет у Киприды священной
 Не сказанных вами люблю. (ST 149)

Annensky's poetry also departs from the traditions of the Symbolist neo-classical revival. There are no

1. Maikov, Izbrannye proizvedeniya, 72

2. Rilke, Briefe an einen jungen Dichter, 8

rococo trifles in the manner of Kuzmin and Benois, and there is nothing which resembles Ivanov's pseudo-erudite high-flown mysticism in some of his lyrics (for example 'Podrazhaniya Platonu'):

Сереброкрылые, пред скорою кончиной
Подъемлют лебеди дотоль им чуждый глас
И сладостно поют над влажною равниной,
Поют, блаженные, что близок воли час.

Что бога своего узрят чрез миг единый,
Едва земного дня последний луч угас...
Пророкам Феба верь! верь песни лебединой:
Удел отрадный ждет за гранью жизни нас.¹

The introverted, restrained tone of Annensky's poetry is different in spirit from Ivanov's hymnic addresses to classical gods; his statements are private, not public.

Classicism is almost absent from the surface of Annensky's verse; there are few overt references to classical texts or myths. But at a deeper level, the classical tradition is very important; references to it are buried, and the reader must puzzle them out. One of the few critics to have perceived this is Jean Alexander, who writes:

Annensky's poems are noticeably free of specific literary references and cultural allusions -- artistic, historical, or philosophical. [....] The cultural tradition is present not in references which can be traced back to particular sources, but in vaguely suggestive objects, themes, words and atmosphere.²

Annensky's method in his lyrics recalls his own description

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1. Ivanov, Sobranie sochinenii, 1, 786
 2. Alexander, The Lyric Style of IA, 116

of Verlaine's poem 'Je devine à travers un murmure' (which he translated as 'Nachertaniya vetkoi triodi', ST 267). Annensky praised Verlaine's skill in concealing the concrete object to which he referred:

Представьте себе фарфоровые севрские часы, и на них выжжено красками, как Горы качают Амура. Горы -- молодые, но самые часы старинные. И вот поэт под ритм этого одинокого ухода часов задумался на одну из своих любимых тем о смерти, т.е., конечно, своей смерти. Мягко-монотонное чередование женских рифм никогда бы, кажется, не кончилось, но эту манию разрешает формула рисунка: „Вот от таких бы качалей умереть“.

Чтобы скрыть от нас картину, породившую его стихи, Верлен заинтриговал нас, вместо мифологических Гор поставив слово часы с маленькой букви, и вместо Амура -- написав любовь, как чувство. (КО 356)

In Annensky's translations, essays and plays, his relationship to the classical tradition is obvious; in his poetry, it is concealed. The lyric texts are 'neomythological', to borrow Mints' useful term, not 'mythological':

Если внутри художественного мира романтического произведения миф выступает как выражение, а образ и воззрения автора оказываются его глубинным содержанием, то в „неомифологических“ текстах русского символизма, напротив, план выражения задается картинами современной или исторической жизни или историей лирического „я“, а план содержания образует соотнесение изображаемого с мифом. Миф, таким образом, получает функцию „языка“, „цифра-кода“, проясняющего тайный смысл происходящего.¹

Identifying the altered character of Annensky's lyrics is straightforward; the problem is, why the alteration? The vague allusions are consonant with the abstraction of the lyrics; and they reflect a changed relationship with the reader. Annensky's poetry was intended for a

1. Mints, 'O nekotorykh "neomifologicheskikh" tekstakh', 93

more intimate audience than his essays or plays. Unlike his other works, his lyrics were not written as manifestos of the virtues of classical literature, or as illustrations of how particular classical genres could be reworked. Many Symbolists, for example Ivanov and Merezhkovsky, wrote for a closed circle of initiates; the classical references in their poetry made it incomprehensible to those not part of the circle. The idea that poetry should be wilfully obscure and understood only by the few was quite alien to Annensky. As Gumilev said, he wrote his poems for no special reader, or to put it differently, for any reader:

Я спросил вас, кому вы пишете стихи, не зная, думали ли вы об этом... Но мне кажется, вы их пишете самому себе. А еще можно писать стихи другим людям или Богу. Как письма.¹

In many poems by Annensky there is no evidence of classicism even in a shadowy form. In 'Garmoniya', for instance, there are typically Symbolist motifs of decay, nostalgia and the divided self:

А где-то там мятутся средь огня
Такие ж я, без счета и названья,
И чье-то молодое за меня
Кончается в тоске существованье. (ST 166)

Other poems, such as 'Chto schast'e?' conform in every way with the traditions of reflective and philosophical poetry laid down by Baratynsky and Tyutchev:

1. Quoted Adamovich, 'Veчер u Annenskogo', 215. Annensky's reply is not recorded.

Что счастье? Чад безумной речи?
 Одна минута на пути,
 Где с поцелуем жадной встречи
 Слилось неслышное прости? (ST 196)

But the 'vaguely suggestive' allusions, as Jean Alexander put it, are extremely important, and merit discussion at greater length than has been allowed in previous critical writings.¹ The reader of Annensky's poetry does not need to be an expert on classical literature and mythology, but some knowledge of his interpretation of the classical ideal and his idiosyncratic views on classical literature is essential if key references in the poems are to be understood. Annensky's poetry is similar to Mandelstam's; Mandelstam was not a classical scholar either, but he delighted in making oracular and indirect references to the classical tradition, as Taranovsky points out:

Though taken with the music of [Mandelstam's] verse and his exquisite imagery, I was annoyed with my inability to understand the cryptic messages of certain of his poems, to grasp their 'deep meaning'. [...] Subsequently I came to believe that in order to understand his poetic world, one had to acquire Mandelstam's culture, as far as possible.²

Appropriately, it was Mandelstam who gave the best definition of Annensky's classicism: 'domestic Hellenism':

Он знал расстояние, чувствовал его пафос и холод,
 и никогда не сближал внешне русского и эллинского
 мира. Урок творчества Анненского для русской
 поэзии не эллинизация, а внутренний эллинизм,
 адекватный духу русского языка, так сказать,

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1. Alexander discusses some classical motifs in The Lyric Style, but her analysis is brief and unsystematic. (92 ff)
 2. Taranovsky, Essays on Mandelstam, v

домашний эллинизм.¹

Annensky's references to the classical world occur in three contexts: 1. in poems about poetry; 2. in poems which rework standard, 'anthology', neo-classical themes, such as statue poems, poems about architecture; 3. in mythic poems about the urban landscape, for example 'Oktyabr'skii mif' (ST 122).

The thematic functions of Annensky's classical allusions vary in different lyrics, but there is a unifying factor. In all there is a dialogue, often a violent dialogue, between classicism and Romanticism, or classicism and Symbolism, and in several poems he re-examines the Romantic tradition. In two poems, 'Ego' and 'Net, mne ne zhal'', Annensky attacks Romantic feeling for Nature. In 'Ego' the German Romantic's active participation in Nature, suggested by a reference to mountain-climbing, is contrasted with the contemplative attitude of the decadent:

Я -- слабый сын больного поколения
И не пойду искать альпийских роз,
Ни ропот волн, ни рокот ранних гроз
Мне не дадут отрадного вольнения.

Но милы мне на розовом стекле
Алмазные и плачущие горы,
Букеты роз увядших на столе
И пламени вечернего узору. (ST 182)

The subtext of the second poem is probably Goethe's 'Ich ging im Walde', a poem of his middle years. The lyric hero is persuaded not to pick a flower; he uproots it to

1. Mandelstam, Sobranie sochinenii, 2, 254

plant it in his garden:

Ich wollt' es brechen,
Da sagt' es fein:
Soll ich zum Welken
Gebrochen sein?

Ich grub's mit allen
Den Würzlein aus,
Zum Garten trug ich's
Am hübschen Haus.

Und pflanzt' es wieder
Am stillen Ort;
Nun zweigt es immer
Und blüht so fort.

In Annensky's poem, Goethe's civic feeling of responsibility towards Nature is contrasted with an aesthete's selfish joy in beauty, whatever the cost:

Нет, мне не жаль цветка, когда его сорвали,
Чтоб он завял в моей сверкающей бокале.

Сыпучей черноты меж розовых червей,
Откуда вырван он, -- что может быть мертвей?

И нежных глаз моих миражной мечтою
Неужто я пятна багрового не стою,

Пятна, горящего в пустыне голубой,
Чтоб каждый чувствовал себя одним собой? (ST 197)

There is a straightforward contrast between the poems in which Annensky re-examines the classical tradition, and those in which he discusses the Romantic tradition. At a deeper level, in the classical poems there is complex interplay between the classical tradition and the Modernist approach to literature. Indirect classical references appear in combination with Symbolist language and imagery.

1. Goethe, Gedichte, 255

1. Classicism in poems about poetry

In Annensky's first collection, Tikhie pesni, there are several poems in which poetry is personified, normally as a woman who bears some resemblance to the Muse of classical and neo-classical tradition. In the first part of the collection, 'Poeziya', this woman appears; she has divine status, and lives on a mountain-top, like the Greek Muses; her dress is classical (sandals):

Над высью пламенной Синая,
 Любить туман Ее лучей,
 Молиться Ей, Ее не зная,
 Тем безнадежно горячей. (ST 66)

But as he describes the Muse, Annensky distances himself from the classical tradition. Some of the images used are Biblical: the Muse stands on Sinai, not on Parnassus; and, like a Christian saint, she lives in the desert. The poet will not offer the conventional sacrifice of incense and a wreath, topoi of neo-classical poetry. The first line of Maikov's 'Poeziya' reads: 'Lyubi, lyubi kamen, kuri im fimiam!' ¹ The Muse which Annensky seeks synthesises Greek and Biblical tradition.

The poet, too, has a classical guise in Tikhie pesni. In '?' he is a wise man, a seer (Homer?):

Пусть для ваших открытых сердец
 До сих пор это -- светлая фея
 С упоительной лирой Орфея,
 Для меня это -- старый мудрец. (ST 77)

In one of the longer poems, 'Rozhdenie i smert' poeta', a dialogue for two choruses and a speaker written for Pushkin's centenary, the poet is praised and urged to

1. Maikov, Izbrannye proizvedeniya, 64

become a star, the traditional fate of classical heroes and heroines (Orion, Perseus, Andromeda):

А здесь печальной чередою
 Всё ночь над ними стелет сень,
 О тень, о радостная тень,
 Стань вифлеемскою звездою,
 Алмазом на ее груди --
 И к дому бога нас веди! (ST 89)

A classical image for the poet also appears in an undated poem first published in 1959; the poet is an archer and cithara player (both traditional roles of Apollo in classical mythology):

Но для меня свершился выдел,
 И вот каким его я видел:
 Злаченно-белый --
 прямо с елки --
 Был кифаред он и стрелец. (ST 218)

In all these poems there are non-classical elements. Apollo is pryamo s elki, a phrase which has cosy domestic Russian connotations, and the word strelets means not any archer, but a member of the elite Old Russian Strel'tsy corps. The old man and seer in '?' is explicitly contrasted with Orpheus, a traditional classical and neo-classical poet symbol. Pushkin is to become a star, like classical poets, after his death, but the star which he is to become is the Star of Bethlehem.

