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THE LIFE AND LITERARY ACTIVITY OF SERGEJ ALEKSANDROVIČ
SOBOLEVSKIJ: THE DISCOVERY OF A MISSING LINK

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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The Ohio State University
1975

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1: Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2: Biography of S. A. Sobolevskij</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3: Sobolevskij and Puškin</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4: Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5: Sobolevskij and Mérimée</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 6: The Epigrams and Humorous Verse of Sobolevskij (Annotated)</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In the history of Russian literature one can name not a few persons who brought to that history little (sometimes even nothing) of their own creating, but who at the same time, thanks to their personalities, were famous in the world of literature, who played leading roles in literary circles, and who were not without influence on the course of contemporary literary life. One of these people is Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij, famous in his day as bibliographer, bibliophile, and humorist.

With these words V. Grekov introduced his single-page appreciation of Sobolevskij on the one hundredth anniversary of the latter's birth. Grekov later mentions Sobolevskij's close and long-lasting friendships with two of the great literary figures of the first half of the Nineteenth Century in Europe: Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin and Adam Mickiewicz. He does not, however, mention Sobolevskij's equally great friendship with a third figure: Prosper Mérimée.

Sobolevskij was indeed an intimate of all three. In fact, his is the personality which links all three authors together, but which is completely unknown to Western scholarship. He is indeed a "missing link" in the chain of literary associations among the three. It is in this light that this study examines his life, his literary associations, and his contributions, both creative and auxiliary.

Such a study has never been made in the West. Indeed, nothing has been written at all about
Sobolevskij in the West except for passing references
to him in biographies of Puškin or Mérimée or Mickiewicz,
or for brief mentions in footnotes. Further, there is
very little about him in western European scholarship,
with exceptions similar to those listed above. Still
further, although there have been attempts in Russian
and Soviet scholarship to present Sobolevskij to the
public, such attempts are either brief biographical
sketches with no attention paid in detail to his
literary contributions, or mere reproduction of his
correspondence, or finally publications of portions of
his output of witty epigrams and humorous poems with
no attempt to connect them with his everyday life and
his society.

Sobolevskij's chief distinction during his lifetime
was that of erudite and efficient bibliophile as well
as composer of witty epigrams. In the last-named guise
he was considered brilliant by his contemporaries.
Indeed, many of his epigrams and humorous poems were
often attributed to Puškin. Yet Sobolevskij did not
himself publish any of these trifles: all that we have
of them today are the result of efforts by his friends
and literary associates that they not be lost. Primary
among these efforts were those of P.I. Bartevev, who
published many of Sobolevskij's works during his forty
years as editor of the journal Russkij arxiv; and of
V. Kallaš, whose 1912 collection is mentioned in many sources but is very rarely found today.

Sobolevskij also wrote a large number of articles on bibliographical affairs, which appeared primarily in Russkij arxiv and Bibliograficheskie zapiski. These articles are of no literary interest but serve to cast light upon the character of their author.

From a literary standpoint most significant of all his writings is his sketch "Tainstvennye primety v žizni Puškina," in which he discusses the influence of superstition on Puškin's actions. It is in this brief article that Sobolevskij describes the lamentably accurate prediction by a German fortune-teller of the poet's death in his thirty-seventh year.

Finally there is Sobolevskij's extensive correspondence with such figures as Puškin, Mérimée, S. P. Ševyrév, M. N. Longinov, the brothers Ivan and Petr Kireevskij, and others, which gives a valuable picture of the times. In the correspondence one finds prolonged discussions of such interesting affairs as Sobolevskij's business dealings on behalf of Puškin, especially with reference to the poet's participation in the publication of the journal Moskovskij vestnik (Sobolevskij was one of the founders of this journal), and also with reference to Sobolevskij's financial assistance to Puškin. There one finds much of interest regarding
Sobolevskij's contributions to Petr Kireevskij's collections of folk songs; his trip through Italy with Mickiewicz in the summer of 1831 (and perhaps even—although this would be very difficult to prove—his aid to the Pole in the establishment of the Polish Legion in Italy in 1848); and his long-standing and intimate friendship with the French author and Russophile scholar Prosper Mérimée.

It may be in the area of this last consideration—his association with Mérimée—that Sobolevskij's ultimate importance to the literary world of the Nineteenth Century lies. It was Sobolevskij, by Mérimée's own admission, who exposed the Frenchman to Puškin's talent, resulting in what Paul de Saint-Victor so aptly referred to as the twenty-year literary exile of Mérimée in Russia. Mérimée's biographer A.W. Raitt has added,

...The significance of Mérimée's writings on Russian literature, as of his translations, lies less in their intrinsic value than in their contribution to the appreciation of Russian authors in France. It is reasonable to give him pride of place among those who paved the way for what has been called "the invasion of French literature by the Russians" in the 1880's. This movement would have occurred even without Mérimée, but he contributed much in creating a state of receptivity towards Russian novelists. ... His authority and his seriousness proved that interest in Russian literature was intellectually respectable.²

Sobolevskij, being responsible for Mérimée's studies, must therefore also be considered influential in
awakening the interest of France in the burgeoning literary activity of Russia.

As noted, Sobolevskij has other claims to being remembered. He was in 1827 the financial backer of M.A. Maksimović in the publication by the latter of his collection Malorossijskije pesni. He aided Puškin in efforts toward publication of several works: Ruslan i Ljudmila; Brat'ja razbojniki; Cygany; and Chapter II of Evgenij Onegin. He (and not Venevitinov, as Professor E.J. Simmons, among others, claims) provided Puškin with the forum for the first reading of Boris Godunov on September 10, 1825. He was one of the founders of the Moskovskij Vestnik in 1826-1827. He collected for Puškin hundreds of Russian folk songs which neither he nor the poet, in spite of their first intentions, ever published, and which they eventually turned over to Petr Kireevskij. He was probably responsible for introducing Puškin and Mickiewicz, whose resulting friendship led to the two great literary works, the Digression in Part III of Forefathers' Eve and The Bronze Horseman. Finally, he at Puškin's request elicited from Mérimée the latter's famous explanation of the genesis of his collection of bogus Serbian folk songs La Guzla—a work portions of which in translation became the major part of Puškin's Songs of the Western Slavs, and were also translated into Polish by Mickiewicz.
As noted, no comprehensive appreciation of Sobolevskij exists. The present study serves to fill that gap. It examines in detail the relationship of Sobolevskij and Puškin, including the former's services as literary agent and publisher for the latter, his aid in financial affairs, his efforts as research assistant, and, most importantly, his role as propagandizer of the poet in the west. It examines his friendship with Mickiewicz and his financial help to the Polish poet in Italy. It further examines his friendship with Mérimée, with the result of the latter's becoming an influential advocate of Russian literature in France. Finally, it presents over one hundred of Sobolevskij's epigrams and humorous poems and places them in historical perspective.

The only previous major student of Sobolevskij was the Soviet author A. K. Vinogradov, whose two books, the 1928 Mérimée's Letters to Sobolevskij and the 1937 Mérimée's Letters to Dubenskaja, have been cited by many scholars as a source of information during research into the life of A. S. Puškin. Among these scholars are such eminent personalities as St. Pigoń (in his preparation of Mickiewicz' correspondence for inclusion in the full Polish edition of the collected works of Mickiewicz); Wacław Lednicki (in both Przyjaciele Moskale and Adam Mickiewicz in
World Literature); Dmitrij Blagoj (in Volume V of the Soviet collection of selected works of Mickiewicz); Samuel Fiszman (in his translation and study of Puskin's The Bronze Horseman); Leon Gomolicki (in his study of Mickiewicz' life in Russia between 1824 and 1829); Maurice Parturier (in his edition of the correspondence of Mérimée); and others both western and eastern.3

The present study clearly shows many shortcomings in Vinogradov's widely-cited works, especially the earlier—shortcomings which result from his cavalier scholarship, and which practically nullify his reliability as an interpreter of the facts which he has so carefully gathered. However, it should be made clear from the outset that the present study in impeaching Vinogradov deals with his own interpretations of the facts he has garnered, not intending thereby to impeach either the reliability of the facts themselves or of the works which cite him as a source. The explanation here is simple enough; Vinogradov frequently presents photographic facsimile reproductions of the letters and other documents which he interprets; it is this facsimile material which has been used for the most part by those who have cited Vinogradov. His photographic facsimile materials are very useful; his own interpretations of those materials are in many cases faulty.

Wacław Lednicki in Przyjaciele Moskale4 takes
strong issue with Vinogradov's lack of measure—which is a particularly comforting thought for the present author. It is hoped that these efforts to present a rational and considered critique of Vinogradov will be of assistance in the future to any who might happen to discover his work.

In her long poem "The Moscow Madhouse of 1858," Countess E. P. Rostopčina described Sobolevskij in these terms:

Unknown composer of epigrams known to all, dispeller of lies by his aid, enemy of all fools and idiots. . . . You will not find him in print, but everyone knows him by heart; and for the writers' fraternity he is both judge and critic; He allows no errors, forgives no reservation; his smile alone frightens and punishes them. 5

The present study will show the validity of these sentiments. Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij, long a friend of the great, is indeed worthy of this attention.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. V. Grekov, "Pamjati S. A. Sobolevskogo (K stoletiju so dnja ego roždenija)." Novoe vremja, No. 9887, 13/26 September 1903, 6.

В истории русской литературы можно назвать немало имен людей, которые мало внесли в литературу своего собственного /иногда даже ничего/, но в то же время, благодаря своим личным данным, пользовались широкой известностью в литературном мире, играли видную роль в литературных кружках и не оставались без влияния на ход современной им литературной жизни. К таким людям принадлежит и Сергей Александрович Соболевский, известный в свое время библиограф, библиофил и юморист...


3. All these works are cited fully in the bibliography to this study, and therefore full titles and publication information may be found there.


5. E. P. Rostopčina, "Dom sumasšedšíx v Moskve v 1858 g." (Russkaja starina, 1908,) Volume 46, III, 143.

Неизвестный сочинитель
Всем известных эпиграм,
Лжи и врucheм гонитель,
Враг всем дурам, всем глупцам.

Прескокойно негодует
Наш неизданный поэт,
Острой щуткой всех бичует,
И его боится свет!

Не найдешь его в печати,
Неизусть известен всем;
А для пищущей он братьи
Суд и критик между тем. /продолжение следует/
Не допустит он ошибки,
Недомолвки не простит,
Вид одной его улыбки
Их пугает и казнит.

Он в Венеции, в Париже,
В Риме, в Лондоне бывал,
И чтоб край узнать поближе,
Всюду женщин изучал.

Уж Мадрид с графиней Тэба
На словах венчал его ...;
Но к бульдогам дало небо
Страсть ему взамен всего.

-/-
CHAPTER TWO
SOBOLEVSKIJ'S BIOGRAPHY

Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij was born in Riga on September 10, 1803. He was the illegitimate son of wealthy parents, Aleksandr Nikolaevič Sojmonov (1780-1856) and Anna Ivanovna Lobkova ( ? -1827).¹

A. N. Sojmonov was a member of an old landed family. His father's brother was Petr Aleksandrovič Sojmonov, Secretary of State to the Empress Ekaterina II. A. N. Sojmonov was the husband of Maria Aleksandrovná Levaševa, daughter of General-Poročik Levašev. Three children were born of this marriage: two daughters, Ekaterina and Susanna, and a son, Nikolaj, the heir (1828-1868).²

The Sojmonov family lived well, in an atmosphere of culture and wealth, and moved freely in the highest levels of Moscow society. They were especially famed for their musical evenings, at which foreign, particularly Italian, artists frequently performed.³

Sobolevskij's mother Anna Ivanovna Lobkova, née Ignat'eva, was the widow of Brigadier-General Lobkov. Her grandfather was General-Poročik Stepan Lukić Ignat'ev (died 1747), commander of the Saint Petersburg garrison during the reigns of the Empresses Anna Ioannovna and Elizaveta Petrovna.⁴
At birth Sobolevskij was given the name of an old Polish family, whose emblem of a raven ("Slepowron") appeared on his arms and may still be seen in his bookplates.

Sojmonov never legally acknowledged his son, but did not conceal the relationship. Interestingly enough, Sobolevskij maintained friendly relations with his half-sisters, visited them, and engaged in a regular correspondence with them. He was also close to his father's wife in later years. Although records, including his obituary, do not show when Sojmonov married, one must believe that it was after the birth of Sobolevskij; if that be so, Maria Aleksandrovna's acceptance of her husband's son becomes more understandable. One thinks that, if the boy were the by-product of a marital infidelity, she would have refused to associate with him and would most certainly never have allowed her daughters to be in his presence.

Sobolevskij's mother, Anna Ivanovna, a woman of great intelligence, was the boy's guardian; Sojmonov also saw his son at times. With her wealth, Anna Ivanovna was able to bring up the young Sergej as befitted a boy of his heritage. At one time in later years, Sobolevskij reported to the editor Pletnev that his education had been of a practical nature: he could write three languages (probably German, French,
and Russian) as a boy without knowing what grammar was. He also early knew Latin, and later translated into that language Karamzin's History of the Russian State. 9

The young Sobolevskij spent the first fifteen years of his life in Moscow with his mother. In 1818 10 he was enrolled in the Nobles' Boarding School (Blagorodnyj Pansion) of the Saint Petersburg Pedagogical Institute (which, reorganized in 1819, became St. Petersburg University 11), opened on September 1, 1817. 12 Among his classmates were several with whom he would maintain life-long relationships: Andrej Aleksandrovič Kraevskij, later a jounalist and publisher; Nikolaj Andreevič Markevič; Nikolaj Aleksandrovič Mel'gunov; Kostantin Petrovič Masal'skij; 13 and Nikolaj Ivanovič Pavliščev, 14 later husband of Ol'ga Sergeevna Puškina. There were not, however, Sobolevskij's closest Pansion friends; that distinction was reserved for three young men with whose lives Sobolevskij's would be intimately bound until death separated them. They were Lev Sergeevič Puškin, brother of the poet; Mixail Ivanovič Glinka, later Russia's first major composer; and Pavel Voinovič Naščokin. 15 Sobolevskij was to outlive all three of them.

The four-year curriculum of the Pansion is as significant a factor in understanding the character of Sobolevskij as are his ancestry, his father's
characteristics, and the surroundings in which his mother raised him. The curriculum had two aims: to prepare its students to hear courses at the Institute and at universities, with the eventual aim of acquiring a higher scholarly degree; and to prepare them for public service. Subjects taught included the following: Holy Writ, philosophy, history, geography, statistics, political economics, jurisprudence, mathematics, physics, natural sciences, Russian literature, Greek, Latin, German, French, English, Persian, and "all arts". Only upper-level courses were taught by qualified professors; the junior students learned under less qualified people, often even "many various eccentrics," in the words of Sobolevskij's biographer Saitov.16

Sobolevskij's inclinations toward the world of literary activity began to appear during his Pansion years. Two recorded instances involve creative work, Glinka, and Markević; one has to do with publishing and involves Aleksandr Sergeević Puškin; and another concerns Sobolevskij's first attempts at poetry and will be found on pages 247-250.

Often the Pansion teachers were the butt of student jokes. One such witticism, the joint product of the budding literary talent of Sobolevskij and the incipient musical gift of Glinka, is a song which the two schoolfellows wrote concerning an official of the
Pansion, the Deputy Inspector (Podinspektor) Kolmakov.

Glinka remembered the event thusly in his memoirs:

Our good Deputy Inspector Ivan Ekimović Kolmakov was our comforter. Whenever he would appear, we would always become happy. His entertaining tricks, accompanied by winkings and odd grimaces, were well known to many people who did not know him personally. . . . We used to sing this historical cantata at the Pansion during lunch and dinner. . . . The student Sobolevskij (who subsequently wrote so many superb epigrams) decided to glorify Ivan Ekimović; I adapted to the verses the then-popular song of Kavos "Duša moja, dušen'ka." It was not difficult to learn it: the tune was known by everyone, and the verse stuck involuntarily in the memory. Although we all loved Ivan Ekimović for his inexpressible goodness, we could not, however, refrain from having a little fun at his expense, all the more because Ivan Ekimović "were pleased to become angry" (his own words) in an extraordinarily funny fashion.17

Sobolevskij during his Pansion years attempted to write at least a portion of a novel. The story is told in his memoirs by Nikolaj Andreević Markević: "The two of us together wrote a novel . . . It was a work of genius; a book dealer bought it from us for
300 rubles. Why, having paid the money, the book dealer did not print it, I do not know. . . . "N. Orlova indicates that such a work actually exists: "In Markevič's archives . . . there has been preserved an excerpt of literary content, written in Sobolevskij's hand, with the heading: 'Ch. 10.' It is possible that this is indeed a portion of a novel, written jointly with Markevič, since there is on the paper a watermark: '1818 g.' "19

It is Markevič, by the way, who has left the following description of Sobolevskij during these years:

With his name are bound up all my best recollections . . . Tall, tall, long-legged, clumsy, seemingly ready to be broken, skinny as Kascej, with hair the color of flax, with eyes of a light blue, the color of the Ižorsk sky. "Pod"ežaja pod ižory,/Ja vzgljanul na nebesa,/I pripomnil vaši vzory,/Vasi svetlye glaza." A sharp nose which seemed to have no end,—in short, I called him "Ibis". . . . In society Sobolevskij was given another nickname: "Mefistofel". . . . Often during our singing or dancing lessons we . . . would disappear secretly from the walls of our jail and go off to a confectioner's shop or to Al. Puškin. . . .20

Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin, to whom Sobolevskij was introduced by Lev Puškin, was destined to become one of Sobolevskij's closest friends. The latter first mentioned the poet in a letter to his father written in December, 1818:

Dites, je vous prie, M. Swetchin que les oeuvres du jeune Пушкін vont paraître, et que s'il a le dessein, je pourrai lui en procurer un billet, car c'est moi, qui conjointement avec
son frère, a été chargé par lui de distribuer les billets dans notre pension. Le prix pour la souscription est dr[sic] 10 roubles pour 2 volumes en 12. Қуқовскій seul en a pris 100. 21

This is but the first of Sobolevskij's enterprises at publication on Puškin's behalf. Unfortunately this edition never saw the light of day; 22 but the planning of it is confirmed in a letter from A. I. Turgenev to Prince P. A. Vjazemskij. 23 The manuscript copy of the collection was found by V. I. Saitov in the Moscow Public Library. 24 Sobolevskij's letter is also evidence that he and his father were in touch with one another during the boy's school years, and that Sergej was sufficiently acquainted with his father's family to know that Svečin, Sojmonov's cousin, would be interested in Puškin's project.

Sobolevskij was also befriended by Vasilij L'vovič Puškin, the poet and the uncle of the Puškin brothers. The older Puškin encouraged his passion for literary pursuits and taught him to recite both French and Russian literary works by heart, as Sobolevskij warmly recalled many years later. 25

That inclination toward literature was also encouraged by Vil'gel'm Karlovič Kjuxel'becker, A. S. Puškin's old and dear comrade from the Lyceum of Carskoe Selo, now instructor of Russian at the Pansion. Sobolevskij himself testified that he, Glinka, Kjuxel'becker, and the Puškin brothers often gathered
in Kjuxel'beker's apartment on the mezzanine of the Pansion building. The instructor's love of literary activity and his support of his student's efforts had a deleterious effect on Sobolevskij's academic career: he completely neglected all his studies except those connected with literature. Only the benevolent intervention of the deeply respected and admired Andrej Andreevič Lindkvist, inspector of the Pansion, brought Sobolevskij back onto an even keel. The young man returned to his required studies, and further became deeply involved in learning Spanish, Portuguese, and English—all of which he would come to use in his mature years during his several trips abroad.

In 1819 Sobolevskij ran seriously afoul of the administration of the Pansion. Details of the difficulties are not known; it is clear that he was unable to accept the strong religious demands made on the students by D. A. Kavelin, Director of the Pedagogical Institute (and subsequently of its successor, the University). There exists a letter from A. S. Puškin, dated July 19, 1819, to his patron A. I. Turgenev, asking help of the latter in preventing Sobolevskij's expulsion from the Pansion (at the time, Turgenev was director of the Department of Spiritual Affairs in the Ministry of Spiritual Affairs and Public Instruction):
When you see white-eyed Kavelin, talk with him, at least for the sake of your Christ, about Sobolevskij, a student at the University Pansion. Kavelin is tormenting him because of some sort of teleological thoughts and is forcing this young man, who is worthy in all respects, out of the Pansion, by leaving him in the lower sections in spite of his successes and great abilities. You have been Sobolevskij's patron; remember him and, in your role of "cardinal-nephew", shut the mouth of Doctor of Theology Kavglin, who is trying to become an inquisitor.

Turgenev obviously spoke in behalf of Sobolevskij, for the young man remained at the Pansion until his graduation in July 1821. Upon graduating he was entered into the twelfth grade of the Table of Ranks. He did not continue with a university education, as he had hoped; but rather, in April 1822, he went to work in the Moscow Archive of the State Department of Foreign Affairs.

Under the leadership of Aleksej Fjodorovič Malinovskij, the Archive, founded by the Empress Ekaterina II, had as its goal the making accessible to all interested Russians of documents dealing with Russian history. The Archive during the reign of Aleksandr I served as a place of employment for younger members of the aristocracy who did not care for military service, and who sought prominent but undemanding careers in the diplomatic service. The Archive could very well serve as a stepping-stone to sinecures in the Ministry proper. Interesting information regarding the duties of the young men of the Archive has been
preserved in the memoirs of A. I. Košelev, one of Sobolevskij's contemporaries:

Our duty in the main consisted in the analysis, reading and description of ancient columns. One can readily understand that such an occupation was of little allure to us. On the other hand, the administration was very pleasant: it did not demand of us a great deal of work. At first conversations were our main preoccupation; but later we conceived the idea of writing tales in such fashion that each tale would be composed by all of us simultaneously. There were ten men who participated in this society, and we proposed that each would write no more than two pages and would not tell his plan for the continuation. As there were gifted people among us, these compositions were very entertaining, and we assiduously appeared at the Archive on the appointed days—on Mondays and Thursdays. The Archive had the reputation of an assembly of brilliant Moscow youth, and the rank of "Arxivnyj junóša" [archive youth] became extraordinarily honorable, with the final result that we even became part of the verse of A. S. Puškin, then emerging into great repute.34

These "archive youths" were indeed a part of Puškin's Eugene Onegin. The title, however, was not Puškin's invention but Sobolevskij's.35 Among these young men were the brothers D. V. and A. V. Venevitinov, the brothers I. V. and P. V. Kireevskij, F. S. Xomjakov, N. A. Mel'gunov, V. P. Titov, I. S. Mal'cov, A. I. Košelev, and S. P. Ševyrev,36 the Meščerskij brothers,37 and of course Sobolevskij.

Sobolevskij lived in his father's house in Moscow, and cut a great figure in society on his mother's money. He was not particularly attentive to his duties at the Archive; indeed, by May, 1828, it had been decided to request him to retire. In a letter of
May 23, 1828, Aleksandr Jakovlevič Bulgakov, Sobolevskij's superior, wrote: "Tomorrow we will call in the young Sobolevskij to tell him to apply for retirement: he reports himself as being ill, but in fact attends all the parties and comes close to living in the streets."

Sobolevskij did indeed enjoy the good life—so much so that Puškin bestowed upon him such nicknames as "Falstaff," "Caliban," "Stomach," and "Glutton." But his way of life did not keep him from involvement in the literary activity of the city. His contacts were formed through friends in the Archive who were welcome guests in literary salons, and who were at times members of philosophical circles in Petersburg. He published his first work in the Damskij Žurnal in 1824, under the pen-name "I. Kievskij;" it was a humorous poem-acrostic, and is to be found on page 251 of this work.

As noted, the "arxivnye junosi" were welcome guests at literary salons. Principal among such gatherings were those around Avdot'ja Petrovna Elagina, mother of Kireevskij brothers, and Princess Zinaida A. Volkonskaja. Both these ladies were good friends of Sobolevskij.

Philosophical circles—groups informally gathered to discuss western trends of thought not admissible of discussion at the strictly religious universities
or in the open--also attracted many of the "arxivnye 
junoki." Sobolevskij was on the fringes of at least 
three of these groups, although he seems to have been 
a member of none of them.

One such was that gathered around Semen Egorovič 
Raič, tutor of the young Fedor Ivanovič Tjutčev. Mem­
biers of this group included M. P. Pogodin, the future 
editor; Košelev; Titov; Ševyrev; and Prince V. F. 
Odoevskij; as well as N. Polevoj, another future 
editor; and M. A. Maksimovič. Through Polevoj 
Sobolevskij met Prince P. A. Vjazemskij, the poet E. A. 
Baratynskij, and the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, an 
exile who had settled in Moscow in December 1825.

Another group was that of the Society of the 
Lovers of Wisdom, chief among whose members were D. V. 
Venevitinov, I. V. Kireevskij, Košelev, N.M. Rožalin, 
Pogodin, Odoevskij, P. V. Kireevskij, and Ševyrev-- 
many of whom also gathered around Raič. The principal 
organizer of this group was Venevitinov.

From among these overlapping groups came many of 
Sobolevskij's closest friends. Perhaps primary among 
them was Prince V. F. Odoevskij. Their bond lasted 
for fifty years--until Odoevskij's death in 1869. In 
1861 the two would take apartments on adjacent floors 
in the same house. Almost without doubt Sobolevskij 
was the model for the elderly bibliophile Aleksej 
Stepanič in Odoevskij's tale "Opere del Cavaliere
Giambattista Piranesi." Several of Sobolevskij's humorous verses on Odoevskij may be read in Chapter VI below.

M. A. Maksimovič in 1827 became editor of a collection of Ukrainian folk songs, Malorossijskie pesni. Sobolevskij was the financial backer of the enterprise. This interest of Sobolevskij's in native literature—a common interest among the young men of his acquaintance—would appear again in his helping A. S. Puškin to gather material for the latter's projected, but incompletely, edition of Russian folk songs, and would further occupy him, in one guise or another, almost until the end of his days.

Another friend, M. P. Pogodin, eventually became the editor of the Moscow Herald, the journal begun in 1826-1827 by the members of the by then disbanded Society of the Lovers of Wisdom. Ševyrev, Rožalin, and Titov would also become active in the production of the journal; and Ševyrev would be the recipient of a long series of extremely interesting letters to be written by Sobolevskij during the latter's five-year trip to western Europe in 1828-1833. As regards the Moscow Herald, Sobolevskij was to have no small role in its creation and publication, was to act as its intermediary with A. S. Puškin, and consequently was to be
intimately associated with all the gentlemen named above.

In 1867 Sobolevskij recalled with affection the many meetings among the "arxivnye junosi." His letter to Pogodin containing these reminiscences will be discussed in Chapter III below, since A. S. Puškin is most directly involved, and indeed since most of Sobolevskij's literary activity during the Archive period of his life is connected with Puškin and the *Moscow Herald.*

In July 1827 Sobolevskij's mother died intestate. Since the young man was illegitimate, he had no claim on the estate, which passed to Anna Ivanovna's distant relations. Despite the constant prodding of his friends, Sobolevskij adamantly refused to approach the dying woman with a request that she make him her heir. Consequently, after her death, Sobolevskij was forced to reduce the standard of his living; fortunately for him, however, Anna Ivanovna had at his birth made certain financial settlements upon him, so he was not destitute.

On July 15, 1827, Aleksandr Puškin wrote to Sobolevskij:

*I learned of your grief last night and received your two letters. What can I say to you? Don't cry over spilled milk; don't rejoice upon finding, don't weep upon losing—I send you what cash I have on hand, you will receive the remaining 2500' later. My Gypsies are not at all selling; this money is hard-earned, won at cards by the sweat of my brow from our friend Poltorackij.*
Come to Petersburg if you can. I would like to see you and talk about the future. Bear manfully the change in your fate, that is, cut your coat according to the cloth—everything will be ground up finely, there will be flour. You see that, except for proverbs, I have nothing sensible to say to you. Farewell, my friend.48

One feels that the tone of this letter is not that required for a letter of sympathy to a friend on the occasion of the loss of his beloved mother. Perhaps it instead referred to the change of Sobolevskij's financial condition, which he probably came to realize only several days after Anna Ivanovna's death, when the feared distribution of heritage became a reality. Indeed, the fact that Puškin apparently enclosed money in the letter substantiates this theory. P.I. Bartenev,49 many years later Sobolevskij's great friend and also one of the first biographers of Puškin; claims that the cited letter is but the second of two the poet sent his friend at this time. Bartenev was shown another by Sobolevskij, an earlier one, in which Puškin declared that previously he had only loved Sobolevskij, but now respected him as well: this presumably because Sobolevskij refused to trouble the dying woman with what to him was a relative trifle. In going through Sobolevskij's papers after his death, however, Bartenev did not find the first letter; nor has any of the subsequent modest investigation of Sobolevskij's archives discovered it. Neither has any trace been found of the two letters to Puškin which the poet
ments in the first sentence. One must here accept Bartenev's evidence as fact.

In 1828 A. S. Griboedov was sent on a diplomatic mission to Persia. According to N. V. Berg, who would years later meet Sobolevskij in the Moscow salon of Countess Elizaveta Petrovna Rostopčina, Griboedov offered to make Sobolevskij and "Mal'cov"—presumably I. S. Mal'cov—members of his mission. Sobolevskij declined; Mal'cov went, and was the only member of the mission staff to escape the massacre in which Griboedov was killed in Teheran in 1829.50 Although Berg was not sympathetic with Sobolevskij in the years of their acquaintanceship, there is no reason to doubt this story: Berg certainly heard it from its subject in society and would have had nothing to gain or lose by reporting it as he heard it.

By October, 1828, Sobolevskij was sufficiently prepared financially to undertake a journey—the first of his five to western Europe. During the period of his first trip, which lasted until July, 1833, Sobolevskij lost direct contact with Puškin. He did, however, spend some time with Adam Mickiewicz, and met the French author Prosper Mérimée. As noted, Sobolevskij's friendship with Mickiewicz will be discussed in full in Chapter IV below, and that with Mérimée, in Chapter V. Therefore, in the remaining part of this chapter,
meetings and conversations with these gentlemen will be mentioned only.

Throughout most of the period of his trip Sobolevskij maintained a lively correspondence with S. P. Ševyrev, who left Russia in early 1829 for Rome, where he lived until the fall of 1832. These letters of Sobolevskij were published by Bartenev in Russkij arxiv in 1909 and serve as an interesting and revealing window into Sobolevskij's trip. They will be cited many times throughout the remainder of this work.

Passing through Warsaw in November 1828, where he met Adam Czartoryski, Joachim Lelewel, Antoni Eduard Odyniec and others, Sobolevskij went by way of Krakow and Vienna to Venice, arriving there on December 20. He spent the first year of his trip in Italy, a country of which he had presumably learned from the Italian artists who performed at his father's musical evenings when he was a boy and which he was to grow to love. During this first visit he passed six months in Florence, and also visited Rome and Naples.

On November 25, 1829, Sobolevskij arrived in Paris. Prince Aleksandr Nikitič Volkonskij, whom he had visited in Rome, had provided him with a letter of introduction to the French Minister of Arts. On December 8 he wrote his first impressions of the French capital to Ševyrev (the letter is very interesting, but far too long to be included here); he also told
Sevyrev that he had been notified of the acceptance of his request to retire, on account of illness: "Oh, woe, woe! I am no longer in the Archive!" 54

Sobolevskij quickly assimilated himself into the climate of literary Paris. Vinogradov presents a photograph-fascimile reproduction of Sobolevskij's list of the "at-home" days of illustrious Parisians. 55 It contains some impressive names: Ségur, the French ambassador to the court of Ekaterina II (and therefore presumably an acquaintance of Sobolevskij's relatives) and Napoleon's adjutant in 1812; Jaumart, a member of the Institute; Madame Récamier and Gérard, keepers of brilliant literary salons; Cuvier, the naturalist; the Marquis de Lafayette, hero of the American Revolution; Brogly, the patron of Stendhal; Paul-Henri Foucher, brother-in-law of Victor Hugo; Sobolevskij's own relative Sof'ja Petrovna Svečina, née Sojmonova; and perhaps most importantly of all, for her influence on the future course of his literary life, Virginie Ancelot, whose husband Jacques wrote one of the first travel books on Russia, 56 which the two of them had visited as members of the official French embassy to the coronation of the Emperor Nikolaj I in 1826. Sobolevskij was introduced to Virginie Ancelot by letter from A. I. Turgenev, who thus again played a significant role in his life. 57

Sobolevskij speaks of his new acquaintances in a letter of December 25 (n.s.), 1829, to Ivan Kireevskij:
Of the women, I often visit the famous Récamier, who is fifty-two years old and who appears to be, without exaggeration, no more than twenty-four. There I see Chateaubriand and in general all society which used to gather at Mme. de Staël's and which frightened Napoleon. At Ancelot's and Julien's I meet all the mediocrity of the political and scientific world, such as Alfred de Vigny, Soumét, Mérimée (the author of the Theater of Clara Gazul), V. Hugo at the former's, Balbi and the devil knows who else at the latter's. At Saint-Aulaire's I have been closely acquainted with Villemain, Barante, Guizot; I often visit the kind and intelligent Ségur, the reputed great charlatan Cuvier. Sismondi, to whom I have a letter, is not here; he is getting married in Geneva. At Gérard's, with whom I am very intimate, are all the artists, literary lights, and musicians in a herd...58

By February 6, 1830, Sobolevskij had become conversant with the French literary trends of the day. On that date he wrote jointly to Ševyrev and Adam Mickiewicz in Rome:

'We are awaiting the first performance of Hernani, a work by Victor Hugo. This will be the deciding battle between classicism and romanticism. Both sides are so fierce that we are awaiting a first fight. As for me, I prepared a cudgel in order to maintain armed neutrality.59

Sobolevskij's mentors in literary affairs were doubtless Mérimée and Stendhal. At the time of the Russian's visit to Paris, Mérimée was a recognized artist, and Stendhal was making final preparations for the publication of Le rouge et le noir, which would appear in 1830. Both authors were proponents of the classical school of objectivity and simplicity; these characteristics appealed to Sobolevskij as well, attuned as he was to the Puškin idiom.
Sobolevskij wrote to Ševyrev on March 9 (the premiere of *Hernani* had taken place on February 25):

In a few days I shall send you a copy of *Hernani*, drama in verse of Victor Hugo, with which he intended to defeat Racine and Shakespeare with the same blow. Read them, my friend, and be amazed: such nonsense, and the verses become so passionate! In the parterre for six performances in a row there sat only partisans; if someone sneezed—in chorus: "Throw the plotter out!" They raised it to the skies. But at the seventh performance, no matter how hard the friends tried, the play was whistled down so badly that the next day the author put it back into his briefcase.60

The political atmosphere of Paris in early 1830, brought about by the eventually unsuccessful machinations of Charles X, was as unsettled as was the literary atmosphere. However, both Sobolevskij and his new—and life-long—friend Mérimée were fated to leave the city before the outbreak of revolution in July. The former seems to have had a premonition about this affair. In a letter of August 19, 1830, written from Turin to Ševyrev in Rome, and which will be referred to several times in the next few pages, Sobolevskij laments his lack of foresight in not publishing his predictions of "today's events:"

How about these Frenchmen! It's a miracle—they are good fellows when it comes to politics. Newspapers are not allowed through to us here, and Voroncov is away, so there is no chance to profit from diplomatic [channels]. I am sorry only for my own glory: I was about to prepare a chapter in which I foretell everything that is happening now: it will be like closing the barn door after the theft of the horse.61
Sobolevskij left Paris on April 10 and Mérimée, on June 27. Several months later, however, a rumor gained currency in Moscow to the effect that Sobolevskij had been wounded on the barricades in July, and had died as a result; Sobolevskij's former superior at the Archive, Bulgakov, wrote of this supposed event on November 29, 1830.62

The Russian traveller had gone via Belgium and Holland to London, in order to investigate the latest manufacturing techniques preparatory to establishing his own firm.63 Leaving England and visiting several cities en route, he arrived in Munich on June 1164 to visit the Russian colony there, which by this time included the Kireevskij brothers Ivan and Petr, Rožalin, and the poet Tjutčev. This visit is important for it was at this time that Petr Kireevskij acquired his interest in Slavic folk songs through the enthusiasm of Sobolevskij.

It is worth noting at this point that on June 27, as mentioned above, Mérimée left Paris for his first visit to Spain.65 On this trip he became acquainted with Don Cipriano Guzman Palafox y Portocarrero, younger brother and heir of the Count Montijo. Don Cipriano and his wife were the parents of two daughters, whom Mérimée met during his visit: five-year-old Paca and four-year-old Eugenia. The countess Manuela eventually
related to the French author a story which he developed into his novella *Carmen*, a tale in which the presence of Puškin can also be felt. Eugenia was fated to become the Empress Eugénie, wife of Napoleon III.

It now becomes necessary to spend some time investigating inaccuracies in A.K. Vinogradov's account of Sobolevskij's whereabouts in the summer of 1830. For some fifty years Vinogradov has enjoyed a reputation as the initiator of Sobolevskij-Mérimée studies, and his two books, *Mérimé v pis'max k Sobolevskomu* of 1928, and *Mérimé v pis'max k Dubenskoi. Pis'ma sem'e Lagrene* of 1937, have won acceptance as basic references in the field; a partial listing of authors who cite them is to be found in the introduction to the present work. From certain aspects this reputation is deserved: Vinogradov often includes in his books photoreproductions of original documents which would otherwise be totally inaccessible under some circumstances; he also brings forward material from the Sobolevskij archives for the first time. Yet for reasons known only to himself, Vinogradov too frequently treats his source material in extraordinarily cavalier fashion, omitting, eliding, and changing as he sees fit. One must therefore be careful to examine Vinogradov's statements before accepting their accuracy. His description of Sobolevskij's itinerary between England and Italy in
the summer of 1830 is a case in point, and will serve to illustrate the difficulties facing one who uses Vinogradov; it will also serve to prepare the way for other instances below showing similar shortcomings.

In discussing Sobolevskij's trip from London to Turin, Vinogradov inexplicably ignores completely the Russian traveler's month-long visit to Munich (which, as noted, is important in the Sobolevskij-Puškin-Petr Kireevsky relationship); he seemingly transfers Sobolevskij's subsequent visit to Zurich from July 30 to June; and he errs in saying Sobolevskij spent August 1830 in Milan:

Sobolevskij's travel journal shows that on June 2, 1830, he was already in Heidelberg. Quickly travelling through Germany, on the 20th he arrives in Zurich, and spends the end of July and August in Milan.66

The first three words of this passage may be taken to mean either that the journal is Vinogradov's authority for the entire passage, or that it is his authority for only the first statement. If the first case be his intent, then either the journal is wrong; or the letters of Sobolevskij, the Kireevskij brothers, and others which describe the Munich visit are all forgeries; or else Vinogradov is a careless writer. If the second case be his intent, Vinogradov is a careless writer who has chosen to ignore the letters mentioned. Let us examine the evidence in detail and set the record straight.
First, and very strong, evidence in accusing Vinogradov of negligence in his handling of facts is his discussion on page 246 of the same work a letter from Sobolevskij to Ševyrev dated from Munich on July 4, 1830, and carried as one of the series of Sobolevskij's letters to Ševyrev in the very volume of Russkij arxiv to which Vinogradov constantly refers in his footnotes (the same source for the letters used by the present writer).

There is very ample evidence that Sobolevskij indeed did visit Munich between June 11 and July 13. Here, for example, is a letter from Sobolevskij to Ševyrev, dated from Karlsruhe on June 7, 1830; one quotes from the letter, indicating by square brackets five separate passages arbitrarily numbered one through five, and subsequently discusses, using the numbers, Vinogradov's very strange handling of the letter:

(1) I am leaving here tomorrow for Munich, where I plan to embrace some of ours. 
(2) Add for me a couple of words about Mickiewicz. 
(3) And write saying when the Sojmonovs returned to Rome. 
(4) I want to arrange a walking trip through Switzerland as part of a crowd and to convince Adam Adamovič Vral'man on this score (that is, Mickiewicz). 
(5) I have come to love travel by foot along the Rhine, and what a country that is, where in every village one finds a name familiar from the menu of Kister.

Vinogradov on page 32 quotes two passages from this letter, which he dates "July 7, 1830." First he quotes the passage marked "5," without citing its source.
Immediately, in the very next sentence, and after a brief phrase of introduction, he quotes passage "4," giving the letter from Karlsruhe as its source. He totally omits passages "1," "2," and "3." Yet later, on page 246, Vinogradov once more uses this letter, this time correctly (that is, in agreement with the date given in Russkij arxiv) dating it "June 7, 1830," and this time quoting passages "2" and "4," omitting the intervening passage "3" with no editorial indication of having done so, and also omitting passages "1" and "5." Thus Vinogradov succeeds in eliminating in both instances Sobolevskij's comment on his projected visit to Munich.

Another piece of evidence affirming Sobolevskij's Munich trip is his letter to Ševyrev, dated from that city on July 4, 1830, in which Sobolevskij states that he arrived there on the evening of the 11th\textsuperscript{68}—obviously the eleventh of June. As noted, Vinogradov himself cites this letter on page 246, yet he fails to remember it on page 31.

(It should be noted here that, on December 25, 1830, writing Ševyrev from Turin,\textsuperscript{69} Sobolevskij says he arrived in Munich on June 14; but the July 4 letter, being written much closer in time to the date in question, is probably more accurate. There is also a letter of Ivan Kireevskij from Munich, dated 3/15 June 1830,
stating that Sobolevskij arrived "the day before yesterday"—that is, on the 13th. Inasmuch as the precise date is not in question, but the fact of the visit, these conflicting dates do not detract from the thesis being proven.)

Other evidence includes a letter in verse to Ševyrev from "N. R." (Rožalin), Sobolevskij, and the Kireevskij brothers, written in Munich on July 13, 1830, and given in full on page 258 below; letters from both Ivan and Petr Kireevskij describing the visit (quoted below, pages 38-39); and later letters of Sobolevskij concerning his collecting materials for the projected Puškin folksong anthology while in Munich (quoted in Chapter III.)

As noted, Vinogradov also errs regarding the date of Sobolevskij's arrival in Zurich and the time he spent in Milan. The traveler himself refutes both points in his letter of August 10, referred to above:

I have been here for more than a week already. Leaving Munich, I traveled via Lindau and the Bodensee to Constaniz, Schaffhausen and Zurich. From Zurich I set out on foot and walked through all classical Switzerland, all the places made famous by Tell and his fellow fighters, climbed the Rigi, and finally by way of Tessino reached Bellinzon, there swam in the big lake, traveled to Milan, lived in Milan for a week and finally reached here, where I live in the village of your acquaintance Count Benevello.