The figures representing poetry and the poet in Tikhie pesni are harmonious; the alien, non-classical elements are not dissonant, and do not disrupt them. In Annensky's later collection, Kiparisovyi larets, the figures representing poetry are more puzzling, and in many cases also more threatening. Their link with

the classical tradition is weaker. In 'Moya toska', Annensky's last dated poem, poetry is represented by a figure whose only connection with the classical tradition is that she is female and wears a wreath:

В венке из тронутых, из вянущих азалий,
Собралась петь она... Не смолк и первый стих,
Как маленьких детей у ней перевязали,
Сломали руки им и ослепили их. (ST 171)

Her other characteristics, depravity and debauchery, link her with Polonsky's nightmare visions in his 'Muza' poems:

Без веры в ясный идеал
Смешно ей было вдохновенье,
И звонкий голос заглушал
Мое рифмованное пение.
Смешон ей был весь наш Парнас
И нами пойманная кляча --
Давно измученный Пегас;
Но этот смех -- предвестник плача --
Не разу не поссорил нас.¹

The pedigree of Annensky's 'Toska' can also be traced in such French Symbolist poems as Rollinat's 'L'ami', translated by Annensky as 'Priyatel'' (ST 297), and Mallarmé's 'Le don d'un poème', which describes the painful birth of a sickly infant like the doomed malen'kie deti of 'Moya toska'.²

In Tikhie pesni Annensky's presentation of poetry was concrete and static; in Kiparisovyi larets it is abstract and dynamic. The personifications of poetry are ambiguous; they are found in fewer poems than before.

1. Polonsky, Stikhotvoreniya i poemy, 197

2. Annensky translated 'Le don d'un poème' as 'Dar poemy' (ST 287)

The emphasis is now on polemical and programmatic discussions of classical style.

The most important instance of Annensky's use of classical elements in his later poetry is 'Drugomu', which Karlinsky described as central to his poetics.¹ Since it is also central to this chapter, it is quoted in full below:

ДРУГОМУ

Я полюбил безумный твой порыв,
Но быть тобой и мной нельзя же сразу.
И, вещей снов иероглифы раскрыв,
Узорную пишу я четко фразу.

Фигурно там отобразился страх,
И как тоска бумага сердца мяла,
Но по строкам, как призрак на пирах,
Тень движется так деланно и вяло.

Твои мечты -- менады по ночам,
И лунный вихрь в сверкании размаха
Им волны кос взметает по плечам.
Мой лучший сон -- за тканью Андромаха.

На голове ее эшафодаж,
И тот прикрыт кокетливо платочком.
Зато нигде мой строгий карандаш
Не уступал своих созвучий точкам.

Ты весь -- огонь. И за костром ты чист.
Испепелишь, но не оставишь пятен.
И бог ты там, где я лишь моралист,
Ненужный гость, неловок и невнятен.

Пройдут года... Быть может, месяца...
Иль даже дни, и мы сойдем с дороги:
Ты -- в лепестках душистого венца,
Я просто так, задвинутый на дроги.

1. Karlinsky, 'Veshchestvennost' A.', 78

Наперекор завистливой судьбе
И нищете убого-слабодушной,
Ты памятник оставишь по себе,
Незыблемый, хоть сладостно-воздушный...

Моей мечты бесследно минет день...
Как знать? А вдруг с душой, подвижной моря,
Другой поэт ее полюбит тень
В нетронуто-торжественном уборе...

Полюбит, и узнает, и поймет,
И увидав, что тень проснулась, дышит, --
Благословит немой ее полет
Среди людей, которые не слышат...

Пусть только бы в кружении бытия
Не вышло так, что этот дух влюбленный,
Мой брат и маг не оказался я,
В ничтожестве слегка лишь подновленный. (ST 156)

'Drugomu' is part of the second section of Kiparisovyi larets, 'Skladni' or diptyches. (This disposition is preserved in the rough plan published by Timenchik and in both editions of Kiparisovyi larets). It is clear from the numbering in the original plan that 'Drugomu' has no pairing, but was itself considered a diptych, like some of the other poems in the section.¹ The poem which follows 'Drugomu', 'On i ya', describes how the lyric hero rejects pleasurable surrender to the seductive powers of music. Others indulge themselves, but he selects certain tones from the mass, like a piano tuner:

А я лучей иной звезды
Ищу в сомненьи и тревожно,
Я, как настройщик, все лады
Перебираю осторожно.

1. Timenchik, 'O sostave', 311

'Drugomu' is also antithetical. It is a speech by the lyrical I, 'ya', to the 'Other', addressed as 'ty'. More has been written on this poem than on any other lyric by Annensky, and opinions have diverged. There are two current critical views. Jean Alexander feels that 'Drugomu' is to be understood as a dialogue between Annensky and his alter ego, or subconscious self, and that it can be linked with 'Dvoinik' and 'Kotoryi' from Tikhie pesni:

'Drugomu', then, is not so much a polemic as an analysis of a psychological dilemma, Annenskii's own, to be sure, but¹ by extension that of the contemporary artist.

The other interpretation of 'Drugomu' sees it precisely as a polemic: it is a poetic manifesto in which Annensky expresses his disaffection with mainstream Symbolism. This reading originated in Gumilev's review of Kiparisovyi larets, published in 1910.² It has been repeated by Karlinsky, Setchkarev, Gromov and Ingold in their critiques of 'Drugomu'.³

It would be a mistake to imply that the poem can only be read in one way; it is difficult and ambiguous. But the placing of it with 'On i ya' and its structure suggest that it is not simply an elaboration of the theme of the divided self. The Other is distinguished from the lyrical I throughout the poem and is everywhere

1. Alexander, 'A and the "Other"', 227

2. Gumilev, 'Pis'mo o russkoi poezii', 1910

3. Karlinsky, 'Veshchestvennost' A', 78; Setchkarev, Studies, 70; Gromov, A. Blok, 218-220; Ingold, IA. Sein Beitrag zur Poetik, 135-143

addressed as 'ty', which does not apply to the alter ego in 'Kotoryi' and 'Dvoinik'. Neither of these poems is addressed to the problems of artistic creation, as 'Drugomu' is.

My reading of 'Drugomu' amplifies the traditional view. I believe that it addresses itself primarily to the specific problems of the Russian neo-classical poet, and the choices which confront him, not to the general psychological issues of the divided self and of artistic creation.

In the opening stanzas of 'Drugomu', Annensky characterises his own poetry. It is contemplative: he has 'deciphered the hieroglyphics of prophetic dreams'; it is lucid, chetkii, but decorative and formally beautiful: figurnyi and uzornyi. It is emotionally restrained: Annensky does not submit to the bezumnyi poryv of the Other, and he is a moralist. His pencil is 'strict' and he has not surrendered its assonances to 'points' (tochki) -- a rather puzzling reference. It is possible that Annensky means 'points of view', or polemical points which fall outside the proper domain of poetry. He could, on the other hand, be using a metaphor from the visual arts, and contrasting the indefinite technique of impressionism, or pointillisme, with his own strong outlines, strogii karandash.

Felix Ingold pointed out that Annensky's view of his work in 'Drugomu' is classical, and that it prefigures Kuzmin's essay 'O prekrasnoi yasnosti' and the manifestos

of the Acmeists:

Annenskij plädiert hier, etliche Jahre vor Kuzmin, für die prekrasnaja jasnost', die schöne Klarheit, für eine 'klassische Kunst', die dort beginnt, wo das Chaos besiegt ist.¹

Annensky attributes the traditional classical virtues of serenity, clarity, beautiful illusion and moral restraint to his own poetry, as he had to Horace's poetry in his essay on Apollon Maikov. In 'Drugomu', as in his essays, Annensky presents a view of classicism very close to Nietzsche's definition of the Apollonian principle:

Alles, was im apollinischen Teile der griechischen Tragödie, im Dialoge, auf die Oberfläche kommt, sieht einfach, durchsichtig, schön aus. [...] So überrascht uns die Sprache der sophokleischen Helden durch ihre apollinische Bestimmtheit und Helligkeit, so daß wir sofort bis in den innersten Grund ihres Wesens zu blicken wännen.²

The mechta or Muse who inspires Annensky's poetry is also Apollonian-classical. The words za tkan'yu suggest a reference to Homer's Andromache sitting at the loom (Iliad 6, 491). For Nietzsche, Homer was the archetypal Apollonian poet:

Die homerische Naivität ist nur als der vollkommene Sieg der apollinischen Illusion zu begreifen: es ist dies eine solche Illusion, wie sie die Natur, zur Erreichung ihrer Absichten, so häufig verwendet.³

Annensky's vision of his own poetry in 'Drugomu',

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1. Ingold, IA. Sein Beitrag zur Poetik, 141
 2. Nietzsche, Die Geburt der Tragödie, chapter 9
 3. Ibid., chapter 4

like that in 'Moya toska', has non-classical, dissonant elements, though these do not dominate the poem to the same extent. The composition of poetry is described in a typically Symbolist manner: it is the translation of eternal truths. And the completed work has decadent elements: it is 'wilting' (vyalyi) and 'affected' (delannyi). The culmination of this curious vision is the image of Andromache. Annensky has chosen a figure who exemplifies the classical tradition, popular outside Greece as well as in Greece. Besides appearing in the Iliad, Andromache is the eponymous heroine of a play by Euripides; she also appears in The Trojan Women, which Annensky described as his favourite Euripides play (KO 488). She is the heroine of plays by later authors, including Racine, and Annensky's compatriot Katenin. Annensky's Andromache does not resemble her predecessors, however. She wears an eshafodazh, presumably from the French 'echafaudage', which could mean 'a gallows' or 'an elaborate structure' (perhaps of hair) on her head, covered with a platochek (headscarf). The French word links her with Annensky's interest in French Symbolism, the homely platochek with Russian folk culture. Andromache, like the figure of Toska in 'Moya toska' is no harmonious synthesis, but an unsettling combination of discordant characteristics.

In 'Drugomu', as in his essays, Annensky's poetic ideal is modified neo-classicism, and, as there, it is defined in opposition to other views of poetry, in this case the view held by the Other. The Other's poetry is opposed

to Annensky's in every way. It is elemental, associated with fire, moon and sea. The Other is god-like and wreathed in laurels, and his poetry is transcendental and inspirational; it lacks the physical substance of Annensky's: it is sladostno-vozdushnyi, not chetkii or tochnyi. Its source is madness; it is described as 'a mad outburst' (bezumnyi poryv). Annensky's Muse is the homely and domesticated Andromache, but the Other's poetry is inspired by Maenads.

But the Other's work is united with Annensky's by allegiance to the classical tradition, to which Maenads, as well as Homeric heroines, belong. The Other's poetry is identified with the Dionysiac principle, which, like it, was associated with chaos, drunkenness, the sexual instinct and ecstasy:

Wenn wir zu diesem Grausen die wonnevolle Verzückung hinzunehmen, die bei demselben Zerbrechen des principii individuationis aus dem innersten Grunde des Menschen, ja die Natur emporsteigt, so tun wir einen Blick in das Wesen des Dionysischen, das uns am nächsten noch durch die Analogie des Rausches gebracht wird. [...] Es gibt Menschen, die aus Mangel an Erfahrung oder aus Stumpfsinn, sich von solchen Erscheinungen wie von „Volkskrankheiten“ spöttisch oder bedauernd im Gefühl der eigenen Gesundheit abwenden: die Armen ahnen freilich nicht, wie leichenfarbig und gespenstisch ebendiese ihre „Gesundheit“ sich ausnimmt, wenn an ihnen das glühende Leben dionysischer Schwärmer vorüberbraust.

Like Nietzsche, Annensky acknowledges that those who do not accept the Dionysiac spirit are inferior, even decadent. His Muse is 'a spectre at the feasts' and his

1. Nietzsche, Die Geburt der Tragödie, chapter 1

'I' has none of the Other's grandeur; honour passes him by even when he dies.

In 'Drugomu', Annensky's presentation of the conflict between the Apollonian and Dionysiac psychologies has a contemporary setting; it is not placed in the past, as it was in Famira-kifared. The language of the poem recalls Annensky's critique of Vyacheslav Ivanov's poetry in 'O sovremennom lirizme'. In the essay Annensky chose 'Pered zhertvoi', a poem about a Maenad, to illustrate Ivanov's style, and described him as a classical poet ('Vyacheslav Ivanov obuchil [menadu] po-grecheski' KO 329). None of the other Symbolists were referred to as classical; of Bryusov, he said 'Ellada nichego ne skazala by Valeriyu Bryusovu' (KO 346). Ivanov's poetry was described as transcendental, in contrast to Sologub's self-obsessive manner:

Вячеслав Иванов даже как будто кичится тем, что может уходить от своих созданий на какое хочет расстояние. (Находите, например, попробуйте, Вячеслава Иванова в „Тантале“. Нет, и не ищите лучше, он там и не бывал никогда.) (KO 348)

In 'Drugomu' the Other is said to 'burn up' the matter of his poems:

Ты весь -- огонь. И за костром ты чист.
Испепелишь, но не оставишь пятен.

The respectful tone of 'Drugomu' echoes 'O sovremennom lirizme', in which Ivanov is the only Symbolist (apart from Blok) described with sympathy; and also Annensky's only published letter to Ivanov, in which he recalls

their disagreements in the past, but reminds his correspondent of how close their positions are in reality, and looks forward to future harmony:

Когда-нибудь в капризной беглости звука, то влажно сжибаясь, то ропотно разбегаясь, связанные и не знающие друг друга, мы еще продолжим возникшее между нами недоразумение. Только не в узкости личной полемики, оправданий и объяснений, а в свободной дифференциации, в посмешном расцветении волнующей нас обеих Мысли. (КО 493-4)

Gromov points out that the characterisation of 'the Other' is close to that of the addressee in Blok's 'Vyacheslavu Ivanovu', a poem completed in 1912, but first conceived in 1909, the same year as 'O sovremennom lirizme'.

Blok also portrays Ivanov as an elemental force, with a status far above that of the beggarly narrator.¹

The link between Blok and Annensky's lyrics is emphasised by their form: both are in iambic metre, though Annensky's has five feet, not four, to a line; both are in four-line stanzas with alternate rhyme, and both have ten stanzas (which is unusually long for a poem by Annensky).

The contrast between the self-confidence, popularity and inspiration of the Other and the hesitancy and public neglect of the speaker in 'Drugomu' recalls the contrast between Sophocles and Euripides which Annensky had made in 'Antichnaya tragediya'. Sophocles had a synthetic intelligence, Euripides an analytical intelligence; Sophocles was unified where Euripides was fragmented:

1. Gromov, A. Blok, ego predshestvenniki, 218-220

Коренная разница заключается, может быть, в том, что синтетический ум Софокла мог с большим успехом оперировать над мифом, сохраняя его цельность, красоту и повышая его этическое значение, чем острый аналитический ум Еврипида.¹

The polemical character of 'Drugomu' did not restrict its audience when it was first written. Annensky's disagreements with Vyacheslav Ivanov on the nature of poetry were relatively well-known among the Symbolists; Makovsky recalls one of their disputes in his memoir of Vyacheslav Ivanov.² The first number of Apollon published a dialogue, 'Pchely i osy Apollona'; in it a 'Professor' (Annensky) airs his views to a circle of acquaintances; his main opponent is a certain 'Philosopher' (probably Vyacheslav Ivanov). The Professor's restrictive view of Apollo as a symbol for order and culture, a bulwark against Bacchic excess, is formulated in opposition to the Philosopher's opinion that Apollo and Dionysus are inseparable:

Философ

Аполлон и Дионис неразделимы. Нельзя мыслить об одном, забыв другого. Дельфийское жречество утверждало двуединую религию нераздельных и неслиянных богов. Белый лик Аполлона мне рисуется, как лик смерти. Я не вижу, куда может вести Аполлон в жизни.

Профессор

Для меня Аполлон -- символ культуры. Бог строя, меры, ясности, которого так недостает в наши дни смятенного хаоса. Я приветствую его возвращение на землю.

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1. 'Antichnaya tragediya', 39
 2. Makovsky, 'IA', 283-4
 3. 'Pchely i osy Apollona', 80, 81

In 'O sovremennom lirizme', Annensky condemned the Symbolists for conducting literary quarrels in poems with titles like 'Drugu i bratu' (KO 337). The irony is that his own 'Drugomu', as its title suggests, is just such a poem.

The final stanzas of 'Drugomu' take the dispute with the Other into different territory. A third character, an unknown future poet, is introduced. Annensky implies that, despite the status enjoyed in the present by the Other, it is his own poetry which will survive and inspire a reader in the future. In 'O sovremennom lirizme' he had complained that Dionysiac Symbolism was already outmoded:

Жасминовые тирсы наших первых менад примахались быстро.
Они давно уже опущены и -- по всей линии. Отошли
и иноземные уставщики оргий. (КО 328)

The references to the Other's 'monument' links him with the 'Pamyatnik' odes of Derzhavin and Pushkin, but it is Annensky's poetry which, like Pushkin's, will inspire another poet:

И славен буду я, доколь в ¹подлунном мире
Жив будет хоть один пиит.

Annensky's version of Pushkin's statement is modernised and is less confident; he hopes that his poetry will be remembered, and commends his 'brat i mag' into the hands of fate. But the final stanza is not as pessimistic as Jean Alexander suggested:

1. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v 10 tomakh, 3, 340

How could the brat i mag of such a ia be anything but its duplicate? [.....] Here Annenskii, in typical fashion, uses poetry to lament and explain the failure of poetry.¹

Like the heroes of his classical dramas, Annensky's poetry is a flawed and decadent representative of the classical tradition; but like them it survives despite its imperfections.

In another polemical poem addressed to a fellow-poet, 'Poetu', Annensky distinguishes again between two types of classicism: the cultic tradition of the mysteries, suggested by the figure of Isis, and the tradition of clarity and restraint embodied by the Muses:

Краса открытого лица
Влекла Орфея пиериды.
Ужель достойны вы певца,
Покровы кукольной Изиды? (ST 220)

The qualities Annensky recommends in poetry are similar to those in 'Drugomu': clarity, light and fixity:

Люби раздельность и лучи
В рожденном ими аромате.
Ты чаши яркие точи
Для целокупных восприятий. (ST 220)

The central point of 'Poetu', though, is different from that of 'Drugomu': the inferiority of art to concrete objects:

Та власть маяк, зовет она,
В ней сочетались бог и тленность,
И перед нею так бледна
Вещей в искусстве прикровенность. (ST 219)

In the poems discussed so far, texts and objects

1. Alexander, 'A and the "Other"', 227

directly connected with the classical tradition are mentioned, though the references to them are vague. There are also several poems in which poetry is connected with the classical world indirectly by imagery suggesting classical qualities, for example fixity and balance. Annensky had described the world of Maikov's poetry as 'petrified and crystallised'. In his own lyrics, the art -- stone connection, which is central to Mandelstam's early poetry, is not particularly significant.¹ But the image of the crystal appears in several poems, as do the associated images of ice, snow and glass. In 'V volshebnyuyu prizmu' Annensky describes how the moment of poetic inspiration, represented in typically Romantic fashion as intense and painful ('tam ruki s muchen'em razzhaty') is refined and transfigured by refraction in 'the crystal' of reason and contemplation:

Нажмешь ли устоя ты последний --
 Ни сжатых, ни рознятых рук,
 Но радуги нету победней
 Чем радуга конченных мук.

In one variant of the poem 'Ametisty' Annensky plays on the original sense of the Greek word *ἀμέθυτος*, or 'not intoxicating', by extension 'a remedy against drunkenness'. The amethysts stand for the crystallising power of poetry, which tones down the 'intoxicating rays' of raw experience or naked perception:

1. There is, however, an indirect stone -- art connection in the statue poems discussed later in this chapter.

Глаза забыли синеву,
Им солнца пыль не золотиста,
Но весь одним я сном живу,
Что между граней аметиста.

Затем, что там пьяней весны
И беспокойней, чем идея,
Огни лиловые должны
Переливаться, холодея.

И сердцу, где лишь стыд да страх,
Нет грезы ласково обманней,
Чем стать кристаллом при свечах
В лиловом холоде мерцаний. (ST 213)¹

The Greek word *κρυστάλλος*, or ice, is the etymological link between led and khrustal, and suggests another range of poems in which ice and snow stand for art. In 'Sneg' the winter landscape is linked with sculpture and drawing:

Эта резанность линий,
Этот грузный полет,
Этот нищенски синий
И заплаканный лед! (ST 126)

In some poems, the group ice-snow-crystal is opposed to water-thaw-heat, and the principle of stasis opposes the principle of movement and dynamism. The beauty and perfection of the crystal or ice is doomed: it must submit to the power of movement. In 'Sneg', for example, the lyric hero admires the beauty of the landscape, but knows it will not last:

Точно стада в тумане
Непорочные сны --
На томительной грани
Всесоженья весны. (ST 126)

1. In the variant of 'Ametisty' published in Kiparisovy i larets the reference to drunkenness is cut, and the first lines of the second stanza read: 'I chtob ne znoinye luchy / Szhigali grani ametista' (ST 110)

Sometimes Death is associated with crystal and snow, and adjectives of whiteness and fixity are used. In 'Doch' Iaira' the freeze is described as 'almaznaya zastylost'', and is personified as the shrouded corpse of Jairus' daughter. The narrator admires the cold, dead stasis of the frozen landscape, and for him the thaw (conventionally bringing happiness) signifies the destruction of beauty (ST 127).