Working backward from August 10, one easily sees that Sobolevskij must have arrived in Turin by August 3,
and in Milan around July 27. If Vinogradov's "20" should have been meant to be the 20th of July, and not June, Sobolevskij would have had approximately one week to cross the Alps, apparently totally on foot. Tracing his route on a map, one does not find the place names "Tessino" and "Bellenzo." However, if he climbed the Rigi and then went south toward Milan—as he seems to have done—he would have gone precisely through William Tell country (the cantons of Schwyz and Uri) and have crossed the St. Gotthard Pass (strange that he did not mention that in the letter). This pass opens on the south into the valley of the River Ticino, which flows through the canton bearing that name, and reaches its capital, Bellinzona, and finally Lake Lugano. This must have been his route. Perhaps he heard or read the place-names incorrectly; or perhaps they are corrupt in the Russkij arxiv text. At any rate, seven or eight days would have been sufficient for the energetic young Sobolevskij to walk, even in Alpine terrain, the distance of 90 or 100 road miles involved between Zurich and Bellinzona—which is indeed the plan Sobolevskij described in his Karlsruhe letter of June 7. Further, the very verbs he uses—"obošel," "vzbiralsja," "dobrel"—in the August 10 letter reinforce the evidence.

Therefore one must state that Vinogradov is wrong
in his statement on page 31. Sobolevskij visited Zurich around July 20, not June 20. Further, he spent not the entire month of August in Milan, but only the first three days.

Of the three errors discussed here at perhaps too great length, one (that concerning the date of the Zurich visit) may be a simple typographical error; but the other two cannot be dismissed in that fashion. They can only be taken as evidence of carelessness on the part of Vinogradov. And only that error involving omission of any reference to the stay in Munich is after all of any real consequence—but it is that, concerning as it does an important segment of the Puškin-Sobolevskij-Petr Kireevskij relationship.

Yet, taken together, and viewed in conjunction with other similar lapses on Vinogradov's part which will be discussed in their proper places, cannot but lead one to question the accuracy of Vinogradov's scholarship.

This is brought home solidly when one sees, on page 44, that Vinogradov writes: "At Kireevskij's in Munich he [Sobolevskij] made a great deal of noise..."72a

Sobolevskij therefore did visit Munich in June and July 1830. Petr Kireevskij's letters of July 13 and 14 give an interesting picture of him at that time:

The principal change during this time was the presence of Sobolevskij, who has not changed
a bit: he is still the same nice, noble chap he always was, and in all ways identical. The greater part of the day he lies on the divan in his dressing gown and tells in a stentorian voice about the balls, the parties, and the 'bon ton' of Parisian society; and sometimes he meows like a cat at the top of his voice. . . . This reduces Rozalin to despair. At first he was about to find a way to buy him off from shouting with a bottle of wine, but in the end even that ceased to be of help, and Sobolevskij, threatening him with shouting again, won boundless power over him. 73

Today at 6 a.m. Sobolevskij left for Turin, having agreed that we would meet him in Switzerland, if he succeeds by letter in convincing Mickiewicz to come there. In spite of the fact that I love him and respect him for much, I confess to you that I was not sorry to see him leave. 74

Ivan Kireevskij's evaluation of 3/15 July was more succinct:

Today Sobolevskij left... he has gone to Milan and then to Turin ... with his departure it seems as if forty men had gone. We are again quiet, orderly, sober.... 75

Reaching Turin, this energetic man settled with the Count and Countess Benevello, to whom he had been recommended by their mutual friend from Rome, Princess Zinaida Volkonskaja. 76 He remained until early in 1831, when he went to visit Ševyrev and Mickiewicz in Rome. 77 Sobolevskij grew to love Italy; in his letter of August 10 he described his feelings in the following way:

I very much love Italy, and, having lived in heterogeneous Paris, beery London and dull Germany, have decided that, after Russia, the most beautiful
land for living for the greatest part of the year is Italy. . . . In Italy alone the people are sufficiently childlike to rejoice at happiness and amuse themselves with beauties from the heart. Outside of Italy, everyone is a Childe Harold and \( a + b = c \): they are happy and are amazed to a definite degree. . . . I swear now by Italy alone, and within Italy almost exclusively by Rome. . . . 78

Yet he had not lost his appreciation for his native land and her people:

... [Alfieri] calls us 'these masked barbarians of Europe.' In part that is correct, but still I say: The Russian man is an eagle among men. Eh? Is that not so, sir? As for men. I notice that the smartest, in general, is the Italian as he is, and the Russian, as he could easily be made; you will make nothing out of a German: they are so thick-blooded, sausage-entrailed! . . . 79

Sobolevskij spent in Italy part of his time, as he had in England, investigating the latest industrial techniques. He had a dream of creating a system of transportation powered by steam in Russia. 80 (His eventual financial ruin was to be brought about by the failure of the French railroads and the consequent disintegration of his stock in them in 1870.) He also planned to have a typographical operation running in St. Petersburg by November 1, 1833. 81 All these plans came to naught, however.

Literary activities continued to hold his interest most strongly of all his occupations. His letters to Ševyrev were full of comments on contemporary publications, both Russian and foreign. He continued to gather folk song material from the library of Count Voroncov
in Turin. He claims to have been writing his memoirs; but no trace of them has been found in his archives. For all his labors, however, Sobolevskij did not forget that there are other pleasures in life. On October 20, 1830, he wrote Ševyrev from Turin:

You write me that it is necessary to strive for the improvement of the physical man. In all livestock enterprises it is acknowledged that this goal is reached by cross-breeding. I am now carrying out some experiments in that regard, I am crossing as much Russian with Italian as possible.

News of Aleksandr Puškin's marriage reached Sobolevskij in Turin; he commented twice to Ševyrev on the event. On August 30, 1830, he wrote: "I am sorry for the married Puškin." On September 22, he commented: "The marrying Alek[andr] Serg[eevič] and the married Baratynskij are no longer people." By May 23, 1831, he was complaining of the apparent weakening of Puškin's creative powers: discussing the poet's contributions to the Northern Flowers for 1831, he wonders if marriage has caused the poet to lose his touch. Yet, as will be seen in Chapter III, his admiration, love, and respect for Puškin did not wane, but rather grew stronger.

Sobolevskij's old school friend Mixail Ivanovič Glinka arrived in Italy in early 1830 and settled in Milan; the two men renewed their friendship with the greatest pleasure on both sides. Sobolevskij left Turin in early January 1831 to visit Rome, stopping for
two days in Milan on the way, to see Glinka. There are no letters from the period of the Rome visit. He left that city on April 19, 1831, in the company of Mickiewicz and others, reaching Turin on May 5. (This journey will be discussed in some detail in Chapter IV.) In November 1831 Sobolevskij paid a brief visit to Geneva, meeting there his old friend from the Archive A. I. Košelev.

Sobolevskij spent most of 1832 in the vicinity of Milan and Turin, with excursions to Venice and Vicenza during the summer. On February 19, 1832, he met Manzoni; and by November 14 of that year he could report to Ševyrev that he saw the Italian author every evening and that he was interested in Russian literature, already knowing of Puškin and Kozlov. He introduced Glinka to Felix Mendelssohn; he spent much time with Glinka and became involved in the musical life of Milan. He heard Giuditta Pasta in Bellini's Norma, and even visited the diva in October 1832, when he passed several days with Glinka at Lake Como. Also he and Glinka spent much time working over folk song materials, as they had done the previous year. Apparently as much a connoisseur of musicians as of poets, Sobolevskij on November 14, 1832, praised Glinka to Ševyrev (who had returned to Russia that fall) and asked him to spread word of the composer's Italian reputation:
His printed compositions are valued highly here, and he has many projects in the field of music. ... Ricordi [sic] told me that he considers Glinka on a level with Bellini and Donizetti, but more learned than they in counterpoint. Sing his praises, for it will be useful to him in the future, and sweet to our ears. He has moved away a bit from the Germans in music and confesses that our national music must resemble more closely Italian.  

It is entirely within the realm of probability that Sobolevskij encouraged Glinka in the latter's quest after the founding of a Russian school of musical culture. The following instance shows this clearly.

In 1874, while Milan was preparing for the first performance of Glinka's opera A Life for the Tsar (today Ivan Susanin), Enrico Cartozzi, an obscure editor, discovered a hitherto unknown letter from Glinka to "Sereno Tobolski," describing his plans for a musical work of large scope on Russian national themes. Kann-Novikova makes a very strong case, well researched and documented, for Sobolevskij's being the addressee of the letter. Written probably late in 1833 from Berlin, it was apparently addressed to its intended recipient in Italy and never reached him; it seems to have remained in private hands in Milan or Turin, where Cartozzi discovered it. If in fact the letter was intended for Sobolevskij, it must be viewed as one more strong link between him and the Russian cultural scene of the 1830's.  

Sobolevskij returned to Russia only on July 22,
The letter of November 14, 1832, to Ševyrev is the last in that series. During the several intervening months Sobolevskij probably visited various commercial centers, especially Leipzig and London, as he planned in writing that letter.

Back home once more, Sobolevskij plunged immediately into meetings with Puškin. This period will be discussed in detail in Chapter III. The returned traveller seems to have written about his trip: Puškin's sister, Ol'ga Sergeevna Pavliščeva, mentioned in a letter of January 31, 1832, that Sobolevskij's "voyage en vers en Italie est extrêmement drôle." In his perhaps somewhat less than scholarly work Iz semejnoj xroniki, her son, L. N. Pavliščev, also mentions poems of Sobolevskij under the title "My Trip to Italy," and calls them "exceedingly amusing." The poem "Otsel' k stranam Italii," given in full on pages 265-266, apparently belongs to the period in question.

During the three years before his second trip to Western Europe, Sobolevskij engaged in various financial dealings and court cases. By law suit he secured from the estate of his mother a sum reported by L. N. Pavliščev as 104,000 rubles. Aleksandr Puškin noted in a letter to P. V. Naščokin on November 24, 1833, "Sobolevskij has won his suit." Obviously, therefore, this was one of his first undertakings upon his return.
Further, according to Vinogradov, who saw Sobolevskij's diary, Sergej Aleksandrovich there noted in February 1836 the "fondation de la filiature [sic] de S. Sampson," the manufactory in which he seems to have been first a stockholder and later part-owner, in partnership with I. S. Mal'cov.  

Vinogradov also notes that at this time Sobolevskij had hopes of marrying Princess Aleksandra Ivanovna Trubeckaja; but she rejected the suit.

In 1836 and 1837 Sobolevskij was on friendly terms with N. V. Gogol'. On April 17, 1836, he asked the author for tickets for the premiere of Revizor; Gogol' wrote him a note, reproduced by Vinogradov in facsimile, regretting their unavailability. This correspondence renders inaccurate Saitov's statement that Sobolevskij began his second trip to western Europe at the end of January, 1836.

Sobolevskij's passport is stamped for departure to England, Belgium, Switzerland and Germany "August 8, 1836." Mal'cov met him in England; and by November 11 (n.s.) Sobolevskij was preparing to leave for the Continent. He visited Brussels and Zurich, and then appeared in Paris on January 1, 1837.

On February 2, 1837, Mal'cov wrote from Petersburg with the devastating news of Puškin's death. This event strangely seems to have elicited from Sobolevskij no contemporary written comment.
While in Paris Sobolevskij again frequented the salon of Virginie Ancelot. He renewed his acquaintance-ship with Mérimée. He also became friendly with A. Pogožev, whose cousin, Barbara Ivanovna Lagrené, née Dubenskaja, would several years later become Mérimée’s teacher of Russian;\textsuperscript{111} this point will be discussed in Chapter V.

The next period in Sobolevskij’s life— that between his return to Russia in 1837 and his fourth trip to Europe in 1846-1851— is little documented and can be covered by a few brief comments.

The most important literary feature of the period seems to be his acquaintanceship with M. Ju. Lermontov. Vinogradov quotes (this time without a photoreproduction) a note from Lermontov to Sobolevskij which indicates that the two men were on friendly terms:

\begin{quote}
Dear Signor Sobolevskij—send me please by this courier \textit{Sous les tilleuls}; also stop in later yourself, if you can. I am in the guardhouse, upstairs in a private apartment; you have only to ask the man on duty.
\end{quote}

Vinogradov dates this note in the second half of March 1840, when Lermontov was under arrest awaiting court martial for his duel with Barant.\textsuperscript{112}

Between January 21 and August 23, 1844, Sobolevskij made a trip to Germany, Austria, Italy and England; Vinogradov says (without documenting his statement) that he also visited Paris, at least on June 6, 1844; but
that there is no indication that he saw Mérimée.\textsuperscript{113}

In 1847, according to Sobolevskij's life-long friend V. F. Odoevskij, Sergej Aleksandrovič approached the Slavophiles, through Ševyrev, about a project to found a public library in Moscow.\textsuperscript{114} When the plan was raised again, in 1860, Sobolevskij was among those who agreed to donate their private libraries to such a cause.\textsuperscript{115} Eventually, however, he did not do so.

Sobolevskij's industrial undertaking with Mal'cov came to an end when their factory burned down; the precise date of the catastrophe is unknown. Vinogradov seems to place it in the period 1842-1843.\textsuperscript{116} Saitov\textsuperscript{117} and Ja. F. Berezin-Širjaev\textsuperscript{118}, to became a fiend of Sobolevskij during the last three years of the latter's life, both say that the fire happened at the end of the 1840's; Verxovskij\textsuperscript{119} is similarly vague. Berezin-Širjaev states that the enterprise fortunately was insured, so Sobolevskij suffered no financial loss.\textsuperscript{120}

Indeed, he was sufficiently well off that he was able to make a five-year tour of western Europe that took him to Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, and Poland.

Vinogradov, upon whom one finds oneself more and more completely, but never comfortably, relying, says that there is in the Sobolevskij archives very little correspondence covering this period, and that the
traveller seems to have kept no diary. If it were not for his passport, covered with stamps from various Spanish police departments, it would be almost impossible to say where he visited in Spain. Mérimée introduced him to some of his own Spanish friends, including the Countess Manuela Teba-Montijo. Rumors even reached Moscow that the Countess' daughter, Eugenia, rejected Sobolevskij's suit at this time: Rostopčina mentioned this in her poem on Sobolevskij given on pages 9-10. Rumor also made Sobolevskij a friend of the rather notorious Queen Isabella II of Spain.\textsuperscript{121}

As he had done in his previous visits, Sobolevskij acquired ever more bibliographical rarities for his personal library. Mérimée and various Spanish friends opened doors for him which made this easier. Indeed, during his trip he received many letters from the Madrid professor Pasquale Gallangos, who was his principal source in his search for rare editions,\textsuperscript{122} and who also supplied Mérimée with similar wares.\textsuperscript{123}

Having left Russia on April 3, 1846,\textsuperscript{124} and having entered Spain on January 16, 1849,\textsuperscript{125} Sobolevskij remained in the latter country until November 5, 1849. He returned via Toulouse to Paris and remained there until March, 1850;\textsuperscript{126} it is during this period that he maintained closest and most intimate relations with Mérimée, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter V.
Sobolevskij left Paris in the middle of March and travelled to Warsaw; he lived in that city for almost nine months—-from May 22, 1850, until February 13, 1851. His affairs during the period are a mystery: Vinogradov states that there is nothing in the archives. Vino­
gradov also states that while in Warsaw Sobolevskij lived with the Pavliščevs, sister and brother-in-law of A. S. and L. S. Puškin; but in his own memoirs L. N. Pavliščev says that Sobolevskij only visited their house, and comments further that he never showed himself anywhere, but visited only his parents. Business may have been involved; or it may simply have been pleasant for Sobolevskij to visit the country to which he had been attached at birth by receipt of the "Slep­powron" coat of arms.

After having been gone for almost five years, Sobolevskij returned to Russia in February, 1851.

In 1851 he was elected honorary member of the Imperial Public Library, being cited as a "native amateur of bibliographic affairs [who enjoys] fame throughout all of Europe."

In 1852 he established a permanent residence in Moscow. He met P. I. Bartenev, a young man who was engaged in assembling material for a biography of Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin, and who later founded and edited Russkij arxiv, in which journal Sobolevskij published several articles. He formed a close friend-
ship with Countess E. P. Rostopchina; and in her salon
he met N. V. Berg, whose lengthy memoirs contain
unflattering references to Sobolevskij which confuse
several periods of his life. Having written here much
positive about Sobolevskij, perhaps it would not be
amiss to present a negative evaluation. Berg wrote of
him:

Weary wanderer through the wide world,
bibliomane, Anglophile, friend of poets and artists
of the whole world, Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij, who succeeded in acquiring a literary name
as early as the third decade of this century,
close by friendship and carousals to Puškin, who
loved him primarily for his inexhaustible wit, his
vivid improvisations, which were highly decorated
with original rhymes, for his unchanging joyousness
and his readiness to have fun and play cards whenever required. . . . This very Sobolevskij, a minor
figure of his type, an experienced man, who had
tired after twenty years of wandering abroad and
perhaps lonely for Russia suddenly appeared on
the Moscow horizon, already middle-aged, paunchy;
he began in his old habit looking in of an evening
at the English Club (of which it seems he had been
a member for a long time). He visited several old
acquaintances, searched out Rostopchina, whom he
had met abroad. He rarely separated himself from
that part of the young people who gathered at her
house, he was of a type to speak carelessly,
scornfully about everything, with a certain eternal-
ly malicious smirk; also carelessly and scorn-
fully sprawled about in the chairs. . . . Once he even
lounged so that he broke an arm off a chair and it
called to the floor, at which he said in a self-satis-
fied tone: "What strength! I can't even sit in a
chair without breaking it."132

Puškin himself witnessed an example of Sobolevskij's
gaucherie which he described in his diary in 1834:

On March 3 I spent the evening at Prince Od.
Sob. was flirting with Lanskaja (formerly Poletika),
said to her aloud: le ciel n'est pas plus pur que
le fond de mon--cul. He was terribly embarrassed,
the witnesses (including Lanskaja) couldn't help
laughing. Princess Od. turned green with fury--Sob. ran away.

Sobolevskij devoted his energies during these years to the field of bibliography. He wrote and published several articles for Bibliografičeskie zapiski, the first of which appeared in 1858 as the very first article in Volume I, Number I of the new journal: "Pis'ma A. S. Puškina k bratu L'vu Sergeeviču Puškinu." This article contains 34 letters which Sobolevskij had obtained as executor of Lev's estate; it also contained the drawing A. S. Puškin made of himself and his hero Onegin for the Nevskij Almanax. Volume I, Number 4 carried his article "O psaltire 1564 goda" as well as several book reviews.

On January 24, 1860, Sobolevskij left Russia for his fifth and last trip abroad. In a period of eighteen months he visited Germany, Belgium, England, France, Italy and Holland. Visiting Paris twice, he was his old friends Mérimée, Ancelot, and Lagrené; he probably met Antonio Panizzi, director of the British Museum and a friend of Mérimée; and he saw Ivan Turgenev. Inasmuch as most available information from this period deals with his seeing Mérimée, it will be discussed in Chapter V.

Sobolevskij returned to his homeland on December 31, 1861; after greeting the New Year in Petersburg, he returned to Moscow.
Bartenev began to publish Russkij arxiv in 1863. In Volume I appeared several articles of Sobolevskij dealing with rare documents which had been in the possession of the Empress Ekaterina II (which he had probably acquired from the papers of his paternal ancestor P. A. Sojmonov). There also appeared in that volume his review and comments of a new edition of A Trip to the Holy Land of Priest Luk'janov at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. Other of his articles continued to appear in Russkij arxiv up until the year of his death, 1870. Two of the most significant are "Concerning the Influence of Smolensk Boulevard (in Moscow) on the Portuguese Parliament (in Lisbon)" and "Mysterious Omens in the Life of Puškin." The first, from 1868, describes how a letter from him to the Portuguese philologist da Silva got into the Lisbon press and resulted in the Parliament's grant of financial aid to da Silva, which allowed him to complete his dictionary of the Portuguese language. The second article is given in full, and translated into English for the first time, as Appendix A to Chapter III below.

Identifying Sobolevskij as author of all the articles which one believes he wrote is not simple. He often did not sign his name, but rather used a simple symbol resembling the letter "X." Upon close examination, however, one sees that the sign is usually made
up of the two letters "C," with the first inverted—
easily distinguished because the small hook at the
upper right hand corner of the "C" (that is, the Russian
letter "S") will appear inverted in the lower left
corner of the signature. At times the symbol was made
up typographically by placing two brackets back-to-back,
thusly: " ){ " . Sobolevskij also seems to have used the
signature "--± C." Indeed, this may indicate someone
other than Sobolevskij; however, examination of contents
of the articles thus signed shows them to be of the type
he usually wrote (book reviews, articles on bibliogra­
phical topics, and the like), so one feels relatively
safe in attributing such to his pen. Ju. Verxovskij
states that Sobolevskij used a simple "X" as his
signature; however, one finds the explanation offered
here to be more exact.

Another major bibliographical accomplishment of
Sobolevskij's last years was his cataloguing of records
of ceremonies of the Moscow Imperial Court. In 1867 he
published his catalog under the title Jurnaly i kamer-
fur'erskie Žurnaly 1695-1774. His own personal library
contained an incomplete set of this rare work.

He catalogued the library of the Moscow English
Club. He arranged and catalogued the personal libraries
of A. D. Čertkov and Prince S. M. Golicyn. He organized
and catalogued the library of the Society of Friends of
Russian Literature, of which organization he was a
Sobolevskij shortly before his death told his new friend and fellow bibliophile Berezin-Širjaev, "In 35 years I have collected a library of 25,000 volumes, for which book dealers, specially come from abroad, have offered 50,000 thalers." Berezin-Širjaev has left a tantalizing list of the contents of Sobolevskij's rare books, including various incunabula; a copy of Adelung's Catherinens der Grossen Verdienste um der vergleichende Sprachenkunde, with marginal notes in the hand of the Empress; the folio containing the autographs of Puškin's letters to his brother; and a copy of Napoleon III's Julius Caesar with a dedicatory inscription to Sobolevskij by the author.

On October 15, 1867, Sobolevskij received permission for his sixth journey abroad; but illness prevented his leaving Russia.

In 1869 his pupil, fourteen-year-old Nil Aleksandrovič Aleksandrov, drowned when the boat Sobolevskij had given him sank. Sobolevskij never fully recovered from this tragedy, to which was added in the same year the death of his old and beloved friend V. F. Odoevskij.
On Tuesday, October 6, 1870, Sobolevskij suddenly
died, apparently of a stroke. Thus he survived by
less than a month his old French friend Mérimée, who
died in Cannes on September 23, also in the sixty-eighth
year of his life.

His financial affairs had been very bad in his
last days. He had invested heavily through the Roths-
childs in French railroad stock, which as a result of
the Franco-Prussian war was worthless. When his body
was undressed, there were seventy-five rubles in his
pocket; no other cash was found.

Sobolevskij was buried in the Donskoj Monastery
near his mother. The funeral expenses were paid by
Racig, business manager of I. S. Mal'cov.

Shortly before his death, Sobolevskij, lonely after
the death of his old friend Odoevskij, had engaged to
marry the widow Sof'ja Nikolaevna L'vova, née Naumova;
she became his heiress. She apparently destroyed
all Sobolevskij's correspondence concerning herself and
her daughter. Then she sold both personal archive and
library for 25,000 thalers to the Leipzig rare-book
dealers List and Francke. Part of the library was
bought at auction by the University of Leipzig, and
part by the library of the British Museum; a very great
portion was sold piece by piece at auction and its
whereabouts is unknown. Presumably that which
remained in Leipzig was destroyed in the Second World War. The archives, involving twenty-eight volumes including memoirs, travel notes, bills, correspondence, bibliographical articles, etc., was bought from List and Francke for 150 thalers by Count S. D. Šeremet'ev. After the 1917 revolution this valuable material was transferred to government control; three volumes were lost during that transfer.152

As of 1934, those twenty-five volumes were in the State Archive of the Era of Serfdom, where M. Svetlova found them in preparing her article for Literaturnoe nasledstvo.153

The final touch of irony is that there is no catalog of either the archive or the library as Sobolevskij knew them: the great bibliophile, who spent years cataloguing the libraries of others, apparently never catalogued his own.154 The epithet "bezalabernyj"—"careless one"—applied so often to Sobolevskij by his friend Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin pursues him to this day.

2. Ibid., 3-4

3. Ibid.


5. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . ., 5.


8. N. Ar...v [sic], "Aleksandr Nikolaevič Sojmonov" (obituary notice), Severnaja pėela, 1856, No. 249.


10. S. A. Sobolevskij, "Fragment from a Reminiscence about Puškin," Novye materialy o duel i smerti Puškina (Petersburg, 1924), 122. This document is translated into English in full and for the first time, at Appendix B of Chapter III of the present work. The original text is also given there.


13. Ibid.


Наш добрый подъюнспектор Иван Екимович Колмаков был нашим утешением; когда он появлялся, мы всегда приходили в веселое расположение. Его забавные выходки, сопровождавшие морганием и странными ухмылями, сделались известны многим, не знавшим его лично. ... Сей исторический кант певали мы во время обеда и ужина. ... Воспитаннику Соболевскому/который впоследствии написал столько превосходных эпиграмм/ вздумав – воспеть Ивана Екимовича; я подобрал на стихи мудрые в это время песню Кавоса "Душа ль моя, душенька." Выучить ее было нетрудно, напев известен был всем, а стихи небольшо оставались в памяти. Хотя мы все любили Ивана Екимовича за его неизреченную доброту, не могли, однако, утерпеть, чтобы не потрудиться над ним, а сие тем более, что И. Е. изволили гневаться/слова И. Е./ весьма забавным образом. ...

18. A. A. Orlova, Glinka v vospominaniyax sovremennikov (Moscow, 1955), 127. Text is included in note 20.

19. Ibid., 128.

20. Ibid., 127-128. The quatrain is a misquote from A. S. Puškin's 1829 poem dedicated to Е. V. Vel'jaševaja, a cousin of his friend A. N. Vul'f. Ižorsk was the posting station closest to St. Petersburg along the Moscow road.

С его именем соединены все лучшие мои воспоминания. ... Длинный, длинный, длиннотяжкий, невесомый, готовый сломаться, тощий как Кашей, волосы цвету льянного, глаза светлого глубокого, цвету ижорского неба. Подъезжая под Ижоры, я вглядывал на небеса, и припомнил ваши взоры, ваши светлые глаза. Нос острый и бесконечный, --короче, я назвал его Ибис. ... В большом свете дали Соболевскому другое произведение: истошень. ... Мы с ним двоем сочинили роман ... гениальное произведение, купленное у нас книгопродавцем за 300 рублей. Отчего, заплатив деньги, книгопродавец его не напечатал, я не знаю. //Замечание автора: В архиве Маркевича ... сохранился отрывок балетристического содержания; написанный рукой Соболевского, с заголовком: гл. 10. Возможно, что это и есть часть романа, сочиненного вместо с Маркевичем. ... / Часто во время классов пения и танцевания мы ... исчезали тайно из стен нашей тюрьмы, ходили и ездили в кондиторские или к Ал. Пушкину. ...
21. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . . 6. M. Svetlova, in her important article "Puškin po dokumentam arxiva S. A. Sobolevskogo" in Literaturnoe nasledstvo (Moscow, 1934), XVI-XVIII, 725-770, wrote (page 727) that Saitov's version of this letter, taken from a copy, is corrupt in some respects. She, however, quotes only a Russian translation, comparison of which with the Saitov version reveals no differences of importance.

22. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . . 6.


25. Sobolevskij, "Fragment," 125-126. See Appendix B, Chapter III below, for the full text and a translation of this fragment.

26. Ibid., 123.

27. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . . 7. See also Puškin.  
    Pis'ma v trex tomax. Ed. B. L. Modzalevskij (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926), I, 216.


Когда вы увидите белоглазого Кавелина, поговорите ему, хоть ради вашего Христа, за Соболевского, воспитанника Университетского пансиона. Кавелин притесняет его за какие-то телесологические мнения и достойного во всех отношениях молодого человека вытесняет из пансиона, оставляя его в нижних классах, несмотря на успехи и велличе способности. Вы были покровителем Соболевского, вспомните о нем и—как кардинал-пленник—зажмите рот доктору теологии Кавелину, который добывается в инквизиторы. . . .
30. Пушкин. Письма, в трех томах, I, 194.
31. Саитов, Sobolevskij. ..., 8.
32. N. Barsukov, Žizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina. (St. Petersburg, 1888-1899), I, 156.
33. Saitov, Sobolevskij. ..., 8.
34. Ibid., 9.
Служба наша главнейше состоялась в разборе, чтения и описи древних столбцов. Понятно, как такое занятие было для нас очень мило: оно и не требовало от нас большой работы. Сперва беседы стояли у нас на первом плане; но затем мы вздумали писать сказки так, чтобы каждая из них писалась всеми нами. Десять человек соединились в это общество, и мы положили писать каждому не более двух страниц и не рассказывать своего плана для продолжения. Как между нами были люди даровитые, то эти сочинения вышли очень забавными, и мы усердно являлись в Архив в положенные дни—по понедельникам и четвергам. Архив просил сборщиком блестящей московской молодежи и звание "архивного юноши" сделалась весьма почетным, так что впоследствии мы даже попали в стихи начинавшего тогда входить в большую славу А. С. Пушкина.
35. Пушкин. Письма, в трех томах, II, 375. The reference in Onegin is in Chapter 7, Stanza 39: "Arxivnyj junosi tolpoju/Na Tanju čoporno gljadjat."
36. Barsukov, I, 301.
37. Пушкин. Письма, в трех томах, II, 374.
Завтра призываем мы в Архив молодца Sobolevskого объявить, чтобы подавал в отставку: рапортуется больным, а бывает на всех гулянях и только что не живет на улице.


41. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . . , 10.

42. Ibid.

43. Edie et al., I., 159.

44. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . . , 10.

45. V. F. Odoevskij, Povesti i rasskazy (Moscow, 1959), 48-56.

46. Puškin. Pis'ma v trex tomax, I, 165.

47. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . . , 15.


15 июля. Вечер узнал, что твоим горем и получал твои два письма. Что тебе сказать? про старые дрожки не говорят троицы; не радуйся намед, не плачь потеряя.--Посылаю тебе мою наличность, остальные 2500 получим вслед. "Цыганы" мой не продаются вовсе; деньги же эти--трудовые, в поте лица моего вы-пятвированы у нашего друга Полторацкого. Приез- жай в Петербург, если можешь. Мне бы хотелось с тобою свидеться да переговорить о будущем. Перене
cи мужественно перемену судьбы твоей, т. е. по 
одежке тыни ножки--всё перемелится, будет мука. Ты видишь, что, кроме послович, ничего путного тебе сказать не сумею. Прощай, мой друг.


52. A. K. Vinogradov, Merime v pis'max k Sobolevskomu (Moscow, 1928), 17. Vinogradov's work has considerable shortcomings as scholarship; many instances will be discussed below. However, his book contains much of value, such as photoreproductions of original manuscript
material; and therefore it cannot be totally
discounted or ignored. The present author
hopes to be able to choose wisely what is fact
and what is fancy with Vinogradov.

53. Ibid., 18.

54. S. A. Sobolevskij, "Vyderžki iz zagraničnyh pism
k S. P. Sevyrevu," Russkiy arxiv, 1909, XLVII,
part II, 477. Hereafter cited as "Sobolevskij:
Letters to Sevyrev."
O rope, rope! Ух я не в Архиве!

55. Vinogradov, 19.


57. Vinogradov, 22-23.

58. Quoted in Vinogradov, 25-26; emphasis in the
original.

... Из женщин я здесь часто бывая у известной
Récamier, которой 52 года и которой без всякого
увлечения нельзя дать более 24 лет. Там я вижу
Шатобриана и вообще все общество, собирающееся
прежде у м-me Staël и страшившее Наполеона. У
Ancelot и Julien я встречаю все mèdiocrité
политического и ученого мира, как то: Alfred de
Vigny, Soumuth, Mérimée (l'auteur du Théâtre de
Clara Gazul), V. Hugo первого Balbi и чорт уж
знает кого у второго. У Saint-Aulaire я очень
хорошо познакомился с Villemain, Barante, Guizot;
часто бывая у милого и умного Segur, у слышавшего
здесь большими маркиои Кейфе. Sismondi, к кото-
рому я ему письмо, здесь нет: он живет в Gèneve.
У Gérard, с которым я очень близок, все живо-
писцы, литераторы и музыканты гуртом.

59. Sobolevskij: Letters to Sevyrev, 478; emphasis
in the original.
Ожидаем превого представления Hernani, сочинение
Victor Hugo. Это будет решительная бита между
классицизмом и романтизом. Обе стороны так ожес-
точены, что ждут и кулаккой стычки. Что касается
do меня, я заготовил дубину для сохранения воору-
женного нейтралитета.
60. Ibid.; emphasis in the original.

На днях отправлю к тебе "Hernani, drame de Victor Hugo en vers", которую он подумал погубить Расина и Шекспира тем же даром. Почти, мой милый, и по- дивись: то-то вдоль, а стихи так и ершатся. В партере шесть представлений сряду все сидели клеветры, если кто замечается -- хором: à la porte le cabaleur. Подняли до небес! За то в седьмой, как не подсажил приятелей, так до того освистали, что автор пьесу на другой день вспять воротил в свой листо-клад (porte-feuille).

61. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 486. Inasmuch as this letter is of importance to eventual discussion, and context within it is important, it is quoted in its entirety. When it is desirable subsequently to consult the original text, it will be found as a part of this entry. "Voroncov" refers to Count Voroncov-Daškov, Russian ambassador to the Kingdom of Sardinia, and Sobolevskij's host in Turin, the capital. There was a large Russian colony in Turin. Prince Elim Meščerskij, to whom reference will be made below, was an attaché at the embassy. It should be further noted that Milan, where Sobolevskij also spent many days during this trip, was at the time also a city of the Kingdom of Sardinia. See E. Kann-Novikova, M. I. Glinka: Novye materialy i dokumenty. Tri toma. (Moscow, 1950-1955) III, 70, note 2.

10 августа 1830. Торино. ... Я уже более недели здесь. Оставив Мюнден, я через Линдсай и Боденсее попал в Констанц, в Шаффгаузен, в Цирих. Из Цириха я пустился пешеходствовать и обошел всю классическую Швейцарию, все места прославленные Телем и его сподвижниками, взбирался на Риги и наконец через Тессино добрел до Белленца, там плыл по большому озеру, съездил в Милан неделью и наконец добрался сюда, где живу в деревне нашего знакомца графа Венеvello. Жаль, что я, бывши в Швейцарии, не знал о соседстве Мицкевича; там бы по близости соединился с ним, а теперь уже не могу, и потому что мне адресуют сюда мои деловые бумаги, и потому что мне не платят денег по парижскому векселю, по нынешнему Содому и Гомору. ... Что за дурь Мицкевичу ехать в Америку! Если на время, то далеко; если навсегда,
то не за чем. Ему, кажется, преследований боится
нечего, а уехавши за море, он отрежет полслявы
своей! . . . Я очень люблю Италию и, поживши в
разорянном Париже, повсем Лондоне и безтолковой
Германии, решил, что после России, самой для жилья
приятный край для большей части года—Италия. По-
чему и решила моя премудрость, что она, обделав
нынешнюю зиму дела свои в Москве, опять везет
лет на пять в чужбину и проводит регулярно осень
генварь и февраль в Италии; март, апрель и май в
Париже; июнь в Лондоне, лето на водах, в Швейцарии,
на Рейне и пр. и пр. В одной Италии люди довольно
dети, чтобы радоваться радости и тешиться прекрас-
ными от сердца. Вне Италии все Чайльд-Гарольд и
a + b = c: радуются и удивляются по известной
mere . . . Я божусь теперь одной Италией, а в
Италии почти одним Римом . . . Писи мне о Мицкеви-
че . . . Каковы французы! Чудо-малые в политике.
Здесь газет к нам не пропускают, а Воронцова
нет, чтобы поживешь посланническими. Жаль мне
только своей славе: я было изготовил главу, в ко-
торой предсказывая всё случившееся теперь: будет
после ужина горчица. Допустят ли до вас весть, что
у парижского архиепископа нашли запас пороха?

63. Vinogradov, 30.
64. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 483-484.
65. A. W. Raitt, Prosper Mérimée (London: Eyre &
Spottiswoode, 1971), 81-82.

Путевой журнал Соболевского отмечает его 2-го
июня 1830 г. уже в Гейдельберге. Быстро проехав
по Германии, 20-го он приезжает в Цюрих, а конец
июля и август проводит в Милане.

67. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 482; Kister
was keeper of a wine cellar in Moscow.
/I. Еду отселе завтра nach München [sic] где ду-
мам обнять часть наших. / /2. Прибавь мне слова два
о Мицкевиче, / /3. и напиши, когда проехали Соймос-
новым обратно durch Rom ./4. Я хочу устроить прогулку по Швейцарии гурьбой и выписать на сей конец Адама Адамовича Бальмана /т. е. Михаиля/. ./5. Пешеходство мне полюбилось по Рейне, да и что там за страна: чтоб ни деревушка, то имя знакомое по прейскуранту Кистера. . . ./

68. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 483-484.

69. Ibid., 497.

70. I. V. Kireevskij, "Pis'ma I. V. Kireevskogo domoj v Moskvu iz čužix kraev," Russkij arxiv, 1907, I, 84.


72a. Vinogradov, 44.

В Мюнхене у Киреевского он шумит. . . .

73. P. V. Kireevskij, "Ego pis'ma," Russkij arxiv, 1905, XLIII, part II, 137.

/от 1/13 июля/: Главная переменя в продолжение этого времени состояла в присутствии Соболевского, который ни капли не переженился: тот же милый и благородный малый какой был но также и во всем другом совершенно тот же. Большую часть дня лежит на диване в халате и зычным голосом рассказывает про баллы, вечеринки и хороший тон парижского света; а иногда мяучит по кафелям во все горло. . . . Это приводит Рожалина в отчаяние. Сначала он было нашел средство откупаться от крика бутылкой вина, но наконец и это помогать перестало, и Соболевский, угрожая ему, что закричит, забрал над ним неограниченную власть.

74. Ibid., 138.

/от 2/14 июля/ Сегодня в 6 ч. поутру Соболевский уехал в Турин, условившись, чтобы мы съехались с ним в Швейцарии, если ему удастся выписать туда же Мицкевича. Не смотря на то, что я его люблю и за много уважаю, признаюсь вам, мне не жаль было, что он уехал.
75. I. V. Kireevskij, 85-86.
Сегодня Соболевский отъезд ... отправился в Милан и оттуда в Турин ... с его отъездом точно будто уехало сорок человек. У нас опять тихо, порядочно и трезво. . . .

76. Vinogradov, 21, note 2.

77. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 484-485.


79. Ibid., 489. Alfieri was author of memoirs referred to by Sobolevskij earlier in the present letter. Emphasis in original.

80. Ibid., 487, 488, 492, and 508.

81. Ibid., 508.

82. Vinogradov, 33, note 1.

83. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 491.
Ты мне пишешь, что надобно стараться об усовершенствовании физического человека. Во всех скотоводствах признано, что цель сия достигается par le croisement des races. Я теперь творю над этим опыты, соединяю как можно больше русского с итальянским.

84. Ibid., 486.
Жалею о женатом Пушкине.

85. Ibid., 489.
Алек. Серг. женяющийся, и Баратышевский женившийся—уж не люди.
86. Ibid., 498.
87. Ibid., 492. Also Kann-Novikova, III, pp 10 and 55.
88. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 495.
89. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 480.
90. Saitov, Sobolevskij, ..., 17.
91. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 504.
92. Ibid., 508.
93. Ibid., 504.
94. Glinka, Zapiski, 128.
95. Kann-Novikova, III, 68.
96. Ibid., 56.

Его печатные семинары здесь высоко ставят, и у него много проектов о музыке. ... Мне Ricordi говорил, что считает Глинку наравне с Bellini и Donizetti, но учёные их в контрапункте. Трубите, ибо ему будет полезно вперед, а нашим ушам сладко. Он отстегнулся несколько от немцев в музыке и признает, что наша национальная должна более сходствовать с итальянской.

98. Kann-Novikova, III, 53-78.
100. O. S. Pavliščeva, "Pis'ma k mužu, N. I. Pavliščevu, v 1836 g.", Puškin i ego sovremenniki. Materialy i issledovanija, XXIII-XXIV (Petrograd, 1916), 212.
101. L. N. Pavliščev, Iz semejnoj kroniki (Moscow, 1890), 411.
102. Ibid.
103. Puskin, PSS-10, X, 458.
104. Vinogradov, 53-54.
105. Ibid., 54.
106. Ibid., 55.
107. Saitov, Sobolevskij ..., 17.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., 71
111. Ibid., 69-70.
112. Ibid., 72, note 3.

Любезный Signor Соболевский—пришли мне пожалуйста с сим курьером Sous les tilleuls, да заходи потом сам, если успеешь. Я в ордонанс-гаузе, на верху в особенной квартире; надо только спросить плац-майора. Твой Лермонтов.

113. Ibid., 73.
114. Ibid., 151, note 1.
115. Verxovskij, 37.
116. Vinogradov, 72.
117. Saitov, Sobolevskij ..., 18.
119. Verxovskij, 36.
120. Berezin-Širjaev, 4.
121. Vinogradov, 84-95.
122. Ibid., 88-98.
123. Ibid., 159
124. Vinogradov, 83.
125. Ibid., 86.
126. Ibid., 102-103 and 136.
127. Ibid., 136.
128. Pavliščev, 69.
129. Vinogradov, 136.
130. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . ., 18.
   . . . отечественный любитель библиографических
   занятий ползовавшийся общем всей Европе из-
   вестностью.
131. Ibid.

Уставший скиталец по зеленому свету, библиоман, анг-
глоломан, друг поэтов и артистов всего мира, Сер-
гей Александрович Соболевский, который умел
составить себе литературное имя еще в двадцатых
годах этого столетия, близкий дружбой и куте-
жами с Пушкиным, который любил его преимущест-
венно за неистощимое остроумие, живые экскромпты,
шеголяющие оригинальными рифмами, неизменную
веселость и готовность кутить и играть в карты
когда угодно. . . . Этот-то самый Соболевский,
в своем роде маленькая знаменитость, человек бы-
вальный, утомляясь от двенацатилетних скитаний по чужой
стороне и может быть соскучившийся по России,
явился вдруг на горизонте Москвы, уже порядочно
устаревшим, обрезанным; стал по старому заглядывать
по вечерам в английский клуб /где был, разуме-
ется, членом с давних пор/. Посетил нескольких
старых знакомых, отыскал и Ростопчину, с которой
встречался заграницей. Он редко отделялся от все-
го, что у него собиралась из молодежи, нанерой
говорить обо всем небрежно, презирательно,
с какой-то вечно ядовитой усмешкою, также небрежно
и презрительно разваливаться в креслах. . .
Однажды он даже так ряввался, что сломал ручку
кресла, которая упала на пол, и при этом сказал
самодовольным тоном, "Какая еще сила! Не могу
сесть на кресла, чтобы их не сломать!"
133. A. S. Puškin, Dnevnik 1833-1835 gg. (Moscow and Petrograd, 1923), 45. The anonymous editor of this volume notes (p. 283) that Sobolevskij's ill-chosen phrase is a distortion from Racine's Phèdre, IV, 2: "Le jour n'est pas plus pur que le fond de mon coeur." He also notes that Princess Odoevskaja was a dour, strait-laced woman.

Э марта был я вечером у Кн. Од. Соб. любезничал с Ланской/бывшей Полетика/ сказал ей велелась: Le ciel n'est pas plus pur que le fond de mon —сул. Он ужасно смутился, свидетели /в том числе Ланская/ не могла /sic/ воздержаться от смеха. Княгиня Од. обратилась к нему, позеленев от элости—Соб. убежал.


135. Vinogradov, 162.

136. Ibid., 169-172; 181.

137. Ibid., 162.


139. S. A. Sobolevskij, Jurnaly i kamer-fur'erskie žurnaly 1695-1774 (Moscow, 1867), 3.

140. Saitov, Sobolevskij . . ., 18-19.

141. Berezin-Sirjaev, 5.

Я в течение 35 лет собирал библиотеку в 25000 томов, за которую мне книгопродавцы, нарочно приехавшие сюда из-за границы, предлагали 50000 талеров. . . .

142. Ibid., 5-7.

143. Vinogradov, 9.

144. Ibid., 215, note 2.

145. Verxovskij, 36.

146. Raitt, 9.
148. Ibid., 562.
149. Ibid.
151. Ibid.
153. Svetlova, 725-770.
CHAPTER III
SOBOLEVSKIJ AND PUŠKIN

Sobolevskij was, as noted above, a schoolfellow of Lev Sergeevič Puškin; apparently the latter was responsible for introducing him to Aleksandr Puškin during the first year of Sobolevskij's studies. Aleksandr Puškin must have soon formed a very strong friendship with the younger man, as subsequent evidence will show. By December of 1818 Sobolevskij was assisting in the sale of Puškin's proposed edition of poems. And in 1819 the poet was responsible for Sobolevskij's being allowed to continue his studies at the Pansion in spite of his attitude toward religion.

Aside from the two letters which confirm these statements, there is no contemporary evidence of true intimacy between the two young men until September, 1826, when Puškin returned to Moscow after his exile. But there are several good indications of their friendship before the exile which may be seen in certain literary events of that period.

Cjavlovskij says that Sobolevskij claimed in later years that Puškin's 1820 poem, "Kogda sred' orgij žizni šumnoj," was the poet's favorite of all his works up to that time. Such knowledge of Puškin's preferences indicates a certain intimacy between them. Unfortunately,
however, Cjavlovskij cites no source for his information.

Much later, in 1868, Sobolevskij related to Berezin-
Širjaev that he had aided Lev Sergeevič in the publica-
tion of Ruslan i Ljudmila, the first edition of which
appeared in late July or early August of 1820, after
the poet's southern exile had already commenced. In
his article "Puškin v južnoj Rossii" P. I. Bartenev
states that Sobolevskij told him the same story, adding
that the sixth canto was very difficult to read in
Puškin's autograph draft, since it had not been written
out in fair copy by the poet. In view of Sobolevskij's
later activities as a publisher and editor (the Maksimovič
songs; certain works of Petr Kireevskij), it is not
difficult to accept that he did indeed have a hand in
helping Lev.

Such publishing efforts on the part of Sobolevskij
support a theory that their friendship was close before
the poet left for the south, even if contemporary sup-
porting statements are lacking.

On July 12, 1822, Sobolevskij's friend S. S. Petr-
rovskij wrote him from Petersburg that he had heard a
rumor that Puškin had written a scatological work called
Gavriiliada. Over three years later, between November
1825 and January 1827, N. A. Markovič importuned Sobolev-
skij for a copy of that poem. Surely only a close
friend of the poet would have a copy of that scurrilous
work—one which caused great trouble for him, and of which he absolutely denied authorship. In a letter to M. N. Longinov written in 1855, commenting on Pavel Annenkov's edition of Puškin's works, Sobolevskij expresses gratitude that Gavriliada was omitted from the collection: "I do so with a clear conscience, in the name of, and on behalf of, the deceased, remembering how he mourned deeply and grew angry at any mention, even accidental, of this charming obscenity... [sic]."9

Puškin's "O muza plamennoj satiry" is another exile-period work with which Sobolevskij was connected. In 1856 or 1857 he sent a copy of it to Longinov, quoting the text from memory.10 The text as it appears in the letter differs considerably from the published version—a fact attributable sooner to Sobolevskij's faulty memory, one believes, than to any corruption of the published text. B. Tomaševskij notes that Sobolevskij commented elsewhere that "Puškin wanted to publish a special book of epigrams and prepared for it the communicated foreword [i.e., the poem]." Tomaševskij gives no source for the quote from Sobolevskij; he dates the poem at about August 1, 1825.11

Lev Puškin was engaged by his brother to act as his literary agent during his exile, but by 1825 had proven to be incapable of performing this duty.12 Aleksandr Sergeevič told him as much in a strongly-worded letter
By November 10 of that year Lev was blaming his brother's attitude on Sobolevskij concerning the latter's "wilful disposal of the piece" of the poet he wrote:

You have set me against my brother, in a very unpleasant position. Our present relations, unknown to you, demand extreme delicacy and you are forcing me to destroy it.14

Lev however calmed down and apologized to Sobolevskij in a letter of January 17, 1826.15 In spite of this, Aleksandr Sergeevič chose not Sobolevskij but Pletnev to be his agent.16

On September 8, 1825, Puškin returned from exile to Moscow, where he had with Nikolaj I the audience in which the Emperor undertook to be the poet's personal censor. Upon leaving the Emperor, Puškin went almost directly to Sobolevskij. The first few weeks after his return, as will be shown below, were full of activity of both literary and personal nature in which both men participated. Among the works of the poet involved in this activity were Boris Godunov, the second chapter of Eugene Onegin, and Graf Nulin. Together the two also became engaged in the creation of the literary journal Moscow Herald, and in the collecting of folk songs for a projected anthology for the publication of which Petr Kireevskij eventually assumed responsibility.

Puškin did not immediately upon his return settle into the quarters of Sobolevskij, as the latter's
otherwise scrupulously accurate biographer Saitov has stated. He rather lived in the Hotel Europa, moving to Sobolevskij's only in December 1826, as the latter's comments below will make clear.

In early November Puškin returned to his estate of Mixajlovskoe on business; his letter to Sobolevskij of November 9 describes the journey in humorous fashion, and contains his poem "U Gal'jany il' Kol'ony." It also refers to Sobolevskij's own poem "Capli," which is quoted in full on page 157 below. While in Mixajlovskoe Puškin learned to his horror that he was not free to publish at will, as he had taken the Emperor's words to signify, but that he must submit everything he wrote to Nikolaj's agent Benkendorf. Even a private reading, such as that of Boris Godunov which will be discussed below, was forbidden without prior permission. He wrote an urgent plea to M. P. Pogodin, already engaged in preparing Puškin's contributions for the new Moscow Herald, telling the editor not to print any of it without submitting it to the censors. Then Puškin wrote Sobolevskij on December 1, describing the sad state of affairs:

Here is the story: Having been freed from the censorship, I must, still, before printing anything present it higher, even if it is a trifle. They have already baptized me (very sweetly, very courteously). Of course I shall precisely fulfil the highest will and therefore wrote Pogodin to tell the censors not to let anything of mine through.
I see for myself in this a great benefit: freedom from almanacsters, journalsters and other punctilious literary hucksters. We shall make new conditions with Pogodin.

Send me Zubkov's letters without the slightest delay. Your guesses are vile; my chances are smooth. I shall be with you soon, meanwhile I am sitting or lying in Pskov. Somebody wrote me that you are sick; of what did you eat too much? I shall stay at your place.21

"Your place" for Sobolevskij in 1826 was the house of Rinkevič, on Sobol'ja ploščad'; Puškin had only visited him there in September and October. But upon his second return, December 19, 1826, he did in fact move in with Sobolevskij, and lived with him until his departure for Petersburg on May 20, 1827.22 It was during one of those early visits that Puškin read in public for the first time, on September 10, 1826, at Sobolevskij's, Boris Godunov. Two letters of Sobolevskij are not without interest in this regard.

The first is that of 1855 to M. N. Longinov in which Sobolevskij comments upon Annenkov's Puškin edition of that year:

Upon his return to Moscow, he [Puškin] lived in the Hotel Europa, at the time the house of Časovnikov, on Tverskaja.—Then he read at my apartment on Sobol'ja ploščad' for the first time Boris in the presence of M. Ju. Viel'gorskij, P. Ja. Čaadaev, Dmitrij Venevitinov and Shevyrev. I really don't remember if Ivan V. Kireevskij was there.—[Then Boris was read at Vjazemskij's and at Volkonskaja's or the Venevitinovs'?] By the way those are the only readings which P. ever gave of his works, which he detested to read except tête-à-tête or close to it.—After his return from the country (where he went for a short time) he came directly to me and then lived in the
same house of Rinkevič, which, as I said, stands facing Sobač'ja ploščad' and with its rear to Molčanovka, which resulted in A.'s having two addresses.23

The second of Sobolevskij's two letters was written some forty years after the facts described, in 1867, to M. P. Pogodin, and is quoted by Pogodin's biographer Barsukov:

Visit the inn! I was there yesterday, but drank neither wine nor mead. Here is what happened. Longinov and I were driving across Sobač'ja ploščad'; reaching its corner I showed my comrade the house of Renkevič, in which I lived, and with me Puškin. We drew abreast of the door I had had cut into the alleyway—we see on it a sign: "Wine, etc., for sale." Sic transit gloria mundi! Stop, coachman! We climbed out of the cart and went there. The house was not changed at all in the ordering of its rooms: there is my bedroom, my study, the common living room in which we came together from our halves, and where Aleksandr Sergeevič used to sit in his Samoed dressing gown. Here is where his bed used to stand; here is where he so lovingly looked after and took care of his little Danish puppies. Here is where there used to gather Venevitinov, Kireevskij, Ševyrev, Rožalin, Mickiewicz, Baratynskij, you, I... and the other fellows, there is where we used to talk, laugh, lie, and speak wisely!!24 The innkeeper, receiving us with the respect due such visitors, who had gotten out of a carriage, was very amazed by our walking about the rooms of the enterprise. To my question; had he ever heard of Puškin? he spoke affirmatively, but stammering a bit. In any other land the infidels would have put up a sign; here lived Puškin. And in the corner they would have written: here slept Puškin!—and so forth.25

Pogodin answered this letter thusly:

I remember, I remember vividly that famous little corner where Puškin lived in 1826 and 1827, I remember his writing table, between two windows, above which hung the portrait of Žukovskij with the inscription: "To the victorious pupil from the vanquished teacher." I remember the divan in
As such, identification of the site of the first public reading of Boris Godunov in September 1826 is not important; as far as the work and its importance are concerned, it could just as well have been read at the home of any member of this society. But discussion of the site makes two points: it once more shows the importance of Sobolevskij in the life of Puškin; and it lays to rest the inaccurate statements of several scholars that the first reading occurred at Venevitinov's—a statement based one believes on an erroneous and unjustifiable interpretation made by Barsukov and also on a lack of acquaintanceship with Sobolevskij's letter to Longinov.

That statement to Longinov can be credited because it is a simple statement of fact intended to remove a minor error in Annenkov's biographical sketch of Puškin. Sobolevskij is not trying to create the impression that he was anything more than a good friend to Puškin; if he had wanted to do so—to make himself appear responsible for bringing Boris into the light of day—he would not have chosen as his vehicle a private letter to a modest and relatively obscure scholar. Instead he would have trumpeted his part in the press, or at the very least written directly to Annenkov himself. But
Sobolevskij was not that sort of person; he did not desire fame in the wake of his famous friend. Proof of this is the fact that he never wrote a biography of Puškin (although he did start one, but almost immediately abandoned the project—see Appendix B to this chapter). He explained his reticence and modesty in a letter of December 24, 1868, to Fr. Malewski, friend of Mickiewicz:

I always loved my friends for the friendship which they had for me, not because they were great people or could become historical personages in the future; for this reason I never conceived of describing the events of their lives, their actions and words. 27

In the already much quoted letter to Longinov of 1855 Sobolevskij had the following to say about his not writing about Puškin:

The public, just as any majority, is foolish and doesn't understand that there are spots on the sun; therefore none of his friends will write about the late lamented, knowing that, if they tell the truth, they will be accused of disrespect for every true and conscientious word; on the other hand, one cannot where one should justify the subject of the biography, for such justification must be based upon accusations or mockery of others, still living. So, in order not to retell the excessive or to fail to tell the necessary—each friend of Puškin must be silent. For that reason allow those to write of him who did not know him, and allow them to write as A. [nenkov] has written, that is, little concerning his personality and saying of him only that which clarifies his literary activity.28

Sobolevskij obviously was not interested in being anyone except himself.

Returning to the circumstances surrounding the first reading of Boris, the applicable passage from Barsukov
requires comment:

On the third day of his return to Moscow, September 10, 1826, Puškin read his Boris Godunov at the Venevitinovs'. "Venevitinov," Pogodin notes in his diary, "probably asked Sobolevskij if it would be possible to invite me, and probably received a negative answer. It is painful and sad for me." 29

This passage in no way detracts from the accuracy of Sobolevskij's 1855 memories; indeed, it enhances it. For, if the first reading had indeed taken place at Venevitinov's, the latter would not have considered it necessary to ask Sobolevskij for permission to invite Pogodin to his own house: Venevitinov could have invited whomever he wished. He would have felt the necessity to ask permission only if Sobolevskij were the host; and this, one must conclude, was the situation. The consequence is that statements made by Professor E. J. Simmons, 30 Barsukov, 31 and M. Beljaev 32 are erroneous, based on a misinterpretation of the cited passage in Pogodin's diary.

Sobolevskij himself seems to have had some plans to publish Boris. In a letter to his schoolmate V. F. Odoevskij dated tentatively by D. Blagoj in February 1827, he wrote:

Find out for me without fail and immediately from Del'vig the cost of the drawing and engraving of each of his pictures in Northern Flowers. For Schelling's sake, do it quickly, for I desperately need to know, but don't tell him whom it is for. I am now in such a position that I can publish an almanac in which will be Godunov of Puškin, Ermak
of Komsakov, Stepi, and Griboedov's Gore ot uma, etc. etc. Here is a chance to mine some money and pay my debts. But don't tell a single soul of this: not Lev Puškin, not Del'vig, not anyone else.\textsuperscript{33}

This project of Sobolevskij's failed to materialize, as did another similar one which he undertook six years later.\textsuperscript{34}

Another object of Sobolevskij's and Puškin's joint activity upon the poet's return to Moscow was the publication of Chapter II of \textit{Eugene Onegin}, and of \textit{Graf Nulin}. Puškin passed over to Sobolevskij the responsibilities for making proper arrangements for this transaction: a fact significant not only from the literary standpoint, but also from the standpoint of underlining the close friendship of the two men. Coming as early as it did after the poet's return, Sobolevskij's participation in the enterprise is a significant indication that he had been good friends with Puškin before the latter left in 1820. \textit{Onegin}, a literary innovation of enormous significance to Puškin, was not a work to be entrusted to just anyone, but rather to a person in whom the author had great faith as both businessman and friend. There had been no opportunity for Puškin and Sobolevskij to see one another during the poet's exile; strangely enough, there seems to have been no correspondence between them; so therefore their friendship must have become very close during Sobolevskij's years at the Pansion in Petersburg. Sobolevskij was only sixteen years old
when Puškin left that city for southern exile in May of 1820; he must indeed have been an extraordinarily talent-ed young man to establish such a strong friendship with the twenty-one-year old Puškin. The attachment remained strong until the poet's death. When in 1868 Sobolevskij told Berezin-Širjaev "Aleksandr Sergeevič was very well disposed toward me," he was not boasting; he was merely stating a fact.

Only ten days after Puškin returned, on September 18, Ivan Mixajlović Snegirev, professor of Moscow University and censor, made the following notation in his diary: "Sobolevskij brought me verses of Puškin for censoring." On September 24 he wrote: "I visited A. Puškin, who brought me, as censor, his piece Onegin, pt. II and agreed to the comments I had made, taking out and changing several lines." On October 6 Snegirev noted: "In the evening Sobolevskij was here with a manuscript of A. Puškin, Graf Nulin, in connection with my notes upon it." And finally on October 18 he wrote: "After dinner at home Sobolevskij came to me to ask for a written certification that Ch. II of Onegin, a work of A. Puškin, as censored by me, has been printed in accordance with the original, signed by me. I wrote on the original."36

Chapter II appeared in a separate edition about October 20, 1826.37 The first edition of Graf Nulin,
with K. Serbinović, not Snegirev, listed as censor, did not appear until about December 15, 1828.  

In 1827 Sobolevskij was to arouse Puškin's anger over that second chapter of Onegin in the publication of which he had played a role. Chapter III was published on October 10 or 11 of that year in St. Petersburg. Around November 10 the poet wrote Sobolevskij to ask why he had not sent from Moscow the copies of Chapter II:

Negligent one! Stop writing foolishness to Anna Petrovna [Kern], write me a sensible word. Where is Part II of Onegin? they are demanding it here, because of lack of it sale of the other chapters has ceased. And who is to blame? you, Stomach, Caliban, etc...[sic]

A second letter is dated December 1827, and is sharper in tone:

If you had simply written to me, having arrived in Moscow, that you could not send me the second chapter, I would have had it reprinted without any further to-do. But you kept on promising and promising—and thanks to you sale of Chapters I and III has stopped in all the bookstores. I thank you humbly.

What follows from this?
That you are negligent.
That you are acting like Ol'dekop and Voejkov, who reprint us, model great ones—Merzljakov, two Puškins, Velikopol'skij, Podolinskij, Polevoj and so on.

Thanks a lot!

Apparently the problem was eventually solved, for there are no more references to it, and Puškin entertained no lasting ill will toward Sobolevskij.

Sobolevskij retained in his memory eight lines from
Chapter II which Puškin, perhaps because of their autobiographical nature, omitted from the finished work. He gave them to Bartenev; Longinov published them in The Contemporary in July 1856, saying that they probably had originally came after the seventeenth stanza of the chapter. The fact that Sobolevskij knew them is significant of their obvious importance to the poet, although the latter omitted them: for Sobolevskij could not possibly have heard the lines prior to September 1826. But they were discarded in 1824 or 1825, while Puškin was revising Chapter II. Therefore he either remembered them and repeated them to Sobolevskij; or he had kept the working copies and Sobolevskij came to know the lines from that source.41

Another incident of September, 1826, was of a more personal nature: the poet asked his friend to act as his second in his long-deferred and long-anticipated duel with F. I. Tolstoj. Puškin had harbored a grudge against Tolstoj since before his exile, and desired to take advantage of the first opportunity after his return to avenge his honor.42 Sobolevskij, however, succeeded in ameliorating the quarrel, and the duel did not take place.43 Several months later, in April, 1827, Sobolevskij was also instrumental in settling a disagreement between Puškin and V. D. Solomirskij, so that their projected duel did not occur.44
During the fall of 1826 Sobolevskij introduced Puškin into his circle of friends who had previously formed the by then defunct Society of the Lovers of Wisdom. Thence came Puškin's relations with the newly-founded journal Moscow Herald, relations in which Sobolevskij played no small role.

The Society had been led by Venevitinov. One of its goals was the creation of a literary journal which would reflect their point of view as followers of the German romantic school of philosophy of Schelling and the literary school of Goethe. Although Puškin was far from being a romantic, he was attracted to the Society because of its belief in the Schellingian thought that the Poet is a Leader—a view he himself had already recently expressed in his "Conversation of a Bookseller with a Poet," written in Mixajlovskoe in 1824 and printed as the introduction to Chapter I of Onegin in 1825, and also expressed in "The Prophet" of 1826.

The projected journal further attracted Puškin because he saw in it an excellent vehicle for publication of his works. He was a contributor to Del'vig's Northern Flowers, but that came out only annually, as did the Nevskij al'manax, to which he would contribute in each year between 1826 and 1829. Further, he was not in complete sympathy with Polevoj, the editor of Moscow Telegraph, although he continued to contribute
to it also. None of the officially-sanctioned journals appealed to him. Consequently he agreed to support the Herald, which was to be edited by Pogodin with the assistance of Rožalin.

The terms of the agreement among the founders of the Herald were written out by Rožalin in Pogodin’s name, and were signed by those two, Dmitrij Venevitinov and Sobolevskij:

I [Pogodin]...promise:
1) To place articles with the approval of the chief partners: Ševyrev, Titov, Venevitinov, Rožalin, Mal'cov and Sobolevskij, according to the rule of the majority.
2) To pay from the receipts for 1200 copies 10,000 to Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin.
3) To pay to the aforesaid partners 100 rubles each for each page of original work and 50 for each page of translation.
4) To subscribe to books and journals in the sum of 4,000 rubles with the general agreement of the aforesaid partners.
5) To pay for the printing and other expenses of the journal.
6) All remaining funds go to the editor for editorial work and other expenses.

Rožalin is named assistant editor with a salary of 600 rubles. He is to be responsible for the selling of the journal. The money is to be paid to the editor from the bookseller. . .

If there be more than 1200 subscribers, payment to principal partners will increase proportionately, and the editor will receive a raise to 6000. The rest of the amount is intended for the general welfare of the enterprise as the editorial staff sees fit.

Thus the Moscow Herald was chartered. The fact was celebrated by a dinner at the home of F. S. Komjakov on October 24, 1826; present were Sobolevskij, Puškin,
Adam Mickiewicz, Baratynskij, the Venevitinov brothers, the Komjakov brothers, the Kireevskij brothers, Ševyrev, Titov, Rožalin, Mal'cov, Raič, Obolenskij, and Pogodin.\footnote{53}

From the outset, Sobolevskij and Pogodin did not see eye to eye. According to Barsukov, Sobolevskij tried to act as censor, something which the editor could not allow. At one point the two quarrelled while guests in Venevitinov's home.\footnote{54}

To the secret police of Nikolaj I, Sobolevskij was more involved in the \textit{Herald} than was Pogodin. One of Benkendorf's agents, Fon-Fok, wrote at the very end of 1827 that Pogodin was editor in name only, and that the primary leaders were "Sobolevskij, Titov, Mal'cov, Poltorackij, Ševyrev, and Rožin [sic: Rožalin]", thus placing Sobolevskij's name at the head of the list.\footnote{55}

Puškin was apparently pleased with Pogodin and the \textit{Herald}, as he tried during his brief return to Mixajlovskoe to attract to the journal such figures as Vjazemskij (letter of November 9, 1826)\footnote{56} and Jazykov (letters of November 9 and December 21, 1826).\footnote{57} Indeed, in the second letter to Jazykov he promised to see that the latter's "Trigorskoe" be published in the second number of the \textit{Herald}; he also made there the flat statement, "Del'vig is ours."

It was during this visit to Mixajlovskoe, as noted above on pages 76 and 77, that Puškin recognized the limitations imposed upon his freedom of activity by the
personal censorship of the Emperor, and consequently asked Pogodin to hold up all the works which he had already planned to publish in the Herald.

The founders of the Herald recognized that Sobolevskij had an influence over Puškin. Venevitinov wrote him the following letter, which shows precisely the high regard Sobolevskij enjoyed; the date is December 14, 1826.

What is our journal doing? I hope you are one of the active participants: specially that you are driving Pogodin forward, are cursing Polevoj, are wringing articles out of Ševyrev, and are winnowing the unworthy thorns and tares from our blooming garden. If you have adopted your part well, you will have seen that it does not contradict your proud and solid carriage. You must be the strong cement binding together the stones of the new building; its solidarity depends on you. Puškin's name must without fail appear in every issue. I tell you sincerely that much is anticipated here from this journal; Puškin himself wrote here about it. Tell our colleagues not to have any mercy on Bulgarin, Voejkov and the others. The true men of literature are on our side. Del'vig will also help, and Krylov will not refuse to participate. Only let us get to work together and our affairs will roll smoothly.

But in spite of his importance, Sobolevskij was not particularly pleasant for some of the partners to deal with. On December 16 Pogodin, having visited Sobolevskij on some business affairs of the Herald, calls him a boor ("neveža") in his diary entry. On December 28, after Puškin had returned and was living with Sobolevskij, Pogodin wrote, "What a shame, that the pig Sobolevskij acts like a pig in front of everyone." This feeling
of animosity was eventually to lead to some unpleasant scenes between Pogodin and Sobolevskij, with the latter finally insulting the former. But on January 26, 1828, Pogodin noted in his diary that he had dined at Sobolevskij's and had met Mickiewicz there. And further, over forty years later, Sobolevskij and Pogodin exchanged letters of fond reminiscences about these very days (quoted above on page 78).

The first issue of the Moscow Herald appeared January 1, 1827; the first item which it contained was the monologue of the monk Pimen from Puškin's Boris Godunov: "Ešče odno poslednee skazanie." The journal apparently was produced in harmony among the members of its editorial board until the late summer and fall of that year. In the fourth issue of 1827 Sobolevskij himself published his article, "A Sketch about Portuguese Literature."

By fall Pogodin had decided he wanted to be sole editor, without relying on either his associate Rožalin or the editorial board, as he had initially agreed to do. The board decided to appoint Ševyrev to the post of co-editor; Pogodin would not hear of this step and cited in his own behalf the high expression of favor Puškin had written him on August 31:

You want to publish Urania!! Et tu, Brute!!
Think: what will it look like? You, the editor of a European journal in Asiatic Moscow. You,
honest man of letters among shopkeepers of literature. You!...... No, you don't want to dirty your hands with almanac dust. You have "many articles which have accumulated which are not getting into the journal;" but what kind are they? Quod licet Uraniae, licet still more the Moscow Herald; and not only licet but decet. "There are other reasons." What? Money? There will be money, there will be. For God's sake don't abandon the Herald. I promise you unconditionally that next year I will actively participate in its publication; to that end I am completely severing all ties with the almanacsters of both capitals.65

Strangely enough, on the day before writing this laudatory letter to Pogodin, Puškin had written another to Del'vig in which he said that he could not abandon the Moscow Herald to the arbitrariness of Fate and Pogodin!66

Puškin was apparently dissatisfied at some time with the income that he was receiving from the journal. During the first year of its publication he would receive only 1,000 rubles, not the 10,000 planned in the charter of the journal; and from 1828 on he would work for the Herald gratis.67

Sobolevskij entered the financial controversy by taking Pogodin to task for his disorderly handling of the accounts of the Herald. A letter from Odoevskij, Mal'cov, and Sobolevskij to the other members of the board, dated October 25/November 7, 1827, gives the details of Sobolevskij's apparent thoughtlessness: He showed Puškin Pogodin's financial statement and said to him that, since things were going badly for the journal, he (Puškin) would receive less than the agreed
amount. Puškin thereupon had agreed to return all the money which he had already received. Sobolevskij's biggest error in the affair was that he had done all this independently of the board, which knew nothing of it. Pogodin was naturally upset at what he considered Sobolevskij's unwarranted interference and asked him for an explanation. The latter responded from Petersburg on September 10, 1827:

"[It has taken me a long time to decide to write you, and do you know why? Because I was afraid of my stupid hastiness and didn't want to deprive myself (even for a short time) of your good will or friendship for me because of some overly strong expression; call this feeling what you will; it is your affair. When you gave me our journal's accounts, I was amazed, and even more insulted, by them. It seemed to me quite indecent on your part to exhibit to the editorial board of the Moscow Herald, to friends, identical in feelings and intentions, that disregard which was proclaimed in these accounts. I confess that at the least it is discourteous in a common cause to jot down on a piece of scrap paper general and round sums, and that with oversights.] You ask me why I didn't say this in person. It was difficult, my soul. In your business I am not an outsider, for I was the mediator between you and Puškin. It was painful for me to see his inevitable break with such people, whom I love, and perhaps even respect... Do with Puškin in the future what you will; I decisively renounce such a business, where one must either tell the truth or be silent. [I cannot go against the first, I cannot keep from the second.]"

In quoting this letter Barsukov includes the part enclosed here by the first set of brackets; Cjavlovskij's citation of its omits that section. On the other hand, Cjavlovskij includes the second bracket while Barsukov omits it. Further, Barsukov's quote has Sobolevskij
omit the negative in the phrase "In your business I am not an outsider," which makes nonsense of the phrase. Furthermore, the last sentences as quoted by Cjavlovskij are not clear: it seems as if Sobolevskij here advocates lying; which is contrary to his nature. Only access to the original text of the letter will clarify these anomalies.

On September 30 Rožalin warned Sobolevskij:

You on your part must not make Puškin despair: if the journal is to continue next year, he is indispensable, and his refusal would be the death blow of the Herald. We will not allow Pogodin to write him about the accounts; the next five thousand are his, and next year he will get more.

You too must not mention finances to him. Ševyrev checked Pogodin's affidavits and affirms that there is no deception in them. So calm down, come here and see for yourself.70

Pogodin on September 21 accepted Sobolevskij's apology at the same time accusing both him and Puškin of wanting to displace him.71 This is a strange statement from Pogodin, basking as he did in the pleasure of Puškin expressed in the August 31 letter. Perhaps by then Pogodin had learned in some way of Puškin's real feelings as expressed in the cited letter of Del'vig.

Ivan Kireevskij, Rožalin,73 and Odoevskij and Titov74 successively entered the editorship fray on the side of Ševyrev as new co-editor. Rožalin was especially conciliatory toward Sobolevskij; his letter
of September 18 stated:

I believe that you can continue to speak bravely to Puškin on behalf of your Moscow brotherhood. Jazykov is ours, and now we have remaining only not to make a mistake. Inspire Puškin with the constancy to work, and things will go well. There is hope for success.75

Yet Ševyrev—he who was perhaps most directly concerned, aside from Pogodin himself, in the question of the co-editorship of the Herald—was very dissatisfied at Sobolevskij's insistence on his being named to the post. In an undated letter to Sobolevskij, placed by Svetlova in mid-September 1827, he berates Sobolevskij for asking Pogodin for an accounting of funds, saying, "If Puškin doesn't want to know what the expenses are, neither do I and neither does anyone.—What is the conclusion from this?—That Sobolevskij is an absurdity."76

The editorial affair was ended when Pogodin was finally forced to accept Ševyrev as his co-editor.77 But the financial part of the controversy continued until at least November 1827, at which time Puškin wrote to Sobolevskij:

Here in Petersburg they give me literally 10 rubles a line, and you in Moscow want to force me to work for the journal exclusively and for free. Moreover they say: he is rich, he doesn't need the money. Let us agree, but I am rich by means of my trade in rhymes, and not because of my ancestors' lands, which are in the hands of Sergej L'vovič.78

No ill will remained, however, among the old friends; Sobolevskij remained in contact with many of them for
many years; indeed, he corresponded with Ševyrev throughout his first journey to western Europe, as has been shown in Chapter II of the present work.

One cannot help searching one's reason for a plausible explanation of Sobolevskij's less than thoughtful conduct in this financial misunderstanding. Perhaps his demand for a formal and precise accounting of Pogodin can be explained by the concern over money which was the result of his mother's dying in July 1827—just as the affair seems to come to light—without having made a will favoring her illegitimate offspring, and his consequent reduced affluence. If such actually were the case, whether conscious or subconscious with Sobolevskij, his actions perhaps become excusable. And perhaps it was for precisely that reason that, after their initial displeasure and the subsequent explanations, the affair came to rest with no hard feeling on the part of any of the participants.

Puškin eventually ceased to contribute to the Moscow Herald. Sobolevskij left Russia on his first trip to Europe in October of 1828. At the beginning of January 1829 Ševyrev left Russia for Rome in the suite of Princess Zinaida Volkonskaja, where he was tutor to her young son Aleksandr Nikitić; Pogodin apparently hated to see him leave. Pogodin himself remained editor of the Herald until it ceased to
publish in 1830. Thus ended the affair of Sobolevskij, Puškin, and the Moscow Herald.

It was during the period of their cooperation on the Moscow Herald that Sobolevskij and Puškin undertook the second major literary collaboration of a publishing nature. This collaboration, while it produced nothing over the signature of the poet, was to result in something influential in the life of another of the members of the "arxivnye junosti," Petr Vasil'eviç Kireevskij (as well as to play a minor part in the lives of Konstantin Sergeeviç Aksakov and Vladimir Ivanoviç Dal', among others). And it would occupy Sobolevskij's attention intermittently for more than forty years, until shortly before his death in 1870.

Puškin had long been interested in Russian folk songs; he had apparently begun to record wedding songs as early as 1824-1825, during his exile at Mixajlovskoe. The first systematic collection of Russian folk songs was begun in 1810 by A. X. Vostokov. This collection remained incomplete, but some of the material gathered by Vostokov was to pass through Sobolevskij's hands into Puškin's, and thence to those of Petr Kireevskij. In 1827 Sobolevskij was directly involved in the
publication of a collection of Ukrainian folk songs, *Malorossijskie pesni*, prepared by M. A. Maksimovič, his friend from the Raič circle (page above). It was Sobolevskij who provided the financial backing for this enterprise. The collection was well received, and was reviewed by Ševyrev, another friend, in these terms:

Lovers of folk poetry must give their attention to the newly-published Little Russian songs. The respected collector completely deserves our thanks. Our philologists must look upon any similar edition as a reproach for their inactivity. How is it that, until now, we have not rushed to gather these Russian songs, which are so near and dear to our hearts, and which perhaps the older generation will take away with them forever? Amateurs of poetry will find in the Little Russian songs the bright thoughts and the warm feelings of the heart. Poets will find in them a source of inspiration, and philologists food for their observant minds.

One of the poets who found there a source of inspiration was Puškin: in 1828 he included the Maksimovič-Sobolevskij anthology in the material which he gathered during the research for his narrative poem *Poltava*. It was therefore not unnatural that, in the late 1820's, Sobolevskij and Puškin agreed on the need for, and to work toward the publication of, a collection of folk songs. The precise date of their contract is not known; in a letter to Ševyrev written December 15, 1831, during his trip to western Europe, Sobolevskij said only that the collaboration had been agreed upon before his departure from Russia in October 1828. In
this same letter Sobolevskij called upon Ševyrev for assistance in gathering materials for the collection.

During at least the first three years of his first trip Sobolevskij pursued suitable songs for the enterprise, and enlisted the cooperation in that pursuit of several others besides Ševyrev, namely M. I. Glinka, Petr Kireevskij, and Prosper Mérimée. The last-named, during Sobolevskij's Parisian sojourn in 1829, published several Slavic songs in the Revue de Paris. Certainly the two new friends did not neglect to discuss Mérimée's La Guzla, the work which would eventually provide the only direct contact between Puškin and Mérimée, a contact made precisely through Sobolevskij.

As has been shown at some length in Chapter II, Sobolevskij in June and July of 1830 went to Munich to visit the Russian colony which lived there in the Bavarian capita. Members of the colony included the Kireevskij brothers, Ivan and Petr, Sobolevskij's old friends from among the "arxivnye junoši," who had come to Munich to attend lectures at the university there. Both brothers were to become ardent Slavophiles. During Sobolevskij's visit Petr Kireevskij became convinced of the importance of the folk song collection and began enthusiastically to participate in the gathering of materials. His valet, Rodion, was a famous folk singer in his native province. A. D. Sojmonov, Petr Kireevskij's
biographer, describes Rodion as "one of those peasants of Dolbinsk who... were famed throughout the whole region for their knowledge of songs and the mastery with which they performed them." Rodion began to write down from memory songs which eventually reached 150 in number. But Sobolevskij left Munich for Italy before this recording was completed; and the songs apparently never reached him, being destroyed in a fire.

Kireevskij also worked directly with Puškin on this project: the unpublished Sobolevskij collection in the Central State Archive of Literature and Art contains, according to Glinka's biographer E. Kann-Novikova, a series of letters from Kireevskij describing Puškin's joint work with him on his anthology of Russian songs.

Settling in the capital of the Kingdom of Sardinia, Turin, Sobolevskij had access to the library of the Russian ambassador, Voroncov, of which he appears to have made considerable use. Aside from investigating Russian folk poetry, he also apparently made some investigations into the folk poetry of other cultures, as in a letter to Ševyrev dated August 30, 1830, he refers to the "wonders of wonders" of the German Minnesingers and the French trouvères.

By October 28, 1830, Sobolevskij was beginning to make plans to continue his travels, this time to
visit Ševyrev in Rome. In his letter of that date to Ševyrev, he makes the following offer, which reveals the identities of some of the source material which he had at his disposal:

When I leave here I shall leave behind my Russian books; if you want, I will send you several of them. Do you have Prač's Russian songs? Old Tunes in New Harmony? Čulkov's Tales? Novikov's Songs? From this list of published material one sees that Sobolevskij did not limit his search to original sources.

On his way to Rome, Sobolevskij stopped off in Milan to see his old school friend Mixail Ivanovič Glinka. One cannot but think that the two men discussed this project which was so fresh in Sobolevskij's mind, and in which Glinka had such an interest; one also thinks that Glinka's musical genius must have influenced Sobolevskij's enthusiasm for his project. By late 1831 Sobolevskij had collected, or had access to, more than 850 folk songs. In the letter to Ševyrev, dated Turin, December 15, 1831, and briefly referred to above, he wrote:

By the way, concerning poetry: I have a very urgent request for you: I, sitting here, have gathered from my own books and Voroncov's some 700 Russian songs; Rožalin in Munich has about 150, written down from memory by Kireevskij's Sancho Panza Rodion, which are for the most part unknown. Before my departure I had decided to publish with Puškin a Collection of Russian Songs. So send me those which you stole in Saratov, at least you will lend them to me.... Write me in Milan, monsieur Glinka, russe (Glinke, dlja S.A.S.):
for, even if I might happen to be away from Milan, Glinka will send them to catch up with me. 96

(The letter points to the interesting fact that Glinka was sufficiently a celebrity in Milan by this time that a letter addressed simply to him in Milan would reach him!)

As noted above, Sobolevskij had had to leave Munich before Rodion accomplished his assigned task of writing down all the songs he could remember. Rožalin, who had also joined the Russian colony in Munich, had taken charge of the collection at the time of Sobolevskij's December 15 letter: Petr Kireevskij had had to return to Russia unexpectedly before he could forward the songs to Sobolevskij. Therefore Rožalin had taken them, planning to meet Sobolevskij either in Italy or in France. But as it turned out, Rožalin also returned to Russia, without seeing Sobolevskij, and later died there; his papers, which Sobolevskij has asked Ivan Kireevskij to take charge of, were destroyed in a fire at a posting station. 97 Rodion's collection therefore seems to have played no part in the eventual work of Kireevskij.

Sobolevskij too returned to Russia, on July 22, 1833. On August 26, 1833, he, Puškin, Ševyrev and Petr Kireevskij met at the latter's home in Moscow; it is highly likely that at this meeting all the folk song
material gathered thus far was handed over to Petr Kireevskij for preparation for publication. The circumstances of turning the material over to Kireevskij must have been similar to the following: Puškin apparently realized that, in light of the great new European interest in folklore, the Russian songs must be published as soon as possible. He had not the time to undertake a major task of this sort. Petr Kireevskij was the one man involved in the research whom every contributor—among them Sobolevskij, Puškin, Ševyrev, Vostokov, Jazykov, N. Polevoj and Snegirev—respected sufficiently to hand over his portion. Additionally, being a Slavophile, Kireevskij probably had the desire to publish the songs to prove that Russia had a pre-literary history of artistic expression, and would thus be a careful and reliable editor for this precious material.

Kireevskij took over the material. On September 7, 1833, Sobolevskij informed Vostokov:

The Moscow literary man P. V. Kireevskij is working on a large collection of Russian folk poems. Besides those printed by Čulkov, Novikov, and Kirša Danilov, he himself has heard or is receiving from Jazykov, Ševyrev, and A. S. Puškin more than 1000 tales, songs, and so-called poems. Desiring to aid by my efforts such a good and disinterested affair, I have therefore undertaken to obtain for him during my short stay here all that can be found in the Imperial Library and in the collections of Rumjancev and Tolstoj. To whom but you...should I turn for such research.

As a result, Vostokov sent Kireevskij the notes which were in his possession.
Sobolevskij continued to aid Kireevskij in collecting songs. He wrote to Puškin from St. Petersburg on October 2, 1833, "I have been here since the fifth of last month... I am running around (as it were) on business, I am cooking up a songbook." And as late as January 8, 1835, Kireevskij was complaining that Sobolevskij had not sent him the printed materials which he was working on for the collection.

The last meeting among Sobolevskij, Puškin, and Kireevskij occurred in 1835 in St. Petersburg, where the editor showed his colleagues the materials which he had prepared for publication:

Puškin looked with great happiness at Kireevskij's labors, leafed through the collection with him, read many of the songs which he had gathered, and displayed the greatest familiarity with this subject.

Petr Kireevskij himself mentioned this meeting in a letter to his brother Ivan, although he does not reveal the substance of the conversation. The source of Bartenev's information presumably is a conversation with Kireevskij, although he credits no source in relating the quoted anecdote.

Volume I of Kireevskij's collection appeared in the early months of 1838, under the title Russian Folk Songs, Edited by P. Kireevskij. Part 1. Wedding Songs; the work bore Snegirev's censorship stamp dated March 5. It contains material which Sobolevskij had gathered for
Puškin. But this was not to be Sobolevskij's last association with the folk song collection.

Kireevskij died in October 1856, leaving much material unprocessed and unpublished. The Society of Lovers of Russian Literature acquired this material and created a special commission to prepare it for publication. Appointed to this commission were Sobolevskij, Aksakov, Dal', and others. They published seven volumes of songs between September 1860 and 1868; and others were published after Sobolevskij's death in 1870. Thus for over forty years Sobolevskij was occupied with the recording and printing of the songs whose collection he had initially undertaken for the use of Puškin.

Having, in following the chronological development of the folk song collection, come so far from the period primarily under consideration—that of the late 1820's—we must now return to that period to discuss other aspects of the Sobolevskij-Puškin friendship.

Sobolevskij was a target of the secret police and its widespread system of spies headed by Benkendorf. Both he and Puškin were the subjects of a report of August 23, 1827:

The famous Sobolevskij (a young man of the Moscow liberal gang) is going to visit Puškin in the country and wants to get him to go abroad with him. That would be a pity. Puškin must be cared for like a child. He is a poet, he lives by his imagination and it is easy to influence
him. The party to which Sobolevskij belongs is shot through with a bad spirit. Its atamans are prince Vjazemskij and Polevoj; friends are Titov, Ėseyrev, Rożalin and other Muscovites.107

Modzalevskij cites an instance in which the police read Sobolevskij's correspondence: they practiced perlustration on his letter to Rożalin of September 30, 1827, in which he wrote:

Make an effort, young people, regarding the Herald. I too am trying, that is, I am going to Pskov to visit Puškin in order to close our written agreement, and in this affair I will walk softly.108

This trip did not take place, probably because of the fracas over the editorship and funding of the Moscow Herald discussed above. A month after this letter, Puškin had returned from his two-month visit to Mixajlovskoe and was the subject, along with Sobolevskij, of another secret police report, this one dated October 16, 1827:

The poet Puškin is here, he is rarely at home. The notorious Sobolevskij drags him from one pot-house to another, wines and dines with him. Sobolevskij is called Puškin’s belly. By the way, the latter is conducting himself very sensibly in a political sense.109

The last sentence of that report provides the reason behind the interest of the secret police in the two friends: they were suspected of illicit political activity, and specifically of planning to turn the Herald into a political organ. A rather lengthy report of December 30, 1827, makes that quite clear; the report, according to the editor of the journal Russkaja
Btarina, in which the report was printed in full in 1902, is not signed but is in the handwriting of Benkendorf's agent Fon-Fok:

December 30, 1827. Pogodin, the editor of the Moscow Herald, has arrived in St. Petersburg from Moscow. He is editor in name only, evidence of which are his own handwritten letters. The principal leaders of this editorial board are Sobolevskij, Titov, Mal'cov, Poltorackij, Ševyrev, Ragozin [sic] and several other truly rabid radicals. Several of them (Mal'cov and Sobolevskij) gave money to support the journal and pay Puškin for poems. Their main aim is the introduction into the journal of politics. For 1828 they have already decided to publish a political journal, but since not one of them can present their articles, forbidden by the censorship code, they have attracted Pogodin here, in order that he might in his own name request permission to introduce political things.