McDuff recognised the importance of the movement / fixity antithesis in Annensky's poetry. He argued that the division is moral as well as physical, and that Annensky is invariably hostile to the qualities of stasis and petrification. He spoke of Annensky's 'fear of zastylost' and 'hatred of fixity' which the poem 'Ofort' exemplifies:

The poet senses himself drawn forward by a nightmarish clarity into the frozen lines, which seem to have been produced precisely but coarsely, like strokes made by vodka spilt on bronze.¹

McDuff's phrase 'vodka spilt on bronze' suggests that he has not understood that 'Ofort' is a whimsical description of the technique of etching. There is also a more important misunderstanding. Annensky's attitude to the conflict of stasis and dynamism is more complex than McDuff suggests. Snow and crystal are associated with death in a metaphysical sense, with an eternal state of balance and repose. The physical facts of death, the paraphernalia of corpse and coffin, inspire disgust, and they are portrayed grotesquely in 'U groba',

1. McDuff, The Poetry and Aesthetics of IA, 168-176.

'Chernaya vesna' and 'Kulachishka'; in these poems death is seen as the gross end of a gross physical existence. But certain states in nature, such as frost, pre-figure an ideal state of total balance. They are destroyed by the opposing forces of movement; such destruction, like the destruction of Annensky's static and passive tragic heroes, is inevitable and is inherently tragic.

2. Rewriting the anthology.

Annensky's use of mythology owes little to the Russian neo-classical tradition, but he worked in two other genres which are typical of this tradition: poems about neo-classical sculpture and architecture.

Poems about classical statues were very popular among neo-classical poets in Russia. In Lessing's Laokoon and Winckelmann's Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst, which were important theoretical works for the whole neo-classical movement, Greek sculpture was associated with the archetypally classical qualities of restraint and reflection. This association was carried on by Nietzsche, for whom sculpture and the visual arts were quintessentially Apollonian.¹ In the Russian nineteenth-century tradition the statue likewise symbolised restrained beauty. One of the earliest examples of the statue poem genre is Pushkin's 'Tsarskosel'skaya statuya', a poem in elegaic couplets in which the classical statue radiates unchanging charm and grace:

1. Nietzsche, Die Geburt der Tragödie, chapter 1

Урну с водой уронив, об утес ее дева разбила.
 Дева печально сидит, праздно держа черепок.
 Чудо! не сякнет вода, изливаясь из урны разбитой;
 Дева, над вечной струей, вечно печально сидит.¹

Later examples of the genre include Maikov's 'Mramornyi favn', addressed to a classical statue which has survived many post-classical eras, and which has yet remained self-sufficient and aloof. The poet attempts to express pity for it, but is discouraged by its sarcastic look:

Я долго идиолом забытым любовался,
 И он мне из кустов лукаво улыбался.
 Мне стало жаль его, "Ты некогда был бог,
 Цинический кумир!"²

Perhaps the most striking statue poet, though, is Fet, among whose 'Antologicheskie stikhi' are several notable examples of the genre, including 'Nimfa i molodoi satir' and 'Venera Miloskaya':

И целомудренно и смело,
 До чресл сияя наготой,
 Цветет божественное тело
 Неувядающей красой.

Под этой сенью прихотливой
 Слегка приподнятых волос
 Как много неги горделивой
 В небесном лике разлилось!

Так, вся дыша пафосской страстью,
 Вся млея пеною морской
 И всепобедной вея властью,
 Ты смотришь в вечность пред собой.³

Annensky wrote several poems about classical sculpture:

-
1. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v 10 tomakh, 3, 171
 2. Maikov, Izbrannye proizvedeniya, 81
 3. Fet, Sochineniya v 2 tomakh, 1, 173

'L.I. Mikulich', 'Traktir zhizni', 'Tam', and, most important, the three grouped together in Kiparisovyi larets under the title 'Trilistnik v parke'. They describe three neo-classical statues in the park at Tsarskoe Selo (the scene also of Pushkin's statue poems, though not of Fet's and Maikov's). Like their precedents, these poems describe the beauty and remote calm of the sculptures. Peace (Pace) is aloof and solitary:

Одни туманы к ней холодные ласкались,
И раны черные от влажных губ остались.

Но дева красотой по-прежнему горда,
И трав вокруг нее не косят никогда. (ST 134)

But Annensky's statue poems, unlike those of tradition, are polemical. Like 'Drugomu', they are manifestos for the virtues of Apollonian classicism, and its superiority to fashionable Dionysiac art. In 'O veselom remesle', Vyacheslav Ivanov had argued that the renaissance of classical art was concentrated on music:

Не пластику и меру эллинскую ищут [гуманисты варварского возрождения] вокресить и ввести в современное сознание, но корибантизм азийских флейт и музыку трагических хоров. Новому латинству нужны Александрия и Периклов Афин; новому варварству -- Малая Азия Гераклита или эпохи тираннов и архаический дифирамб.¹

The choice of statues as subjects is a gesture of defiance by Annensky; and this defiance is heightened by the description of Pace, who is explicitly dissociated from

1. Ivanov, Po zvezdam, 240

Dionysiac cult. She carries no thyrsus or timbrel, attributes of the Maenads:

Не тешит тирс ее, она не бьет в тимпан,
И беломраморный ее не любит Пан. (ST 134)

The poems associate themselves with the Russian nineteenth-century tradition. In the poem 'L.I. Mikulich', Annensky refers to the statue described by Pushkin in 'Tsarskosel'skaya statuya':

Там нимфа с таицкой водой,
Водой, которой не разлиться.

'Bronzovyi poet', the second poem in 'Trilistnik v parke', is a light-hearted reworking of Pushkin's Pamyatnik ode: the poet's monument in a physical sense, the bronze statue erected to him in Tsarskoe Selo, seems about to leave its pedestal at nightfall and disappear into the park:

Не шевелись -- сейчас гвоздики засверкают,
Воздушные кусты сольются и растают,
И бронзовый поэт, стряхнув дремоты гнет,
С подставки на траву росистую спрыгнет.

The form of 'Pace' is neo-classical: like 'Mramornyi favn' it is written in six-foot iambic rhyming couplets (alexandrines). The statues which Annensky chooses also belong to the neo-classical tradition; unlike Maikov's marble faun or the Venus de Milo, they date from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the same period as the literary genre Annensky is imitating.

But the poems also modernise and disrupt the literary tradition in which they are conceived. The statues Annensky describes, unlike those in the poems of his

predecessors, are pathetically flawed. Pace has a broken nose and Andromeda a broken arm:

Люблю обиду в ней, ее ужасный нос,
И ноги сжатые, и грубый узел кос. (ST 134)

Если ж верить тем шепотам бреда,
Что томят мой постылый покой,
Там тоскует по мне Андромеда
С искалеченной белой рукой. (ST 133)

In 'Tam' and 'Traktir zhizni' two classical statues (of Eros and Psyche) are placed in surroundings of the utmost degradation and squalor; they represent the last fragments of classical civilisation in a decadent culture:

Вкруг белеющей Психеи
Те же фикусы торчат,
Те же грустные лакеи,
Тот же гам и тот же чад... (ST 76)

Ровно в полночь гонг унылый
Свел их тени в черной зале,
Где белел Эрот бескрылый
Меж искусственных азалий. (ST 77)

Annensky's neo-classical statues are directly associated with the flawed neo-classical poetry of 'Drugomu'; and in 'Na dne' the speaker is a grustnyi oblomok, Andromeda's lost arm, which is clearly supposed to represent the poet himself.

Annensky's statue poems are a coherent, isolated group. None of his other poems on visual art describe neo-classical works: 'Na polotne' describes a Naturalist picture in the style of the Peredvizhniki (ST 194). He also has contributions to the typically Symbolist genres of ofort (etching) (ST 132) and Japanese painting

('Nezhivaya', ST 131). But he shares with traditional neo-classicists a preference for painting and sculpture over music. There are fewer poems about music than about the plastic arts; landscape is much more frequently described in visual than in musical terms -- even the sounds of brooks and leaves are absent -- and visual imagery predominates even in the poems about music. In 'Posle kontserta', for example, the sounds of music suggest light and colour:

А сколько было там развеяно души
Среди рассеянных, мятежных и бесслезных!
Что звуков пролито, взлелеянных в тиши,
Сиреневых, и ласковых, и звездных!

Там с ними порванной в волненьи иногда,
Средь месячных лучей, и нежны и огнисты,
В росистую траву катятся аметисты
И гаснут без следа. (ST 138)

This is not a case of typically Symbolist synaesthesia. The poems about sculpture and the visual arts do not use musical imagery; indeed, Annensky emphasises the anti-musical silence and self-containment of the sculptures.

Annensky's poems about architecture, 'Oreanda' and 'L.I. Mikulich', also have neo-classical precedents: they belong to a mode in which the poet surveys the ruins of past glory. In Maikov's 'Drevnii Rim' the lyric hero surveys the city of Rome:

Я видел древний Рим; в развалине печальной
И храмы, и дворцы, поросшие травой,
И плиты гладкие старинной мостовой,
И колесниц следы под аркой триумфальной,
И в лунном сумраке, с гирляндой¹ аркад,
Полуразбитые громады Колизея...

1. Maikov, Izbrannye proizvedeniya, 103

Other examples of the genre are Fet's 'Zolotoi vek' and Shelley's 'Ozymandias'. In Annensky's 'Oreanda' the poet visits the site of a former palace in the Crimea, now burnt to the ground, and finds it of more interest than the natural landscape round him:

Но в пятнах розовых по силуэтам скал
 Напрасно я души, своей души искал...
 Я с нею встретился в картинном запустеньи
 Сгорелого дворца -- где нежное цветенье
 Бежит по мрамору разбитых ступеней. (ST 162)

In the poem addressed to Lidiya Ivanovna Mikulich (Veselitskaya), an authoress and resident of Tsarskoe, the poet reflects on the vanished glories of the Tsarskoe park;

Там воды зыблются светло
 И гордо царствуют березы,
 Там были розы, были розы,
 Пускай в поток их унесло.
 Там все, что навсегда ушло,
 Чтоб навевать сиреням грезы. (ST 211)

Annensky's architecture poems, like his statue poems, refer to neo-classical works, not classical works; he laments the decline of the latter, European, classical tradition. The form of 'Oreanda', like that of 'Pace', is neo-classical: rhyming alexandrines.