Pogodin is an extraordinarily adventuresome person. He as translator of the works of Krug, and his eulogizer, has entered into correspondence with the Academy of Sciences and now, under the patronage of Uvarov, hopes to receive the desired permission to place political things in his journal... Pogodin has no influence on these young men and is dependent upon them, since they are rich and brave and he is poor, without a name, and shy. These young people write nothing literary, considering this unworthy of themselves, and occupy themselves totally with political science. Their way of speaking, thinking, and judging is characterized by the most rampant carbonarism. Sobolevskij and Titov (who serve in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) are the worst of them. They gather at prince Vladimir Odoevskij's, who has a reputation among them as a philosopher, and at Mal'cov's.

With this report, secret surveillance of the activities of Sobolevskij seems to have ended. If indeed he and his friends and colleagues intended to turn their mutual efforts in the direction of subversive political activity, they were very careful to allow no
indication of such intentions to survive in writing. One believes, however, that Fon-Fok was seeing just what he thought his superiors would want seen. This thought is reinforced by the realization that two of the "carbonari," Sobolevskij and Ševyrev, being abroad together for several years immediately after this episode and engaging in a rather voluminous correspondence, nowhere even hint at reminiscences of such illicit plans, as they would almost surely have done had there indeed been any such tantalizing subject material for mutual recollection.

Two other mutual friends now entered the relationship between Sobolevskij and Puškin: the latter's sometime muse, Anna Petrovna Kern, and the artist V. A. Tropinin.

Sobolevskij was the recipient of an interesting remark from the poet concerning A. P. Kern, in a letter written from St. Petersburg in February 1828.

Careless one! You write me nothing about the 2100 rubles which I owe you, but you write me about Mme. Kern, whom with God's help I ______one of these days. . . .

The Academy edition of the letters of Puškin does not carry the obvious verb in the blank; but the thought is very clear. Puškin had become disillusioned with his "genius of pure beauty," and Sobolevskij and other of his men friends were fully aware of the fact. Sobolevskij wrote several epigrams on Anna Petrovna,
which can be found on page 256 of the present work.

In 1827 Puskin ordered his portrait of the artist Tropinin. This is the portrait which shows him wearing on his thumb the talisman ring given him during his southern exile by the Countess Elizaveta Voroncova.  

According to Sobolevskij, the poet ordered this portrait especially for him, and presented it to him as a surprise gift. Sobolevskij left the painting at the house of the Kireevskij brothers upon his departure for his trip to western Europe in October 1828. Shortly thereafter the Kireevskij brothers themselves went abroad. When Sobolevskij returned five years later he found among his stored effects only a poor copy of the portrait.  

As late as 1957, Tropinin's sketch for this work was to be found in the Tret'jakov Gallery in Moscow; on the reverse is the following note in Sobolevskij's hand:

Puškin ordered from Tropinin his portrait, which he gave to Sobolevskij. Someone stole this portrait. It is now in the possession of Prince Mix. Andr. Obolenskij. For himself Tropinin made this sketch, which after him belonged to Alekseev, after Al. was bought by N. M. Smirnov, and after, Smirnova (about March 3, 1870) gave it to S.  

Of the nine extant letters addressed to Sobolevskij by Puškin, seven belong to this period of the "arxivnye junosji" and two to the period after Sobolevskij's return from his five-year trip abroad. The last of the first group is dated July 3, 1828, and was enclosed
with 1750 rubles which the poet sent his friend from St. Petersburg. The letter closes with a characteristic bit of banter: "Farewell," wrote Puškin, "gormandize yourself in good health." Three months later Sobolevskij set off on this first foreign tour.

During the time of that trip—between October 1828 and July 1833—there appears to have been no direct contact between the two friends. Sobolevskij frequently mentioned the poet in letters to others, and sometimes sent him a post-scripted note in writing to mutual friends; he often commented on those works of Puškin which he read in various anthologies and journals which he received while abroad. For his part, Puškin seems never to have even so much as mentioned Sobolevskij's name in his correspondence dating from the period.

One finds it exceedingly difficult to understand why this situation should have obtained between two men who, based on all the evidence cited in the foregoing pages, and on much more which will be cited in the remainder of this study, were such true and faithful friends. Apparently the situation bothered Sobolevskij, if one may judge by the tone of a post-script addressed to Puškin in a letter to Ivan Kireevskij, dated from Florence on February 23/March 7, 1829:
O Puškin, Puškin, write to me!!! I praise you here, honor you, not only that, I am preparing my translation of you, and sorrow, sorrow upon the disgraced one!!!

The translation referred to seems not to have survived; and the identity of the "posramlennyj" is a mystery, although Sobolevskij could have been referring to himself, a faithful friend in apparent disgrace and thus not receiving a letter from Puškin. But the greatest mystery is the reason behind Sobolevskij's failure to address a single letter directly to Puškin for almost five years. That mystery will probably never be solved.

In his unreliable book of reminiscences about his famous uncle Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin, L. N. Pavliščev quotes a letter from his grandparents, Sergej L'vovič Puškin and Nadežda Osipovna Gannibal, to his mother, Ol'ga Sergeevna Pavliščeva, dated March 16, 1833, stating that Aleksandr and "Mylord qu'importe"—Sobolevskij—visit the St. Petersburg English Club twice a week.118 This simply could not have happened in 1833, for Sobolevskij returned from abroad only on July 22. Pavliščev could have intended to write "1834", or there could be a typographical error involved or the original letter could have been misdated: Puškin was in Petersburg in March 1834,119 and Sobolevskij probably was also. The incident would be unworthy of mention except for the fact that A. K. Vinogradov, about whose scholarship so much was said in Chapter II of the
present work, accepts Pavliščev's story and the date 1833 without questioning its accuracy. This is one more example of Vinogradov's unreliability as an authority.

Almost immediately upon Sobolevskij's return from abroad, the two old friends renewed their acquaintance. No written records of the subjects of their conversations exist; but certainly they 'did not carouse together as they had often done before, for by this time Puškin was married and the father of two children. Indeed, Sobolevskij in 1855, in his letter to Longinov often cited before, associates the date of his return with a significant event in the Puškin family: he told Longinov that he arrived in Petersburg on either the day of, or the day after, the baptism of Puškin's son Aleksandr. So great was Puškin's hold on Sobolevskij that the latter immediately plunged back into a close relationship with him.

Sobolevskij brought Puškin a valuable gift upon his return: the four-volume edition of the works of Mickiewicz which had appeared in Paris in 1828-1832. This work was forbidden in the Russia of Nikolaj I. In Volume IV, which contains the Digression from Forefathers' Eve, Part III, Sobolevskij wrote a presentation inscription to Puškin: "To Aleksandr Sergeević Puškin for his diligence, successes, and
good conduct. S. Sobolevskij."122 Puškin obviously took the books with him on his trip to Boldino that fall, for one of the literary results of that trip was his poetical polemics with the Polish poet, including The Bronze Horseman of October 1833.123

On August 17, 1833, Sobolevskij and Puškin together left St. Petersburg. They travelled together as far as Toržok, the eighteenth posting station on the road from Petersburg to Moscow; there they separated.124 Sobolevskij went to his country home, and Puškin went to visit the Wulf family and then eventually as far as Orenburg, to gather material for his history of Pugačev. They met a week after the separation at Toržok, in Moscow, before the poet continued his way eastward. During this period Puškin several times mentions Sobolevskij in his letters to his wife Natal'ja Nikolaevna.

In the letter of August 20, he describes their trip, and in that of August 26 adds the conditions for traveling arranged beforehand between them:

On the road he [Sobolevskij] conducted himself correctly and rather accurately fulfilled the conditions which I laid down to him, to wit: 1) to pay the travelling expenses half and half, and not to cheat a comrade; 2) not to break wind, either openly or secretly, except in one's sleep, and that at night and not after dinner.125

On August 27 he wrote that, on the previous day, he, Sobolevskij, and Ševyrev had been at Kireevskij's house in Moscow.126 It was probably at that gathering,
as noted above, that the material gathered for Puškin's projected song collection was handed over to Petr Kireevskij.

Sobolevskij returned to Petersburg while the poet was at Boldino. The former and his old friend Odoevskij on September 28 and October 6 sent Puškin requests for poems and prose to be published in an almanac they were about to begin. Sobolevskij also reported that he was working on a song book—probably, as noted above, preparing material for Kireevskij. 127

On October 8 Puškin wrote Natal'ja Nikolaevna that she must not flirt with Sobolevskij. 128 Then, on October 21, he wrote her of his anger at Sobolevskij for the request contained in one of the joint letters:

Last Sunday instead of a letter from you I received a letter from Sobolevskij, who needs money for pâte de foie gras and therefore is undertaking an almanac. You understand how angry I became over his letter and his request for verses (what do I mean, requests, commands, contracts for orders). And you are to blame. 129

The almanac never saw the light of day. 130

In the spring and early summer of 1834, Natal'ja Nikolaevna paid a visit to her mother in Moscow while Puškin remained in St. Petersburg. Apparently Natal'ja Nikolaevna heard rumors that Sobolevskij was attempting to attract Puškin back into the old habits of his bachelor days, 131 and that he was trying to seize control of Puškin's financial affairs. Her husband
reported to her in several letters of the period that such was certainly not the case. On April 30, 1834, he wrote her: "It is silly for you to think that I am in Sobolevskij's claws and that he will ruin your furniture. I rarely see him." On June 11 he exclaimed: "You really have found something to fuss about!... The Summer Garden and Sobolevskij. Why, the Summer Garden is my own garden. And Sobolevskij? Sobolevskij is one type and I another. He is busy with his own speculations and I with mine."

Obviously Sobolevskij's reputation as something of a rake had not decreased during his years abroad; neither had his laziness and lack of organization. M. N. Zagoskin apparently early in 1834 sent Puškin a presentation copy of his novel Askold's Grave; receiving no thanks from the poet, Zagoskin inquired into his receipt of the gift. Puškin responded on July 9, praising the novel and blaming his apparent ingratitude on Sobolevskij, "who leaves for Moscow every day and seven months ago took from me the letter which he promised to deliver to you immediately."

In spite of Sobolevskij's failings, however, Puškin, when in the spring of 1834 he decided to take control of his family estates at Boldino and Kistenevo, did not hesitate to enlist his assistance. The only extant letter of Sobolevskij to Puškin, dated May 4, 1834,
from Petersburg, is concerned precisely with this affair. In the letter Sobolevskij describes in considerable detail Puškin's holdings, including a census of serfs and their potential worth, and also gives a list of the debts of the poet's father Sergej L'vovič. If Puškin's nephew Pavliščev can be credited, Sergej L'vovič blamed all of Puškin's independence from the family in the dealings involved on Sobolevskij, whom the poet heeded as he would on oracle. For his part, Sobolevskij years later informed P. I. Bartenev that the elder Puškin was not a businessman and could not make ends meet, was stingy, and received less income from his holdings than he should have. Sobolevskij was a better judge of character than Sergev L'vovič.

Eventually Sobolevskij helped Aleksandr Sergeevič mortgage some of the Kistenevo serfs for the sum of 13,242 rubles, as a note written in Puškin's hand, on the margin of the Sobolevskij letter, states. With some of this money Puškin paid a long-standing debt of his brother Lev Sergeevič to their brother-in-law Pavliščev. Sobolevskij commented rather sharply on the character of his old school friend Lev Sergeevič. When Aleksandr Sergeevič bought up some of his brother's other outstanding notes, Sobolevskij said, according to Ol'ga Sergeevna Pavliščeva, "Aleksandr Sergeevič is going to have to feed him. Feeding him
is no problem; but supplying him with drink will set him back a pretty penny." Sobolevskij's epigrams on the gourmandizing Lev may be found on page 254 below; those concerning O. S. Pavliščeva-Puškina are on page 253.

Sobolevskij also had a role in the strained relations existing between the poet and the husband of his sister Ol'ga. Puškin did not like Pavliščev. By 1836 the latter was frequently importuning him about family financial affairs; Puškin did not read his letters, but rather handed them over to Sobolevskij, who performed this distasteful chore for him.

After Puškin's death Sobolevskij, being familiar with his financial affairs, was called upon to assist in the settlement of the poet's estate. On February 25/13, 1837, he wrote Puškin's agent Pletnev from Paris listing in detail Sergej L'vovič's holdings in the province of Nižni-Novgorod. Between that date and February 23, 1839, Sobolevskij was deeply involved in this business. One transaction of the period shows not only the close relations between the two old friends, but also clearly and very poignantly points up the sad financial situation of the poet. The Archive of Guardianship of the Children and Property of Puškin contains a statement from one Ekaterina Vasil'evna Šiškina, widow of a pawnbroker, affirming that Puškin at his death owed her 12,500 rubles, received from her at
various times for the pawning of shawls, pearls, and silver. Sobolevskij testified to the executors that the silver in question was his, and that he had loaned it to Puškin. It is extraordinarily sad that in his last days the poet was reduced to pawning borrowed silver in order to acquire money to pay his bills.

As his final contribution to the affair, Sobolevskij in 1839-1842 assisted in arranging the sale of the late poet's estate Mixajlovskoe to Count G. A. Stroganov.

In returning to an examination of the last two years of Puškin's life, several typical situations involving the poet and his friend are discovered.

In January 1835 Puškin gave to Sobolevskij a sum of money intended by the former to repay a loan from their mutual friend P. V. Naščokin. Sobolevskij failed to give the money to Naščokin; and Puškin was forced to send 1500 rubles to his creditor when the latter, ill and in financial difficulties, requested it of him several times.

Early in January 1836 Puškin became involved in an affair of honor with S. S. Xljustin. Sobolevskij neglected to pass on to Xljustin a message from the poet which would have prevented the duel. Puškin was forced on February 4 to explain his apparently insulting conduct to Xljustin, adding: "I am angry that Mr.
Sobolevskij has shown his usual negligence in this affair. The duel, however, did not take place.

The last two written indications of communication between Sobolevskij and Puškin both have to do with creative artists who were their friends: the musician Glinka and the artist Brjullov.

During the latter part of February or early March, 1836, Sobolevskij addressed a brief note to Puškin: “The musician Glinka, who lives at the corner of Fonarnyj pereulok, in the house of Schlothauer, invites us to his house on Friday at nine o'clock.” Sobolevskij had received an invitation from Glinka for that event, with a request that he invite Puškin; Žukovskij was also to be present. It was probably on that evening that Glinka performed for the first time his setting of Žukovskij’s “Midnight Review.”

In June or July 1836 Sobolevskij, Puškin, I. S. Mal’cov and several others composed a brief greeting to Brjullov; the obverse of the note bears the artist’s penciled self-portrait.

Shortly after this, on August 8, 1836, Sobolevskij departed on his second trip abroad. He would not see Puškin again.

The friendship had lasted almost twenty years, in spite of the long hiatus created by Sobolevskij’s first European trip, and of his various personal shortcomings.
One believes that the evidence clearly shows that there was on each side love, trust, and respect, in spite of all personal vicissitudes.

While he was in Paris Sobolevskij received I. S. Mal'cov's letter of February 2, 1837, informing him of the poet's death. By February 25 Andrej Karamzin reported from Paris that Sobolevskij had already initiated a subscription fund for Puškin's children; but apparently the project, like so many others of his, came to naught.

According to Sobolevskij's barely-begun memoir of Puškin, Count V. A. Sollogub said that if he (Sobolevskij) had been in Russia during the period leading up to the poet's fateful duel, he could have persuaded Puškin to abandon his design. Alas, he had not been. But afterwards he undertook to learn the identity of the author of the anonymous letter naming Puškin a cuckold and leading to his calling out Dantes. On February 7, 1862, Sobolevskij wrote a long letter to Prince Semen Mixajlovič Voroncov stating his reasons for naming as the author Prince Petr Vladimirovič Dolgorukij. In 1865 Prince I. S. Gagarin, a friend of Dolgorukij and a suspect in the affair, wrote that "an old friend" of Puškin had visited him several years before in Paris and had questioned him about the letter.

This "old friend" was almost certainly Sobolevskij, who...
was indeed in Paris for three months in the fall and winter of 1861, and who in the cited letter to Voroncov wrote that "I love and esteem G. [sic] too much to have the least suspicion" of his participation. As late as 1964 Sobolevskij's solution of the riddle was considered the most likely one.

Only a few weeks before his death in October, 1870, Sobolevskij published in P. I. Bartenev's Russkij arxiv his article "Mysterious Omens in the Life of Puškin.” A translation of this article, the first in English, appears as Appendix A to this chapter. Puškin was indeed a superstitious man. His own story of not leaving Mixajlovskoe in the fall of 1825 (as he had illegally planned) because of certain bad luck signs (meeting a priest at the gate; having a hare cross his path) is evidence enough to support that statement. Therefore Sobolevskij's story of the foretelling of the poet's death by a gypsy fortuneteller must be viewed as more than an old wives' tale, and as relevant to a more complete understanding of the character of Puškin.

Sobolevskij continued to be active in the perpetuation of his friend's memory until the end of his own life, not least of all through his discussions with Longinov and Bartenev. The latter he introduced to Puškin's sister Ol'ga Sergeevna Pavliščeva, who gave him a copy of her reminiscences about the poet's
childhood; Bartenev used this document in preparing the first chapter of his biography of Puškin, which appeared in the Moscow Gazette (Moskovskie vedomosti) June 15, 1854. It turned out that this material had originally been prepared for use by Annenkov in his edition of the works of Puškin, and he accused Bartenev of plagiarism. Bartenev asked Sobolevskij to have Ol'ga Sergeevna state that she had given permission for Bartenev to use the material; but she and her husband refused to do so. Sobolevskij was able, however, to prevent any great unpleasantness for the young editor, who remained for many years after Sobolevskij's death one of his champions, and published many of his epigrams and humorous poems in his Russkij arxiv.

When Lev Puškin died in Odessa in 1852, Sobolevskij was named guardian of his children and executor of this estate. As such he enjoyed control of Lev's papers, among which he discovered 34 letters written him by his brother. He gave copies of these letters to many friends of the poet, including Annenkov and Bartenev, and himself edited them for their appearance in Volume I, Number I of Bibliografičeskie zapiski in 1858.

In closing this chapter dedicated to tracing the relationship of Sobolevskij and Puškin, perhaps it is not amiss to let Sobolevskij have the final word regarding his great friend:
The outstanding characteristic of Puškin was his heart's memory: he loved his old acquaintances and was grateful for the friendship shown him—especially by those who loved in him his person, not his fame; he valued good advice given in good time, not in the heat of first hastiness, founded in discretion and based not on common conceptions but in conformity with worldly opinions of what is honor, of what is called honorable.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. Saitov, Sobolevskij. . . . 6. See also page 16 above.
2. Puškin, Pis'ma. Ed. Modzalevskij, I, 191. See also page 18 above.
3. Puškin, Pis'ma poslednih let, 384.
4. Berezin-Širjaev, 381.
5. N. Sinjavskij and M. Cjavlovskij, Puškin v pečati 1814-1837 (Moscow, 1938), 15.
7. Svetlova, 728.
8. Ibid., 729, 732-733.

Касательно всего последнего пункта, je le fais en toute sûreté au nom et de la part du défunt, помнит как он глубоко горевал при всяком, даже неочевидном, напоминании об этой пределенной пакости. . . .
10. Ibid., 43-44.

Пушкин хотел издать особую книжку эпиграмм и приготовил для окон сообщаемое ныне предисловие.
13. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 159.

Что за своевольное распоряжение пьесой: . . ?
Ты меня против брата поставил в очень неприятное положение. Терпение наши отношений, тебе неизвестные, требуют чрезвычайной деликатности, а ты заставляешь меня ее нарушить.

The "piece" involved was the poem "Ljublju vaš sumrak neizvestnyj," sent on October 26, 1825, for Sobolevskij to give to Vjazemskij (Svetlova, 728).
15. Ibid., 730.
16. Ibid., 729.
17. Saitov, Sobolevskij, 12.
20. Ibid., X, 218.
21. Ibid., X, 222.

Вот в чем дело: освобожденный от цензуры, я должен, однако ж, прежде чем что-нибудь напечатать, представить оное выше; хотя бы безделищу. Мне уже /очень мало, очень учитость/ вымыли голову.
Конечно, я в точности исполню высшую волю и для того писал Погодину дать знать в цензуру, чтоб моего ничего нитде не пропускали. Из этого вижу для себя большую пользу: освобождения от альманахников, журналников, и прочих цепетильных литературщиков. С Погодиным уговоримся снова. Перешли письмо Зубкову, без задержания малейшего. Твои догадки—гадки; виды мои гладки. На днесь буду у вас, покамест сижу или лежу во Пскове. Мне пушут, что ты болен: чем ты объяснял?
Остановлюсь у тебя.


По приезде П. в Москву, он жил в трактире Европа, дом бывший тогда Часовников, на Тверской.—
Тогда читал он у меня, жившего на Собачьей площадке, в доме Ринкевича, /что ныне Левенталя/ Бориса в первый раз при М. Ю. Виельгормском, П. Я. Чаадаеве, Дмитрии Веневитинове и Шевыреве. На верное не помню, не было ли еще Ивана В. Киреевского.—/Потом читан Борис у Вяземского и Волконского или Веневитиновых?/ Впрочем се sont les seules lectures, que P. ait jamais fait de ses œuvres, qu'il"était de lire qu'en tête-à-tête.
По возвращении из деревни /куда он ездил на короткое время/ он приехал ко мне и жил в том же доме Ринкевича, который, как сказано, на Собачьей площадке стоит лицом, а задом выходит на Молчановку, из чего и вышли у А. две местности.
24. In quoting this letter (pp. 24-26) Cjavlovskij, the most scrupulous of scholars, has at this point a passage Barsukov omits without editorial indications of having done so: "Here is where he dropped (fortunately not in the Emperor's office) his poem on the 14th of December, which upset him for an hour or so, until it was found." Cjavlovskij does not give the source from which he quotes the letter; neither does Barsukov. The poem in question is "The Prophet," which Puškin brought with him in draft from Mixajlovskoe in September 1826 (Cjavlovskij, Stat'i o Puškine, 406); Ettore Lo Gatto says (Puškin: Storia di un poeta e del suo eroe, Milan, 1959) on page 377 that the poet dropped that manuscript on a Kremlin staircase on his way to see Nikolaj I and found it on his way out.

25. Barsukov, II, 63-64. Emphasis in the original.

Завезжайте в кабак! Я вчера там был, но ни вина, ни меда не пил. Вот в чем дело. Мы ехали с Лонгиновым через Собачью площадку; сравнявшись с углом ее, я показал товарищу дом Ренкевича, в котором жил я, а у меня Пушкин. Сравнялись с прорубленной июнью дверью на переулок—видим на ней вывеску: продах вина и проч. Sic transit gloria mundi! Стой, кучер! Вылези из воза и пошли туда. Дом совершенно не изменился в расположении: вот моя спальня, мой кабинет, та общая гостиная, в которую мы сходились из своих половин, и где заседал Александр Сергеевич в Самодеском ертаке. Вот где стояла кровать его; вот где так нежно возился и нянчился он с маленькими датскими це- нятами. Вот где собрались Веневитинов, Киреевский, Шевырев, Рожалин, Мицкевич, Барятинский, вы, я... и другие мужи, вот где болталось, смешалось, вралось и говорилось уму!!! Кабачок, принявший нас с почтением, должен таким посетителям, которые вылезли из экипажа, очень был удивлен нашему хождению по комнатам заведения. На вопрос мой: слышал ли он о Пушкине, он сказал утверждительно, но что-то заикался. В другой стране у бусурманов и на дверях сделали бы надпись: здесь жил Пушкин. И в углу бы написали: здесь спал Пушкин!—и так далее.
26. Ibid., 64. Emphasis in the original.

Помню, помню, живо этот знаменитый уголок, где
жил Пушкин в 1826 г. и 1827 году, помню его письменный стол, между двумя окнами, над которым
висел портрет Куковского с надписью: ученику победителя от побежденного учитель. Помню
живой в другой комнате, где за вкусым завтраком—озямин был мастер этого дела—начал он
читать мне Русскую косу.

Cjavlovskij (Puškinskaja Moskva: Putevoditel',
Moscow, 1937) places this house at that time
at No. 12, Sobač'ja ploščad', or No. 2, Borisoglebskij pereulok.

27. Adam Mickiewicz, Sobranie sočinenij v 5 tomajx,
ed. D. Blagoj (Moscow, 1954), V, 691.

Я всегда любил своих друзей за дружбу, которую
они проявили ко мне, а не потому, что они были
великими людьми или могли стать историческими
личностями в будущем: по этой причине у меня
никогда не зарождалась мысль записывать событие
их жизни, их и слова.

28. Sobolevskij to Longinov, 38. Emphasis in the
original.

Публика, как всякое большинство, глупа и не
помнит, что и в солнце есть пятна; по этому не
напишет об покойном никто из друзей его, зная,
что если выскажет правду, то бьют его укорять
в недружелюбии из за всякого верного и совест-
ливого словечка; с другой стороны, не может он
часто, где следует, оправдывать субъекта своей
биографии, ибо это оправдание должно основыв-
яться на обвинении или осмеянии других, еще
здравствующих, лиц. И так, чтобы не пересказать
лишнего или не недосказать нужного—каждый
dруг Пушкина должен молчать. По этой-то причине
пустя пишут о нем незнакомые его, и пишут так,
как написал А., то есть мало касаясь его лич-
ности и говоря об ней только то, что поясняет его
литературную деятельность.

29. Barsukov, III, 42; emphasis in the original.

На третий день по приезде в Москву 10 сентября
1826 года Пушкин читал у Веневитиновых своего
Бориса Годунова. "Веневитинов," отмечает в Днев-
нике Погодин, "верно спрашивал у Соболевского,
нельзя ли какнибудь пригласить меня, и верно по-
лучал ответ отрицательный. Мне больно и досадно."
30. Simmons, 261.

31. Barsukov, II, 42.

32. Sobolevskij to Longinov, 40, note 3 (of Beljaev).


Узнай мне непряменно и немедленно от Дельвига, что стояла ему рисовка и гравировка каждой его картинки из "Северных цветов". Ради Шеллинга, скорее, ибо мне крайне нужно, но не говори ему для кого. Я теперь в таких обстоятельствах, что могу издать альманах в котором будет и "Годунов" Пушкина, и "Брриак" Хомякова, и "Степи", Грибоедова "Горе от ума", и проч. и проч. Вот ссужаю добыть денег и заплатить долги. Но не говори ни одной душе об этом: ни Льву Пушкину, ни Дельвигу, ни кому иному.

34. Svetlova, 65, note 5.

35. Berezin-Širjaev, 381. Александр Сергеевич был ко мне весьма расположен.

36. N. O. Lerner, "Zametki o Puškine," Puškin i ego sovremenniki. Materialy i issledovanija (St. Petersburg, 1913), XVI, 47-48. Lerner errs in his statement (p. 48) that Chapter II was published in Petersburg: it was published in Moscow.

Соболевский привез ко мне цензуровать стихи Пушкина. . . . Был у А. Пушкина, который привез мне как Цензору свою пьесу Онегин, г. II, и согласился на сделанные мною замечания, выкинув и перемешив несколько стихов. . . . Вечером был у меня Соболевский с рукописью А. Пушкина Граф Нулин на щет моих отметок в ней. . . . Приезжал ко мне Соболевский просить от меня письменного удостоверения, что цензурованная мною II гл. Оне- гина, соч. А. Пушкина, напечатана сходно с подлинником, мною подписаным; написал на оригинале. . . .

37. Sinjavskij and Cjavlovskij, 39.

38. Ibid., 56.

39. Puškin, PSS-10, X 238.

/смотрите следующую страницу/
Ол'декоп was a shady publisher who printed Пушкин's Prisoner of the Caucasus in German with the Russian text on facing pages and paid the poet no royalties, claiming he could collect none for someone else's translation. Voejkov was a well-intentioned hanger-on in society whom people tolerated because of his pleasant wife. (Русский архив, 1878, III, column 394.)

41. М. Славловский, Пушкин. В серий Летописи Государственного литературного музея. Книга первая. (Москва, 1936), 528-530. The lines read:
О двойка! ни дары свободы,
Ни Феб, ни Ольга, ни пирь,
Онегина в минувши годы
Не отвлекли бы от игры.

От вечера и до рассвета
Готов бывал он в эти лета
Допрашивать судьбы завет,
Налево ляет ли велет.

Соболевский also gave Bartenev this variant from Chapter IV, stanza XLIII, which was in the fair copy but not in the printed version; Bartenev published it in Русский архив, 1874, II, 464;
Both these versions appear in the Academy edition of 1937-1959 as appendices to their respective chapters.

42. Simmons, 263.
43. Saitov, Sobolevskij . . ., 12.
44. Ibid.
45. L. Majkov. Puškin. Biograficheskie materialy i istoriko-literaturnye ocerki (St. Petersburg, 1899, 334; also Simmons, 261.
46. Simmons, 261.
47. Puškin, PSS-10, II, 419-420.
48. Simmons, 262.
49. Svetlova, 730, note 2.
50. Simmons, 262.
51. Svetlova, 729-730
52. Barsukov, II, 46-47
Помощником редактора назначается Рожалин с жалованием шести сот рублей. Он должен иметь в своем ведении продажу журнала. Деньги имеют быть доставляемы от книгопродавца к редактору. Материалы для журнала должны храниться у редактора.
Если подписчиков будет более 1200, то плата главным сотрудникам увеличивается пропорционально, полагая редактору прибавки на шесть тысяч. Остальная же сумма предоставляется на разные обще-полезные предприятия по усмотрению журнала.

54. Ibid., 49.

55. Russkaja starina, 1902, nr. 1, p. 34. See pp.103-106.  
The full text of this report is given at footnote 110 below.


57. Ibid., 217 and 223.

58. Barsukov, II, 64-65.  
Что делает наш журнал? Я надеюсь, что ты--из деятелей сотрудников: а именно понукаешь Погодина вперед, ругаешь Поветрово, выжимаешь из его выреза статьи и выкидываешь тёрния и зеля анти-стонное из нашего цветущего сада. Если ты хорошо внимал в роль свою, то ты увидел, что она не противоречит твоей гордой и солидной осанке. Ты должен быть крепкий цемент, связующий камни его нового здания; от тебя зависит его прочность. Надобно, что в каждом номере было имя Пушкина. Скажу тебе искренне, что здесь от этого журнала очень ждут; сам Пушкин писал силь о нем. Скажи нам, чтобы они не падили Булгарина, Воейкова и прочих. Истинные литераторы за нас. Дельвит также поможет и Крылов не откажется от участия. Принимайтесь только за дело единодушно и оно покатится.

59. Ibid., 59.

60. Ibid., 64.  
Досадно, что свинья Соболевский свинствует при всех.
61. Ibid., 134.


63. Sinjavskij and Cjavlovskij, 40.

64. Svetlova, 741, note 2.

65. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 234-235; emphasis in the original.

66. Ibid., 233.


68. Blagoj, 68-70.


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You want to publish Urania! Et tu, Brute!!... Don't think about what this will look like? You, the editor of the European journal in Asian Moscow, You, the honest literature between the sellers, You!

...But, don't you think you can throw yourself under the wheels of the book? You have many more articles, which are not in the journal; what are they? Quod licet Uraniae, licet in the name of the Moscow newspaper; not only licet no deceat. Is it other causes. What money? Money will be, will be. For God's sake you publish the Newspaper; on the next year obesava you reason without any reason to participate in its publication; for the necessary frayed permanently all relationships with almanac publishers in the capital.

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66. Ibid., 233.
моя. Я в вашем деле человек /не/ посторонний, ибо я был, так сказать, посредником между вами и Пушкиным. Мне было больно видеть неминуемый разрыв его с такими людьми, которых я люблю, а может быть и уважаю. . . . Делайте вперед с Пушкиным что хотите; решительно отрекайтесь от такого дела, где надо говорить правду или молчать. Против первой не могу, второго—не утерплю.

70. Svetlova, 733-734.

Ты с своей стороны не приводи Пушкина в отчаяние: если продолжать журнал на следующий год, то он необходим, и его отказ был бы смертным ударом для Вестника. Погодину мы не позволим писать к нему о расчетах; след. пять тысяч останется за ним, а на следующий год он получит больше. Не говори и ты ему о расчетах. Шевырев сверял показания Погодина и утверждает, что в них нет нисколько обмана. И так упокойся, приезжай сюда и поверь сам.

71. Ibid., 739.

72. Barsukov, II, 131.

73. Svetlova, 734 and 739.

74. Barsukov, II, 132.

75. Svetlova, 734-739.

Мне кажется ты можешь смело говорить за свою московскую братию перед Пушкиным. . . Языков наш, и нам остается только самих не плошать. Внуши Пушкину постоянство к делу, и дело пойдет хорошо. Надежда на успех есть.
76. *Ibid.*, 740; emphasis in the original.

И если Пушкин не хочет знать издержек, так и я не хочу и никто не хочет.—Что ж из этого заключить?—Что Соболевский не леп.

77. Barsukov, II, 133.

78. Puškin, *PSS*-10, 238.

Безалаберный! . . . Здесь в Петербурге дают мне *à la lettre/* 10 рублей за стих, а у вас в Москве хотят меня заставить даром и исключительно работать журналу. Да еще говорят: он богат, чёрт ли ему в деньгах. Положим так, но я богат через мою торговлю стишницу, а не праледовскими вотчинами, находящимися в руках Сергея Львовича.

79. Simmons, 262.

80. Vinogradov, 17; also see above pp. 27-44.

81. See above, page 27; also Barsukov, II, 302-303.


85. Barsukov, II, 98.

Любители народной поэзии должны обратить внимание на новоизданные Малороссийские песни. Почтенный собиратель . . . вполне заслуживает нашу благодарность. Наше филолого должны смотреть на всякое подобное издание, как на упрек себе в бездейственности. Как до сих пор мы не спешим уловить русские песни, столь родные нашему сердцу, которые может быть скоро унесет с собою на века старое поколение? . . . Любители . . . поэзии найдут в Малороссийских песнях светлые мысли и теплые чувствования сердца. Поэты найдут в них источник вдохновения, а филологи пошу для своего ума наблюдательного.
86. A. D. Sojmonov, P. V. Kireevskij i ego sobranie narodnyx pesen (Leningrad, 1971), 122-123.

87. Sobolevskij to Ševyrev, 503.

87a. Revue de Paris, 1829, has the following: Vol. 4, pp. 255-262: "Vision de Charles XI;" Vol. 9, pp. 232-233: "Le ban de Croatie;" Vol. 9, p. 233: "Le Heyduque mourant." Both the latter are printed under the heading "Romances Imitées de l'Illyrique."

88. Sojmonov, P. V. Kireevskij... 89.

89. Sobolevskij to Ševyrev, 503.

90. Sojmonov, P. V. Kireevskij... 89.


92. Sobolevskij to Ševyrev, 503.

93. Ibid., 487.

94. Ibid., 491.

95. Kann-Novikova, 57-58.

96. Sobolevskij to Ševyrev, 502-503; emphasis in the original.

Я здесь при отъезде оставлю свои книги русские; если хочешь, пришли тебе некоторые. Есть ли у вас: Права Русских песен? Старые погудки на новый лад? Чулкова сказки? Песенник Новикова?

95. Kann-Novikova, 57-58.

96. Sobolevskij to Ševyrev, 502-503; emphasis in the original.

Кстати об поезии: имею до тебя весьма нужную просьбу: я, сидя здесь, собирал из своих и Воронцовых книг до 700 русских песен; у Рождения в Минске их должно быть до 150, написанных на память Киреевского Сахнаписом Родионом --Родионом/, которые большей частью неизвестны. Я же и до отъезда задумал издать с Пушкиным "Собрание русских песен", и так пришли мне те, кои ты в Саратове заграбил, чеи крайне, меня одолжишь. ... Пиши мне ... à Milan, monsieur Glinka/Глике, для C.A.C./: ибо, если бы даже меня в Милане не было, то Глинка пошлет за мной,
97. Sojmonov, P. V. Kireevskij, 89-90.

98. Ibid., 131.

99. Ibid.

Московский литератор П. В. Киреевский занимается большим собранием русских народных стихотворений. Кроме напечатанного у Чулкова, Новикова и Кирши Данилова, подслушал он сам или получает от Языкова, Шевырева и А. Пушкина более 1000 повестей, песен и так-называемых стихов. Желая споспешествовать по силам столь благому и бескорыстному делу, взялся я доставить ему отсюда во время непродолжительного моего здесь пребывания все, что может отыскиваться такового в Императорской библиотеке и в собраниях Румянцева и Толстого. К кому же, как не к Вам, обратиться мне с изысканиями сего рода.

100. Ibid.

101. A. S. Puškin, Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v 17 tomakh (Moscow, 1937-1959), XIV, 271. Cited below as "Puškin: PSS-17".

Я здесь с пяточ числа прошлого месяца. . . .
Хлопочу /будто бы/ о делах, стряпаю песенник.

102. Puškin, Pis'ma poslednikh let, 237, note 2 to Letter 53.


Пушкин с великой радостью смотрел на труды Киреевского, перебирал с ним его собрание, много читал из собранных им песен и обнаруживал самое близкое знакомство с этим предметом.

104. Ibid.

105. G. N. Parilova i A. D. Sojmonov, "P. V. Kireevskij i sobrannye im pesni," Literaturnoe nasledstvo (Moscow, 1968), 47. The Russian title of the work was Russkie narodnye pesni, iz dannye P. Kireevskim, Cast I. Pesni svadebnye.
106. A. I. Balandin i P. D. Uxov, "Sud'ba pesen, sobrannyx P. V. Kireevskim (istoria publikacii)," Literaturnoe nasledstvo (Moscow, 1968), 91-96.

107. Puškin, Pis'ma v trex tomax, II, 263.
Известный Соболевский /молодой человек из Моск-ковской либеральной шайки/ едет в деревню к поэту Пушкину и хочет уговорить егоехать с ним загра-ницу. Было бы жаль. Пушкина надобно беречь, как дитя. Он поэт, живет воображением, и его легко увлечь. Партия, к которой принадлежит Соболев-ский, проникнута дурным духом. Атаманы—князь Вяземский и Полевой; приятели: Титов, Шевырев, Рожалин и другие Московчих.

108. Ibid., 263-264.
Старайтесь, молодые люди, о Вестнике. И я стар-аюсь, то есть еду завтра в Псков к Пушкину услов-ливаться с ним письменно и в этом деле буду по-ступать пьяно /т.-е. piano/.

109. Ibid., 264.
Поэт Пушкин здесь. Он редко бывает дома. Извест-ный Соболевский возит его по трактирам, кормит и поит на свой счет. Соболевского прозвали брюхом Пушкина. Впрочем, сей последний ведет себя весьма благоразумно в отношении политическом.

110. Russkaja starina, 1902, No. 1, p. 34. See also note 55 above and page 88.
30-го декабря 1827 г. В С.-Петербурге прибыл из Москвы издатель Московского Вестника Погодин. Он только по имену издатель, на что доказательства имеются собственноручным его пись-ме. Главные начальники сей редакции суть: Собо-левский, Титов, Мальцов, Полторацкий, Шевырев, Ра-гошин/sic- Рожалин/ и еще несколько истинно бешенных либералов. Некоторые из них /Мальцов и Соболевский/ дали деньги на поддержание журнала и платят Пушкину за стихи. Главная их цель состоит в том, чтоб ввести политику в этот жур-нал. На 1828 год они намеревались издавать поли- тическую gazetu, но как ни один из них не мог представить своих сочинений, как повелено цен-зурным уставом, то они выписали сюда Погодина, чтобы он снова от своего имени просил позволения ввести политику.
Погодин человек чрезвычайно искательный: он, переводя сочинения Круга и восхваляя его, попал в корреспонденты Академии Наук и теперь покровительством Бяровы надеется получить желаемое позволение на помещение политики в своем журнале, которую намерен редицировать Титов и Полторацкий. Погодин не имеет влияния на сих молодых людей и состоит у них в зависимости, потому что они богаты и смышлены, а он беден, без имени и робок. Сия вношь не пишут ничего литературного, почтия сие недостойным себя, и занимаются одними политическими науками. Образ мыслей их, речи и суждения отзываются самым явным карбонариазмом. Соболевский и Титов служа в Иностранной Коллегии суть самые худшие из них. Собираются они у князя Владимира Одесского, который слышит между ними философом, и у Мальцова.

"Carbonari:" a secret Italian political organization.

111. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 242. The verb is also omitted in the Academy reproduction of this letter; one does not know if it actually appears in the manuscript. E. J. Simmons (p. 278) translates the passage "... I will... one of these days;" the use here of the auxiliary verb seems superfluous. J. Thomas Shaw (The Letters of Alexander Pushkin: Three Volumes in One, Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1967, p. 351) translates it thusly: "a few days ago I f..." This seems as close as one can get to the original.

Безалаберный! Ты ничего не пишешь мне о 2100 р., мною тебе дожных, а пишешь мне о М-не Kehr, которую с помощью божий я на днях -- -- ./sic/

112. Simmons, 277-278.

113. Ibid., 173.

115. Katalog Vsesoюзногo музея Пушкина (Leningrad and Moscow, 1957), 124.

Пушкин заказал Тропинину свой портрет, который и подарил Соболевскому. Этот портрет украли. Он теперь у кн. Мих. Андр. Оболенского. Для себя Тропинин сделал настоящий эскиз, который после него достался Алексееву, после Алексеева был куплен С.М. Смирновым, а после Смирнова /ок. 3 марта 1870 г./ подарила его Соболевскому.


Прощай, обжираясь на здоровье.


*Emphasis in the original.*

О Пушкин, Пушкин, пиши мне!!! Я тебя здесь хвалю, величаем; не то—напечатаем свой перевод тебя и горе, горе посрамленному!

118. Pavliščev, 103. Sobolevskij's nickname "Mylord qu'importe" was based on his anglophilia and his apparent feeling that his bastardy gave him a certain license in life.

119. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 461-472; the letters given here are all dated from St. Petersburg and cover the period between January 30, 1834, and April 13, 1834.

120. Vinogradov, 46.

121. Sobolevskij to Longinov, 41.

122. Cjavlovskij, Stat'i o Puškine, 185.

А. С. Пушкину за прилежание, успехи и благо-правие. С. Соболевский.

M. Svetlova gives a photofacsimile of the inscription on page 741 of her article.

123. Puškin, PSS-10, IV, 571.

124. Puškin, Pis'ma v trex tomax, II, 597.

125. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 440.

Дорогой вел он себя порядочно и довольно верно исполнит условия, мною ему поднесенные, а именно: 1/. платить пропоны пополам, не общинивая товарища; 2/. не —— не явными, ни тайным образом,
разве во сне и то ночью, а не после обеда.

The full verb is spelled out only in Modzalevskij, Puškin, 359, and there not in quotes.
In P. A. Efremov's 1903 edition, Vol. 7, p. 494, one finds "p....t". Shaw (p.457) writes "f..t".

126. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 440.
127. Puškin, PSS-17, XV, 84.
128. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 450.
129. Ibid., 453; emphasis in the original.

Прошлое воскресение вместо письма от тебя получил я письмо от Соболевского, которому нужны деньги для пâté de foie gras и который для того затевает альманах. Ты понимаешь, как письмо его и просьбы о стихах /что я говорю просьбы, приказания, подряды на заказ/ рассердили меня. А всё ты виновата.

131. B. L. Modzalevskij, Puškin (Leningrad, 1929), 364-365.
132. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 480.

Напрасно ты думаешь что я в лапах у Соболевского и что он покостит ивно мебели. Я его вовсе не вижу.
133. Ibid., 491.

Нашла за что браниться!.. за Летний сад и за Соболевского. Да ведь Летний сад мой сгород. .... А Соболевский? Соболевский сам по себе, я сам по себе. Он спекуляции свои творит, я свои. ....

134. Ibid., 502.

Но виноват приятель мой Соболевский, который едет в Москву каждый день и уже седьмой месяц как взял от меня письмо, которое обещался немедленно Вам доставить.
135. Puškin, PSS-17, XV, 139-141.
136. Pavliščev, 356-357.
137. Puškin, Pis'ma v tres tomakh, II, 277.
139. Ibid., 224, note 8.
140. Ibid., 261, note 4 to Letter 96. 
Придётся же Алекс. Серге его корыть Корыть-то не беда, а поискь накладно.
141. Ibid., 263, note 1 to Letter 100.
142. Cjavlovskij, Puškin. V serii Letopisi..., 89.
144. Puškin i ego sovremenniki, Materialy i issledovanija. XIII. (St. Petersburg, 1910), 95. In a letter of September 9, 1834, from Moscow to Petersburg (one of only two extant from the poet to Sobolevskij for the period 1833-1837), Puškin asked Sobolevskij to tell his wife the address of "notre ami, l'usurier." It is possible that it is Šiškina's husband who is concerned in that letter. (PSS-10, X, 513)
146. Puškin, Pis'ma poslednih let, 252-253.
147. Puškin, PSS-10, X, 563.
"Je suis faché que m-r Sobolevsky a mis dans tout cela sa néligence ordinaire."
148. Ibid., 747.
149. Puškin, PSS-17, XVI, 91
Музыкант Глиника, живущий на углу Фонарного переулка, в д. Шлотхауера /Schlothauer/ зовет нас к себе в пятницу à 9 heures.
151. Glinka, Zapiski, 122 and 247.
152. Puškin, Pis'ma poslednix let, 149 and 321.
154. Ibid., 71
156. Puškin, Pis'ma v trex tomax, II, 195.
157. B. L. Modzalevskij, Ju. G. Oksman i M. A. Cjavlovskij, Novye materialy o duel i smerti Puškina (Petersburg, 1924), 124. The fragmentary Sobolevskij memoir is presented as Appendix B to this chapter; the translation is the first in English. Count Sollogub, with whom Puškin was to have duelled early in 1836, but with whom he became reconciled (Simmons, 380), included these comments in his memoirs, adding that, of all the poet's friends, only Sobolevskij had sufficient influence over him to have him reconsider a duel with Dantes. (A. L. Dymšič, Puškin v vospriminanijax sovremennikov, no city, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo xudožestvennoj literatury, 1950, 476.)
158. Modzalevskij, Oksman i Cjavlovskij, 16-30.
159. Ibid., 16.
160. Ibid., 21. "... j'aime et estime trop G. pour avoir le moindre soupçon à son égard...."
161. Simmons, 392.
162. S. A. Sobolevskij, "Tajnye primety v žizni Puškina," Russkij arxiv, 1870, 1377-1388. See Appendix A for the text and the first English translation of this memoir.
163. Simmons, 242.
165. Ibid., 314-315.
166. Ibid., 315.

168. See page 51 above.

169. Modzalevskij, Oksman i Cjavlovskij, 123. See Appendix B for the original text of this memoir fragment in full.
APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

Appendix A: "MYSTERIOUS OMENS IN THE LIFE OF PUŠKIN"

This article originally appeared, over Sobolevskij's signature, in Russkij arxiv, 1870, pp. 1377-1388. It was reprinted in Sobolevskij, drug Puškina, so stat'ej V. I. Saitov (Sanktpeterburg, Parfenon, 1922), pp. 28-35.

The text as it appears in this appendix has been taken from the latter source, as easier of reading; but it has been compared with the Russkij arxiv microprint original, and has been found precise.

The Puškin poem which Sobolevskij included is carried in PSS-10, I, 355-356, under the title "Orlovu," with the note that it was written to A. F. Orlov, as Sobolevskij states in his article.

This is the first English translation of Sobolevskij's article.

Appendix B: "A FRAGMENT FROM SOBOLEVSKIJ'S MEMOIR OF PUŠKIN"

This draft fragment was prepared for publication by M. Beljaev and appeared in B. L. Modzalevskij, Ju. G. Oksman, i M. A. Cjavlovskij, Novye materialy o duel i smerti Puškina (Peterburg, Atenej, 1924), 121-126. Further explanation regarding the present handling of this material is to be found on p. 159 below.

This is the first English translation of the fragment.
APPENDIX A

MYSTERIOUS OMENS IN THE LIFE OF PUŠKIN

On pages 404 and 405 of Russkaja starina of this year one can read the following story, submitted to Mr. Semevskij by Aleksej Nikolaevič Vul'f, the friend of Puškin and his neighbor at the village of Mixajlovs'koe.

"Around 1818, while the poet was living in Petersburg, a famous fortune-teller of those days in the capital made an ominous prediction to Puškin, when he visited her with one of his comrades. Looking at his hand, the sorceress foretold for both forcible death. The next day the friend of Puškin, who was serving in one of the Guards regiments as a company commander, was killed by a non-commissioned officer. Puškin himself believed to such a degree in the ominous prophecy of the fortune-teller that when later readying himself for a duel with the famous 'American' Count Tolstoj, during target practice with me, several times repeated: 'This one won't kill me, but rather a fair man—that's what the fortune-teller said.' And indeed, Dantes was fair."

That is the tale of A. N. Vul'f.

This strange fortune which had such strong influence on Puškin has until now been mentioned three times in the press:

1) in the Moskvitjanin for 1853, p. 52, volume X, in an article by Lev Puškin;

2) in the Kazansk Province News in 1844, the second supplement, in an article by Mrs. Fuks;

3) in the Moscow News of 1855, Nr. 145, in the article of Bartenev, who in it fully retold the story of Mrs. Fuks.

Here is the account of Lev Sergeevič Puškin:

"Puškin's fame, both literary and personal, grew with each passing day. Young people learned his poems by heart, repeated his witticisms and told anecdotes about him.

"All these, as is customary, were partially true, partially invented. One event left a strong impression on Puškin. At that time there lived in Petersburg an
an old German woman, Kirgof by name. Among her many occupations fortune-telling had its place. One morning Puškin went to see her with several of his comrades. Mrs. Kirgof turned directly to him, saying that he was a noteworthy man, and told in brief his past and present life; then she began to foretell at first daily events, and then important points of his future. Among other things she said to him: 'Today you will have a discussion about military service and you will receive a letter containing money.' Puškin had never spoken or thought about military service; there was no place from which he might receive a letter containing money; he could get money only from his father, but, living in the latter's house, he would have received that without a letter. Puškin did not pay particular attention to the fortune-teller's predictions. That same evening, leaving the theater before the end of the performance, he met General Orlov. They began to talk. Orlov touched upon military service and advised Puškin to leave his ministry and don epaulets. The conversation continued for a rather long while—at least it was the longest of all those which he had on this subject. Returning home, he found a letter containing money. It was from an old friend from the Lyceum, who the next day was to set out to go abroad; he had come to say goodbye to Puškin and pay him a little debt of cards, left over from a prank of their schooldays. Mrs. Kirgof foretold to Puškin various circumstances which came true for him in the future, she foretold his marriage and finally his premature death, warning him that he should expect that from the hand of a tall, fair man.

"Puškin, who without this was already a bit superstitious, was astonished at the gradual fulfillment of these predictions, and often told about them."

This is the story of Lev Sergeevič Puškin.

Here are the details set forth in Bartenev's article.

"... It seems that it is to this period (approximately the end of 1817) that belongs that famous story of the fortune-teller, which to our sadness came true in all its details.

"It would be almost impossible to find any one of Puškin's friends, even from among those who were often in his presence, who has not heard from him the more or less detailed story of that event which thus belongs
to the very small number of mysterious, but at the same time trustworthy, supernatural events. In any sincere gathering Pyškin would reminisce about it, especially when the conversation would turn to his tendency to believe in superstitions and omens. Once, by the way, he related to the famous writer Aleksandra Andreevna Fuks, who retold it to the public in her 'Memoirs of Pyškin.'

"Late in the evening, at supper, talking about hypnotism and his belief in it, Pyškin began to tell Mrs. Fuks and her husband: 'One happening has made me superstitious. Once I went with N. V. V. for a walk along Nevskij Prospekt, and as a prank we stopped in to see a fortune-teller in a cafe. We asked her to predict for us and tell us about the future, paying no attention to the past. "You," she told me, "will soon meet your old friend, who will offer you a good job in the service; then, soon after, you will receive money in a letter; third, I must tell you, you will end your life by an unnatural death." ... Doubtless, I forgot that very day everything about both the prediction and the fortune-teller. But about two weeks after this prediction, and once again on the Nevskij, I actually met my old acquaintance who was in service in Warsaw, under the Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovič, and who had been transferred to Petersburg; he suggested and advised that I take his old post in Warsaw, avowing that the Carevič wanted precisely that. That was the first time after the prediction that I remembered the fortune-teller. Several days after the meeting with my friend, I did actually receive in the mail a letter containing money; did I have any right to expect such a thing? This money was sent by my Lyceum comrade, with whom I as a student had played cards, and I had won: he, having received his inheritance upon the death of his father, sent me the debt, which I not only did not expect, but had indeed forgotten. Now the third prediction must come true, and I am absolutely convinced that it will.'

"This story, the veracity of whose relating is guaranteed by Mrs. Fuks' reverential respect for the memory of Pyškin, is far from complete. One learns from the trustworthy evidence of friends of the poet that the old German woman, by name Kirgof, part of whose stock in trade as a sorceress was fortune-telling, told Pyškin: 'You will be twice exiled; you will be the idol of your people; you may live long; but in your 37th year watch out for a white man, or a white horse, or a white head.' Additionally Lev Sergeevič says that a wedding was also predicted."
"The poet firmly believed the prediction in all its details, although at times he joked about it in recalling it. Thus, speaking of his predicted national glory, he laughingly added (clearly in a close group of friends): 'The prediction will certainly come true, regardless of what the journalists say.' Upon the authority of the late P. V. Naďďokin, at the end of 1830, while living in Moscow, deeply troubled by various little circumstances, he expressed a desire to go to Poland, in order there to take part in the war: one of the enemy camp at the time was a certain Vejškopf, and Puškin said to a friend: 'Watch, the German's prediction will come true—he will surely kill me!'

"Must one add that the actual murderer was in fact fair and also in 1837 was wearing a white uniform?"

Bartenev's story is of them all most detailed and most accurate. During my many years of acquaintance-ship with Puškin (I shall note that my meetings and relations with him lasted until after the dealings with Mrs. Fuks, and Vul'f, and Lev Puškin), I often heard of this event from him himself; he loved to relate it as an answer to jokes about his belief in different omens. Moreover, he in my presence more than once told of this precisely in the presence of those people who had been at the fortune-teller's directly during the divining, often calling them to witness. In order to correct and complete those stories which have already been printed, I consider it necessary to add everything which I remember positively, in supplementation of the former, reconstructing that which is in them fragmentary or modified. The prediction concerned first the occurrence that he would receive money; second, that he would be the object of an unexpected offer; third, that he would obtain fame and become the idol of his countrymen; fourth, that he would twice be exiled; finally, that he would live long, if during the 37th year of his life some misfortune should not come to him through a white horse, or a white head, or a white man (weisser Ross, weisser Kopf, weisser Mensch), of which he must beware. (I remember nothing about a prediction of marriage, although this is mentioned in the article of Lev Sergeevič.)

The first prediction, of the letter containing money, came true that very evening; Puškin, returning home, found a completely unexpected letter from a Lyceum friend, who informed him of the paying of a debt at cards which Puškin had forgotten. This comrade was Korsakov, who soon afterward died in Italy.
Such a quick fulfillment of the first prediction strongly amazed Aleksandr Sergeevič; no less strange to him was the fact that, several days later, at the theater, he was summoned by Aleksej Fedorovič Orlov (later a prince), who began to try to convince him to join the Hussars, about which he had earlier spoken with P. D. Kiselev, but from the standpoint of enlisting in the Horse Guard.

These discussions with Aleksej Fedorovič Orlov led to nothing, but were the inspiration for the epistle whose end is printed in the works of Puškin (edition of Gennadi, vol. I, p. 187) and whose beginning is in the Bibliografičeskie zapiski, 1858, p. 338. We are erroneously accustomed to consider this epistle as an epistle to Mixail Fedorovič Orlov, since Puškin later became very close to him.

Here is this epistle in its most complete form:

TO A. F. ORLOV

Oh thou, who combined with an ardent, open heart (although a Russian general) both courtesy and an enlightened mind; Oh thou, who every day arose to military trials, who on horseback teach the science of tsars to those with mustaches; but who does not weaken in temper thy military arm by making it into the cursed stick of an executioner--Orlov, thou art correct: I shall forget my dreams of becoming a hussar and shall shout with Solomon: Uniform and saber are but vanity! I shall not place my trust in General Kiselev: He is very nice, there is no doubting that, he is the enemy of perfidy and of fools; I am happy to be his neighbor at a noisy, prolonged dinner, happy to listen to him until nightfall; but he is a courtier: promises cost him nothing. Having made my peace with my unpeaceful desires, without dagger, without mustaches, I shall conceal myself with my secret freedom, with my pipe, bliss and nature, in the shade of the forests of my ancestors; near the lake, in a quiet hut, or in the thick grass of the meadows, or on the golden slope of a hill, in a hat of Buxara design and a dressing gown, and will sing my gods--and will wait: when will the god of swords arise from his peaceful resting place and the loud call of battle will sound, then will I leave the world of fields; Disciple of ardent Bellona, faithful citizen of the throne, Orlov! I shall stand beneath the banner of your warlike hordes; in the tents, in battle, under fire, with sword and military lyre I shall fight before you and sing praise of your struggles.

(N.B.: Prose version by the present author--DBP)
Soon after this Puškin was sent to the south, and from there, four years later, to Pskov Province, which was the second exile. How could he, a man of singularly strong impressions, not expect and fear the end of the prediction, which up until then had come true with such literal exactness?? After this, is what Pavel Voinovič Nasičokin told Bartenev so strange? I shall add the following: I somehow expressed to Puškin my astonishment that he had separated himself from the Masonic movement, into which he had been accepted, and that he belonged to no other secret society.

"This is the result of the prediction about the white head," Puškin answered me. "Didn't you know that all philanthropic and humanitarian secret societies, even Freemasonry itself, received from Adam Vejsgaupt that direction which is suspicious and inimical to existing state structures? How could I belong to one? 'weiskopf,' 'weishaupt'—they are the same thing."

Here is another similar story about my unforgettable friend, which I heard more than once in the presence of other people.

The news of the death of the Emperor Aleksandr Pavlovich and of the resultant unsettled question concerning the succession reached Mixajlovskoe about December 10. Puškin had long wanted to see his Petersburg friends. Considering that, in the light of such important events, no one would pay much attention to his disobedience, he decided to set out there; but how should it turn out? He could not stay at a hotel: they would require his passport; it would also be dangerous to go to his friends in high society: the secret arrival of the exile would soon become common knowledge. He decided to go to Ryleev's apartment; he led a quiet life; and there he could learn all the news. So he ordered the carriage made ready, and also his servant to get ready to go with him to Petersburg, while he himself went to say goodbye to his neighbors at Trigorskoe. But on the way to Trigorskoe, a hare ran across the road; on the way back, the same thing happened. Puškin arrived at home annoyed, and was told that the servant who was to go with him had had an attack of delirium tremens. Someone else would have to go. Finally the carriage was ready and they were driving out of the gate. Look! In the gateway they met a priest, coming to say goodbye to the parting master. The superstitious Puškin could not abide all these meetings; he turned from the gate and remained at home in the country. "And what would have been
the results of my trip?" Puškin used to add. "I planned to arrive in Petersburg late at night, so that my arrival might not become known too soon, and consequently would have reached Ryleev's during the meeting of December 13. They would have received me with delight; probably I would have forgotten about Vejsgaupt and would have ended up with the others on the Senate Square and would not now be sitting among you, my dear ones!"

Mickiewicz tells of this very event, in his lectures on Slavic literature, and probably basing it on the words of Puškin, whom he often saw (The Letters of Adam Mickiewicz, edition of 1860, IX, p. 293).

S. Sobolevskij
ТАЙНЫЕ ПРИМЕТЫ В ЖИЗНИ ПУШКИНА

Мечтая вечною в тиши
Так придаются мы, поэты,
Так суеверные приметы
Согласны чувствами души!

На стр. 404 и 405 Русской старины сего года /1870 —ДБ/ читается следующий рассказ, сообщенный г. Семенову Алексееву Николаевичу Вульфом, приятелем Пушкина и его соседом по селению Михайловскому:
"Еще около 1818 г., в бытность поэта в Петербурге, одна славная тогда в столице ворожья сделала зловещее предсказание Пушкину, когда тот посетил ее с одним из своих приятелей. Глядя на их руки, колдунья предсказала обоим насыщенную смерть. На другой день приятель Пушкина, служивший в одном из гвардейских полков ротным командиром, был заколот унтер-офицером. Пушкин же до такой степени верил в зловещее пророчество ворожьи, что когда впоследствии, готовясь к дуэли с известным Американцем г.-м. Толстым, стрелял вместо с ним в цень, то не раз повторял:
"Этот меня не убьет, а убьет белокурый, — так колдунья пророчила."—И точно, Дантес был белокур." Это рассказ А. Н. Вульфа.

О странном этом предсказании, имевшем такое сильное влияние на Пушкина, было упомянуто до сих пор в печати три раза:
1/. в "Москвитянине" 1858 года, стр. 52, том X-й, в статье Льва Пушкина;
2/. в "Казанских Губернских Ведомостях" 1844 года, 2-ое прибавление, в статье г.-ж. Фукс;
3/. в "Московских Ведомостях" 1855 г., № 145, в статье Бартенева, который вполне передал в ней и рассказ г.-ж. Фукс.

Вот свидетельства Льва Сергеевича Пушкина:
"Известность Пушкина, и литературная, и личная, с каждым днем возрастала. Молодежь твердила наизусть его стихи, повторяла остроты его и рассказывала о нем анекдоты.

"Все это, как водится, было частой справедливо, частью вымышлено. Одно обстоятельство оставило Пушкину сильное впечатление. В это время находилась в Петербурге старая немка, по имени Киргойф. В число различных ее занятий входило и гадание. Однажды Пушкин зашел к ней с несколькими товарищами. Г.-ж. Киргойф обратилась прямо к нему, говоря, что он человек замечательный, рассказала вкратце его прошедшую и настоящую жизнь; потом начала предсказания сперва ежедневных обстоятельств, а потом важных эпизод его будущего. Она сказала ему между прочим: "Вы сегодня будете..."
иметь разговор о службе и получите письмо с деньгами."
О службе Пушкин никогда не говорил и не думал; письмо с деньгами получить было ему неоткуда; деньги он мог иметь только от отца, но, живя у него в доме, он получил бы их конечно без письма. Пушкин не обратил большого внимания на предсказания гадалщицы. Вечером того дня, выходя из театра до окончания представления он встретился с генералом Орловым. Они разговаривались. Орлов коснулся до службы и советовал Пушкину оставить свое министерство и надеть эполеты. Разговор продолжался довольно долго, по крайне мере, это был самый продолжительный изо всех, которые он имел о сем предмете. Возвратясь домой, он нашел у себя письмо с деньгами. Они были от одного лицейского товарища, который на другой день отправился за границу; он заехал проститься с Пушкиным и заплатить ему какой-то карточный долг, еще школьной их малости. Г-жа Киргоф предсказала Пушкину разные обстоятельства, с ним и впоследствии и сбывшиеся, предсказала его женитьбу и, наконец, преждевременную смерть, предупредивши, что должен ожидать ее от руки высокого, белькурова человека.

"Пушкин, и без того несколько суеверный, был поражен постепенным исполнением этих предсказаний и часто об этом рассказывал."

Это свидетельства Льва Сергеевича Пушкина.

Вот подробности, изложенные в статье г. Бартенева:

"...Кажется, к этому времени /приблизительно...
...в последние месяцы 1817 года: примечание Бартенева/ следует отнести столь известное предсказание гадалщицы, которое, к нашему горю, сбылось во всей точности.

"Едва найдется кто-либо не только из друзей Пушкина, но даже из людей, часто бывших с ним вместе, кто бы не слышал от него более или менее подробного рассказа об этом случае, который и потому и принадлежит к весьма немногочисленным загадочным, но в то же время достоверным, сверхъестественных происшествий. Во всякой искренней беседе Пушкин вспоминал о нем, и особенно, когда заходил разговор о наклонности его к суевериям и о приметах. Так между прочим в 1833 году, в Казани, он передавал ее известной писательнице Александре Алексеевне Фукс, которая и сообщила его публике в своих "Воспоминаниях о Пушкине."

"Поздно вечером, за ужином, разговарившись о магнетизме и о своей вере в него, Пушкин начал так рассказывать г-же Фукс и ее мужу: "Быть так суеверным заставляет меня один случай. Раз пошел я с Н. В. В. /Всееволожским?—примечание Русского архива, без подписи—ДБП/ ходить по Невскому проспекту, и из проказ
зашли к кофейной гадальщице. Мы просили ее нам погадать и, не говоря о прошедшем, сказать будущее. "Вы, сказала она мне, на этих днях встретитесь с вашим давним знаком, который вам будет предлагать хорошие по службе место; потом, в скором времени, получите через письмо деньги; третье, я должна вам сказать, что вы кончите вашу жизнь неестественною смертью."... Без сомнения, я забыл в тот же день и о гадании, и о гадальщике. Но спустя недели две после этого предсказания, и опять на Невском проспекте, я действительно встретился с моим давним приятелем, который служил в Варшаве, при Великом Князе Константине Павловиче, и перешел служить в Петербург; он мне предлагал и советовал занять его место в Варшаве, уверяя меня, что Цесаревич этого желает. Вот первый раз, после гадания, когда я вспомнил о гадальщике. Через несколько дней после встречи с знакомым, я в самом деле получил с почты письмо с деньгами; и мог ли я ожидать их? Эти деньги прислал мой лицейский товарищ, с которым мы, бывшим еще учениками, играли в карты, и я обыгал: он, получая после умершего отца наследство, прислал мне долг, которого я не только не ожидал, но и забыл о нем. Теперь надобно бывает третьему предсказанию, и я в этом совершенно увенрен.

"Этот рассказ, в верности передачи которого ручаются благоговейное уважение г-жи Фукс к памяти Пушкина, далеко не полон. Из достоверных показаний друзей поэта оказывается, что старая немка, по имени Киргоф, к числу разных промыслов которой принадлежали ворожьба и гаданье, сказала Пушкину: 'Du wirst zwei Mal verbannt sein, du wirst der Abgott deiner Nation werden; vielleicht wirst du sehr lange leben; doch in deinem 37 Jahre fürchte dich vor einem weissen Menschen, einem weissen Rosse oder einem weissen Kopfe, /т. е. ты будешь два раза жить в изгнании; ты будешь кумиром своего народа; может быть ты проживешь долго, но на 37 году жизни берегись белого человека, белой лошади или белой головы/. По свидетельству Льва Сергеевича, предсказана была и женитьба.

"Поэт твердо верил предвещению во всех его подробностях, хотя иногда шутил, вспоминая о нем. Так, говоря о предсказанной ему народной славе, он смешно прибавлял, разумеется в тесном приятельском круге: "A ведь предсказание сбывается, что ни говорят журналисты." По свидетельству покойного П. В. Нащокина, в конце 1830 года, живя в Москве, раздосадованный разными мелочными обстоятельствами, он выразил желание ехать в Польшу, чтобы там принять участие в войне: в неприятельском лагере находился кто-то по
имени Вейскопф /белая голова/, и Пушкин говорил другу своему, "Посмотри, сбудется слово немки—он непремено
но убьет меня!"

"Нужно ли прибавлять, что настоящий убийца—действительно белокурый человек и в 1837 году носил
белый мундир?"

Из этих рассказов всех подробнее и вернее изложение Бартенева. В многолетнюю мою приязнь с Пушкиным
/замечу, что мои свидания и сношения с ним длились
по звеньям и голосам Фукс, и Вульфа, и Льва
Пушкина/, я часто слышал от него самого об этом произведении; он любил рассказывать его в ответ на шутки,
возбуждаемый его вверою в разные приметы. Сверх
того, он, в моем присутствии, не раз рассказывал об
этом именно при тех лицах, которые были у гадальщинь
при самом гадании, при чем ссылаясь на них. Для про-
верки и пополнения напечатанных уже рассказов, считаю
нужным присоединить все то, о чем п о м н у п о ло-
жительно, в дополнении прежнего, восстанавливая
то, что в них перебито или переименовано. Предсказание
было о том в о - п е р в ы х, что он скоро получит
деньги; в о - в т о р ы х, что ему будет сделано не-
ожданное предложение; в - т р е т ь и х, что он про-
славится и будет кумиром соотечественников; в ч е т-
в е р т ы х, что он дважды подвергнется ссылке; на-
конец, что он прожил долго, если на 37 году возра-
ста не случится с ним какой беды от белой лошади,
или белой головы, или белого человека /weisser Ross,
weisser Kopf, weisser Mensch/, которых и должен он
опасаться. /О предсказании касательно женитьбы мне
ничего не помнится, хотя об нем упомянуто в статье
Льва Сергеевича./

Первое предсказание о письме с деньгами, сбылось
в тот же вечер: Пушкин, возвратясь домой, нашел соевер-
ренно неожиданное письмо от лицейского товарища,
который извещал его о высылке карточного долга, забы-
того Пушкиным. Товарищ этот был—Корсаков, вскоре
потом умерший в Италии.

Такое быстрое исполнение первого предсказания
сильно поразила Александра Сергеевича; не менее стран-
но было для него и то, что несколько дней спустя, в
театре, его подозвал к себе Алексей Федорович Орлов
/впоследствии князь/ и стал отговаривать его от по-
ступления в гусары, о чем уже прежде была у него речь
с П. Д. Киселевым, а напротив, предлагая служить в
конной гвардии.

Эти переговоры с Алексеем Федоровичем Орловым ни
k чему не повели, но были поводом к посланию, коего
конец напечатан в сочинениях Пушкина /издание Генна-
ди, том I, стр. 187/, а начало в "Библиографических
записках", 1858 г., стр. 338. У нас ошибочно принято
считать это послание—посланием к Михаилу Федоровичу Орлову, так как с ним Пушкин впоследствии очень обли-зился.

Вот это послание, в возможно полном виде:

А. Ф. ОРЛОВУ

О ты, который сочетал
С душою пылкой, откровенной
/Хотя и русский генерал/
Любезность, разум просвещенный;
О ты, который с каждым днем,
Вставая на военную муку,
Усталым усачам верхом,
Преподаешь царей науку,
Но не безславишь сторонча
Свою воинственную руку
Презренной палкой палача,—
Орлов, ты прав: я забыл
Свои гусарские мечты
И с Соломоном восклицаю:
Мундир и сабля—суеты!
На генерала Киселева
Не положу моих надежд;
Он очень мил, о том ни слова,
Он врат коварства и неведи;
За шумным медленным обедом
Я рад сидеть его соседом,
До ночи слушать рад его;
Но он придворный: обещанья
Ему не стоят ничего.
Смирив немирные желания,
Без доломана, без усов, /доломана: sic/
Сокройся с тайной свободой,
С цевницеj, негой и природой,
Под сенью дедовских лесов;
Над озером, в спокойной жате,
Или в траве густой лугов, /густой: sic/
Или холм на звяжном скате,
В бухарской шапке и в жалате,
Я буду петь моих богов—
И буду ждать, когда—ж восстанет
С одра покоя бог мечей
И брани громкий вызов грянет,
Тогда покину мир полей;
Питомец пламенной Беллоны,
У трона верный гражданин,
Орлов! я стану под знамен
Твоих воинственных дружин;
В шатрах, средь сечи, средь пожаров,
С ненавистью, с лирической боевой
Рубиться будь пред тобой
И славу петь твоих ударов.

Вскоре после этого, Пушкин был отправлен на юг, а оттуда, через 4 года, в Псковскую губернию, что и было вторичной ссылкой. Как же ему, человеку крайне впечатляющему, было не ожидать и не бояться конца предсказания, которое дотоле исполнялось с такой буквенной точностью??? После этого удивительного ли и то, о чем рассказывал Бартеневу Павел Воинович Надеждин? Прибавлю следующее: я как-то изъявил свое удивление Пушкину о том, что он отстранился от масонства, в которое был принят, и что он не принадлежал ни к какому другому тайному обществу.

"Это всетаки вследствие предсказания о белой голове, отвечал мне Пушкин.—Разве ты не знаешь, что все филантропические и гуманитарные, тайные общества, даже и самое масонство, получили от Адама Вейсгаупта направление, подозрительное и враждебное существующим государственным порядкам? Как же мне было приставать к ним? weiskopf, weishaupt— одно и то же."

Вот еще рассказ в том же роде незабвенного моего друга, не раз слышанный мною при посторонних лицах.

Известие о кончине Императора Александра Павловича и о происходивших вследствие оной колебаниях по вопросу о престолонаследии дошло до Михайловское около 10 декабря. Пушкину давно хотелось увидеть с его петербургскими приятелиями. Рассчитывая, что при таких важных обстоятельствах не обратят строго внимание на его непослушание, он решил отправиться туда; но как быть? В гостиннице остановиться нельзя—потребуют паспорта; у великосветских друзей тоже опасно—гласится тайный приезд ссыльного. Он положил заехать сперва на квартиру к Фылееву, который вел жизнь не светскую, и от него запастись свидениями. Итак Пушкин приказывает готовить повозку, а слугу собирать с ним в Питер; сам же едет прописаться с Тригорскими соседями. Но вот, на пути в Тригорское, заяц перебегает через дорогу; на возвратном пути из Тригорского в Михайловское—еще заяц! Пушкин в досаде приезжает домой; ему докладывают, что слуга, назначенный с ним ехать, заболел вдруг Белой горячкой.—Распоряжение поручается другому. Наконец, повозка заложена, трогаются от подъезда. Глядя! в воротах встречается священник, который шел пропиться с отъезжавшим барином. Всех этих встреч—не под силу
суеверному Пушкину; он возвращается от ворот домой и остается у себя в деревне. "А вот каковы бы были по-
следствия моей поездки,—прибавлял Пушкин.—Я рас-
считывал приехать в Петербург поздно вечером, чтобы
не оглашался слишком скоро мой приезд, и следова-
тельно попал бы к Рылееву прямо на совещание 13
декабря. Меня приняли бы с восторгом; вероятно я
забыл бы о Вейстагуте, попал бы с прочими на Сенат-
скую площадь и не сидел бы теперь с вами, мои милые!"
Об этом же обстоятельстве передает Мицкевич, в
своих лекциях о Славянской литературе, и вероятно
со слов Пушкина, с которыми он часто видался /Pisma
Adama Mickiewicza, изд. 1860, IX, 293/.

C. Соболевский
APPENDIX B

A FRAGMENT FROM SOBOLEVSKIJ'S MEMOIR OF PUŠKIN

Describing the circumstances preceding the duel of Puškin and Dantes Count V. A. Sollogub expressed himself in these words:

"He [Puškin] in the person of Dantes sought either death or reprisal against society as a whole. I am firmly convinced that if S. A. Sobolevskij had then been in Petersburg, he, by virtue of his influence over Puškin, and he alone, would have been able to restrain him. The others could not do that."

At that time Puškin was not yet a famous personality; there was but little difference between us: three years of age, and that which exists between one who has already graduated and one who is still in school. In 1818 I was taken to Petersburg and enrolled in the Nobles' Boarding School of the Pedagogical University. On the very first day there comes up to me a curly-haired boy who says he is the born nephew of Vasilij L'vovič, that V. L. writes his father about me, and that he will introduce me to his family and his brother, who had recently finished the course at the Carskij Licej.

That is really how it was; Aleksandr Sergeevič often visited his brother; we most frequently met at Kjuxel'-beker's, who taught us Russian literature and who lived with M. I. Glinka on the mezzanine above the Pansion. Puškin's most outstanding characteristic was his heart's memory: he loved his old acquaintances and was grateful for the friendship shown him—especially by those who loved in him his person, not his fame; he valued good advice given in good time, not in the heat of first hastiness, founded in discretion and based not on common conceptions but in conformity with worldly opinions of what is honor, of what is called honorable.

Puškin's relationship with me was based on those traits of his character. Count Sollogub, a friend of both Puškin and me, knew them; he also knew that Puškin more than once involved me in such affairs, and that I finished them off successfully: and so it is not odd for him to think that my participation in the Puškin affair with Dantes might have averted its fatal outcome. For those to whom all this is little known,
I shall relate in a few words how Puškin and I became acquainted, grew close, and remained close to each other.

I passed my childhood in Moscow; at that time one of the primary subjects which one studied was Mythology; I learned it from the Traité de Mythologie of l'Abbé Lyonnais. In that book, ... there is not one single God about which the author would not have said that poets attributed to him such-and-such power, that Poets created him from thus-and-so or represented him as thus-and-so and so forth. In a word, I conceived a high opinion of the people who almost created the gods and who are called Poets!

When he returned to Moscow Vasilij L'vovič Puškin, who was intimately acquainted with my family, began to visit us often. Of him it was said: He is a Poet!!! How I looked at him in awe!!! This was the first impression; later I was attracted to him by his stories of Paris, of Napoleon, of other famous personages with whom I had become acquainted by means of books; above that, he began to pay attention to me, taught me to read aloud, as Talma did, scenes from French tragedies and Pevec of Žukovskij and the ode of Karamzin: Konec pobedam, bogu slava, and even listened and corrected my questions! How could I not love this good Vasilij L'vovič?..
ОТРЫВОК ИЗ ВОСПОМИНАНИЙ С. А. СОБОЛЕВСКОГО
О ПУШКИНЕ.

M. Beljaev, who prepared the Sobolevskij manuscript for publication, presented the fragment with all its excisions, additions, and emendations shown in square brackets, thusly:

Описывая обстоятельства, предшествовавшие [смерти нашего земля] поединку Пушкина с Дантецом [общий наш приятель] Граф В. А. Соллогуб выразил[ся]
[своем мнении] следующими словами: . . .

However, this makes the fragment very difficult to read; therefore here all those bracketed passages have been omitted, although Sobolevskij's punctuation and his somewhat tortured syntax, with its obvious non sequiturs, have been preserved. The term "sic" has been avoided as its use would be required many times in this brief passage.

Описывая обстоятельства, предшествовавшие поединку Пушкина с Дантецом Граф В. А. Соллогуб выразился следующими словами:

"Он [Пушкин] в лице Дантец искал или смерти или расправы с целым светским обществом. Я твердо убежден, что если бы С. А. Соболевский был тогда в Петербурге, он, по влиянию его на Пушкина, один бы мог удержать его. Прочие были не в силах."

Тогда Пушкин не был еще знаменитостью; разницы между нами было мало: три года по летам и та, которая существует между кончившим курсом школьником. В 1813 году отвезли меня в Петербург и отдали в Благодатный Пансион при Педагогическом Университете. В первый же день подходят к моему курьёву мальчик, говорит, что он родной племянник Василья Львовича, что В. Л. пишет к его отцу обо мне, и что он меня познакомит с семейством и с братом, недавно вышедшим из Царскосельского Лицея.

Так действительно и было; Александр Сергеевич часто приходил к брату; мы сходились большей частью у Кшельбекера, учинившего нас русской словесности: и жилище, вместе с М. И. Глинкой, в мезонине над пансионом. Отличительной чертой Пушкина была память сердца; он любил старых знакомых и был благодарен за
оказанную ему дружбу—особенно тем, которые любили в нем его личность, а не его знаменитость; он ценил добрые советы, данные ему во-время, не в перерыв первым порывом горячности, проведенные рассудительно и основательно на общих местах, а сообразно с светскими мнениями о том, что есть честь и о том, что называется честью.

Отношения Пушкина ко мне были основаны на этих чертах его характера. Граф Соллогуб, общий нам Пушкина и мой, приятель, знал их; он знал также, что я не раз был замешан Пушкиным в дела подобного рода и кончал их удачно: и так не мудрено, что по его мнению мое посредничество в деле Пушкина с Дантесом могло бы отразить патрубный конец оного. Для тех, которым все это мало известно, расскажу в коротких словах, как Пушкин и я познакомились, сблизились и остались близкими друг к другу.

Я провел детство в Москве; один тогда из главных предметов учения была мифология; я ей учился по Аббату Лионе Traité de Mythologie, par l'abbé Lyonnais. В этой книге... Вет ни одного Бога... про которого автор не сказал бы, что поэты ему приписали такую-то власть, что поэты производили его от таких или представляют его такими-то и так далее. Словом я возвышилось высокое мнение об личностях, которых чуть ли не производили в боги и называют: поэтами!

Возвращавшийся в Москву Василий Львович Пушкин, очень знакомый с моим семейством—, стал часто к нам. Про него говорили: C'est un Poète!!!, с каким благоговением я стал смотреть на него!!! Это было первое впечатление впоследствии меня привлекли к нему рассказы о Париже, Наполеоне, других знаменитностях, с которыми меня знакомили книжки; сверх того он стал обращать внимание на меня, учил меня грамо читать, как читал Тальма и сцены из французских трагико, и Певца Жуковского, и оду Карамзина: Конец победам, богу слава и даже слушал и поправлял мои вопросы! Как же мне было не любить этого доброго Василия Львовича?...

/конец рукописи/
CHAPTER IV
SOBOLEVSKIJ AND MICKIEWICZ

Adam Mickiewicz, exiled from Poland to Russia in November 1824, spent several months in the south of Russia before being allowed to settle permanently in Moscow in December 1825.¹ In the spring of 1826 he visited the brothers Nikolaj and Ksenofont Polevoj; in their house he met Sergej Aleksandrovic Sobolevskij and Petr Andreevič Vjazemskij.² These two friends probably introduced him into the salons of Zinaida Volkonskaja and A. P. Elagina, the latter the mother of Ivan and Petr Kireevskij, and into the circle of the "arxivnye junosë."³

Mickiewicz' most famous Russian friend, however, proved to be none of these, but rather Aleksandr Sergeević Puškin.

Sobolevskij is probably the person who introduced the two poets, sometime between September 27 and October 23, 1826. One of the results of this introduction was to be the great poem of Puškin, The Bronze Horseman.

There has been preserved in the Sobolevskij archives a sheet of paper with two undated notes, one written by Sobolevskij and the other, on the reverse of the first, by Mickiewicz in reply, apparently during a
social gathering at the Polevojs' house attended by both.

A. K. Vinogradov has reproduced these notes in facsimile:

N'oubliez donc pas de venir, cochâné Adame.
J'ai annoncé notre arrivée à Mr. Pouschkine, la
goutte lui remontera à la tete si vous n'arriv pas.

Peste et famine sur vous tres cher demon!
que le bon Dieu te rend tres maigre--Jé viendrai
mais jé manquerai a un diné avec une dame charmante.
Votre Adam. Vous recevrez mon billet d'hier que
j'ai envoyé par le domestique du Docteur Heyman--
you y repondrez que notre dine doit avoir
absolument lieu.4

Vinogradov, adding that the notes are written on a sheet
of blue paper taken from Nikolaj Polevoj's desk, gives
a Russian translation of the notes, as does M. Svetlova.5
Svetlova's translation is very close to the original and
is entirely reliable.

Vinogradov's, however, shows extraordinary, irre-
sponsible tampering with the text, not only to support
his dogmatic assertion that Sobolevskij introduced
Puškin and Mickiewicz, but also to create a feeling of
intimacy between Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz which is
greater than the evidence permits. The first he does
by simply making up a sentence out of whole cloth; the
second, by translating every second person plural
French construction by a second person singular Russian
construction. (As shown in the original, Mickiewicz
did use "te" in one place, but all other forms are
plural; Vinogradov seems to have used that one "te" as
license to use the singular forms everywhere.) Here
are the Vinogradov translations:
Emphasis has been added to show those portions of the text which Vinogradov has changed to suit his theories. And it is upon these portions that he has based his whole conclusion:

Both the tone of these notes and the form of address "cher demon" point to the fact that the meetings of Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz created friendly feelings long before Puškin's arrival in Moscow. From this I conclude that the meeting of Puškin and Mickiewicz took place through the assistance of Sobolevskij at his apartment. . . . One may draw the conclusion that the meeting of Mickiewicz and Puškin took place in Sobolevskij's apartment, where Puškin himself lived, during the first half of October 1826.6

Vinogradov fantasizes. Furthermore, in the final sentence of the last-quoted passage, he destroys his own credibility: In inserting the clause "where Puškin himself lived," he contradicts his own statement, made some fifteen lines previously on the same page, that "only in the first half of December did he . . . live at Sobolevskij's apartment."7 This agrees with Sobolevskij's own statement to Longinov of 1855, as quoted on page 78 above.
One can—indeed, one does—draw the conclusion, based on the French words of Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz, that the former was responsible for the introduction of the latter to Puškin. But it is only a plausible hypothesis; to claim that it is fact is the sheerest of folly. All one can assert with any certainty is that it probably happened that way. But, and finally, there are absolutely no grounds for claiming that the meeting took place at Sobolevskij's apartment.