But, as in the statue poems, Annensky departs from nineteenth-century tradition. There is a decadent enjoyment of the decline which he laments -- the ruins and the zapusten'e excite and attract him. In nineteenth-century poems, the decay of the building was a symbol for the poet's own isolation and alienation, and for the loss of youth. In Annensky's poems the biography

of the lyric hero is of little significance; Shelley's Romantic political theme -- the decline of despotism -- is also absent. The decline and decay of Annensky's poems is that of a whole culture; and this is emphasised in 'L.I. Mikulich' by the use of the pronoun 'we'. Annensky's architecture poems amalgamate the Symbolist lament for a lost generation (for example, Blok's 'Rozhdennye v goda glukhie'), and the neo-classical lament for the passing of Greece and Rome.

3. Myth

The most important classical references in Annensky's poetry are in the lyrics in which he addresses the problems of writing poetry. But Annensky also uses mythological references to transform his description of everyday objects, experiences and phenomena, and suggest their connection with another, supernatural, world. This technique was described by Vyacheslav Ivanov as 'associative or 'idealistic' Symbolism, the opposite technique to his own, which he called 'realistic' Symbolism:

Поэт-символист этого типа берет исходной точкой в процессе своего творчества нечто физически или психологически конкретное и, не определяя его непосредственно, чаще даже вовсе не называя, изображает ряд ассоциаций, имеющих с ним такую связь, обнаружение которой помогает многосторонне и ярко осознать душевный смысл явления, ставшего для поэта переживанием, и иногда впервые назвать его -- прежде обычным и пустым, ныне же столь многозначительным его именем.

In Tikhie pesni Annensky's use of mythological

1. Ivanov, 'O poezii IA', 291

references is unsubtle. The collection was originally intended to bear the precious title Iz peshchery Polifema, which, like the pseudonym used by Annensky, 'Nik. T--o', suggests a connection with Homer's Odyssey. Obvious references to the Greek text occur in a number of poems scattered in the collection, though by no means in all or even most of the lyrics. In 'V otkrytye okna' skuka is personified as the Cyclops:

Не Скуки ль там Циклоп залег,
От золотого зноя хмелен,
Что, розовея, уголек
В закрытый глаз его нацелен? (ST 69)

In 'Sentyabr'' the decadent way of life is represented by the lotus-eaters:

Но сердцу чудится лишь красота утрат,
Лишь упоение в замороженной силе;
И тех, которые уж лотоса вкусили,
Волнует вкрадчивый осенний аромат. (ST 72)

Another reference to Greek mythology -- this time not specifically to the Odyssey -- occurs in the 'bessonnitsa' poem '"Parki -- bab'e lepetan'e"':

Но мая белого ночей
Давно страницы пожелтели...
Тогда я слышу у постели

Веретено -- и, как ручей,
Задавлен камнями обвала,
Оно уж лепет обрывало... (ST 83)

The image of the Fates spinning is typical of the mythological references used by Annensky; they are all well-known, even banal, and very much part of the Russian neo-classical tradition (here underlined by Annensky's use

of the title of a poem by Pushkin).

Annensky also uses some devices of classical epic poetry in his first collection. As Barbara Conrad pointed out, the first and last poems in Tikhie pesni are modelled on the invocation and 'signing off' of the epic poets, and the language used in them is traditional:

['Poeziya'] läßt sich der Topik der Invocatio zurechnen, wie sich auch Annenskij in der Bildlichkeit durchaus an traditionelle Muster hält. Ganz entsprechend ist auch das Ende der Originallyrik in den Tichie pesni gestaltet. [...] Auch hier wird in Musterform ein traditioneller Abschlußtopos aufgegriffen: da man zur Nacht vom vollbrachten Tagewerk ermüdet (hier ist das klassische Bild des Pflügers eingesetzt) seine Ruhe finde.¹

There are many conventional heroic images in Tikhie pesni. In 'Eshche odin', for example, the Sunset is personified as a confrontation between the figures of Day and Night:

И пылок был, и грозен День,
И в знамя верил голубое,
Но ночь пришла, и нежно День
Берет усталого без боя.

Как мало их! Еще один
В лучах слабеющей Надежды
Уходит гордый паладин. (ST 78)

A similar image is used in 'Padenie lilii': Day hands over its duties to Night like an Olympic torch (ST 85). The collection is also characterised by conventional personifications of abstract nouns: Nadezhda ('Eshche odin'), Somnen'e i Trevoga ('Nenuzhnye strofy').

The classical references in Tikhie pesni give the collection a faded and conventional ornamentation; the

1. Conrad, IFAs poetische Reflexionen, 105-6

most successful poems in it are those in which classical references are not used, such as 'Khrizantema', 'Ideal', the 'Muchitel'nye sonety' and the 'Fortep'yannye sonety'. In Kiparisovyi larets the use of myth is more sophisticated. In some lyrics there is a link with particular Greek myths, but this is normally faint. In 'V zatsvetayushchikh sirenyakh' the narrator addresses a beautiful lilac bush to which he feels drawn:

Побудь со мной грустна, побудь со мной одна:
Я не допил еще тоски твоей до дна...
Мне надо струн твоих: они дрожат печальней
И слаще, чем листья на той березе дальней. (ST 212)

But he feels threatened by a mysterious external force which may cause the bush to destroy him:

Я знаю: бабочки дрожащими крылами
Не в силах потушить мучительное пламя,
И знаю, кем огонь тот траурный раздут,
С которого они сожженные падут...

There appears to be a hidden reference in the poem, suggested by the etymology of siren', which is derived from the name of a Greek nymph, Syrinx, who was loved by Pan, fled from him, and was metamorphosed into a bed of reeds. Her name was given to the reeds, to the Pan-pipes cut from them, and by extension to the lilac bush (this extension is post-classical).¹ In 'V zatsvetayushchikh sirenyakh' the link between lilac and Pan-pipes turns what is superficially a poem about the destructive powers of female sexuality into a poem about the sinister qualities of beauty and art.

Another poem with an encoded reference is 'Rabochaya

1. Der Kleine Pauly, Syrinx does not mention the link with lilac.

korzinka'. It appears at first reading to be a typically Symbolist vision: Virtue is personified as a woman who sits spinning in an urban room:

Чтоб со скатерти трепетный круг
 Не спускал своих желтых разлитий,
 И мерцанья замедленных рук
 Разводили там серые нити,
 И чтоб ты разнимала с тоской
 Эти нити одну за другой,
 Разнимала и после клубила,
 И сиреневой редью игла
 За мерцающей кистью ходила. (ST 151)

There are hidden references here, too. The woman's spinning links her with the Parcae, and her habit of undoing and redoing her work recalls Penelope in the Odyssey. Annensky's use of the word dobrodetel' is based on that in his essays: like the Greek arete, it means more than moral excellence; here, it means literary excellence. Dobrodetel', like Toska, is a curious variant of the Muse.

Another example of indirect mythological reference in Annensky's poetry is 'Dozhdik', in which he describes how the rain is metamorphosed into many different objects, and points out the classical precedents with a joking reference to Ovid:

О нет! Без твоих превращений,
 В одно что-нибудь застывай!
 Не хочешь ли дремой осенней
 Окутать кокетливо май?
 Иль сделаться Мною, быть может,
 Один из угрюмых калек,
 И всех уверять, что не дожит
 И первый Овидиев век. (ST 121-2)

In other poems, all mythological references are absent, and the only connection with classical mythology is that the poem is constructed like a myth. One such poem is 'Oktyabr'skii mif', which describes the rain

stamping on the roof like an old man:

Мне тоскливо. Мне невмочь.
Я шаги слепого слышу:
Надо мною он всю ночь
Оступается о крышу. (ST 122)

The figure has no direct resemblance to any classical god; the only link with classical mythology is that the elements are assigned divine properties. Similarly, in Annensky's 'myth', addressed to Vyacheslav Ivanov, 'Mifotvortsu -- na bashne', Ivanov is credited with supernatural powers, but is not compared to any god:

Где розовела полоса
Одни белесые отсветы...
Бегут на башню голоса,
Но, ослабев, чуть шепчут: „Где ты?“

А там другой жилец уж -- сед
И слеп с побрызгов белой краски,
И смотрят только губы маски
С распахнувшихся газет. (ST 222)

In Tikhie pesni the mythological references mostly occur in poems about Nature. 'V otkrytye okna' and 'Sentyabr' both describe landscape. In Kiparisovyi larets Annensky begins to modernise the modern metropolis. In 'Zimnii poezd' a steam-engine is characterised as a fire-breathing dragon:

Я знаю -- пышущий дракон
Весь занесен пушистым снегом,
Сейчас порвет мятежным бегом
Завороженной дали сон. (ST 129)

Other objects to receive this treatment include barrel organs, pianos and alarm clocks. But perhaps the most impressive example of new urban mythology is the poem 'Peterburg', in which the Bronze Horseman appears as

Prometheus:

Только камни нам дал чародей,
Да Неву буро-желтого света,
Да пустыни немых площадей,
Где казнили людей до рассвета.

И что было у нас на земле,
Чем вознесся орел наш двуглавый,
В темных лаврах гигант на скале, --
Завтра станет ребячей забавой. (ST 199)

Mythic presentations of the urban landscape abound in French Symbolist poetry. Rollinat's 'La Bibliothèque', which Annensky translated as 'Biblioteka', describes an other-worldly experience in a library (ST 294). In Blok's 'Gimn' the town sun is personified as a 'heavenly smith':

В пыльный город небесный кузнец прикатил
Огневой переменчивый диск.
И по улицам -- словно бесчисленных пил
Смех и скрепет и визг.¹

Bely sarcastically termed urban-mythological poets the 'titan v restorane' school.² Their poetry attempted to represent the unnatural landscape of the city, to show that the city-dweller feels as alienated from the life of the town as the inhabitant of classical Greece did from the gods, and to represent the grandeur of the big city.

In Kiparisovyi larets Annensky evolved a use of myth which was calculated to awaken many associations in the reader, and combined references to different

1. Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh, 2, 151

2. See Dukor, 'Problemy dramaturgii', 140

mythological traditions. He had used Christian imagery in several poems in Tikhie pesni, but had never combined it with classical imagery. In 'Konets osennei skazki' there is a reference to the Crucifixion, but no classical references; 'Sentyabr'' and 'V otkrytye okna' do not allude to the Christian tradition. The only exception to this rule is 'Poeziya', the opening poem.

In Kiparisovyi larets references to different cultural traditions are regularly found in single poems. The way Annensky plays on various levels of association in the reader is best illustrated by detailed analysis of a single poem. 'Doch' Iaira', one of Annensky's best and most dense poems, has been chosen, and is quoted below in full. The first stanza, which was omitted when the poem was published shortly before Annensky's death in Apollon, but which was restored by Krivich in the first edition of Kiparisovyi larets, is given in square brackets:

ДОЧЬ ИАИРА

[Сини реки, светлы веси,
И с небес и из могил
Всем ответ: „Христос воскрес!“
Кто б о счастье не молил.]