As already noted, the probable time frame of the first meeting is established by two documents. The first is a letter by Mickiewicz' friend and travelling companion Franciszek Malewski, dated September 27, 1826. Malewski there dwelt at some rhapsodic length on Puškin's return to the capital and the impressions he had made on society; but he says nothing about his own or Mickiewicz' having met the Russian poet, as he certainly would have done, had such been the case. The second document is a diary entry by M.P. Pogodin, which lists the names of all the men who attended on October 24, 1826, the dinner given to celebrate the founding of the Moscow Herald; Sobolevskij, Mickiewicz, and Puškin are all listed as being present on that occasion.

The date can probably be pinpointed a bit more accurately by making reference to a letter from Mickiewicz to A. E. Odyniec of March 1827; this is the
first mention of the poet in the correspondence of Mickiewicz.

The Moscow Herald appeared this year. Almost all the local young poets and literary men belong to its editorial staff; chief among them is Pogodin, but the strongest support of the Herald is Puškin. I shall write more of him later on; now I shall add only that I know him and that we see each other often. Puškin is of about my age (two months younger), very witty and eloquent in conversation; he has read a great deal and knows modern literature well, he has a pure and elevated conception of poetry. He has recently written the tragedy Boris Godunov; I know several scenes from it, which are historical in genre, well conceived and with lovely detail. But, but, I think I have already written you or someone else about this!10

Of significance to dating the first meeting is the reference to knowing "several scenes" from Boris. Only one scene had been published at the time of this letter: that of the monolog of Pimen (Еще одно последнее свидание), which appeared in Volume I, No. 1, of Moscow Herald. To know "several scenes" Mickiewicz would have had to have access to the manuscript or to Puškin's readings of it. Of these latter there were only two between September 27 and October 24: one was on September 29, at Vjazemskij's, and one was on October 12, at the Venevitinovs'. Puškin was out of Moscow between November 3 and December 19/20; and after he returned he did not read Boris, under orders from Benkendorf.11

It is very possible that Sobolevskij's note to Mickiewicz, with its comment "J'ai annoncé notre arrivée à Mr. Pouschkine," refers to one or the other
of the readings. The poet would have certainly been anxious to show off his new and significant work to his Polish colleague, for whom had been proposed a chair of Polish literature at the University of Moscow.\textsuperscript{12}

Various authorities have had various things to say about the first meeting of Puškin and Mickiewicz. The Pole's Russian biographer Gorski\textsuperscript{1} follows Vinogradov without digression, saying that they met at Sobolevskij's in October 1826, "where at the time Puškin was living."\textsuperscript{13} Cjavlovskij agrees that Sobolevskij introduced the poets, but gives no date or location.\textsuperscript{14} Wacław Lednicki agrees that Sobolevskij may have been the channel, and also says that the time frame involved was indeed September 27-October 24.\textsuperscript{15}

The friendship and mutual literary influences of Puškin and Mickiewicz have been exhaustively studied; further exploration has no place in the present study, except when Sobolevskij is directly involved. The most apposite involvement was that which led directly to the Russian's creation of his \textit{The Bronze Horseman}; this will be discussed below in its proper chronological place.

Mickiewicz was intimate with the entire circle of Sobolevskij's acquaintanceships; and he was several times at dinners given by his Russian friend. Among these was that of May 19, 1827, given in honor of Puškin,
who was leaving for Petersburg. On January 26, 1828, Pogodin noted in his diary that he had dined with Sobolevskij and had seen Mickiewicz there. The most famous such occasion was also apparently the last: in early April, 1828, when Mickiewicz received permission to go to Petersburg, his Moscow friends gave him a farewell dinner at Sobolevskij's. It was on this occasion that Mickiewicz was presented with a silver chalice engraved with the names of all those present and containing a poem written for the occasion by Ivan Kireevskij. Shortly thereafter, on April 20, the poet wrote Cyprian Daszkiewicz:

Give to Bergère on my account 75 paper rubles, so that he might make at my expense three portraits: for Sobolevskij, for Polevoj, and Krassovskij. One finds no record of the outcome of Mickiewicz' plan.

A. K. Vinogradov makes another interesting comment regarding the Sobolevskij-Puškin-Mickiewicz friendship of this period, this time involving the Puškin poem "K vel'može." Vinogradov insists that this poem concerns the spring of 1827 when, according to a letter of 1827 of Ivan Kireevskij which he quotes, Kireevskij, Rožalin, Polevoj, Mickiewicz and Sobolevskij travelled on horseback "in the vicinity of Moscow." The reason for those journeys, according to Vinogradov, was to visit Arxangel'skoe, the sub-Moscow estate of the bibliophile and relic of the time of Ekaterina II Prince Nikolaj Borisovič Jusupov. Kireevskij does not mention Puškin
in his list of excursionists; yet Vinogradov says that "Kvel'može" is the proof of "these trips." He then proceeds to quote the first eight lines from the Puškin poem; the unworthy prose rendition given here is that of the present author:

TO A GREAT MAN

Once the zephyr breathes, streaming, freeing
the earth from its northern fetters, over the
fields, once the first line tree blooms, to you,
friendly descendant of Aristippus, to you I shall
come; I shall see that palace where the architectural
compasses, palette, and chisel to your learned
fancy submitted themselves obediently, and
inspirations contested with enchantment.

And then he makes the following assertion: "In this
poem it is as if there is foretold Sobolevskij's
inquisitiveness about Western Europe, as if there are
foretold his itineraries." Once again, Vinogradov
indulges in the sheerest of fantasies.

In the first place, the poem was written not in
1827, but in 1829— to be precise, the manuscript is
dated April 23, 1829. The poem was published in
the Literaturnaja gazeta of May 26, 1830, with the
title Poslaniye k K. N. B. Ju***. It is a response
to an invitation from Jusupov to Puškin to visit— an
invitation which the poet could not then accept
because of his impending journey to the Caucasus, whither
he departed May 1, 1829.26

Furthermore, Vinogradov simply did not read the poem correctly: the verbs regarding the visit are all in the future tense, not the past tense, as an examination of the fifth quoted line reveals; and therefore the poem is a promise to accept the invitation upon the first possible occasion, rather than a letter of thanks for hospitality received.

Finally, and most certainly, "K vel'može" does not predict Sobolevskij's western travels, but rather catalogs those of its addressee.27

In all fairness to Vinogradov, one must quote the following comment by Sobolevskij's friend and biographer, P. I. Bartenev:

The late Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij liked to recall his visit to beautiful Arxangel'skoe together with Puškin. They went in early spring, on horseback—and the enlightened great man of the time of Ekaterina greeted them with all the attentions of hospitality.28

It must be noted that Vinogradov could have put this account and the Kireevskij letter together to form his conclusion (and probably did so, as it was his propensity to edit his material to suit his purposes—see, for example, pages 34–35 and 162–163), since the latter work mentions Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz and the former, Sobolevskij and Puškin, and since both have to do with horseback riding in the vicinity of Moscow. But Bartenev
mentions no year; nor does he mention that Mickiewicz was one of the party, as he would certainly have done if such had been the case. Further, Bartenev speaks of only a "journey" in the singular ("o svoej poezdke").

Vinogradov seems to have concluded that the two accounts referred to the same trip, which occurred in 1827, since in the spring of 1828 Puškin was in Petersburg and since in the spring of 1829 Sobolevskij was no longer in Russia. Yet Vinogradov does not date his quote from Kireevskij except to place it in 1827, nor does he indicate that Kireevskij said the trip took place in the spring.

The poem is in no way, in spite of Vinogradov's assertion, a memorial to a common journey of Sobolevskij, Puškin, and Mickiewicz.

When Sobolevskij left in the fall of 1828 on his first trip to western Europe, Mickiewicz, knowing that the Russian planned to visit Warsaw, gave him a note of introduction to his Polish friends in that city. The note was included as a postscript to a letter written by Alexander Chodzko to A. E. Odyniec; it is dated October 27, 1828, and reads in part as follows: "Become acquainted with the bearer, Sobolevskij. He will tell you all about my life in Moscow. He is a good fellow and my great friend." This is the last incidence of meeting between the Pole and the Russian in Russia;
but they would meet later, and indeed spend a great deal of time together in Italy.

On April 26, 1829, Sobolevskij received a letter in Florence from Ivan Kireevskij saying, "Mickiewicz has left to travel, and perhaps he will soon see you." The Polish poet left Russia on May 15. Travelling through Poland, Germany, and Switzerland, he reached Rome on November 18, 1829. There he found Zinaida Volkonskaja and, in her suite, his old friend from the "arxivnye junosti" S. P. šęvyrev. Šęvyrev first heard of Mickiewicz from Sobolevskij in a letter dated only "1829." Sobolevskij was in Florence between January 3 and July 14, and again between October 8 and October 20; the letter obviously belongs to the second period: "I arrived here Saturday morning. . . . In 5 or 8 days (if Mickiewicz arrives) I shall go to Paris. . . ." The parenthetical comment in this text leads one to believe that Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz had been in direct contact: Sobolevskij seems to expect the poet to meet him in Florence. No letters of Mickiewicz have survived for the period between September 19, when he addresses a letter from Zurich to Leonard Chodzko, and November 31, when he wrote Franciszek Malewski from Rome. Furthermore, there is no comment in either letter that he planned to, or did, see Sobolevskij; although in the Chodzko letter he wrote: "I plan to
visit Paris for perhaps a long stay next winter (if not sooner)." This comment interestingly enough seems to fit with Sobolevskij's similar comment regarding a visit to the French capital. But Sobolevskij left Florence on October 20 without seeing Mickiewicz, and travelled via Genoa and Lyon to Paris, where he arrived as planned on November 25. Mickiewicz and Odyniec, as noted, reached Rome on November 18, as Sobolevskij learned from Ševyrev's letter of December 22.

When Ševyrev wrote Sobolevskij from Rome on January 19, 1830, Mickiewicz again chose his apparently favorite method of communication, the post script, to add:

"Je ne sais si je vous pardonne jamais d'avoir quitté Florence avant mon arrivée. Je vois qu'il me sera très difficile de vous rattraper, car vous êtes devenu singulièrement léger à la course. Vous à qui il fallait autrefois une année des préparatifs pour aller de Moscou à la campagne, vous traversez dans quelques jours l'Italie. Après tout vous faites bien de fuir ce ciel de boue et cette terre de frimas où il pleut, où il fait froid aussi bien qu'à Moscou. . . . Grace à ma cheminée je suis enfumé comme du jambon et j'espère être bientot asphyxié. Vous concevez donc que je ne me sens pas grande envie de continuer en vers la poétique missive de M. Chaviroff, dont l'enthousiasme paraît être à l'épreuve de toutes les saisons. Quand vous aurez lu les chants qu'il a composés ici par le temps de chien qu'il fait depuis deux mois, vous direz que notre ami est plus qu'un rossignol, il est presque un castrat, car il chante tout aussi bien en hiver qu'en printemps. . . ."

To this delightful bit of fluff, Odyniec added yet another post script, the first sentence of which reads:
"Je regrettais beaucoup de ne pas vous avoir trouvé à Florence, je crois m'en dédommager à Paris. . . ."42

It therefore appears from this letter that there had indeed been some agreement to meet. Whether it did not occur because the Poles arrived late, or Sobolevskij left before he had planned, is unknown. One cannot help but express an interest in what might have happened in Mickiewicz' life if the meeting had taken place.

One must again digress to discuss A. K. Vinogradov's handling of these two post scripts.43 He reproduces them in facsimile; he also transcribes the French text into the body of his discussion. After that he gives a Russian translation, rendering every French second person plural form in Mickiewicz' portion as a Russian second person singular—just as he did with the "cher Démon" note of 1826. It must be added that Vinogradov does this very thing each time he translates Mickiewicz' French into Russian (see his pp. 249-250; 255-256; and 257); he also does it in translating Sobolevskij's French letter of November 20, 1830, to Mickiewicz, into Russian.44 Yet, in translating the Odyniec post script, he handles each second person plural as a second person plural.45 One assumes that Vinogradov was attempting to establish linguistically a bond between Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz closer than that which actually existed. Whatever the reasons, the translation technique is unjustified.
Sobolevskij answered the January 19 letter on February 6 with what he called a "circular to Ševyrev and Mickiewicz." On March 9 he sent greeting to the Pole, adding a humorous reference to a comment in Mickiewicz' post script of January 19: "Has Mickiewicz been completely smoke-cured yet? Cut off a slice and eat it with mustard..." (Bartenev's explanatory note to this passage in Russki arxiv is nonsense: At Sobolevskij's farewell party for Mickiewicz, Ševyrev exclaimed: "The iron scepter of autocracy we will reforge into the dagger of freedom!" Bartenev obviously knew nothing of Mickiewicz' reference to being "smoked" by his own chimney.) On March 22 Sobolevskij wrote Ševyrev that he is making plans for a walking tour of the Swiss Alps and hopes that Mickiewicz will be able to go with him:

I am trying to set it up so that I can this summer get together with Rožalin and the Kireevskij's and take a walk in the student fashion, because more of this life in the capital will be terribly hard. We will probably walk through upper Italy, the Tyrol, Switzerland and the upper part of the Rhine. I am not asking you to go along, because I know you won't be able to; but tell Adam Adamović Vral'man about it and advise him to forget about Naples...

By June 7 Sobolevskij was in Karlsruhe and was again trying to get Mickiewicz to take the tour: "I want to arrange a walk in Switzerland as part of a group and convince by letter Adam Adamović Vral'man (that is, Mickiewicz) to go along." He tried again
from Munich on July 4.\textsuperscript{50}

But the two did not manage to get together, although Mickiewicz was in Geneva between August and October 1830,\textsuperscript{51} while Sobolevskij passed alone through Switzerland in late July.\textsuperscript{52} Vinogradov incorrectly states that "they arrived together simultaneously in Geneva":\textsuperscript{53} Sobolevskij's letter of August 10, referred to so many times herein, proves that he came nowhere near Geneva;\textsuperscript{54} further, in his note to Mickiewicz of November 20, quoted by Vinogradov on page 250, Sobolevskij stated that he had not been in Geneva.

Their failure to meet was the result of bad fortune. Ševyrev twice indicated to Sobolevskij that Mickiewicz would be in Switzerland in July and would enjoy a mountain hike. In a letter of June 22 he said that Mickiewicz was "not averse to a walking tour... in the summer and is planning to see Switzerland."\textsuperscript{55} On July 15, he reported, "I told him of your plan, he agreed; it will be worth your while to go there and truly you will convince him..."\textsuperscript{56} But Ševyrev mistakenly addressed these letters to Sobolevskij in Turin, rather than Munich; and the slow postal service of the day would not allow for forwarding if Sobolevskij's Turin friends knew that he would probably reach that city before the forwarded letters might reach Munich. So Sobolevskij knew nothing of Mickiewicz' acceptance
of his proposal until it was too late. He lamented their missing each other in his letter of August 10 to Ševyrev:

What a shame that I, being in Switzerland, did not know that Mickiewicz was in the neighborhood; I could have easily gotten together with him, but now I cannot because my business papers are being addressed to me here, and because my money is not being paid in Parisian notes.57

Vinogradov has arbitrarily changed the final portion of this passage, after the words "business papers," in the Russian text, to read "because I like it here, and because I am finishing my notes."58 These words do not occur in the Russkij arxiv text of this letter; but in his letter to Ševyrev of August 30 Sobolevskij did say, "I am writing my notes."59 One would have hoped that the editors of the Russian five-volume collection of Mickiewicz' works had had at hand the original text of this letter; but they quote it ostensibly from Russkij arxiv and give the passage added by Vinogradov, which, as stated, does not appear in that journal. This situation is complicated by the fact that the Russian editors say that they are on these pages quoting Ševyrev's letters to Sobolevskij from Vinogradov.60 One fervently hopes that the scholars who aided D. Blagoj in preparing that Russian edition were not taken in by Vinogradov's already notorious editorial license.

Mickiewicz also regretted the missed opportunity of seeing his old friend from Moscow when he wrote him
Si vous aviez entendu toutes les injures que je vous ai adressées ces jours-ci, vous m'auriez défié en duel et par conséquent vous m'auriez obligé de vous tuer. Comment sachant que j'étais à Genève ne pas m'écrire une seule parole. Je repassai le Simplon faute d'avoir un motif quelconque pour aller à Turin, et puis j'espérais vous attraper dans quelque fente du glacier en Suisse ou toutes les auberges, caves et cafés soupiraient en vain après vous.

Écrivez-moi avant votre départ pour la Russie et envoyez un peu de votre embonpoint à Chaviroff qui est toujours après moi le plus maigre littérateur de la chrétienté; c'est en vous réunissant qu'on aurait pu faire deux grands hommes...

By November 20 Sobolevskij had decided to visit Ševyrev and Mickiewicz in Rome; on that date he wrote asking to borrow some money until he received the dividends from his stocks, and he addressed Mickiewicz in the by now obligatory post script: "Vous pouvez vous procurer mon aimable aspect au moyen de quelques centaines de francs ... Demandez à Schewyreff ce que cela veut dire." (The post script is several paragraphs in length; Vinogradov in translating it gives some, but not all, of Sobolevskij's second person plurals as singulars; yet he translates the quoted passage using the Russian second person plural. One cannot understand how he made the decision of which plurals to translate as plurals and which to translate as singulars.)

If Vinogradov can be believed, Ševyrev and Mickiewicz each sent Sobolevskij 200 francs. The
latter informed his friends on December 25 (in a letter beginning "I have the honor to congratulate you with the pagan holiday\(^7\)) that he planned to leave Turin on January 3 and to arrive in Rome, after a few days in Milan with Glinka and a visit to Florence, on January 18.\(^6\) In this letter he gives an interesting account of the life he had been leading for the last several months:

I arrived in Munich on July 4 with 15 francs and a debt of 200 francs. Since then I have received 2200, travelled through Switzerland, paid the debt, and now have 350 francs at the cashier's, to arrive at the outside by January 14 in Florence and perhaps even in Rome, as a result of having disbursed less than two thousand francs in seven months while travelling. . . . True, between January 1 and July 14 I spent a great deal, besides what was already spent in Paris, in London, drunk up on the Rhine in Johannisberger—schloss; besides that Sergej Aleksandrovič is dressed like a doll and supplied with all sorts of English fashionabilities; brushes, files, knives, scissors, wash-stands and so on, just as Onegin had in his dressing-room; besides it was written in the Morning Herald that he is a famous man of fashion, who had captured a regiment of Italian hearts.\(^6\)

There are two accounts, neither of them contemporary, which refer to the period of Sobolevskij's visit to Mickiewicz in Rome. One is contained in the memoirs of N. V. Berg, already referred to on page 50; the other is in a letter of Sobolevskij himself. Inasmuch as the Sobolevskij letter requires considerable comment, it will be discussed after the Berg episode, which is relatively straightforward.
Berg's memoirs were first published in the journal *Russkaja starina* in 1891, some seven years after the death of the author. That portion quoted above in Chapter II reveals something of the antipathy which existed between Berg and Sobolevskij. Yet this very antipathy renders the passage concerning Mickiewicz and Sobolevskij all the more credible, for Berg tells his story without personal comments; he could easily have made Sobolevskij appear in a much less flattering light.

He lived in Italy, France, Spain, England. Everywhere he became intimate with the most intelligent people. In Rome he grew close to Mickiewicz (whom he had formerly known in Petersburg) and to his friend, Count Henryk Rzewuski, ... then simply a good companion and splendid raconteur of all that he had seen, and he had seen a great deal. These marvellous stories caused Mickiewicz every day to argue that his friend should start to write.

The approaching year of 1830 changed the relationships of the three friends. The Poles began to exercise their cunning, to tell their thoughts less than completely, especially Rzewuski; Mickiewicz conducted himself more simply. He disclosed to Sobolevskij that his countrymen had called him home to inspire them with his songs; that he didn't really want to go, since he didn't really share their ideas about revolution [sic!!], however ... [sic] he must go all the same. He began to get ready for the journey, but was so clumsy and inexperienced in such affairs, required a nurse to such a degree, that Sobolevskij decided to help him in his misery--he changed his money for him, arranged his passport, bought the things required for the journey, and put the poet in a carriage, but Mickiewicz, having arrived on the spot (precisely where is unknown), discovered that it was too late to play the role of inspiration of the troops: the troops had fled in disorderly crowds to Europe. (I heard this from Sobolevskij himself.) Mickiewicz remained for a short time
at the estate of his old friend Grabowski, not far from Poznan, and there conceived the plan for his famous poem Pan Tadeusz.67

This memoir is amazingly accurate in both fact and tone, albeit a bit chauvinistic when the Polish uprising of 1830 is under discussion, and one must respect Berg for his relative objectivity.

The other source of information of the period is a letter of Sobolevskij written on December 25, 1868, to Mickiewicz' friend Malewski; though this letter contains some factual errors which have never been pointed out prior to the present study, and which plague Mickiewicz' biographers even today, it is of sufficient interest to be quoted in its entirety. The original was in French; but one has found in available sources only a few sentences of the original French text.68

The other sources containing the letter give it only in Russian. There are two such translations. One is in A. K. Vinogradov's book;69 the other is in Volume 5 of the Blagoj Russian edition of the works of Mickiewicz.70

One hastens to state that it is the second translation which is here rendered in English and which appears in Russian as Appendix A to this chapter.

It is difficult for me to tell you in a letter anything especially interesting about our friend. I have always loved my friends for the friendship which they have shown me, and not because they were great people or could become historical figures in the future; for that reason I never conceived the idea of writing about the events of their lives, their actions or words. If you have already written down your memoirs of
Adam, I could, in reading them, bring forth more precision or supplement them with new facts, but I cannot know beforehand what you might lack and what I am in a position to add. I never had the patience to keep a diary, but I have found some excerpts from some old notebooks and, in them, several jottings which might be of interest to you.

Here they are:

On February 2, 1831, I was at the last posting station before Rome. They told me, "A pope has been elected and he will be enthroned this morning at St. Peter's." I quickly changed clothes and set out there. The first person I met there was Mickiewicz. We see each other every day, take walks and out-of-town trips together, meet at Aleksandr Golicyn's, whose wife is a certain Chodkiewicz, at Princess Zeneida's, at Henryk Rzewuski's etc. I found Mickiewicz more or less satisfied with his fate, but at the same time consumed by some sort of sadness, or, more precisely some sort of torturous anxiety. He confessed to me that he is saddened by not being in Poland; although he was convinced that the uprising could not lead to positive results and that it will have fatal aftermaths, he as a national poet considered himself obligated to be together with the rebels.

"Well then why aren't you there?" "I have given everything I had to Mr. X, a young man from Poznań, so that he might go there." "And he hasn't given you your money back?" "No." The next day, when I was at Adam's, the affair was cleared up. It turned out that there was in the letter which Mickiewicz had received from the young man, and which he had thought the simplest bit of paper, a good draft on Valentini, my Rome banker, who the next day paid the whole sum. Thus I created for my country one extra enemy.

We decided to head north, I to London and he to Poland. Two days later Golicyn, his wife, his son, their artist, one Vladimir Xvoštinskij, Mickiewicz and I set out in two large carriages, or vetturini. I have found in my papers this description of our itinerary.

We left April 19, spent the night in Civitacastiglione; walk with Adam along outlying roads.

20, Wednesday. Night in Terni, a long walk to the waterfall.

21, Thursday. Night at Foligno; a marvellous unfinished Raphael at Gregori's.

22, Friday. Dinner in Perugio, night in some wayside hovel.

24, Sunday. We reached Florence.

The trip was extremely amusing. Golicyn and his son presented themselves as Russian patriots, the princess, whose two sons, Chodkiewiezes, were in the Polish army, was enraged, Xvoščinskij and I were on first one side and then the other. There were interminable quarrels, arguments and peacemakings. Even in the Polish camp there was discord, as the princess believed in the success [of the insurgents], but Mickiewicz not only didn't believe in success, but also in its continuation and positive results even if it were achieve.

25, 26, 27. In Florence, Hotel York.

28. Departure in a calessino for the two of us, spent the night along the way.

29, Friday. In Bologna, evening

30, Saturday. In Bologna, Hotel St. Mark.

May 1, Sunday. Departure, dinner in Modena; spent the night in Reggio.

May 2. Dinner in Parma, spent the night in Fiorenzuola, walk, supper, farewell.

We parted with but faint hope of ever seeing each other again. But things worked out otherwise! Not later than in the fall of 1837 we embraced in Paris. I found Adam married and the father of a family. I have found in my papers a note pertaining to this period; one can guess that it was written in 1838, since I spent the entire winter in Paris:

"To Sergej Sobolevskij:

Mr. and Mrs. Mickiewicz request the honor of your presence at dinner next Monday, April 10, at 5 in the afternoon on Rue Marais-Saint-Germain, 18.

You will receive as much boršč, horseradish and bread as you want. Your devoted Adam Mickiewicz."

This period was the hardest of those in which I saw Mickiewicz, since he had no hopes and was burdened by many problems. At first it seemed to me that he was a bit restrained in my presence, but soon sincerity and trust were reestablished. He hated the government of Louis-Philippe and agreed that the only monarch worthy of the title was Nikolaj. As for the Poles, he never saw any of them, and the Poles didn't like him because of the bitter truths which he told them.

The year 1844. I find the note:

"My dear Sereža, I am very grieved not to have yet shaken your hand. I am almost always at home, but on Saturday I await you officially from sunrise until one in the afternoon. Come without fail, and
if you don't I'll come to you in broad daylight observing all conceivable honors. A. M."

As far as I recall, this time I found M. less depressed than before, but in the grip of religious exaltation and at odds with every party then dividing the Poles.

Later we met in the following periods: November 1846-spring 1847, October 1847-spring 1848, October 1848, November and December.

We met especially often during this past period. I remember, by the way, how after a dinner at Mme. Guiccioli's on October 19, 1848, in company with Napoleon who was angling for the presidency (he was elected several days later), at which I laughed, I that very evening went to see Mickiewicz to tell him about it; he took me to Cavaignac, so that I might see on one and the same day the setting sun after the rising, as he expressed it. He had recently returned from a trip to Italy and told with great humor a thousand anecdotes about the Italian army, about all sorts of disorders among them etc. In a word, Mickiewicz had become the old Mickiewicz.

On December 21, 1848 (the day is written down). I went to say goodbye to him. This time we felt not the slightest danger that we would never see each other again, but nevertheless I never saw him again...71

Sobolevskij's records and memory are accurate until he describes his parting with Mickiewicz, apparently at Fiorenzuola. He errs here; for the Ševyrev letters show that the two reached Turin and spent several days together there before Mickiewicz went on to Geneva. In writing to Malewski, Sobolevskij had access to his travel journal to remind him of the trip; Vinogradov reproduces the apposite page in his own work.72

Examination of that excellent photoreproduction shows no positively identifiable mention of Mickiewicz after the entry of Thursday the 28th: "Partis avec Adam pour 8 scudis en Calessino."
In preparing the Malewski letter, Sobolevskij seems to have misread the entry for May 2, which is written in so small a hand, with an insertion, at the end of a line near the bottom of the page, as to be practically illegible even to its author after 35 years. The 1868 letter says this portion of the journal reads "Spent the night in Fiorenzuola, walk, supper, farewell." The facsimile shows the words "couchés à Fiorenzuola, promenade. . ."—but the last two words are almost illegible, and neither resembles any French word ("diner," "adieux") which one might expect to find, given the Russian words of the letter. One feels the first of the two words in the journal is "avec;" the third could be a proper name, so that the passage would read "promenade avec ____". The name might even be "Adam," since the first letter or two vaguely resemble other spellings of that name of Sobolevskij's hand; further, and finally, the last word is of just such length as to be proper for the name "Adam". But this is only a feasible hypothesis.

It is not so surprising that Sobolevskij had after so many years forgotten the details of the trip, and misread his own journal. Yet he did; and two of his own letters, as well as one of Mickiewicz himself, show clearly what actually happened.
On April 26, Mickiewicz wrote Sofia Ankvič from Florence, "Day after tomorrow I am leaving for Turin, and from there to Geneva."  

The first of the two Sobolevskij letters to Ševyrev was carried incorrectly in Russkij arxiv as belonging to 1830 and was printed between two letters of that year from Paris, one of March 9, saying, "I will leave April 9 for London, ..." and one of March 22, this bearing Sobolevskij's own dating of 1830. This May 7 letter is thus obviously out of place chronologically in Russkij arxiv, belonging rather to 1831. It then becomes clear that the following comment which it contains applies to the Sobolevskij-Mickiewicz trip from Rome: "Mickiewicz and I reached here after a trip of about three weeks." The second is dated Turin, May 23, 1831, and contains the statement "... I sent Mickiewicz on to Geneva on the ninth with a broken heart." This is in complete chronological and logical accord with the May 7 letter and the Mickiewicz-Ankvič letter, and therefore impeaches Sobolevskij's own much later account.

One is all the more startled to learn that the Blagoj-edited Soviet collection of the works of Mickiewicz ignores these two letters. Beginning on page 599 of Volume Five of that work, one finds a section called "Supplement (From letters to Mickiewicz and about
Mickiewicz), containing letters from such figures as Lelewel, Goethe, and Chopin. It is precisely here that one finds the translation of the Sobolevskij-Malewski letter of 1868 under discussion; why not, then, the two letters of 1831?

The section contains several of the Sobolevskij-Ševyrev letters as well, covering the period March 22, 1830-November 20, 1830, and credited by the editors to that volume of Russkij arxiv used by the present author in preparing this study. The last letter in this Volume Five series (that of November 20, 1830), is incorrectly dated by the Soviet editors from Paris, rather than from Turin, as is correct according to their cited source. But the series does not contain precisely the two letters regarding Mickiewicz' arrival or stay in Turin; they should have appeared, if the editors' strict chronological pattern had obtained, on page 650, and if they had pursued the series as it actually occurred in Russkij arxiv.

It must be noted here that these same Soviet editors of Mickiewicz reprint in this section of Volume Five several extracts from Ševyrev's letters to Sobolevskij, and give credit to A. K. Vinogradov as their source for these texts. One is not at all sure that the Soviet scholars should have done that, considering Vinogradov's already much belabored
proclivity of tampering with epistolary evidence; one therefore wonders at the accuracy of the Ševyrev texts in this Soviet edition.

One must now look at some errors caused directly by reliance on the Sobolevskij-Malewski letter as a source.

A prime example is the following statement by Mickiewicz' Russian biographer Gorski:

Mickiewicz could not leave Rome due to the lack of money. Sobolevskij helped him settle his financial affairs, and on April 19, 1831, they left Italy together. Sobolevskij travelled to London, and Mickiewicz to Poland.82

One would prefer that the passage might read: "... left Rome together, and travelled to Turin, where Sobolevskij remained while Mickiewicz several days later went on to Geneva."

Gorski, by the way, cites no source for this information; but it is obvious that he used the text of the 1868 letter as it was given by Vinogradov, since in the paragraph immediately preceding that quoted above he gives a long quotation from the letter and cites Vinogradov as the source.83

Here one cannot blame Vinogradov for the error; the error is Gorski's—or, perhaps more accurately, Sobolevskij's.

Leopold Wellisz, after describing Mickiewicz' journey of the summer of 1830 through Switzerland,
neglects to relate that the Pole went to Geneva in the summer of 1831, writing instead that "His next short stay in Switzerland, embracing several weeks in July, 1833, was only episodic."

This oversight of Wellisz could be based on a reading of Sobolevskij's letter to Malewski, although Wellisz cites no sources in this passage.

Another modern error seems to be the already-discussed failure of the Soviet editors of the 1955 edition of the works of Mickiewicz to include the two Sobolevskij letters describing the trip from Rome to Turin. It may well be that that decision was made based upon a reading of the 1868 letter as being most accurate, especially since Sobolevskij therein refers to his travel journal in discussing the period.

When Sobolevskij returned to Russia in July 1833 he brought to Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin a valuable gift: the four-volume set of the works of Mickiewicz, published in Paris in 1828-1832. In Volume Four of that edition was found *Forefathers' Eve, Part III*, and its *Digression*; this poetical attack on Russia called forth from Puškin one of his most brilliant works, *The Bronze Horseman*. Many studies have been written discussing and comparing these works and their authors, and the present work is not the place to go into that relationship. Yet one must in all honesty,
and quite considerable awe, note that, if Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij had not given to Puškin the forbidden volumes, The Bronze Horseman would probably never have been written. For it was in October, 1833, three months only after Sobolevskij's gift was made, that the poet, at Boldino, created his work during his last period of great poetic inspiration: from then until the end of his life he would never again know the peace of mind necessary to give the Muse the opportunity of inspiring him.

Even if for no other reason, Sobolevskij's role in the creation of that great literary work makes him noteworthy of recognition in the history of Russian literature.

Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz next saw each other, as the Malewski letter states, in Paris; but as for the date, the Russian erred in giving it as April 10, 1838. As has been mentioned (page 45), Sobolevskij learned of Puškin's death while in Paris in the winter of 1837 and returned to Russia in the fall of that year. Therefore the dates given in 1868 as 1837 and 1838 should instead have been 1836 and 1837 respectively; and the dinner to which the now-married Polish poet invited his old friend took place on April 10, 1837, rather than 1838 as the Malewski letter indicates.

In discussing this visit, A. K. Vinogradov stated
that Sobolevskij was invited by Mickiewicz in order to assist the latter in preparing his obituary appreciation of Puškin; that work appeared, over the simple signature "A Friend of Puškin," in May 1837.85

Wacław Lednicki, in his valuable Przyjaciela Moskale, takes Vinogradov strongly to task for building his theory out of nothing: Lednicki proves quite conclusively that Vinogradov was indulging his penchant for fantasizing in "proving" that the article was written with Sobolevskij's help.86 It is indeed gratifying to learn that a scholar of the eminence of Professor Lednicki has been struck by the less than reliable efforts of the Soviet writer, especially in view of the several attempts in the present work to show the dangers of using the publications of the latter as source material for any study of the relationships of Sobolevskij with various persons unless those publications are supported by the photofacsimiles which Vinogradov fortunately frequently supplies--often to his own detriment.

Sobolevskij next visited Paris between mid-May and mid-June of 1844.87 In the Malewski letter he gave his translation of an invitation from Mickiewicz (given on page 208) which Vinogradov has reproduced in photofacsimile.88 Comparison of that facsimile and the text as Sobolevskij transmitted it to Malewski shows a very
significant departure from the latter in the former. Whereas Sobolevskij told Malewski that Mickiewicz had threatened to come to visit him "in broad daylight, accompanied by all conceivable honors," the original text says "accompanied by all conceivable terrors." What Mickiewicz meant by this strange phrase, and why Sobolevskij chose to change it, must remain mysteries.

That note is the last found in the Sobolevskij archives by A. K. Vinogradov. But in the 1868 letter Sobolevskij recalled several meetings with his Polish friend in 1846-1848. Let us look at each period separately.

I. November 1846-spring 1847.

On November 14 Sobolevskij arrived in Paris, where he remained until January 2, 1847. From then until spring his itinerary was: January 15, he left Marseilles for Nice; January 28, he left Florence for the south; April 9, he was in Rome; in May he was in Naples; and on June 14 he left Naples for Rome. Throughout this entire period Mickiewicz was in Paris. The meetings which Sobolevskij recalls probably occurred therefore in the earlier part of the period described.

II. October 1847-spring 1848.

Between October 9 and December 14 Sobolevskij remained in northern Italy, visiting Venice, Verona, Mantua, Modena, Reggio, Taneto, Parma, Piacenza, Cremona,
Milan and Turin; on December 14 he seems to have settled in Nice, apparently remaining there without at least major exception until June 28, 1848. Mickiewicz spent the last three months of 1847 in Paris; by February 7 he was in Rome, where he remained until mid-April; he then travelled to Livorno, Florence, Bologna, Parma, and Milan, arriving in the latter city around May 1 and remaining there until his return to Paris in July. It was during this trip that he had his famous audience with Pius IX, and later—March 29, 1848—formed the first element of his Polish Legion.

When, where, and for what purpose did Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz meet during this second period? Or was Sobolevskij, writing twenty years after the events he was describing, again in error, as he had been several times before? Sobolevskij could have easily reached Milan from Nice and have seen the Pole there; as noted, his archives show no precise record (according to Vinogradov) of his whereabouts, except to place him in Nice at the extreme dates of the period. Vinogradov believes that he passed the entire first six months of 1848 in Nice. But there is no mention of Sobolevskij in Mickiewicz' rather voluminous correspondence for the period. One is tempted to theorize that Sobolevskij had some hand in aiding Mickiewicz in the creation of the Polish Legion; but available facts in no way
support such a claim. It is more likely that Sobolevskij's memory of dates or events failed him, or that he did indeed perhaps once or twice visit Mickiewicz in Milan and simply had no record of the precise time. One tends to believe the latter case is closest to fact.

Vinogradov places the following footnote in his too-brief discussion of the 1868 Malewski letter; the emphasis is added:

A. I. Turgenev notes the repeated mass exiles of Russians from Paris in the 1830's. In subsequent years of revolutionary turmoil, obviously, if there were not exilings, it was at least forbidden to enter. In this way are explained the yawning gaps in the documents of Sobolevskij, when entire months of his secret trips to Paris are nowhere noted down, not in documents, not in letters. We have several such mute witnesses. Mérimée notes one such illegal arrival of Sobolevskij in France in a letter to Lagrené and adds that Sobolevskij thinks that he will be able to get away with it.96

One's immediate reaction is, "Where is the proof?" Vinogradov gives none; except his own gleanings from the archives. By now one refuses to accept that sort of proof. Even in his second study of Mérimée, which appeared in 1937 and will be referred to often in the next chapter, one cannot find the Mérimée letter to which he here has reference. The only thing there is the following comment in the letter to Mme. Lagrené of September 23, 1848; speaking of his own Russian pronunciation, the Frenchman wrote:
It is doubtful that he had arrived directly from Naples; on August 2 he was in Geneva, and his itinerary from there to Paris is not reflected in the archives. Regardless of that, however, Vinogradov has no right to make such a sweeping statement as that in the quoted footnote: if gaps exist, they should not be filled with fantasies about secret trips and illegal entries and exits and revolutionary activities. As for Mérimée's comment, it could very easily and simply apply to Sobolevskij's Parisian acquaintances and their willingness to receive him as a guest.

III. October, November, and December 1848.

The quoted Mérimée letter indeed places Sobolevskij in Paris before the beginning of this period; but that is of minor consequence, for the 1868 letter refers specifically to meetings with Mickiewicz, not to the Paris visit as a whole. Sobolevskij was in Paris between August 24, 1848, and January, 1849, when he began a visit to Spain. Mickiewicz throughout that period was also in the capital. In Sobolevskij's own words, "We saw each other frequently during this period;" he then relates to Malewski the anecdote about Napoleon and Cavaignac.
Their final meeting occurred, as noted, December 21, 1848. Sobolevskij again spent several months in Paris during this long sojourn away from Russia—he was in the capital between November 1849 and March 1850—but he noted no meetings with Mickiewicz. Further, there is no dated correspondence of Mickiewicz to refer to between October 1849 and May 1850. One cannot help wondering if the two met then to discuss the fall of Mickiewicz' hopes for a Poland free of Russian domination.

Thus ended the friendship of Sobolevskij and Mickiewicz. That friendship had besides other results, one enormously important consequence for Russian literature: it caused Puškin to be inspired to create The Bronze Horseman. For this alone Sobolevskij must receive our gratitude.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER XV


3. Ibid.

4. Vinogradov, 235. Emphasis added. Spellings, grammar and diacritical markings as in the original. The nickname "Demon" was given to Sobolevskij by his schoolmate and lifelong friend Odosvdskij (P. N. Sakulin, Iz istorii russkogo idealizma. Knajz' V. F. Odosvdski, Mysitel'. Pislatel'. Moscow, 1913, 199, note 3).

5. Svetlova, 730-731.


7. Ibid., 234.

8. Lednicki, 35.

Tego roku zjawił się Wiesnik Moskowski. Wszyscy prawie tutajsi poeci i literaci należą do redakcji; najgłówniejszym pracownikiem jest Pogodin, ale najsilniejszym wsparciem Wiesnika jest Puszkin.

Obszerniej kiedyś o nim napisałem; teraz tylko dodam, że go znam i często się widzimy. Puszkin prawie mego wieku /dwoma miesiącami młodszy/, w rozmowie bardzo dowcipny i porywający; czytał/wiele i dobrze zna literaturę nowożytną, o poezji ma czyste i wzniosłe pojęcie. Napisał też tragedię Borys Godunow; znam jej scen kilka, w rodzaju historycznym, dobrze pomyślane i szczerze piękne. Ale, ale, zdaje mi się, że już o tym do ciebie czy do kogoś innego pisałem.

11. Lednicki, 36
12. Ibid., 27.
   ... gdzie w to время жил Пушкин ... 
15. Lednicki, 35-36.

Berzerowi daj na moj rachunek r. as. 75, aby zrobił moim kosztem trzy portrety; dla Sobolewskiego, dla Polewego i Krassowskiego. The Krasowskij referred to may be censor A. I. (1780-1851), who in 1832 became chief censor of foreign literature (Russkij biografičeskij slovar', IX, 414).
20. Vinogradov, 236.

21. Ibid., 237.


От северных оков освобождая мир,
Дишь только на поля, струясь, дохнет эфир,
Дишь только первая позеленеет липа,
К тебе, приветливый потомок Аристиппа,
К тебе являюсь я; увижу сей дворец,
Где циркуль зодчего, палитра и резец
Учёной прихоти твоей повиновались
И вдохновенные в волшебстве состязались.

23. Vinogradov, 237.

В этом стихотворении словно предуказана пытливость Соболевского к Западной Европе, словно наперед отмечены его маршрут.


28. Quoted from Puškin, Pis'ma v trex tomax, as Russkij arxiv, 1899, II, 90, is illegible.

Покойный Сергей Александрович Соболевский любил воспоминать о своей поездке в прекрасное Архангельское вместе с Пушкиным. Они ездили ранней весной, верхами,—и просвещённый вельможка Екатеринославских времен встретил их со всей любезностью гостеприимства.


30. Mickiewicz, Dzieła, XIV, 426.

Запознай się z oddawcą listu, Sobolewskim.
On ci obszernie o moim życiu w Moskwie opowie.
Dobry człowiek i mój zacny przyjaciel.


Щипкович отправился путешествовать, и может быть увидится с тобой.

32. Gomolicki, 326-327.
33. Mickiewicz, Dzieła, XIV, 507, note 1.
34. Giergielewicz, 146.
36. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 475.

Я приехал сюда в субботу по утру. ... Еду дней чрез 5 или 8 /если придет Мицкевич/ в Париж.

37. Mickiewicz, Dzieła, XIV, 503-505.
38. Ibid., 504.

Na przyszłą zimę (jeśli nie pierwej) do Paryża na długie zapewne pobyt zjeżdżam.

40. Ibid., 242, note 2.
41. Mickiewicz, Dzieła, XIV, 510-511; facsimile in Vinogradov, 243.
42. Vinogradov, 243. Odyniec's note is not in the Mickiewicz Dzieła, but is given in facsimile by Vinogradov at the cited location.
43. Ibid., 243-244.
44. Ibid., 250; Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 493.
45. Vinogradov, 245.
46. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 477.
47. Ibid., 479.

Совсем ли прокопчен Мицкевич? Отрезъ ломо-
tик и скушай с горчицей. . . .

48. Ibid., 482.

Я много хлопочу о том, чтобы мне на лето соеди-
nиться с Рожалиным и Киреевским и пропататься по студенчески, ибо жить более столичное мне уже зело тяжело. Шататься же вероятно будем по верхней Италии, Тироли, Швейцарии и верхней части Рейна. Тебя не зову, ибо не надеюсь на воз-
можность; но поговори об этом Адаму Адамовичу 
Вральману и позоветуй ему скорее сбыть с рук 
Неаполь. . . .
In the Ševyrev correspondence Sobolevskij often refers to Mickiewicz as "Adam Adamovič Vral'man." His reason may have had to do with the character of that name in Fonvizin's Nedorosł'; that character is a foreigner who becomes a teacher in Russia for want of a better position. Mickiewicz gave lessons while in exile. Another obvious link is the name "Adam," borne by both. Yet another may have to do with some speech peculiarity of Mickiewicz' in speaking Russian which Sobolevskij may have associated with the heavy accent of Vral'man in the play.

49. Ibid., 482.

Я хочу устроить прогулку по Швейцарии гурьбою и выписать на сей конец Адама Адамовича Вра́л'мана. See II-21 above also. /t.e., Микуевича/.

50. Ibid., 484.

51. Mickiewicz, Dzieła, XIV, 553-565.

52. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 484-485; see II

53. Vinogradov, 247.

Они съехались вместе в Женеву почти одновременно.

54. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 484-486.

55. Vinogradov, 247.

... непрочь от пешеходства ... летом и собирается видеть Швейцарию. ..

56. Ibid.

Я ему говорил о твоем предложении, он был согласен; стоит тебе ехать туда и верно уговоришь его.

57. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 485. See the original text complete on pages 63-64.
58. Vinogradov, 248.
... и потому, что мне здесь хорошо, и потому что я оканчивая здесь мои записи.

59. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 487.
Пишу свои записи. ...

60. Mickiewicz, PSS-5, V, 644ff.

61. Mickiewicz, DzieJa, XIV, 566-567.


63. Vinogradov, 250.
Ныне же вы можете доставить себе мое любезное письмо в посредством нескольких сотен франков. Спросите у Шевырева, что именно это обозначает.

64. Ibid., note 1.

65. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 495.
Честь иметь поздравить с басурманским праздником.

66. Ibid., 497.
Я в Мюнхен приехал 4 июня с 15 франками и 200 франков долга. С тех пор получил 2200, ездил по Швейцарии, заплатил долг и имею теперь в кассе 350 франков, доехать по крайне мере к 14 января до Флоренции, а может быть и Рима, следствио après avoir dépensé moins que deux mille francs en sept mois et en voyagéant. Правда, что с 1-го января до 14 июля было истрачено гибелно; да за то истрачено в Париже, в Лондоне, пропито на Рейне в Johannisberger-schloss; за то Сергей Александрович одет как куколка и снабжен всякими английскими fashion'абильством: щетками, пилками, ножками, ножницами, умывальниками и проч., что было у Онегина в турпоезде; за то напечатано в Morning-Herald что он известный fashionable, пленивший полк итальянских сердец.

Он жил в Италии, Франции, Испании, Англии. Везде сближался с самым интеллигентным народом. В Риме близко сошёлся с Мицкевичем /которого он знал еще в Петербурге/ и с другим его, гр. Генрихом Ржеуским, ... тогда просто мимым со­беседником и безподобным рассказчиком всего им виденного, а видел он очень много. Эти-то чудес­ные рассказы и настроили Мицкевича, что ни день, убеждать друга взяться за перо. ... Подошедший 1830 год изменил отношения трех приятелей. Ляжи стали жарить; не вполне высказываться, особенно Ржеуский; Мицкевич держался прочно. Он открыл Соболевскому, что его зовут советчики в край воо­душевлять их своими песнями; что ему сильно не хочется, так как он не разделяет их взглядов на революцию, однако ... ехать вселки придется. Потом стал готовиться к путь, но был так не ло­вок и не опыт в этом деле, до такой степени требовал языки, что Соболевский решил помочь его беде,—разменял ему деньги, выправил паспорт, купил необходимые в дороге вещи и посадил поэта в мальпост, но Мицкевич, по прибытии на место /куда именно—неизвестно/ нашел, что играть роль одуванчика воинов поздно: воины бежали в нестройных толпах в Европу. /Слышал от самого Соболевского./ Мицкевич застрял на некоторое . время в имени старого приятеля Грабовского, недалеко от Познани, и тут задумал свои знаме­нитую поэму Пан Тадеуш.

68. Ksenia Kostenicz, Legion Włoski и "Trybuna Ludów:"
Styczeń 1848–grudzień 1849. In series Kronika
życia i twórczości Mickiewicza, edited by
Stanisław Pigoń (Warsaw, 1969), IV, 358.

Je me souviens, qu'ayant diné chez Madame
Guiccioli, le 19 octobre 1848, avec Napoléon,
qui visait à la Présidence (il fut élu quelques
jours après), et m'étant moqué de lui, j'allai
le soir même en faire part à Mickiewicz, et
qu'il me conduisit chez Cavaignac pour que je
pusse [sic] voir le même jour, disait-il, le
soleil couchant après le soleil levant. Il
venait de faire son voyage d'Italie; et il
racontait avec beaucoup d'humor mille anecdotes
sur l'armée italienne, leurs désordres etc.
En général, Mickiewicz était redevenu le
Mickiewicz d'autrefois. (See p. 208 for the
Russian version of this passage.)

69. Vinogradov, 258-261.
70. Mickiewicz, PSS-5, V, 691-693.
71. Ibid. See Appendix A for the full Russian text.
72. Vinogradov, 251.
73. Mickiewicz, Dzieła, XIV, 584.

Pojutrze wyjeżdjam do Turynu, stamtąd do Genewy.

74. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 479.
75. Ibid., 478-479.
Я еду девятого апреля в Лондон.

76. Ibid., 481.
77. Ibid., 480.
Мы с Микешевичем и сюда добрались после около
трехнедельного путешествия.

78. Ibid., 497-498.
Микешевич я отправил девятого с сокрушенным
сердцем в Генф.

80. Sobolevskij, Letters to Ševyrev, 493.
81. Mickiewicz, PSS-5, V, 806.
82. Gorski, 150.
Микешевич не мог выехать из Рима из-за отсут-
ствия денег. Соболевский помог ему уладить
dенежные дела и 19 апреля 1831 г. они вместе
покинули Италию: Соболевский ехал в Лондон,
a Микешевич—в Польшу.

83. Ibid.

85. Vinogradov, 255-256.


87. Vinogradov, 73, note.

88. Vinogradov, 257.

Mon cher Serge, Fâché de ne pas vous avoir encore serré la main. Je suis presque toujours chez moi. Mais samedi je vous attends officielle-lement depuis la levée du soleil jusqu'à une heure de l'après-midi—ne manquez pas de venir ou bien j'irai droit chez vous en plein jour, accompagné de toutes les terreae imaginables. A. Mic.

89. Ibid., 83.


91. Vinogradov, 83-84.

92. Mickiewicz, *Dzieła*, XVI, 175.

93. Ibid., 163-281.


95. Vinogradov, 84.

96. Ibid., 260, note 2. А.И. Тургенев отмечает неоднократные массовые высылки русских из Парижа в тридцатые годы. В дальнейшие годы революционных вспышек, очевидно, если не было высылок, то были запрещения въезда. Этим объясняются зияющие пробелы в документах Соболевского, когда целые месяцы его секретных поездок в Париж не отмечалось нигде, ни в документах, ни в письмах. Мы имеем немало таких глухих указаний. Мерине отмечает один такой нелегальный приезд Соболевского во Францию в письме к Лагрене и добавляет, что Соболевский рассчитывает, что ему это пройдет бес-наказанно.
97. Vinogradov, Merime v pis'max k Dubenskoj. Pis'ma sem'e Lagrene. (Moscow, 1937), 63. Inasmuch as from now until the end of this study we will be dealing not only with this work of Vinogradov, but also with that which has occupied our attention before, it becomes necessary to change the method of referring to the former in footnotes. Henceforth that which heretofore has been referred to simply as "Vinogradov" will be called "Vinogradov: Sobolevskij;" the 1937 book will be called "Vinogradov: Dubenskaja."

98. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 84.

99. Ibid., 96.

100. Mickiewicz, DzieJa, XVI, 281-350.


102. Mickiewicz, DzieJa, XVI, 402-406.
APPENDIX A: SOBOLEVSKIJ'S LETTER TO MALEWSKI
Taken from Mickiewicz, PSS-5, 691-695.

Мне трудно сообщить вам в письме что-либо особо
бенно интересное о нашем друге. Я всегда любил своих
друзей за дружбу, которую они проявляли мне, и не
посому, что они были великими людьми или могли стать
историческими личностями в будущем; по этой причине
у меня никогда не зарождалась мысль записывать собы-
тия их жизни, дела их и слова. Если бы вы уже напи-
сали воспоминания об Адаме, я мог бы, прочитав их,
внести уточнения или пополнить новыми фактами, но
мне невозможно знать заранее, чего вам может недоста-
вать и что я в состоянии добавить. У меня никогда не-
хватало терпения вести дневник, но я обнаружил отрыв-
ки записных книжек, и в них некоторые записи, которые
могут представить для вас интерес. Вот они:
2 февраля 1831 года я находился на последней
сигнации перед Римом. "Папа избран, —сказали мне,— и
его возведение на престол состоится сегодня утром в
соборе св. Петра." Я быстро переоделся и явились туда.
Первый, кого я там встретил, был Мицкевич. Мы виделись
с ним ежедневно, совершаем вместе прогулки и загород-
ные поездки, встречаемся у Александра Голицына, жена-
того на некой Ходкевич, у княгини Энеиды, у Генрика
Ржевскаго и т. д. Я нашел Мицкевича более или менее
dовольным своей судьбой, но в то же время снедаемым
какой-то печалью, или вернее, какой-то мучительной
заботой. Он признал мне, что опечален тем, что на-
ходится не в Польше; хотя он и был убежден, что вос-
стание не может дать положительных результатов, и что
он будет иметь пагубные последствия, он, как нацио-
нальный поэт, считал себя обязанным быть вместе с вос-
ставшим. "Почему же вы не там?"—"Я отдых все, что у
меня было, г-ну X, молодому человеку из Познани, что-
бы он мог отправиться туда."—"И он не вернул вам эти
dеньги?"—"Нет." На следующий день, когда я был у
Адама, дело выяснилось. Оказалось, что в письме, ко-
торое Мiцкевич получил от этого молодого человека, и
которое он считал простым кляком бумаги, была самая
подлинная доверенность на имя Валентини, моего рим-
ского банкира, на следующий день выплатившего указан-
ную сумму. Таким образом, я дал своей родине одного
лишнего противника.

Мы решили двинуться на север, я—в Лондон, он—в
Польшу. Два дня спустя Голицын, его жена, его сын, их
художник—некий Владимир Хвошинский, Мицкевич и я тро-
нулись в путь в двух больших экипажах, или vetturini. Я нашел в своих бумагах описание нашего маршрута.
Выехали 19 апреля, ночевали в Чивита-Кастельяна; прогулка с Адамом по окрестным дорогам.
20, среда. Ночевка в Терни, дальняя прогулка к водопаду.
21, четверг. Ночевка в Фолиньо; прекрасный не-законченный Рафаэль у Греторик.
22, пятница. Обед в Перуджии, ночевали в какой-то придорожной лачуге.
23, суббота. Озеро, прекрасная рыба. Монтепуль-чиано, превосходный серый колорит.
24, воскресенье. Приехали во Флоренцию.
Путешествие было весьма забавно. Голицын и его сын выступали как русские патриоты, князья, два сына которой, Ходкевичи, были в польской армии, беспись, Хвошинский и я были то на одной, то на другой стороне. Непрерывные споры, ссоры, и примирения. В самом польском лагере также были раздоры, так как князья верили в успех, а Мицкевич не только не верил в успех, но и в его продолжительность и хорошие последствия, в случае если бы он был достигнут.
25, 26, 27. Во Флоренции, отель Йорк.
28, Отезд в салезио вдвоем; ночевали в дороге.
29, Пятница. В Болонье, вечером.
30, суббота. В Болонье, в гостинице св. Марка.
1, воскресенье. Отезд; обед в Модене; ночевка в Реджино.
2, мая. Обед в Парме, ночевка в Фиоренцоуле, прогулка, ужин, прощанье.

Мы рассставались со слабой надеждой увидеться когда-либо снова. Однако все вдруг по-иному! Не позднее осени 1837 года мы обнялись в Париже. Я застал Адама женатым и отцом семейства. Я нашел в своих бумагах записку, относящуюся к этому периоду; она, можно полагать, была написана в 1838 году, так как я оставался всю зиму в Париже: "Сергей Соболевскому.

Господин и госпожа Мицкевич просят вас оказать им честь и явиться на обед в будущий понедельник, 10 апреля, в пять часов пополудни на улицу Марэ-Сен-Жермен, 18.

Вы получите вволю борща, хрену и хлеба.
Преданный вам Адам Мицкевич."

Этот период—самый тяжелый из всех тех, в которые я виделся с Мицкевичем, так как у него не было никаких надежд и его удерживало множество забот. Сперва мне показалось, что он стесняется меня, но постепенно искренность и доверие были восстановлены. Он ненавидел правительства Луи-Филиппа и соглашался, что единственный монарх, достойный этого названия—Николай. Что касается поляков, то он не встречался почти ни с
кем из них, и поляки не любили его за горькие истины, которые он им высказывал.

1844 год. Я нахожу записку:
"Мой дорогой Сережа, я очень огорчен, что до сих пор не пожал вам руку. Я почти непрерывно дома, но в субботу жду вас оф и и а ль но с восхода солнца до часу пополудни. Приходите обязательно, не то я отправлюсь прямо к вам среди бела дня с соблюдением всех шумных почесть. А. М."

Насколько я припоминаю, на этот раз я нашел М. менее угроженным, чем в предыдущий приезд, но воспитанным братом в эпиграфах и в союзе со всеми партиями, разъединявшими тогда поляков.

Позднее мы встречались в следующие периоды: ноябрь 1846—весна 1847, октябрь 1847—весна 1848, ноябрь и декабрь.

Особенно часто виделись мы в этот последний период. Я вспоминаю между прочим, как после обеда у г-жи Гвиччоли в октябре 1848 года вместе с Наполеоном, метившим в президенты /он и был избран несколько дней спустя/, над чем я посмеялся, я в тот же вечер отправился к Мицкевичу рассказать ему об этом; он повел меня к Кавеньку, чтобы я мог увидеть в один и тот же день заходящее солнце после восходящего, как он выразился. Он вернулся недавно из поездки в Италию и рассказывая с большим юмором тысячи анекдотов об итальянской армии, о всяких непорядках у них и т. д.

Словом, Мицкевич стал прежним Мицкевичем.

21 декабря 1848 /это день отмечу у меня/ я зашел к нему проститься. На этот раз мы не испытывали ни малейшего опасения, что никогда больше не увидимся, и тем не менее я уже больше не видел его.

Знайте, что некий Дубровский написал в 1858 и 1859 году ряд статей о жизни и, главным образом, о произведениях Мицкевича. Собрав эти статьи, он выпустил книгу, посвящив ее мне, что не исключило его аналитической части, быть ничтожной и пошлой. Вы найдете оба ее тома у книготорговца Александра Ильича Глазунова. Она чисится в его каталоге за номерами 7496 и 7497.

Если у вас найдется время /у очень занятых людей оно всегда есть/, напишите мне несколько слов и сообщите, как вы намереваетесь использовать собранные вами сведения о Мицкевиче.

/Что? касается меня самого, то еще в октябре месяце я был молодым человеком; но я получил о с т е р е ж е н и е: маленький нервный удар, продолжавшийся до конца недель и приведший меня к заключению, что я похалуй, больше уже не могу считать себя светским франтом. Этот удар к счас-
тью лишь временно парализовал мою речь, вследствие чего я в течение нескольких дней говорил заплетающимся языком. Теперь все это прошло, очевидно, до второго предстережения.
Затем, конечно, последует третье, и, наконец, запрещение издавать газету.
Постараемся вести себя хорошо и оттянуть это запрещение на возможно долгий срок; придется отказаться также от венгерского вина. Увы!

Весь ваш
Сергей Соболевский

12/24—1868. Более сорока лет знакомства с Вами.‡‡

1. The portion of this letter appearing between the symbols ‡‡ does not appear in PSS-5; it is taken from Vinogradov, page 261.
CHAPTER V
SOBOLEVSKIJ AND MÉRIMÉE

In 1825 and 1826 Jacques and Virginie Ancelot had passed some half a year in Russia as members of the suite of Marshal Marmont attending the festivities surrounding the coronation of Nikolaj I. Jacques Ancelot chronicled his impressions of this unknown land in his book *Six Mois en Russie*, published in Paris in 1828. As a result of the friendly feelings which both Ancelots subsequently entertained toward Russians, their home in Paris became a gathering-place for visitors from Russia. Among these were Sobolevskij and A.I. Turgenev, brother of the Decembrist and the man apparently responsible for Sobolevskij's not being expelled from the Blagorodnyj Pansion in St. Petersburg in July, 1819.

In her memoirs Virginie Ancelot recalled that it was precisely Turgenev who introduced Sobolevskij to her: "Ce bon M. Tourguénief me presenta une foule d'aimables Russes: ... M. Soboleski, etc., etc..."[sic] The young Prosper Mérimée and his elder friend and literary mentor Henri Beyle-Stendhal were also frequent visitors with Mme. Ancelot. It was probably in her house that the Russian and the Frenchman met, during the autumn of 1829.

On December 25, 1829, Sobolevskij wrote to his friend Ivan Kireevskij:
In the house of Ancelot . . . I meet all the mediocrity of the political and scientific world, such as Alfred de Vigny, Soumth, Mérimée (the author of the Théâtre de Clara Gazul), V. Hugo....

Mérimée, too, wrote of his new friendship, incidentally providing a brief character sketch of the energetic young Sobolevskij not at all at variance with those left by his Russian friends of the period. In a letter written in English to his London friend Sutton Sharpe on January 2, 1830, Mérimée reported: "In the meantime came a tall Russian Mr. Sobolewsky, who has besieged the place and is ready to storm it."

Sobolevskij was only six days older than Mérimée: the former was born 10/22 September 1803, and the latter, September 28, 1803. Their deaths would occur within a month of each other: Sobolevskij died 6/18 October 1870, while Mérimée had preceded him on September 23. Their equalities in age, literary tastes, bibliophilism, and confirmed bachelorhood (coupled with their decided proclivities for the opposite sex, indulged by both to a great degree) made them eventually the closest of friends; and this friendship had great effect on the literary life of Mérimée.

Literary life in Paris in the early months of 1830 was focussed on the preparations for, and the aftermath of, the premiere of a new play by Victor Hugo: Hernani. Sobolevskij was fully conversant with the arguments of the two literary camps of the day, the classicists,
typified by his new friends Stendhal and Mérimée, and the newly-emerging romanticists, of whom Hugo was himself the prime example and champion. Sobolevskij was by taste inclined to follow the classicists; but he was still very interested, as a matter of course, in the premiere. Mérimée wrote Hugo in February asking for tickets for Sobolevskij to attend the premiere, calling him "un poète russe très aimable et romantique [sic!] jusqu'au bout des ongles. . . ."

Sobolevskij looked forward to the first performance, in a letter to Ševyrev (in Rome, not in Russia, as Vinogradov has it) of February 6, 1830. He also reported to Ševyrev on March 9 about the author's claque of supporters. Yet there is no indication in his available correspondence for the period that he actually did attend the premiere, nor does Mérimée say he went: this leads one to believe, in spite of an unsupported comment that he did so made by Mérimée's biographer A.W. Raitt, that he in fact for some unknown reason did not attend. If he had, he would have certainly described such an important event at great length and in detail in at least one letter to one of his literary friends. But there is only the already-mentioned description of the claquers in the March 9 letter, and indeed that description could have been compiled from descriptions of the event gleaned in the salons which he frequented.
Sobolevskij and Mérimée left Paris in the spring of 1830—Sobolevskij to England on April 10, Mérimée to Spain on June 27. But the friendship which sprang up between them during this short period of first acquaintanceship lasted their lifetimes.

A.K. Vinogradov found no correspondence between Sobolevskij and Mérimée concerning this first period. But that new friendship obviously provided material for conversation between Sobolevskij and Aleksandr Puškin when the former returned to Russia in 1833; and such conversation resulted in the first correspondence between Sobolevskij and his French friend.

In 1827 there had appeared, anonymously, Mérimée’s anthology La Guzla, ou choix de poésies illyriques récueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, la Croatie et l'Herzégovine. This work, which purported to be a collection of prose translations of authentic folk poetry, caught the eye of both Puškin and Mickiewicz, each of whom translated individual songs from the collection. When the Russian poet was in 1834 preparing to publish his translations in his collection Songs of the Western Slavs he asked Sobolevskij to inquire of Mérimée the origins of the songs. Sobolevskij wrote to Mérimée; and the latter responded in his famous letter of January 18, 1835, stating that La Guzla was a forgery in the Ossian tradition, written to mock the then-current penchant for local color and also to secure funds for
Mérimée to make a trip through Illyria. Mérimée ended his letter with the modest, yet proud, comment:

_Faites mes excuses à M. Pouchkine. Je suis fier et honteux à la fois de l'avoir attrapé. Je vous serais fort obligé si vous pouviez m'envoyer un autographe de lui._ . . . 15

When Puškin's verse translations appeared in his _Works_ in 1835, Volume IV contained his preface to the translations, with Mérimée's letter inserted in full. The Russian at this time rendered his high evaluation of his Parisian colleague, at the same time mentioning Mickiewicz' being trapped into believing in the songs' originality also:

_The greater part of these songs is taken by me from a book which appeared in Paris at the end of 1827 under the title of La Guzla. . . . [The] unknown anthologist was none other than Mérimée, a keen and original writer, the author of the Theater of Clara Gazul, of the Chronicle of the Reign of Charles IX, of the Double Méprise and of other works, which are extraordinarily noteworthy in the deep and lamentable decline of contemporary French literature. The poet Mickiewicz, a vigilant and keen critic and a connoisseur of Slavic poetry, did not doubt the authenticity of these songs._ . . . 16

Years later Mérimée found the preface and his letter in an edition of Puškin and reported on it to Sobolevskij in his letter of August 31, 1849, written while the recipient was in Spain. 17

In 1855 Sobolevskij told Longinov that Puškin often referred to having been fooled by Mérimée, but always laughingly consoled himself that in this he was not alone—that Mickiewicz, too, had been caught: "C'est
It is precisely at this point that we find the only concatenation of all the figures under discussion in the present work: Puškin and Mickiewicz were both trapped—unwittingly, of course—by Mérimée; and the man who knew them all—Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij—was in the middle of the explanation. Mickiewicz became aware eventually of the Mérimée letter of explanation to Sobolevskij: On March 19, 1841, in the twenty-second lecture of his series at the Collège de France, while discussing translations of Slavic poetry, Mickiewicz cited the letter without mentioning Sobolevskij by name. One wonders if the Polish poet ever met his French colleague. There seems to be no documentary evidence that he did so; but the two men lived in Paris simultaneously for many years. Interestingly enough, it seems never to have crossed Sobolevskij's mind to introduce his friends to each other during those periods of his visits to the French capital when both Mérimée and Mickiewicz were also there. Perhaps further investigation will show that they did in fact meet; but that seems quite unlikely: if such had been the case, assuredly biographers of either Mérimée or Mickiewicz would have reported the event.

Sobolevskij returned to Paris on January 10, 1837, and was there until June. A.K. Vinogradov states
that the only bit of correspondence in his archives for the period is Mérimée's visiting card. He then spends considerable time building a case for Sobolevskij's beginning to teach Mérimée Russian during this period; but he offers as supporting evidence only two notes to the Russian from A. Pogožev, requesting the return of some Russian books which Sobolevskij had borrowed. In these notes Pogožev twice mentions that the books were intended for his cousin, Mme. de Lagrené: this lady was to become Mérimée's teacher of Russian, and she may or may not have played a tantalizingly obscure role as indirect personal link between Mérimée and Aleksandr Puškin.

Mme. de Lagrené, née Varvara Dubenskaja, married in 1834 Théodore de Lagrené, secretary of the French Embassy in Petersburg, and left with her new husband for France. In 1836-1843 Lagrené was French Minister in Athens; and in December of 1843 he was named Minister to Peking, whither he took his family, and where he lived until May of 1846. Mérimée had met the family in Athens in 1841.

Much earlier, in 1828, in Petersburg, this very Théodore de Lagrené, as a junior embassy secretary, had become the object of the wrath of A.S. Puškin, who challenged him to a duel. Puškin's second, Nikolaj Vasil'evič Putjata, later to become President of the Society of the Lovers of Russian Literature, quotes in his memoirs the letter written him by Puškin at the outset of the affair:
M'étant approché hier d'une dame, qui parlait à m-r de Lagrené, celui-ci lui dit assez haut pour que je l'entendisse: "renvoyez-le!" Me trouvant forcé de demander raison de ce propos, je vous prie, monsieur, de vouloir bien vous rendre auprès de m-r de Lagrené et de lui parler au conséquence. Pouchkine.26

Fortunately, Putjata was able to prevent the duel: Lagrené stated that he had said no such thing and would not dare to jeopardize the life of the man whom he called Russia's greatest poet (acute testimony to Lagrené's literary sensitivity). Putjata brought the two men together, they shook hands, and even dined together the next day.27

In both his books A.K. Vinogradov states flatly that the lady involved was Varvara Dubenskaja.28 He offers no evidence to support this claim. Putjata gallantly does not mention the name of the lady. Cjavlovskij, in whose work the event first attracted the attention of the present author, does not mention her name.29 Dubenskaja-Lagrené's name occurs only once in the Academy edition of Puškin's works, and then not in something of Puškin's, but only in a letter of Žukovskij of January 29, 1834.30

It would be indeed interesting to know that the woman who eventually taught Mérimée Russian was acquainted with Puškin, and had been indirectly the cause of a duel between the poet and her own future husband; but that will probably never be proven. Even more piquant is the
apparent fact that, during the period when she was working with Mérimée on the intricacies of Russian grammar, she seems never to have recommended that he read the works of Puškin—the man her husband considered the greatest Russian poet—, preferring instead to recommend Žukovskij. Could it be that in her failure to cite Puškin to Mérimée is reflected this incident of 1828?

Sobolevskij's third trip to western Europe occurred between January and August 1844; he was in Paris from mid-May to mid-June, as was Mérimée. His archives contain no indication that the two met at this time. Only in 1848 and 1849, in the middle of the Russian's fourth trip, did a personal correspondence arise. Vinogradov found in Sobolevskij's archives twenty-one letters dating from January 2, 1849, to September 9, 1863. It is also during this time that Mérimée's study of Russian most probably began—that study which would continue to occupy him until the end of his life.

The question of the date of Mérimée's first attempts to learn Russian has received considerable attention. The most reasonable period seems to be 1848-1849. Unfortunately for scholars, however, there exists a letter of Mérimée, written in Russian in his own hand, dated December 25, 1839, and addressed to Barbe Lagrené; Vinogradov presents it in facsimile, but it strangely has
not been included by Maurice Parturier in his superb edition of the correspondence of Mérimée. Authorities agree, for various reasons, that the hand-written date is an error; but proposed corrections vary between 1846 and 1849. The latter date seems most likely. Letters in French to Mme. de Lagrange for much of 1848 and 1849 are full of requests for aid in deciphering simple grammatical points and vocabulary (for example, No. 1343 of February-March 1848: No. 1344, the same; No. 1504 of August 31, 1849). It therefore seems quite unlikely that Mérimée could have written a letter as relatively sophisticated as that under discussion any earlier than 1849, and indeed the very date "1839" is probably only a slip of the pen for "1849."

Regardless of all this, however, and although no proof exists to support this statement, it seems highly likely that it was none other than Sobolevskij who introduced Mérimée to Russian literature and some of the intricacies of the language as early as their first meetings in 1829-1830. Certainly Mérimée, interested as he was in languages, would have welcomed an opportunity to receive even a little exposure to a language as exotic as Russian was in those days. Certainly, on each of the succeeding of Sobolevskij's trips, if the two friends met, they talked about things of mutual interest; and, after the exchange of letters regarding *La Guzla*, that
work and its Puškin translation would certainly have played a large role in their conversation. Perhaps the final impetus to learn Russian was provided by an as yet unknown meeting of Sobolevskij and Mérimée during the Russian's visit to the French capital between November 14, 1846, and January 2, 1847.

As noted, there are several letters from Mérimée to the Lagrenés belonging to 1847 and 1848; all are in French. By February or March of 1848 he asked Barbe the meanings of several words, which he wrote in Cyrillic characters. Between then and September he seems to have been in the midst of concentrating on the language. On September 25, 1848, he addressed a long letter (cited in another context on page 194) in French to Barbe with the following lines, indicative of the beginning stages of his work and the concern therein of Sobolevskij:

Cependant j'ai eu une leçon de Sobolevski, qui est tombé dans ma chambre l'autre jour venant de Naples. Il prétend qu'on ne se fachera pas du tout qu'il reste un mois à Paris. Il m'a complimenté sur ma prononciation. Moi j'ai trouvé la sienne horiblement gutturale. Ses "m" et ses "r" me paraissent lui sortir du fond des entrailles. Il m'a conseillé de lire de la prose de Pouchkine.

By August 31, 1849, he was able to report to Barbe:

J'espère au commencement d'Octobre vous retrouver à Paris, et reprendre mes études russes. À ce propos, je viens de lire Boris Godounof de Pouchkine, qui m'a plu fort, bien que cela sente un peu trop son imitation de Goetz de Berlichingen. Cela m'a donné envie de lire dans Karamzine l'histoire du faux Démétrius qui m'a paru bien mal contée. Enfin, j'ai voulu lire la relation d'un aventurier français, un capitaine Margeret.

* * *
The letter dated December 25, "1839," probably belongs in the sequence at about this point, although, as noted, Parturier does not include it at all in the Correspondance Générale; and it represents Mérimée's first attempt to compose a letter in Russian, rather than being a means of showing Barbe Lagrené in 1846 that he already knows some Russian, as Vinogradov claims.

The next letter bears the date "August 26, 1850," in Mérimée's hand, and contains two long paragraphs in Russian. Only one more letter, that of August 9, 1852, is in Russian, although Mérimée's correspondence with the members of the Lagrené family continued to the very year of his death, and the Vinogradov collection contains 89 such, in many of which appear expressions or individual words in Russian, written in Cyrillic characters. The Parturier collection, which cites the Vinogradov collection as a source, contains but 88, with the "1839" letter, as noted, omitted.

Regardless of his limited ability to handle Russian as an active skill, Mérimée had an excellent passive command of it. For most of the remaining twenty years of his life he served as a major propagandizer in western Europe for the newly-emerging literature of Russia. His activity in this field, beginning with his July 15, 1849, translation of Puškin's Queen of Spades in the Revue des deux mondes and continuing through March 1, 1870, when
appeared a volume of Turgenev,\textsuperscript{47} has been fully discussed by eminent scholars. (Probably the best such discussion is that of Henri Mongault which appears as the introductory essay to the two-volume \textit{Études de littérature russe} which comprise Volumes X and XI of Mérimée's \textit{Oeuvres complètes} and which appeared in 1931 and 1932 respectively.)

Vinogradov\textsuperscript{48} is wrong when he states that Mérimée's \textit{Queen of Spades} was the first translation of a work of Puškin into French. P.J. Emile Dupré de Saint Maure in 1823 published an \textit{Anthologie russe} which contained "Épisode du premier chant de Rouslan et Ludmila."\textsuperscript{49} Further, in 1846-1847 appeared Dupont's two-volume \textit{Oeuvres choisies de A.S. Pouchkin [sic]},\textsuperscript{50} containing among other shorter works \textit{Eugene Onegin}, \textit{Boris Godunov}, \textit{Ruslan and Rudmila}, \textit{The Gypsies}, \textit{The Bronze Horseman}, \textit{The Stone Guest}, \textit{Graf Nulin}, and \textit{Poltava}. Prince Vjazemskij had aided Dupont in the preparation of these volumes. Vladimir Boutchik's fascinating and erudite "Essai sur le destin de la littérature russe en France," which appears as the introduction to his important \textit{La Littérature russe en France}, gives an excellent picture of the interest of the French in Russian literature between 1757 and its date of publication (c. 1947?),\textsuperscript{51} and should be carefully examined by anyone interested in this question.

Significantly to the purposes of the present work,
Mérimée in choosing the subject for his first translation took seriously the already-quoted advice of Sobolevskij to read Puškin's prose: Queen of Spades and the best of the Mérimée stories ("Mateo Falcone," "Ames du purgatoire," "Carmen" and others) are remarkably similar in style. Mérimée found that Puškin had written "... des choses magnifiques, tout à fait selon mon coeur, c'est-à-dire grecques par la vérité et la simplicité." MÉrimée summarized the Russian's great appeal for him in his article of 1868, "Alexandre Pouchkine:"

S'il fallait résumer en quelques mots le caractère des poèmes de Pouchkine, il faudrait noter la simplicité de la composition, la sobriété des détails, et surtout le tact exquis qui les fait choisir.

The same evaluation applies to Puškin's prose and to the best of that of Mérimée himself.

In his 1927 study to which we have had many opportunities to refer, A.K. Vinogradov published twenty-one letters from Mérimée to Sobolevskij, dated 1849 or later. He reproduced facsimiles of twenty of them. He also gave the Russian translation of the Guzla letter. Further, he presented Russian translations of all twenty facsimiles, in each instance retaining all second person plurals as such, contrary to his already-discussed reprehensible tactic of changing them to second person singular constructions in the Mickiewicz correspondence.

Unfortunately, most of the Mérimée letters are undated; that seems to have been Mérimée's habit. Yet
fortunately Sobolevskij later in life acquired the good habit of dating letters upon receipt; therefore most of the later correspondence has at least an approximate date. There is still another, and far greater, misfortune, however: there are no letters from Sobolevskij to Mérimée. When the French author's apartment was burned during the Commune in 1871, all of his archives were destroyed. Therefore we have but a one-sided correspondence.

Maurice Parturier, in preparing the Mérimée correspondence for publication, seems to have taken all the letters to Sobolevskij from Vinogradov. Wisely, however, the French scholar always cites in his footnotes the facsimiles as the source he used. Inasmuch as all the letters appear in both sources, the present work will also cite Vinogradov's facsimiles, which are quite easy to read.

On December 28, 1848, Mérimée wrote for Sobolevskij a letter of introduction to the Countess Montijo; the Russian was about to undertake his trip to Spain, and obviously Mérimée was happy to introduce him to his Spanish friends:

Chère Comtesse, M. Serge Sobolewski qui vous remettra cette lettre est un gentilhomme russe de mes meilleurs amis, grand voyageur qui se propose de visiter toute l'Espagne. Permettez-moi de vous le recommander très particulièrement. Je lui ai fait un si beau portrait de votre pays, qu'il m'accuse d'exagération, mais je suis sûr, comme c'est un homme d'esprit, qu'il ne le trouvera pas flatté. Vous m'obligeriez beaucoup en le mettant en rela-
While Sobolevskij was on this trip, the correspondence with Mérimée began. On August 31, 1849, Mérimée addressed to the Russian traveller some of his thoughts on the newly-discovered Russian literature:

Comment se fait il qu'avec votre expérience vous croyiez encore aux reclames de Journaux? comment avez vous su supposer que j'ecrirais sur Pouchkine autrement que sous votre dictée. Non, j'ai traduit tout bonnement une nouvelle...

Obviously Sobolevskij had heard of Mérimée's *Queen of Spades* translation even across the Pyrenees. Of more interest than that, however, is Mérimée's implication that he would write about Puškin with Sobolevskij's help. It will be seen below how this may have indeed come about.

Although, according to Vinogradov, the Sobolevskij archives show no records of it, Mérimée and the Russian traveller, as Sobolevskij's family tradition has it, spent several days together in the South of France in the late autumn of 1849, upon Sobolevskij's return to France from Spain. That tradition adds that they were joined by the Countess Montijo and her daughter, Eugenia, soon to become Empress of France. Furthermore, the Russian gossip columnists of the day reported that Sobolevskij long played the role of chevalier servant to Eugenia, although he was more than twice her age.

This bit of legend found its way into the poetic descrip-
tion of Sobolevskij written by the Countess Rostopčina and appearing in Chapter One of the present study.

Sobolevskij passed the winter of 1849-1850 in Paris and saw Mérimée during the period. On December 28, 1849, Mérimée wrote to Countess Montijo that he and Sobolevskij were discussing a joint trip to Galicia for the next year. And the two men dined together several times—most of the correspondence for the period is limited strictly to such invitations.

On March 15, 1850, Mérimée wrote a note to Sobolevskij in Russian, which is here adduced with all its imperfections as exemplary of the Frenchman's command of Russian at this time:

Любезный друг, хотите ли выправится от вашего друга за Гаванским если сын Мадам Merlin [sic] женился в Гаване. Мне говорят что он вышел за муж с какой-то девочке очень богатой из Кубы. Я желаю гораздо знать то правда ли. Кажется он остал там какою небудь влюбленную красавицу, и она ожидает с большой тоске эту новость для самоубийства. Прощайте. Марта 15, 1850 года.

Dear friend, do you want to find out from your Havana friend if the son of Madame Merlin married in Havana. They tell me that he got married to some very rich girl from Cuba. I very much want to know if that is true. It seems he left there some enamoured girl and she is waiting in great sadness for this news for suicide. Farewell. March 15, 1850.

The letter has no innate value. But it does show a fairly good dilettantish command of the language, with the types of grammatical and usage errors (e.g., the confusion of masculine and feminine versions of the "to get
married" formula) commonly made by students even of today. One feels that, if Mérimée could use Russian actively this relatively well, after less than two years of intermittent study with an amateur teacher, he would have had very little trouble, vocabulary aside, in translating into French.

Sobolevskij left Paris in March of 1850. A year and a half later Mérimée made the acquaintance of his old schoolfellow Lev Sergeevi¢ Puškin. He noted the event in a letter of August 28, 1851, written to Varvara Dubenskaja-Lagrené:

J'ai fait connaissance avec le frère de Pouchkine qui est à Paris. C'est un negre blanc très drôle, homme d'esprit et un peu fou. Il parle très bien de son frère et sans admiration outrée.

On August 10 Mérimée had written to Lev Sergeevi¢ a brief note inquiring into the whereabouts of the exiled Decembrist N.I. Turgenev, commenting in passing on a translation of the Iliad. This is the only known contact between the two men.

Thus once more Mérimée came into brief touch with a person close to Aleksandr Puškin; but this particular meeting seems to have left no trace on Mérimée's life or work beyond some trifling vocabulary corrections which Lev made on the Queen of Spades translation. Mérimée reported on this aspect of the visit, his own consequent embarrassment, and the corrections to be included in the
soon-to-appear second edition in a letter to Sobolevskij dated April 14, 1852. 65

In that same letter he further told Sobolevskij of his translation of *The Gypsies* and of the beginnings of his work on a history of the false Demetriuses of seventeenth-century Muscovy.

Having mentioned *The Gypsies*, it is perhaps at this point that one should digress from the line of the Sobolevskij-Mérimée relationship in order to discuss certain aspects of the Puškin-Mérimée relationship which appear never before to have been mentioned in print, and indeed in both of which aspects Sobolevskij played a direct, if minor, role. Involved are Puškin's *The Gypsies*, Mérimée's 1852 translation thereof, Mérimée's own novella *Carmen*, the Georges Bizet opera based thereon of 1873-1875, and Sobolevskij's article *Tainstvennye primety v žizni Puškina* of 1870.

Mérimée's *Carmen*, though it contains many striking resemblances to Puškin's *The Gypsies*, is based on a story told him by the Countess Montijo. In turn, the Bizet work is based on the Mérimée story. But the opera contains three striking similarities with the Puškin work—or, more accurately, with the Mérimée translation of the Puškin work--; and the points to be noted do not occur in Mérimée's *Carmen*.

The first similarity occurs in Act I of the opera:
Carmen, under arrest, is forbidden to sing; she sings, "Je chante pour moi-même." This parallels a scene in The Gypsies: Zemfira sings a song about her old, jealous husband, and Aleko forbids her to continue. Her reply, in the Mérimée translation, is, "Je chante la chanson pour moi." Mérimée's Carmen never sings.

The second similarity occurs also in Act I.: Carmen tells the officer that, regardless of how much he may torture her, she will tell him nothing: "Coupe-moi, brûle-boi, je ne te dirai rien." Puškin's Zemfira, again singing of her old husband, says in Mérimée's version, "Coupe-moi, brûle-moi, je ne dirai rien." Once again, Mérimée's Carmen has no scene like this.

Thus, in these two instances it seems clear that Bizet and his librettists, Meilhac and Halévy, knew Mérimée's translation of Puškin's poem and were able to incorporate portions of it into the text of the opera at appropriate moments. Indeed, what would have been more obvious for the three men working on the opera to have done than to read any of Mérimée's works which had such a similar subject?

The third instance of similarity involves the opening line of Carmen's "Habanéra" in the opera: "L'amour est un oiseau rebelle que nul ne peut apprivoiser." The theme here is Carmen's precious freedom to do as she chooses, and the use of the imagery of the bird underlines
the freedom she demands. Puškin's Zemfira, too, prizes her freedom; in Mérimée's translation she says, "Mon cœur revient sa liberté." Later, discussing Zemfira's apparent betrayal of Aleko, her father uses the bird image: "La jeunesse n'est-elle pas plus volontaire que l'oiseau? Quelle force arrêterait l'amour?" And earlier in the poem, Puškin has used the bird image in speaking of freedom:

L'oiselet du bon Dieu ne connaît ni souci ni travail. Pourquoi se fatiguerait-il à tresser un lit solide et durable? La nuit est longue, un rameau lui suffit pour dormir. Vienne le soleil en sa gloire, l'oiselet entend la voix de Dieu, il secoue ses plumes et chante sa chanson.

The use of the bird as an image of freedom appears nowhere in Mérimée's Carmen; so, once again, it seems logical to conclude that Bizet and his librettists used Mérimée's translation of The Gypsies as the source of their inspiration of Carmen's operatic "Habanéra." The feeling is further expanded, by examining rhythms, to the tempting thought that Bizet may have known even the original Russian text of Puškin. Compare the opening lines of the "Habanéra" with the Russian text:

Puškin:   Ptička Božija ne znaet
          Ni zaboty ni truda.
Bizet:    L'amour est un oiseau rebelle:
          Que nul ne peut apprivoiser.