Нежны травы, белы плиты,
И звонит победно медь:
„Голубые льды разбиты,
И они должны сгореть!“

Точно кружит солнце, зимний
Долгий плен свой позабыв;
Только мне в пасхальном гимне
Смерти слышится призыв.

Ведь под снегом сердце билось,
Там тянулась жизни нить:
Ту алмазную застылость
Надо было разбудить.

Для чего с контуров нежной,
Непорочной красоты,
Грубо сорван саван снежный,
Жечь зачем ее цветы?

Для чего так сине пламя,
Раскаленность так бела,
И, гудя, с колоколами
Слили звон колокола?

Тот, грехи подъявший мира,
Осушавший реки слез,
Так ли дочь Иaira
Поднял некогда Христос?

Не мигнул фитиль горящий,
Не забыл ветер тканьь,
Подшел спаситель к спящей,
И сказал ей тихо: „Встань”. (ST 127)

The concrete event which is the subject of 'Doch' Iaira' is the coming of Spring, an event of complex literary and cultural significance. It is an event which is associated with Russian customs: when the ice breaks, 'Copper sounds victoriously', a reference to the ringing of church bells for Easter, and perhaps also to the firing of a cannon from the Peter and Paul Fortress when the ice broke on the Neva (though gremet' would be more natural in this case than zvonit'). Annensky's description of the coming of Spring, particularly the phrase 'golubye l'dy' recalls the reference to the thaw in Pushkin's Mednyi vsadnik:

Люблю, военная столица,
Твоей твердыни дым и гром,
Когда полнощная царица
Дарует сына в царский дом,
Или победу над врагом
Россия снова торжествует,
Или, взломав свой синий лед,
Нева к морям его несет
И, чуя вешни дни, ликует.¹

1. Pushkin, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v 10 tomakh, 4, 227

The poem refers also to the significance of Spring for Christendom, and to the rejoicing which greets Easter. The original first stanza quotes words from the Orthodox Easter rite ('Khristos voskrese!'). Spring is the time of the Resurrection; it also has another Biblical parallel: the raising of Jairus' daughter from the dead by Christ (Luke 8, 41-56).

The poem does not only draw on Christian associations. Spring is seen as a time of death and destruction, as well as of resurrection, and its violent effect is described by the verbs razbudit', sgoret' and razbit'. The association of Spring and death is determined by Annensky's classical imagery of fixity. It may also be classical in a more exact sense. In Greek tradition, as Vyacheslav Ivanov pointed out in his essay 'Ellinskaya religiya stradayushchego boga', the coming of Spring was not an occasion of rejoicing:

Так и в весенней радости греки не забывали о смерти. Весна как бы говорила им: «глядите, смертные: я -- цветущая, я -- Кора Персефона! [...] Весна была прозрачна для взора древних: она была цветущая Смерть. Нигде, быть может, не высказываются виднее хтонические корни дионисической веры.¹

The language of Ivanov's piece has affinities with 'Doch' Iaira' as well as the content. Annensky's poem also makes the association between flowers and death, though there it is the flowers of winter which must die: 'Zhech' zachem ee tsvety?' And, though the word prozrachnyi is not used, there are two instances of the word 'white', which has similar value: white flagstones (or gravestones), white molten heat.

1. Quoted Taranovsky, Essays on Mandelstam, 157

The poem does not simply polarise two cultural traditions. The narrative voice identifies itself with each tradition in turn, moving from stanza to stanza. First the poet expresses his regret that Spring has come, and with it the resurrection (Tol'ko mne). Then he recognises the necessity of Spring (Ved' pod snegom), then again expresses regret at the passing of winter, asking Dlya chego and zachem.

The mythical background is similarly blurred. The figure of Christ, who raises Jairus' daughter, is associated with the sun: he 'dries rivers of tears', and the sun burns the ice of rivers. There is an indirect link through the sun to Apollo, who is alluded to in 'Nenuzhnye strofy' as luchezarnyi bog, the 'radiant god' (ST 73). Christ's actions are also mythical in a more general sense: the raising of Jairus' daughter and the Resurrection parallel the upsurge of life in Nature.

It is through the figure of Christ, who combines pagan and Christian elements, that the author reconciles himself with the arrival of Spring. Christ's raising of the sleeping girl is peaceful and does not disturb the cloth and candle-flame; it is in sharp contrast to the violence of the opening stanzas.

The conflict between Christian and classical world-views is central to the time-levels in the poem. The Christian events take place in the past; the natural events, such as the breaking of the ice and the spinning of the sun, in the present, and they are part of a continuous process. The historical moment,

associated with the Christian world-view, is opposed to the classical view of the world in flux, of time as a cycle.

'Doch' Iaira' illustrates how Annensky's poetry works at its best. It is not in the least obscure; the language is everyday; it is firmly placed in a series of settings marked out by concrete objects (such as the cloth and candle-wick of the final stanza); the literary references are all comprehensible without the aid of a mythological dictionary. But the poem is not simple. It is many-layered and ambiguous, and its prozrachnost' allows several different readings.

Annensky's notion of mythology affected his presentation of the objects found in such large numbers in his poems, as well as of the natural and urban landscape. Kushner argued that most of the objects in Annensky's poetry were ordinary, even banal:

Говоря о предметности Анненского, мы помним, что вещей у него не так много; это часы, будильник, маятник часов, шарманка, скрипка и смычок, моток шерсти, фарфор «с ободочком на краю», хрустальный флакон, ваза, свечка ... вот, собственно, и все. Остальное, вроде сумочки для замка, кольчатого пояса, думочки или забитого пристанционного киоска, лишь упомянутых мимоходом, не отличается ничем от вещей в других¹ поэтических систем, хотя бы Фета или Державина.

There certainly are numerous objects which are chosen for their gratingly everyday qualities: gazety svezhii numer in 'Zimnii son', galoshes in 'U svyatogo Stefana',

1. Kushner, 'Intonatsionnaya nerovnost'', 199

an umbrella in 'Kulachishka'. But many of Annensky's objects are far from ordinary; they have literary, often classical, associations, as Mandelstam pointed out:

В эллинистическом понимании символ есть утварь,
а потому всякий предмет, втянутый в священный круг
человека, может стать утварью, а следовательно,
и символом.¹

In 'Lira chasov', for example, Annensky writes of a clock: not just any clock, but one with a neo-classical pendulum shaped like a lyre:

О сердце! Когда, леденея,
Ты смертный почувствуешь страх,

Найдется ль рука, чтобы лиру
В тебе так же тихо качнуть,
И миру, желанному миру,
Тебя, мое сердце, вернуть?... (ST 182)

The action of the narrator in starting the clock is linked later in the poem with the attempt of others to restart his heart after death. The lyre is a conventional classical symbol, much used in Russian eighteenth-century verse.² In Annensky's poem the lyre-symbol links heart-beat, clock-tick and the rhythm of verse, an association underlined by the jerky and irregular metre. Annensky asks himself whether his poetry will be 'restarted', or read, after his death.

The exoticism of Annensky's poetry is most obvious in the flowers which he chooses. Unlike Akhmatova, he rarely alludes to wild flowers and plants with homely Russian names, for instance cornflowers,

1. Mandelstam, Sobranie sochinenii, 2, 253

2. Klein, 'Trompete, Schalmel, Lyra und Fidel'

burdocks and gillyflowers.¹ The typical flowers of his poetry are garden plants, and their names are of foreign, mostly Greek or Latin, origin (siren', azaliya, liliya, fimiam, khризantema, rezeda). The flowers stand out from their surroundings, making the reader aware of their artificiality and literariness.

Many of the flowers, in particular lilies, have links with the classical tradition. Lilies grew in Hades, and were associated with death and with the after-life. In 'Aromat lilei mne tyazhel' lilies suggest death to the narrator:

Аромат лилеи мне тяжел,
Потому что в нем таится тленье...
Лучше смол дыханье, синих смол,
Только пить его без разделенья... (ST 149)

In 'Eshche lilii' the lilies stand for the after-life and immortality:

Цветов мечты моей мятежной
Забыв минутную красу,
Одной лилеи белоснежной
Я в лучший мир перенесу
И аромат и абрис нежный. (ST 183)²

Annensky never directly links lilies to classical myth, however; unlike Mandelstam, he does not refer to the flowers of the underworld by their Greek name, *αφρόδελος*, and he does not mention any of the underworld gods. In contrast Mandelstam is overtly classical:

1. Когда б вы знали, из какого сора
Растут стихи, не ведая стыда,
Как желтый одуванчик у забора,
Как лопухи и лебеда.
Akhnmatova, Stikhotvoreniya i poemy, 202

2. See also Lotman, Analysis of the Poetic Text, 110-113

Еще далёко асфodelей
 Прозрачно-серая весна,
 Пока еще на самом деле
 Шуршит песок, кипит волна.
 Но здесь душа моя вступает,
 Как Персефона, в легкий круг,
 И в царстве мертвых не бывает
 Прелестных загорелых рук.¹

Lilies have many non-classical associations. They are a Biblical symbol of natural and unselfconscious beauty:

Посмотрите на лилии, как они растут: не трудятся, не прядут: но говорю вам, что и Соломон во всей славе своей не одевался так, как всякая из них. (Luke 12, 27)

In the Christian tradition they symbolise purity and are attributes of virgin saints. Lilies were also very fashionable in the early twentieth century; they were one of the organic forms most favoured by the art nouveau and the Jugendstil. Annensky avoids making any particular reference himself; the reader is left to associate freely.

Annensky's objects are more loosely associated with particular cultural traditions than his symbols for poetry; there is no strong sense of conflict and dissonance. The objects stand outside classical and Christian traditions, rather than combining them. But the poems do play on the difference between objects with poetic associations, such as lilies, and objects associated with modern industrial and urban life. In 'Lira chasov', for example, there is a central opposition between the poetic serdtse and lira, and the everyday mayatnik and futlyar (ST 181). One of Annensky's

1. Mandelstam, Sobranie sochinenii, 1, 64

favourite devices is to use imagery in which some object conventionally thought of as elevated is juxtaposed or compared with something ordinary. In 'Stal'naya tsikada' the watch is associated with Greek landscape by the word tsikada, whilst the word stal' suggests the modern industrialised city (ST 109). In 'Toska sinevy' the sky is composed of 'sapphires', which are aethereal and loosely associated with Annensky's neo-classical poems, and 'cotton wool':

И ревниво клочья ваты
Льнут к сафирам облаками. (ST 191)

In 'Karty' the narrator's ambiguous attitude to cards is suggested by the juxtaposition of the elevated 'malachite' and the prosaic 'mud':

Зеленое сукно -- цвет малахитов тины,
Весь в пепле туз червей на сломанном мелке...
Подумай: жертву накануне гильотины
Дурманят картами и в каменном мешке. (ST 114)

Annensky's poems disrupt the conventional distinction between high style and low style which his plays and translations had maintained.

The poems also disrupt the didactic tone which Annensky had felt was characteristic of classical poetry:

Эллинская поэзия наших дней не берется учить, как та античная, которая некогда жила этой высокой тенденцией.¹

In 'Poetu' and 'Drugomu' the sententious tone of

1. 'Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii', part 4, 288

Annensky's instructions to his fellow-poets is modified by hesitations and unanswered questions. Even in 'Deti', where the sentiments are conventional and unexceptionable ('Vyzvat' shepot -- eto sram / Gorshii -- v detyakh vyzvat' lepet'), the use of the particle l' in the final stanza introduces a note of uncertainty:

Ну, а те, что терпят боли,
У кого как нитки руки...
Люди! Братья! Не за что ль
И покой наш только в муке... (ST 170)

One so concerned with classicism might have been expected to use classical metres in his lyrics. But, as in his translations and plays, Annensky sticks to the conventional Russian metres. The only exception is one 'trefoil' with the revealing title of 'Trilistnik shutochnyi', in which he light-heartedly attempts to reproduce the Greek paeon in Russian. The paeon grouped one long and three short syllables to a foot; the long syllable might be the first, second, third or fourth, hence the terms 'second paeon', 'third paeon', 'fourth paeon'. In the second poem of the trilistnik Annensky experiments with second paeon and fourth paeon:

На службу Лести иль Мечты
Равно готовые консорты,
Назвать вас вы, назвать вас ты,
Пэон второй -- пэон четвертый?

Как на монетах ваши стерты
Когда-то светлые черты,
И строки мшистые плиты
Глазурью льете вы на торты. (ST 145)

Even here, the attempt to render the metre is half-hearted:

Annensky uses four-foot iambic metre and occasionally omits the second and third stress, giving the line a passing resemblance to a second paeon followed by a fourth paeon. He does not, however, suppress all the intermediate stresses: the first two lines read x / x / x x x / and x / x / x x x / x not x / x x x x x / The first poem in 'Trilistnik shutochnyi', 'Pereboi ritma', is much more obviously experimental; words are divided across lines, but the metre is again iambic, not paeonic. The first three lines are perfect third paeons:

Как ни гулок, ни живуч -- Ям-
-б, утомлен и он, затих
Средь мерцаний золотых. (ST 145)

But this pattern is not continued in the rest of the poem:

Узнаю вас, близкий рампе,
Друг крылатый эпиграмм, Пэ-
-она третьего размер. (ST 145)

The experiment in classical metre in 'Pereboi ritma' and 'Peon vtoroi -- peon chetvertyi' is played down by the use of a modified sonnet form in both lyrics.

Annensky does not even use the adaptations of classical metre enshrined in the Russian neo-classical tradition, such as the elegaic couplet and the iambic trimeter. Few of his original lyrics are written in metres which he used for his classical translations. In 'Prizraki' (ST 143), he used a metre which he had used

to translate an ode by Horace, which is a modification of the original Latin metre.¹ In 'Rozhdenie i smert' poeta' Annensky uses a mixture of metres (dactylic, iambic, amphibrachic); the effect is similar to his adaptations of choric odes in his plays:

О, свиток печальный!
 Безумные строки,
 Как гость на пиру
 В небрачной одежде,
 Читаю и плачу... (ST 89)

The final speech also uses a metre characteristic of the plays, as Lotman pointed out:

Кантата завершается арией, написанной Я-2
 -- метром, широко распространенным в качестве
 эквивалента античного адония в трагедиях
 Анненского.²

But such choric passages are combined with others in which rhyme or devices typical of Russian folk-poetry are used. Bayan's first speech is reminiscent of the bylina:

Над Москвою старой златоглавою
 Не звезда в полночи затеплилась,
 Над ее садочками зелеными,
 Ой зелеными садочками кудрявыми
 Молодая зорька разгоралась. (ST 88)

These connections are unusual. The five-foot iamb, the standard metre of Annensky's Euripides translations and of his own neo-classical tragedies, is one of the least frequent metres of his own mature poetry: it is

1. Lotman, 'Metricheskii repertuar', 133; Busch, Horaz, 210

2. Lotman, 'Metricheskii repertuar', 127

used in only twelve poems, one of which is a parody of Bal'mont ('V more lyubvi', ST 224).¹ Unrhymed five-foot iambs -- blank verse -- are not found outside the juvenilia.

The only poems in which Annensky was metrically innovatory were fragmentary and Modernist in character: 'Preryvistye stroki', for example, which is written in lines of irregular length and varied metrical composition (ST 168); or 'Kek-uok na tsimbalakh', a light-hearted imitation of dance rhythm (ST 176).

The clash between different linguistic and metrical elements in Annensky's poetry distinguishes it from the poetry of other Symbolists, most of whom, especially Bryusov and Bal'mont, placed great emphasis on muzyka in the sense of euphony. Annensky's poetry is not marked by heavy use of alliteration and assonance; it sounds spiky and disjunctive. Blok, in his review of Tikhie pesni, referred with disapproval to the 'koryavost' strok, vypadayushchikh pri beglom peresmotre'.² In 'Stal'naya tsikada', for example, Annensky has deliberately selected discordant and clashing sounds, and the short lines of his verse are further broken up by ellipsis and punctuation:

1. See the table of metres given by Lotman in 'Metricheskii repertuar', 145

2. Blok, Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh, 5, 520

Я знал, что она вернется,
И будет со мной -- Тоска.
Звякнет и запахнется
С дверью часовщика... (ST 109)

In Bryusov's 'Tishina', a poem from Stephanos, there are numerous musical effects: consonance, assonance, and repetition, in marked contrast to 'Stal'naya tsikada':

Дар случайный, дар мгновенный,
Тишина, продлись, продлись!
Над равниной вечно пенной,
Над прибоем, над буруном,
Звезды первые зажглись.¹

'Tishina' is by no means the most extreme example of Symbolist sound-play; Bal'mont and Bryusov's famous experiments, 'Vecher, Vzmor'e' and 'Moi milyi mag' go far beyond it.

Annensky's poetic language is innovatory because it avoids on the one hand the rationalist and didactic character of much neo-classical poetry; on the other, the domination of sound-effects found in many Symbolist lyrics. Mayakovsky's interest in Annensky's poetry is almost certainly explained by the rough, unintegrated use of language.

Conclusion

Annensky's enthusiasm for the classics is central to all his writings, including his poetry. But in the lyrics the emphasis has shifted. His classicism is part of the background, and classicism is only one of many

1. Bryusov, Sobranie sochinenii v 7 tomakh, 1, 375

literary attitudes he adopts. Annensky is no Russian Verlaine, but he is no Russian Euripides either. In his earlier works, such as the neo-classical tragedies, classical literature was the norm, and the modernist touches were deviations from it. In the poetry, on the other hand, there is no resting place, no final literary allegiance. Objects and texts associated with the classical world, such as neo-classical statues, excite aesthetic pleasure; the objects of the modern industrialised town aesthetic disgust (mixed with subversive admiration), but neither class of objects is privileged to the exclusion of the other. There are no flights of neo-rococo escapist fantasy, there is no nostalgia for the 'golden age'. Annensky's poetic voice discordantly unifies the various cultural layers, the only kind of unity -- however imperfect -- which can be found in his poetry.

APPENDIX

Besides the translations from classical Greek discussed in the body of Chapter 3, Annensky translated Ode XVII by Bacchylides and the 'Homeric Hymn' Dionysus and the Pirates. Both translations appeared in Nilender's anthology Grecheskaya literatura. According to Nilender, the Bacchylides translation was previously unpublished, but the 'Homeric Hymn' had appeared elsewhere; he does not give details.¹ I have been able to find no references to these translations in any bibliography of Annensky's works, or in any critical works on him. They are, however, listed in Voronkov's bibliography. I have not discussed them here in detail for the following reasons. Firstly, they became available to me at a late stage in writing this thesis. Secondly, not only is the source of Nilender's publication mysterious, but some aspects of the form in which the translations appear are puzzling: why, for example, are the speeches in Ode XVII allotted to 'Medea' and not to a chorus, as is usual? The linguistic idiom of the translations is similar to that of Annensky's other classical translations: syntax and diction are formal; but Annensky has not given Ode XVII the folksy tone of his translation of Ode XVI. The metre chosen is quite interesting: Annensky uses a Zhukovskian hexameter for the 'Homeric hymn', and free amphibrachic

1. In the contents list of Grecheskaya literatura, items published for the first time are marked with an asterisk.

metre for the Bacchylidean ode. The latter translation has the same number of lines as the original, but does not imitate its metrical pattern or the number of syllables to a line.

Nilender's anthology is a bibliographical rarity; the translations are therefore reproduced in full overleaf. Annensky's translation of Simonides of Ceos was, unfortunately, unavailable to me at the time of writing.

Я буду петь Диониса, сына славной Семелы,
 Как на мысе открытом, на бреге бесплодного моря
 Раз он явился, подобный юноше в самом рассвете
 Сил молодых, и кудри чудные с синим отливом
 Встряхивал он, а плечи могучие были одеты
 Пурпурным фаросом. Быстро по икристым волнам в то время
 К мысу шел крепкий корабль -- злой рок подгонял мореходов.
 Это тирренские были пираты: добычу завидя,
 Только кивнули друг другу -- и на берег прынули; тотчас
 Юношу, в сердце ликуя, на судно свое посадили,
 Думая: „Верно, царем он рожден, Зевеса питомцем.
 Крепкими узами тотчас связать порешили добычу, --
 Но не держались оковы -- они отлетали далёко,
 Руки и ноги ему не тесня, а синие очи
 Только смеялись. Один рулевой почувял, и тотчас
 Он, увещая пиратов, слова обратил к ним и молвил:

„Кто этот бог полномощный, которого здесь вы
 стремитесь,
 Глупые, в узах держать? Корабль его крепкий не сносит.
 Кто это? Зевс? Аполлон сребролукий? Иль бурной пучины
 Мощный владыка? На смертных людей он совсем не походит.
 Выпустим лучше его с корабля на черную землю!
 Нет, моряки, не касайтесь добычи, чтоб пленник, разгневан,
 Тяжкие ветры на нас не воздвиг и грозную бурю“.

Так говорил он; ему же сурово ответил начальник:
 „Ты, безумец, лучше следил бы за ветром да парус
 Поднял на мачту, да снасть изготовил, а с юношей этим
 Мужики управятся сами. В Египте пристанем, на Кипре ль,
 Или в загорном краю мы будем зимой, я надеюсь:
 Пленник друзей нам своих назовет наконец и укажет,
 Где его дом и родные: сам бог даровал нам добычу“.
 Так он сказал: и мачта встает, и парус раскрылся;
 Вздулась от ветра средина его; они распустили
 Возле еще паруса. И тут чудеса начались.
 Вдруг на быстрый и черный корабль волной ароматной
 Хлынула сладкая Вакхова влага, и чудный повсюду
 Запах пошел от вина. И дивясь сидели пираты.
 Смотрят: по парусу следом и зелень лозы виноградной
 Вниз потянулась, и парус покрылся, и гроздь повисли.
 Темною зеленью плющ пополз, расцветая, на мачту.
 Плод показался на нем, и листьями снасти венчались.
 К берегу править тогда мореходы велят, и внезапно
 Страшный на палубе лев появился с зловещим рычаньем.
 Следом среди моряков медведица с шеей косматой
 Лютая вдруг поднялась, и ярость ее наполняла,
 Лев же недвижно стоял, лишь грозно глядел исподлобья.
 В ужасе прынули тут мореходы к корме и столпились
 Возле разумного. Лев тогда прынул в толпу и с размаху
 Старшего выхватил. Вмиг, погибель увидя, пираты
 В волны блестящие моря бросаться пошли, и дельфином
 Делался каждый пират, а кормчего сильный не тронул.
 Мног именья ему подарил и слово прибавил:

„Ныне дерзай, о божественный кормчий: душе моей мил ты.
 Я -- Дионис громозвучный, дочь Кадма Семела от Зевса
 С ним сочетавшись любовно, меня родила. Ободрися!“

Здравствуй, рожденный Семелой, красивыми славной глазами!
 Пусть сладкозвучной мне песни не петь, коль тебя я забуду.

ТЕЗЕЙ

Строфа I

Медея

О царь священных Афин
И мягких душой ионийцев владыка!
Здесь только что бранную песнь сыграла
Труба медноустая: что это значит?
Наверно, какой-нибудь враг оцепляет дружиной
Нашей земли пределы?
Или, может быть, воры -- на выдумку злые --
Отбив от пасущих,
Овечьи насильем стада угоняют?
Иль что, наконец,
Тебе ужалили сердце? Поведай!
Подумать: кому же и ждать из людей
От сильных подмоги,
И даже от юных, пожалуй, поддержки, --
Коль не тебе, Креусы потомок, Пандионов сын?

Строфа 2

Эгей

Сейчас весь путь перебрав
Ногами, из дальнего Исфма явился
Гонец и дела несказанные мужа
Поведал могучего. Синий убит им,
Надменный и силою высший из сметных, рождение
Бога долин Литейских
И кронида, земли колесателя, чадо.
В ущелье заросшем
Мужей убивавшего вепря сразил он...
И Скирон убит
Злодей, в борьбе и Керкион осилен.
И молот отцовский отбросил тяжелый
В досаде Прокопта,
Сильнейшего мужа познавши нежданно...
Мне страшно, увы! Какой же все это приемлет конец?

Строфа 3

Медея

А что же посол говорит?
Откуда и кто он, безвестный? Какую
Одежду он носит? В оружии ль бранном
И много ли войска ведет он с собою?
Иль видел гонец одного и без всяких доспехов?
Может быть, путь совершает,
Как торговец бродячий, тот муж неизвестный,
Когда на чужбину
И бодр, и крепок, и полон отвагой
Идет он, купцам
Гордясь присущею силой... Конечно,

Его на злодеев сам бог ополчил,
 Да кару примут.
 А вечно творившим обиды от кары
 Уйти не легко: все рано иль поздно приемлют конец.

Строфа 4

Эгей

Всего два мужа при нем, --
 Коль верить гонцу: и за мощные плечи
 Он меч перекинул...
 В руках же два дротика держит блестящих
 И голову сверх золотистых волос прикрывает
 Шлемом чеканки лаконской...
 Грудь пурпурный хитон окружил ему плотно,
 И сверху хламида
 Из шерсти овец фессалийских. И пламя
 Гефеста в очах
 Сверкает грозно. Почти еще мальчик,
 Подросток, но, чары Арея вкусив,
 Уж бредит войною,
 Весь полон он бранным бряцанием меди
 И жаждет узреть он славой любимые стены Афин.

Sources: Nilender, Grecheskaya literatura v izbrannykh perevodakh, pp. 68-70; 126-7

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ABBREVIATIONS

FO Filologicheskoe obozrenie

(KO) IFA, Knigi otrazhenii (1979)

L. Leningrad

M. Moscow

NZ Novyi zhurnal

RS Russkaya shkola

SPb St Petersburg

(ST) IFA, Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii

TE IFA, Teatr Evripida

ZMNP Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya

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CONCLUSION

Annensky's lyric poetry was the culmination of his literary career; the discussion of it has brought this study to a close.

It has emerged that Annensky's 'classical ideal' was not a unified phenomenon, but was made up of diverse and even contradictory elements. He felt enthusiasm for the literary and cultural relics of classical Greece and Rome, in particular Attic tragedy and lyric poetry, and worked throughout his career to introduce them to the Russian public. He was influenced by French and German neo-classicism, by the literary works of Racine and Goethe above all, and by the theories of Winckelmann. Like many of his contemporaries, he was influenced by Nietzsche's radical re-interpretation of classical culture in Die Geburt der Tragödie. His admiration for Winckelmann's tenets and for Nietzsche's 'Apollonian' spirit dictated his refusal to join with his contemporaries, such as Vyacheslav Ivanov, in celebration of the cult of Dionysus. The last element in Annensky's 'classical ideal' was deep devotion to the native Russian neo-classical tradition, to the lyric poetry of Pushkin, Fet, Apollon Maikov and Polonsky.

Certain elements in Annensky's appreciation of classical and neo-classical literature are constant. He admired Greek and Latin literature for its humanism, rationalism, and formal perfection. But his emphasis

on these qualities is at odds with his appreciation of the fragmentation and genre modifications he saw in the plays of Euripides. His admiration for the conventional mythologising of nineteenth-century Anacreontic poetry struggles with his knowledge of contemporary theories of myth.

Annensky's attitude to the classics evolved over the course of his literary career. He moved away from advocating and practising the close imitation of Attic models (see especially his earliest neo-classical tragedy Melanippa). In his later lyric poems, the classical tradition is maintained at a subtextual level, and is communicated to the reader allusively. Famira-kifared, his last play, represents a transitional phrase: its relationship to the classical tradition is overt, but the Attic models are very considerably altered by Modernist characterisation and linguistic effects. His essays on classical literature likewise move from close analysis of individual classical texts (as in his study of Lycophron's poetry), to free-associative assessments of the interaction of classical and modern literature (in his later essays on Euripides, or the essays on Russian literature published in the Knigi otrazhenii).

Annensky's personal feeling for the classics was dominated by important external factors. His position as a gimnaziya teacher placed him on the fringes of the academic world. He had been educated in the classics at secondary and university level; he was much admired as

a teacher. He had read widely in Greek and Latin literature; he respected the scholarly classical tradition. But he was not a scholar himself: that is, he held no university post; his essays on classical literature rarely enter into technical discussions; his presentation of textological facts depends on the work of others; most important of all, he almost always wrote for the general (though admittedly educated) public, whom he sought to convince of the virtues of reading classical and neo-classical literature, and of composing neo-classical texts themselves. Annensky took a certain level of classical education for granted: he was intolerant of translators whose Greek grammar failed them, and patronising towards readers who could not understand classical references. In his essays on classical literature, he shows awareness of the critical heritage. He would probably have been shocked by the attitude of one recent writer, who declares in the postscript to her novel on Themistokles, 'This is a work not of scholarship, but of imagination, and as such does not require a bibliography'.¹ But the classical texts Annensky studies are important to him as living literary works, not as repositories of forgotten facts and customs. Unlike his scholar contemporaries, he does not see them as hermetic and autonomous historical entities; he sees them as inspiration for the present.

1. Paton Walsh, Jill, Farewell Great King, Macmillan, London, 1972, 255

Annensky is not shy of anachronism and of distortion of a text's historical meaning; and in his essays on Euripides he resorts as often to lyrical paraphrase of the plays, to imaginative and associative interpretations, as he does in his essays on modern literature.

Educated and well-read as he was, Annensky was a schoolmaster who thought like a poet, not a poet who thought like a schoolmaster.

Another important external factor was the nature of the literary tradition with which Annensky chose to align himself: Symbolism, both in its European and its native Russian form. Annensky's biographical connection with Russian Symbolism began late, and his relations with other poets remained distant; but all his most significant literary works show his inner closeness to the movement. The esotericism of his literary tastes was typically Symbolist, though he wore his learning lightly, and never displayed the self-conscious erudition of an Ivanov or a Bryusov. Like the other Symbolists, he had eclectic literary tastes. Classical literature was for him the starting place of all European literature, and the Greek and Latin literary tradition was the tradition which he most admired. But he also enthused about contemporary texts, such as Dostoevsky's novels, whose character cuts right across neo-classical tenets. In his own writing the neo-classical high style jostles with colloquial speech and popular literary forms, such as doggerel rhymes, street cries and sentimental barrel organ ditties. In his plays the completeness

and coherence of classical forms is undercut by Modernist fragmentation, incoherence and hesitancy.

At the beginning of my thesis I spoke of wishing to disrupt the 'unassailable hierarchy' in which Annensky's works have so far been ranged.¹

I have the following adjustments to make. Though the essays on Euripides are over-shadowed by the context in which they were written (their pedagogical purpose is sometimes oppressively evident), certain passages in most of them, and certain entire essays (those on Medea, Hippolytus and Alcestis), display the critical flair which characterises the Knigi otrazhenii. I do not wish to play down the importance of Annensky's lyric poetry, but I feel that his neo-classical dramas, especially Famira-kifared, deserve to be included in the canon; their poetical merits are considerable, even if their theatrical merits, without Tairov's extraordinary talents, are insignificant.

I hope also that the lowly position given by English-speaking readers to Annensky's poetry has been altered. Annensky's idiosyncratic neo-classicism was perhaps the most influential aspect of his work. Unlike Vyacheslav Ivanov, he never achieved a harmonious synthesis of the classical and the Modernist sensibility; he admired the classical tradition from a distance, and could not consider himself a latter-day Greek.

1. See Introduction, page 4

But his modified, unacademic and tortuous neo-classical method was in the end more productive than the hieresiarchal erudition of Vyacheslav Ivanov. Annensky's traditional, 'Apollonian' emphasis on the balance and balance of classical culture had elements of neurotic withdrawal and life-denial; but in the changed political climate after the Revolution his re-vitalisation of the Russian nineteenth-century tradition sustained those who cared for the Ancient World at all in a way that Vyacheslav Ivanov's Dionysiac mysticism and Bacchanalian expansiveness did not.