Puškin:   TROCHEE
          TR                   TROCHAIC FEEL:
Bizet:    IAMBIC, BUT THE MUSICAL
          SHOULD BE
Later on, in the refrain of the aria, Bizet set the word "l'amour" properly as an iamb. Why, then, the willful distortion of the word into a trochaic pattern? One wonders if that distortion was a conscious attempt on Bizet's part to recreate the trochee of the original Russian verse—a pattern which does not appear in Mérimée's prose rendition.

All three of these cited instances seem quite clearly to reveal the influence of Puškin through Mérimée on Bizet, Meilhac and Halévy. Alas, the hypothesis cannot be proven: during the time of their work on the opera, all three men lived in or near Paris. Consequently there is no correspondence among them on the topic. But if they did indeed derive some portions of their libretto from Puškin, in whatever form, then Sobolevskij, by virtue of his having recommended the study of Puškin to Mérimée, becomes in a way responsible for a part, however small, of Bizet's work.

Is there any of the Puškin Gypsies in the Mérimée novella? It seems logical to assume that Mérimée had been exposed to the poem in some form or other before he
wrote Carmen. Possibly Sobolevskij translated it for him orally. He may have known the Dupont version in manuscript. Pierre Trahard reported that a fragment of the poem had been translated in 1828 in the Bulletin du Nord, and that in 1837 Julvécourt had published the poem in la Balalayka in Paris. Mérimée could have known either. But there is one good clue in the text of the story which supports Puškin's, if not The Gypsies', influence on Carmen: In her final interview with Don José, just before he stabs her, Carmen says:

\[ \text{J'ai toujours pensé que tu me tuerais. La première fois que je t'ai vu, je venais de rencontrer un prêtre à la porte de ma maison. Et cette nuit, en sortant de Cordoue, n'as-tu rien vu? Un lièvre a traversé le chemin entre les pieds de ton cheval. C'est écrit.} \]

Compare that passage with the following excerpt from Sobolevskij's Tainstvennye primety v žizni Puškina of 1870, as translated on page 148 above:

\[ \ldots \text{On the way to Trigorskoe a hare ran across the road; on the way back, the same thing happened. Puškin arrived at home annoyed. \ldots Finally the carriage was ready and they were driving out of the gate. Look! In the gateway they met a priest, coming to say goodbye to the departing master. The superstitious Puškin \ldots turned from the gate and remained at home.} \ldots \]

Mérimée was very superstitious, just as was Puškin. He believed in fortune-tellers (again there is a parallel passage in the same 1870 Sobolevskij account); at Nîmes he was in 1834 haunted by "a strange silent bird, which followed him wherever he went" (can this be
considered a parallel with the image of the bird in *The Gypsies* and the operatic *Carmen*?) he "could never rid himself of an uneasy and irrational attachment to talismans, magic formulae, fetishist precautions and the like" (Puškin too had a talisman ring); he had a collection of stones, including an Etruscan one representing Juno with a sickle, "to which he attached superstitious veneration;" he had an Etruscan ring which he "had lost and found again so often, as if by a miracle, that he had come to the superstitious belief that his fate was attached to it."

Perhaps Mérimée heard of Puškin's superstitions, and of the omens of the hare and the priests, from someone other than Sobolevskij. One prefers to believe, however, that it was precisely Sobolevskij who told him of them; and that the tale made such a great impression on the similarly-superstitious Frenchman that it eventually found its way into *Carmen*—which thereafter also feels the influence of Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij.

Having concluded this perhaps too-lengthy digression, let us now return to the Mérimée letters to Sobolevskij.

The next one in the series is dated November 15, 1856, and served to introduce to Sobolevskij, now at home in Moscow, a Spanish diplomat friend of Mérimée, and also to acknowledge receipt of the works of Countess
Rostopčina which that lady had asked Sobolevskij to send to his Parisian friend. Mérimée lamented that he had forgotten three of the six Russian words he ever knew; he also interestingly enough mentioned that he proposes to visit Russia in 1857; the trip did not materialize.83

A four-year break in contact then occurred. While Sobolevskij was in France in 1860-1861 he saw Mérimée frequently. There are eleven letters or notes from Mérimée dated between September 7, 1860, and October 27, 1861, most of which are very brief in nature. Two—of October 26, 1860, and early October, 1861—invite Sobolevskij to dine with Mérimée and the latter's new friend Ivan Turgenev.84 Unfortunately no record appears to exist of these meetings, or indeed even of the simple fact that Sobolevskij was able to accept the invitations.

In a letter of January 16, 1861, Mérimée addressed the following questions to Sobolevskij, writing the Russian words of Puškin in Cyrillic characters:

Savez-vous à quelle occasion Pouchkine a écrit cette pièce singulière qui commence par: Ne daj me bog sojti s uma. Je voudrais bien savoir encore quand il est allé au Caucase et en Asie, et votre opinion sur l'effet que cela a produit sur son imagination. Était-il allé au Caucase lorsqu'il a fait le Kavkaszkij plennik. Je serais tenté de croire que non. . . .85

Although it appeared only on January 20 and 27, 1868,86 Mérimée may have been at this time preparing his critical appreciation Alexandre Pouchkine, and was
taking advantage of the presence of the poet's old friend to corroborate various aspects of the biography. He may also have remembered his promise in the letter of August 31, 1849, to write of Puškin only under Sobolevskij's guidance. If that be the case, Sobolevskij probably had an opportunity of seeing the 1868 article in draft at this time, and of making comments upon it, just as he probably assisted Mickiewicz in 1827 in the preparation of his obituary appreciation of the Russian poet. Certainly no other Russian of Mérimée's acquaintance was as qualified as he to do so.

On April 21, 1862, Mérimée was elected honorary member of the Society of the Lovers of Russian Literature, as a letter of that date from Longinov to Sobolevskij attests. The annals of the Society contain the following appreciation of the new member, written in Longinov's hand:

As honorary member has been accepted the famous French writer, Member of the French Academy Prosper Mérimée—savant and ardent admirer of the Russian language and literature, who has pronounced our Puškin to be the greatest and first of contemporary European poets.

The President of the Society, M. P. Pogodin, wrote Mérimée to inform him of his election; on June 6, 1862, Mérimée responded with gratitude. This election called forth the last of Mérimée's letters of Sobolevskij. One of the rules of the Society required the inclusion on his diploma of the full name,
including patronymic, of each member. Mérimée could be no exception, although French. Sobolevskij obviously wrote him asking him to tell his father's name, so that the proper documents could be prepared. On January 9, 1863, the Frenchman replied in a long and chatty letter, giving his father's name and also passing along the latest bits of gossip from Cannes, where he was then visiting. Although the two friends lived for seven and a half years longer, this appears to be the last contact between them.

It has been said that Mérimée spent the last twenty years of his life in literary exile in Russia. Sobolevskij more than anyone else was the cause of that exile, for it was he who attracted Mérimée's attention to the newly-emerging literature of that then-mysterious land. On April 17, 1856, Mérimée had written to Charles Lenormant, "On connait à peine de nom les auteurs russes et ils mériteraient plus d'attention de notre part." Through the benevolent influence of Sobolevskij, Mérimée himself gave certain of those authors, most noteworthy Puškin and Ivan Turgenev, the opportunity to attract that attention.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V


2. See pages 18-19 above.


4. A. W. Raitt, Mérimée, 35.


8. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 29.


10. Ibid.


13. Ibid., 37.

14. Puškin, PSS-10, III, 283-286; and Raitt, Mérimée, 43.

Большая часть этих песен взята мною из книги, вышедшей в Париже в конце 1827 года, под названием _La Guzla_. ... Незвестный собиратель был не кто иной, как Мериме, острый и оригинальный писатель, автор Театра Клара Газель, Хроники времен Карла IX, Двойной Ошибки и других произведений, чрезвычайно замечательных в глубоком и жалком упадке нынешней французской литературы. Поэт Мицкевич, критик зоркий и тонкий и знаток в славянской поэзии, не усомнился в подлинности сих песен. ... 

18. Beljaev, "Sobolevskij o Puškine", 42

20. Vinogradov, _Sobolevskij_, 60.
21. Ibid., 67.
22. Ibid., 70.
23. Vinogradov, _Dubenskaja_, 34.
27. Ibid., 350-353.
28. Vinogradov, _Sobolevskij_, 71; and _Dubenskaja_, 34, note 1.
31. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 73, note.
32. Mérimée, C. G., IV, 1-124 passim.
33. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 73.
34. Ibid., 86-210 passim.
35. See, for example, Mérimée, C. G., V, 27, note 1, which presents Parturier's very clear case.
36. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 76, and Dubenskaja, 40.
37. Ibid.; also the same author's Dubenskaja, 40.
38. Mérimée, C. G., V, 248, 249, and 498 respectively.
39. Ibid., V, 248-249. Parturier postulates the date of this letter as February-March 1848, basing this on the fact that the play Monte Christo referred to in the letter ran between February 2 and April 12 of that year (see his note 5). Vinogradov (Dubenskaja, 52-53,) postulates the date as May 8, 1848, offering no reason for doing so.
41. Ibid., 497.
42. Vinogradov, Dubenskaja, 35-38; also Sobolevskij, 76-77. In his earlier work Vinogradov insists the proper date is "1846"--a change of two digits. By 1937, however, he has dropped this fantasy. In general, Dubenskaja seems a more sober effort than Sobolevskij.
43. Vinogradov, Dubenskaja, 69-70.
44. Ibid., 77-78.
46. Mérimée, OE. G., IV, 237.
47. Ibid., 239.
48. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 47.


51a. Mérimée, C.G., X, 75.

52. Mérimée, OE. C., X, 30.

53. The numbering of the letters in this collection is faulty. That of March 15, 1850, carried as V, should be VII; that of April 14, 1852, carried as VII, should be VIII; that of June 6, 1862, carried as XXI, should have no number, as it is addressed to Pogodin; and that of August 19, 1850, carried as VI, should have no number, as it is addressed to Lev Puškin. The last letter should be XXI instead of XXII.

54. Raitt, Mérimée, 354.


57. Ibid., 102.

58. Ibid., 103.


60. Ibid., VI, 1 and 18.

61. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 120.

62. Ibid., 136.

63. Vinogradov, Dubenskaja, 71.

64. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 130-131.

65. Ibid., 137.

68. Bizet, 89.
69. Mérimée, OE. C., X, 90.
70. Bizet, 44.
71. Mérimée, OE. C., X, 91.
72. Ibid., 93.
73. Ibid., 85-86.
74. Bizet, 44.
75. Ibid., 45-46.
76. Pierre Trahard, Prosper Mérimée de 1834 à 1853 (Paris, Champion, 1925), 302, note 5.
77. Mérimée, OE. C., III, 80.
78. Raitt, Mérimée, 117.
79. Ibid., 161.
80. Ibid., 177.
81. Ibid., 217.
82. Ibid., 273.
83. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 152-153.
84. Ibid., 181 and 194.
85. Ibid., 189.
86. Mérimée, OE. C., IV, 238.
87. Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 98.
88. Ibid., 205-206.
89. Ibid., 206.
В почетные члены принят известный французский писатель, член Французской Академии Проспер Мериме—знаменитый и страстный любитель русского языка и литературы, провозгласивший нашего Пушкина величайшим и первым из современных европейских поэтов.
90. Ibid., 207-208.
91. Ibid., 217-220.
92. Raitt, Mérimée, 279.
Sobolevskij had no delusions about the value of his occasional verse, as can be seen in the above epigraph, taken by V. Kallaš from a manuscript collection of Sobolevskij's works and included in his edition Epigrammy i eksrompty S. A. Sobolevskogo on page 7.

But the verses have an extra-poetical value of which Sobolevskij probably never conceived: they give a picture of the life of his times as seen through the eyes of a talented and erudite observer. One does not today read Sobolevskij's verse for its poetical brilliance but rather for that historical interest (although the rhymes themselves are often of a certain attractiveness). One sees in them the personalities of such great figures as Puškin and Odoevskij, and such nowadays nonentities as Vigal' and Kankrin.
There is no comprehensive way of grouping these verses. Unfortunately it is impossible to assign a date, even remotely accurately, to most of them. Only rarely did the author date a verse. Sometimes chronology can be determined generally by internal biographical data; for instance, the epigrams on A. S. Puškin mostly precede 1837, and the verses on Berezin-Širjaev belong to 1868-1870.

Another method of grouping is by subject; for instance, in the present work the verses dealing with the Puškins have been placed together, as have those concerning Odcevskij, Nečaev, Kankrin, and Slavophiles. Yet neither of these principles of grouping has here been forced upon these slight works. Where one or another obtains, it has been used; but most of the verses are simply "there."

The primary source of the verses has been the pre-Revolutionary journal Russkiy arxiv, whose editor P. I. Bartenev was Sobolevskij's friend during the last years of the latter's life. Without the efforts of Bartenev to preserve the verses, in whatever form they might be available to him, they would probably have been lost to view and the already-shadowy figure of Sobolevskij would have been even less visible to present-day research.
Another very helpful source is the Kallaš anthology mentioned above. This work, referred to in this chapter simply as "Sobolevskij," is quite rare today. It drew upon both Russki J arxiv and manuscripts for its contents; if a verse in the present collection appears in both, however, the Russki J arxiv text has been cited unless otherwise noted. Finally, Kallaš's notes are variably useful and at times exceedingly frustrating in their sketchiness.

Saitov's little biography of Sobolevskij and B. Modzalevskij's superb edition of the Puškin letters (the latter outstanding for its exhaustive and highly illuminating notes) have provided a few verses. For the rest, they have been gleaned by ones and twos from other sources, as cited in the footnotes. The collection here presented contains some one hundred verses, some of which appear in several versions. The vast majority are in Russian; three are in German, two in French, and one in Italian. Approximately 50% are iambic tetrameter, 15% trochaic tetrameter, 8% trochaic trimeter, and the rest in other patterns. The rhyme scheme is usually "abab." The rhymes themselves, as noted elsewhere, are often of interest: one finds such pairs as "brat'i"—"zabrat', 1", "rezkim"—"ne s kem", "Karoline"—"in's Grüne", "
"o Vasil'evne"—"si elle venait", and "face-face"—
"tem pače". Sobolevskij often used foreign words in-
dividually in his verses, choosing them carefully for
both rhyming and metrical considerations.

It is this ability to handle the language in a
witty way that gained Sobolevskij his reputation as a
brilliant epigrammist in a society where such a gift
had high worth. But, since the brilliance disappears
when the verse is translated, no attempt has been
made here to translate. To try to give the flavor of
this language in English is futile.

Unfortunately some of the verses appear in bowd-
erized form. Future investigation of the Sobolevskij
archives—if they still exist—will reveal what Vic-
torian prudery has concealed.

Sobolevskij composed his verses for fun. It is
hoped that the reader of today will approach them in
the same vein. Sobolevskij's reputation as "the un-
known composer of epigrams known to all," in Countess
Rostopčina's phrase, was well deserved.
THREE VERSES OF SOBOLEVSKIJ'S YOUTH

I. ПОСЛАНИЕ К М---У

Сизыми тучами
Всюду покрылись
Своды лазоревы.
Бурной метелицей
К небу возносится.
Снег над вершинами
Хижин дымящихся.
Лето веселое,
Лето прекрасное,
Что улетело ты?
Радость, веселые,
С ними понеслись вы!
Лишь вспоминанием
Блага минувшего
В час меланхолии
Сладко питаюсь я.
Ах, пробуждение
Тяжко прискорбно мне!
Все улыбалось мне!
Солнышко красное,
Трели соловушки,
Ветер, играющий
В листьях березовых,
Все миновалось!
Ветры в ущелиях
Возьт порывисты!
Возьт! и в горести
Друг твой покинул все;
Лира безмолвная
Мной забывается,
Осень угрюмая
Мчит уж в изгнание
Игры и радости.
Скоро ли, скоро ли
Ты, вечно кное
Время весеннее,
Вновь возвращенное
Все оживишь!

—ноябрь 1818 г.
II... К В---У

Месяц светит над долиной,
Чуть журавля бежит поток,
Лес почили, склоняясь вершиной
На сребристый ручей.

Друг, с тобой рука в руку
Побреду к брегам ручья;
Скорую забыв разлуку,
Песк услышу соловья.

Он весну лишь воспевает.
Милой! может быть она
Мне для смерти расцветает,
Мне последняя весна.

Неужели при возвращении
Друга не узнаешь ты
И увидишь в изумлении
Лишь могильные цветы.

Там под тенью густою,
В четырех простых досках,
Дружбы орошён слезой,
Мой спокойный ляжет прах.

Посреди зелёной рощи
Сладко мертвому почить.
Друг! приди, ж е в час полночи
Вздохом друга там почить.

Тень моя тогда уныло
С частью неба--над тобой
Тихо встанет из могилы
И придёт, о друг, к тебе.

И вздохнет и только взглянет
И махнет тебе рукой,
И луна сквозь лес проглянет...
Тени нет уж пред тобой.

/продолжение следует/
Может быть тебя с дороги
И в кругу твоих друзей
Встречу с кубком на дороге
Мирной жизни моей.

Лишь от радости свиданья
Вспомни о разлуке мы,
Как в сердечном трепете
Нам "простите" молвил ты.

Друг, прости, зарей румяной
Осветился свод небес,
Полосой она багряной
Сквозь густой мелькает лес.

Утром встает, всколебался
Ранних птиц веселый рой.
Так прости и в дали уже раздался
Колокольчик почтовой.

Час разлуки наступает,
Всколебались листы,
Грудь моей печаль стесняет.
Милой друг, пора. Прости...

---май 1819 г.

III. АЛИНА. БАЛЛАДА. /из Уланда/

Раз знаменитый порою в знакомый им дом
Три друга взошли на дороге,
И вот уже проходит широким двором,
Хозяйка стоит на пороге.

Дай пива, вина! Где красавица дочь?
Вот, юноши, пиво и вина.
А где же красавица? В прошлую ночь
На веки заснула Алина!

Подходят ко гробу; и сажак ее
Отдернув, ей первый сказал:
Алина, теперь ты пленила б меня,
Когда б я тебя не знал.

/продолжение следует/
Второй же взглянул и вздохнул и закрыл  
Pокровом лик бедный Алина,  
Примолвив печально: тебя я любил,  
Алина, до самой кончины!

Невольно последний из них зарыдал,  
Потом прощептал он уныло:  
"Когда ты дышала, тобой я дышал,  
И буду дышать за могилой."

/Oкончено 10 июня/. С. И820.

From S. A. Sobolevskij: "Junošskie stixotvorenija. Prigotovil k peñati M. D. Beljaev." Literaturnye portfeli: Stat' i, zamenki i neizdannye materialy po novoj russkoj literature iz sobranl Puškinskogo doma. I. Vremja Puškina, Petersburg, 1923, 29-35. Beljaev noted that the three verses belong respectively to the second, third, and fourth (last) years of Sobolevskij's studies at the Nobles' Pansion in St. Petersburg. The poems are here reproduced just as Beljaev found and published them, with corruptions uncorrected. The poems reflect the contemporary concern with the works of Romanticism, just then coming into vogue in Russia. Indeed, the third verse is given by Sobolevskij the subtitle "From Uhland"and is a version of that author's "Der Wirtin Tochterlein." Beljaev implies (page 31) that there are more, similar youthful works of Sobolevskij which have never been published up until the time of his article; he gives no particulars regarding source, but one feels justified to think that he got them from manuscript sources not available to Kallaš, but which became available only after the transfer of the Sobolevskij manuscripts from the Šeremet'ev collection to public repositories.
"Шарады трудно сочинять!"
Лизета мне вчера сказала——

И что ж? Сама же приказала

Как можно поскорей шараду написать.
"Однако ж," я сказал..."Не слушай их слова!"
"Вот вам, сударыня, шарада и готова."

"Готова? Так извольте прочитать!"
"Любимец Эта и природы

Уж верно б два мои первые сказал:

Поверите ль, что то же на народы,
КАрая их, Всесильный насилал;
А чтоб конец вам изъяснить скорее,—

Когда ложусь я спать, чтоб было мне теплее,—

Как чепчик, я его изволю надевать.
Теперь лишь целое осталось:
Легко его на карте приискать;
Оно—толпа, что в Азии скиталась.

Дозвольно! думайте—чтоб не пришлось сказать:
А крышка парыка ведь просто открывалась!

From Sobolevskij, 146. In that collection Kallas devotes several pages (141-146) to a discussion of this work. Salikov was editor of the Damskl.1 zurnal; he was an untalented, stupid, and pretentious man whom all the members of Puškin's circle constantly tormented with epigrams. He received the quoted lines from Sobolevskij, who signed them "I. Kievskij," and published them in 1824. Only then did he realize he had been made the butt of a joke: the verse is an acrostic—slightly imperfect though it be—in which the first letters of almost every line spell out the message, "Salikov glup kak kaloda." He seems to have borne no offense. Kallas adds that he was a man of great charity. This is probably Sobolevskij's first published work.
От Соболевского, 13. Саликов, a disciple of Karamzin, took sentimentalism to great extremes. His journals (Aglaja, Damskij žurnal) presented their feminine readers with the melancholy type of reading they preferred, and consequently were objects of scorn of members of the Puškin circle. Salikov was the object of Sobolevskij's first published epigram, which is found on the preceding page of this work.
FOURTEEN VERSES ASSOCIATED WITH A. S. PUŠKIN
A. C. ПУШКИНУ

Сияй, сияй, о Пушкин камер-юнкер,
Раззолоченный, как клюнкер.

Твой первый друг—граф Беньендорф,
Его ж соперник—барон Корф.

О, жертва бедная двух адовых исчадий!
Тебя убил Данте и издает Геннади!

From Sobolevskij, 92. The first verse is similar to the following quatrain from Rusakij arxiv, 1906, III, 144, where Bartenev identifies "kljunker" as a Siberian cart used for hauling gold.

Здорово, новый камер-юнкер!
Уж как же ты теперь хорошо:
И раззолочен ты как клюнкер
И весел ты как медный грош.

O. C. ПАВЛИЩЕВОЙ

Пишу тебе в альбом и аз,
Сестра и друг поэта, Ольга,
Хотя мой стих и не алмаз,
А просто мишуря да фольга.

Что помышляют ваши братья
В моей башке не мог собрать я.

From Sobolevskij, 103. Ol'ga Sergeevna Pavliщева was the sister of A. S. and L. S. Puškin; Sobolevskij was a great friend of hers. Saitov (Sobolevskij . . . , 37) states that the second of the quoted verses was written in 1830, when the poet was preparing for his wedding but would not tell Ol'ga of his plans, although Lev was his confidant in them.
Наш приятель Пушкин Лев
Не лишен рассудка.
Но с шампанским жирный плов
И с грудями утка
Нам докажут лучше слов
Что он более здоров
Силою жилудка.

ЭКСПРОМПТ Л. С. ПУШКИНА

Лев Сергеич — на союре
Был любезен, как тяпень:
Выпл и чарку Сен-Перэ
И бутылку Сен-Жульень.

Л. С. ПУШКИНА

Пушкин Лев Сергеич
Истый патриот,
Тянет ерофеич
В африканский рот.

From Saitov, Sobolevskij, . . ., 37, and Sobolevskij, 103-104. Lev Puškin and Sobolevskij were schoolfellows. B. L. Modzalevskij (Puškin, Pis’ma y trex tomox, II, 228) identifies "erofeic" as a particular brand of vodka named after its inventor, an illiterate surgeon's helper who used it to cure the sick.
Скопят элодей у нашей братьи!
Про это сведав, на беду
Приказ: всех вас забрать, и
Немедленно предать суду.

Чьего ж заступничества ради
Другим скопителям простор?
Не под судом до этих пор
Отрешков, Анненков, Геннади!

From Russkiy arxiv, 1874, II, 464. The verse seems to have been written during the period of a legal process against a group of the Skopcy sect. The three men named in the last line were all editors of the works of A. S. Puškin; for their treatment of that author's works Sobolevskij denotes them "castrators"—"skopcy"—of Puškin.
А. Н. КЕРН

I. Ну, скажи, каков я?
Счастлив беспримерно:
Баронесса Софья
Любит меня верно,
Слабее кота...
Я же легче серны,
Влюбленнее кота,
У ног милой Керны...
Эх! как он скверны!

II. Ну, скажи, каков я?
Счастлив беспримерно:
Баронесса Софья
Любит нас наверно.

"Что за простота!
Ведь она не та!
Я я нежней кота,
Легче всякой серны—
К ножкам милой Керны.
Ах, как они скверны!"

III. У мадамы Керны
Ноги скверны.

I. From L. N. Pavliščev, Iz semejnoj xroniki, 70. Pavliščev noted that the verse did not offend Me. Kern.

II. From Russkij arxiv, 1884, III, 349.

III. From Puškin, Pis'ma v trex tomax, II, 276-277. Modzalevskij here notes that Baron A. A. Del'vig wrote in his memoirs that Sobolevskij, who easily found a rhymne for any word, was troubled because he could find none for "Kern," and that this was the best he could do. The verse appears to be written in the name of Del'vig, whose wife was named Sof'ja. Kern was a frequent visitor in Del'vig's home, as was Sobolevskij.
ЦАПЛИ

Жил да был петух индейский,
Цапле руку предложил,
При дворе взял чин лакейский
И в супружество вступил.

Он детей молил как дара,
И услышал бог богов:
Родилась цаплей пара,
Не родилось петухов.

Цапли выросли, отстали
От младенческих сков,
Длинны, очень длинны стали
И глядят на куликов.

Вот пришла отцу забота
Цаплей замуж выдавать;
Он за каждой три болота
При замужестве—хочет дать.

Кулики к нему летали
Из далеких, ближних мест,—
Но лишь корм один клевали—
И не смотрят на невест.

Цапли вяли, цапли сохли,
И увы! сказку, вдохнув,
На болоте переложили,
Носик в перья завернув.

From Puškin, Pis'ma v trex tomah, II, 195-196. Puškin was long considered the author of these lines, since they concerned members of his family. Sobolevskij later stated that the verse was the joint work of him and Baratynskij. (Cjavlovskij, Puškin, 524). Modzalevskij explained the family ties thusly: The family shown here is that of Kammerherr M. M. Soncov, husband of Puškin's aunt Elizaveta L'vovna and father of two beautiful but unmarried daughters. The verses were written before November 9, 1826, since in his letter of that date to Sobolevskij from Mirajlovskoe Puškin quotes the first line: (Puškin, PSS-10, X, 215). This is the letter containing the poet's "U Gal'jany il' Kol'onu" and instructing Sobolevskij how to prepare to travel by post.
THREE VERSES ON ŠEVEREV
ПОСЛАНИЕ К С. П. ШЕВЫРЕВУ
Мюнхен, 13 июля 1830
Любезный друг Шевырев!
Описать тебе хочу я
Почему, о милий мой,
К вам приехать не могу я
Из Баварии пивной.
Здесь держи лишь востро ухо
И глаза вперед горе:
Мудрствовать не будешь сухо
Для жильцов Буасере.
Герцогтук очи черны
На меня устремлены;
Пухты, Шелленти и Шорны
Уж в меня не влюблены;
На меня лишь уповает
Славный Тирш в ученой пре,
И слышу свою пускает
Госпожа Буасере.
Мне прославиться на свете,
Если здесь пробуду я,
И великий скажет Гете
Всей Европе про меня:
"Вот студент, рекомендуя!"
"Что ни день, то на заре"
"Голову его младую"
"Мачит друг Буасере."

Твой оплеванный Н. Р.
Соболевский и Киреевские тебе кланяются

From Russkij arxiv, 1906, I, 176. For a lengthy discussion of Sobolevskij's 1830 Munich trip, see Chapter II. Buasere—another spelling is possible—was a Munich amateur of art; in his house lived the Kireevskij brothers and Rožalin; Puchtin, Schelling, Schorn, and Tirsch were all professors, and the second, the philosopher. Both Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 116) and Bartenev in the cited number of Russkij arxiv claim the "po­slanie" as being written by Sobolevskij, who was simply writing in the name of Rožalin.
С. П. ШЕВЫРЕВУ

О, сколько б вовсе без творений
Осталось наших авторов,
Когда б настало возвращенье
Всех перекраденных стихов!

Хвостов,
Шишков
И, не считая прочего,
Лихонина и Ротчева,
Степан Петрович Шевырев!

From Russkij arxiv, 1909, II, 502, Sobolevskij's letter to Sevyrev from Turin, December 15, 1831. Xvostov is not identified. Siškov, the Slavophile, founded the journal Beseda. Lixonin translated Schiller's Don Carlos, was a censor of foreign books and a talentless poet of the 1830's-1850's. Rotčev was also a talentless poet of the period. (Biographical notes from Sobolevskij, 116, and the cited number of Russkij arxiv.)

С. П. ШЕВЫРЕВУ

Душу растерзал моя
Ты упреком резким:
Рифмы, мой друг, я не кью—
Pотому что не с кем.

From Russkij arxiv, 1909, II, 487, Sobolevskij's letter to Sevyrev from Turin, August 30, 1830.
SIX VERSES ON NEČAEV

В TO ВРЕМЯ, КАК МЫ БЫЛИ ЮНЫ

В то время, как мы были юны,
Когда я ты юнее был,
Ты, ведший, ударяя в струны,
Нам души сильно шевелил.

Так, помню я, во время бно,
Священным движимый огнем,
В лавровых кущах Геликона,
Ты пел могучим соловьем!

Теперь, отстав от песней думных,
Что так пленили молодеж,
В премудром соне старцев думных
Ты правосудие блюдешь;

И часто глас твой вдохновенный
За вдов, за нищих, за сирот,
На истый путь сей клир священный
С пути раздумия плечет.

Счастлив стократ! Тебе дарован
На весь твой век один удел.
Как соловьем был очарован
Наш юный сонь, когда ты пел:

Еще завиднее судьбина
Под вечер твой: тобой она,
Сих старцев светлая дружина
Малиновской обаяна!!!

II июня 1845

From Russkij arxiv, 1894, I, 114-115; the emphasis is in the original. It is there noted that Sobolevskij at the time of this verse lived in the house of his friend Mal'cov; the house was surrounded by a large garden. Upstairs lived S. D. Nečaev, Mal'cov's widowed brother-in-law, with his two sons and two daughters. Sobolevskij and Nečaev were great friends; they often dined together and often exchanged notes.
Я ДАЛ ТОМУ НАЗАД ДНЕЙ ШЕСТЬ
Я дал тому назад дней шесть
Прекрасной барыне обет
Ее блинков сегодня есть
И обсудить ее обед.
И так благодаря за честь
И морщая скажу вам нет.

From Russkij arxiv, 1894, I, 113. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 137) notes that this refusal of a dinner invitation was directed to Неčaev. The emphasis is in the original.

ТЫ ПОЗДРАВЛЕНИЕ ПРИМИ
Ты похвала пришл
За Александра Невского
От вас любящих вельмож
Сергей Соболевского.

From ibid. It was directed to Неčaev and his family upon the occasion of his receiving the Order of Aleksandr Nevskij.

НЕ НРАВИТСЯ МНЕ ТВОЙ ПОРТРЕТ
Не нравится мне твой портрет!
На нем назило неуклюжий:
Иобразил тебя, сосед,
Как будто страждешь ты от стужи.

И что за губы? Как толстые!
Кого таким ты бы чмокал?
А многих перечмока ты,
Ты, Пинда и Сената сокол.

25 мая 1858

From ibid., 115. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 101 and 137) gives this verse the title "K portretu senatora S. D. Nečaeva."
ОДА

О сколь моя счастлива доля!
Сколь утешителен мой рок!
Сенатор с Куликова поля
Уж на Девиче притек!

Целись и не бой та рака,
Чем были мы уязвлены,
Тем, что Сергея и Ивана
Дни без него проведены!!!

Уж верно он привез рябины,
Наливок верно он привез
Для утоления кручимы
И для омывки прежних слез.

Могли бы еще вы течь, о слезы,
В одном лишь случае, кабы
Забыт он для своей трапезы
Привезть соленые грибы!

И ТАК ДАЛЕЕ /sic/
СКОЛЬ НИ ОБШИРНА И ПРОСТРАННА

Сколько ни обширна и пространна
Наука стряпать и варить,
Ее Мария, Софья, Анна
Успели верно изучить.

Удобно было им на воле
Постигнуть без больших трудов
Соленье в уксусе, в раз соле,
Варенье ягод и плодов.

Когда ж, Степан, Димитрий, Юрий,
Мне будет доля та дана,
Чтоб с вами за столом рог турьи
Наполнить зеленя вина?

Облизывать мы будем губки,
Припасы разъедим все в пух
И осушим с наливкой кубки
За здравие стряпух!

From Russkij arxiv, 1894, I, 114-115. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 102 and 137) considers this two separate verses, the first two quatrains comprising one and the second two, the other. He further gives them the collective title "Detjam S. D. Nečaeva." However, as has been noted above (page 260) Nečaev had four children rather than six.
I.

Мне Мюнхен памятен на веки,
Искусства и наук приток!
Сокровищами библиотеки
Я удивлен, я завлечен.

Первопечатных... Но мне трудно,
Шалит капризный мой живот,
И на чердак меня на ......;
Отвел задобренный кустод.

Потом иду к Пенакотеке,
Куда любители картин
Приходят, как приходит к Мекке
На поклоненье Музеллин.

Мурильо!... снова ...........
Мне надобно; кляня судьбу,
По лестнице спешу спуститься:
Здесь Abtritt сделан в погребу.

Вот, наконец, и Глиптотека,
Великая изящный храм!
Как прикал гений человека
Божественность самим богам!

Как мрамор иль металл покорно
Им претворен в людскую плоть,
Дабы в плоти той рукотворной
Безплотный зрелся б нам Господь.

Дабы герой, философ, в самой...
Опять зовет, и не слетка;
Гляжу и сего, и овамо--
Ни погреба, ни чердака!!

А в брюке трубы и литавры...
Вот сад! Туда, туда! В саду,
Где так тенисты миры и лавры,
Приют под кустиком найду!

В вагоне 8 сентября 1861
II.

Отсель к странам Италии
Хочу воспеть поезд!
Какие все каналы
Живут в тебе, Триест!
В столице сей Иллирии,
Лет пять тому назад,
Мучительные чирии
Покрыли весь мой ....
Желая исцеления,
Я сел на пароход,
И потерпел мучение
Соседственных блевот.
Ужасное мучение!
От рвоты страшный смрад,
И жуже ...........
Не испускает ....
Приплюли мы к Венеции.
Ведут нас в лазарет,
И разные гутут специи—
Таков у них декрет.
Недурен храмик Маркуса...
Читали мы в "Молве",
Что строен он в честь Маркуса,
Что доктором в Москве.
Доволен я Европой—
Прекраснейший трактир.
Хозяйка с ...........
Мне ставила .......—
За то, что арсенальские
Там устрицы подрывает,
Я за table d' hôte канальские
Пускал и лифт и паф.
И что за наслаждение!
Лишь только я на таз,
И с гондол льется пение
Твоих октав, о Тасс!
Не все сидел за книгой,
Не все я рассуждал—
С графиней Моченигою
По Лидо я гулял.
Пленял своими курами
Я тамошних красот
И венцал был амурами
Разов... до пяти сот.

From Sobolevskij, 54-57. A variant of the second follows.
Теперь к странам Италии
Я опишу поезд.
Какие все каналы
Живут в тебе, Триест!

В столице сей Иллирии,
Лет пять тому назад,
Мучительные чирки
Покрыли весь мой лад.

Не видя облегченья,
Я сел на пароход
И потерпел мученье,
Соседственных блевот.

Везут меня к Венеции,
Тут будет карантин,
И разные жгут специи:
Таков у них уж чин!

Не дурен храмник Маркуса.
Читали мы в "Молве",
Что строен он в честь Маркуса,
Что доктором в Москве.

From Russkiij arxiv, 1909, II, 505. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 128) quotes this version as a variant and cites the referenced number of Russkiij arxiv as his source, omitting the last word in the second quatrain and replacing it with a row of dots. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 54-57) links the first two verses, citing as his authority a manuscript collection (page 128), and then adding the third verse as a variant. He thus gives the impression of believing that the verses pertain to the same period of Sobolevskij's life—the early 1830's; he makes this specific by stating (Page 129) that Sobolevskij travelled in Italy in the 1830's. According to A. K. Vinogradov (Sobolevskij . . ., 162), Sobolevskij was indeed in Germany in August and September, 1861, where he visited Munich, among other cities. Therefore the date given—September 8, 1861—is almost certainly correct, and the verse was written in the train taking Sobolevskij away from Munich. On the other hand, it seems more likely that the second verse is indeed a product of the first trip to Western Europe, and was probably written shortly after Sobolevskij returned to Russia. One notes that in the second quatrain Sobolevskij refers to having been in Trieste "about five years ago." Vinogradov (page 17)
notes that Sobolevskij visited Venice during his first trip, in December 1828. He may well have visited Trieste then. Vinogradov never puts Sobolevskij in Trieste during any stage of the trip; but he does put him in Venice in December 1828 and again in May and July 1832. Sobolevskij returned to Russia on July 22, 1833, ending the first trip.

Ol'ga Sergeevna Pavliščeva in January 1836 commented on Sobolevskij's "voyage en vers en Italie," as discussed above on page 44.

Jakov Avsimovič Orel-Ošmjangev, in a very brief note to Sobolevskij's letters to Sevyrev in Russkij arxiv, 1909, II, 475ff., noted (page 505) that the verse "Teper' k stranam Italii," which he there quotes from memory as cited herein, pertains to the trip of July 1832; but he cites no source. Examination of the text of the verse and of that which Kallaš gives as number II of the "Put'evye vpečatlenija" reveals that the two are probably variants of the same verse. Therefore one is justified in concluding that, although Kallaš implies that the two verses refer to the same period of Sobolevskij's life, they in fact refer to two periods separated by some thirty years.
Ах, мамаша, ах, папаша!
С мужем что у нас за каша!
Как-то речь и завела,
Что миlee нет Орла.

Ну как взьется мой Сережа!
Говорят: "Ты Лелька-рожа
Хоть стоит он над Окой
Ваш Орел, такой-свакой---

Брянск, Малоархангельск, Ливны
И Карачев мне противны.
Пресловутый ваш Елец
Мерзок из конца в конец.

Мценск ваш, Волхов, да и Кромы
Мне по гадости знакомы.
Точно так же, как Трубчевск,
Сносят только Дмитревск, Севск..."

На уезд все смотрит Севский
Муженек мой Sobolevskij!...
Знаеть попался он. Пострел
Там в амурный перелед!!

Да не жить ему в нем! С Лелькой
Жить ему в Орле--и только.
У папы казенный дом:
Не платить нам за наем.

Ах, папаша, ах, мамаша!
С мужем что у нас за каша!!

From Sobolevskij, 49-50. This version is dated November 14, 1869, and signed "Elena Sobolevskaja, nee..." Another variant is in Russkij arxiv, 1885, I, 143-144; the variations have to do with the ordering of the stanzas. Sobolevskij's friends the Longinovs had an eight-year-old daughter, Elena, whom Sobolevskij loved and jokingly called his fiancée. When Longinov's job called for him to move to Orel, Sobolevskij prepared for Elena this mnemonic device for remembering the names of the towns of the region. (From Sobolevskij, 126-127.)
Случилось во время-бно,
Свалился на землю комар.
Повесткой в Комитет Ученый
Тебя зовут, князь Вольдемар.

Соображая этот казус
И рося в книгах, ты открыв,—
Что в Роттердаме жил Эразмус,
Который в парике ходил.

Его приследуя примеру,
Ты сшиб власы, надел парик
И свойственным тебе манером
Таинственно главой поник.

"Комар, без всякого сочинения"—
Ты провещал—"есть Божья тварь;
"А в музыкальном отношеньи
"Меж насекомых он звонарь."

И так как он паденьем в поле
Не причинил лесам вреда,
Предать тот случай Божьей воле,
Избав тварь ту от суда.

From Russkiy arxiv, 1878, II, 56. Two variants are found in Sobolevskij, 36 and 118; but neither is as cohesive as this version. Odoevskij was ordered, in connection with official duties as a member of the Scientific Committee of the Ministry of State Properties, to determine a means for exterminating a harmful insect invasion. He prepared for his labor by researching in several old tomes, including those of Erasmus of Rotterdam. Odoevskij's love of music is reflected here, as it is in several of the humorous verses written on him by Sobolevskij. (From Sobolevskij, 117-119.)
Кн. В. Ф. ОДОЕВСКИЙ — СИДОРЕ

С тобой, милый Исидор,
Сиамские мы точно братья.
Как буду музыкальный вздор
Без помощи твоей играть я?

Для ут, ре, ми, фа, соль, ля, си,
Уход твой от меня ужасен!
Какой прибавки ни проси,
Вперед я на нее согласен.

From Russkiij arxiv, 1888, III, 295; also in Russkiij arxiv, 1903, III, 672. Odoevskij built an organ which he called a "Sebastianon," after J. S. Bach. It was set in motion by a serf who crawled inside to furnish the power. Usually Odoevskij's kitchen-boy Sidor performed this function. Once Sidor threatened to run away if Odoevskij refused to give him extra pay for running the Sebastianon (Sobolevskij, 119). Another story says the verse expresses Odoevskij's reluctance to give Sidor a vacation (Saitov, Sobolevskij, 42, note 7). Kallas found the verse in a manuscript collection bearing the date March 8, 1863.

ЗАКАЗ КУШАНЬЯ СНИЗУ НА ВЕРХ /АКРОСТИК/

Утку изжарить,
Редко удастся!
Милый кухмистер,
Фаршу не резать.
Солью не брезгать:
Лакомо будет
Сще творящу.

From Russkiij arxiv, 1874, II, 463–464. Sobolevskij and Odoevskij lived in their later years in the same house. Odoevskij was as much gourmet as musician and author; he wrote a cookbook which he called Zapiski doktora Puffa. The verse here, Sobolevskij's refusal of a dinner invitation, is interesting in that every first syllable is the name of each succeeding tone in a rising musical scale. (From Russkiij arxiv, 1888, III, 295.)
На оставление князем Одоевским
должности директора Румянцевского музея

Князь—твое отродье, Рюрик,
Через двадцать пять колен!
Князь—не то что князь—мазурик,
Из Армян или Туркмен;
Князь, не то чтобы князь некий—
Русских старшина князей.
Упустил из-под опеки
Свой Румянцевский музей:
Ротозей ты, ротозей!

From Russkij arxiv, 1874, II, 463. When the Rumjancev Museum was moved from St. Petersburg to Moscow in 1861, Odoevskij was dismissed as Director (Russkij biografičeskij slovar', XII, 125).
В КОРОВСКИЕ САЛНЫ

В Московские салоны,
Где наилучший тон,
Pовадились вдруг фонь.
Один их них так фон!

Сего мы фонафонам
Всем вставили в пример;
При том он был бароном;
То был барон фон—Бер.

И кто же ему ровен?
Фон—Ропп, или Фон—Рекк,
Хотя про них Фон—Ховен
Преблагосклонно рек.

Но лишь Орел—Ошмянцев
Является в салон,
То всех Эст—Лиф—Курляндцев
Гони метлой хоть вон!

О Росс, сим будь утешен!
А немцам вот урок,
Сколь наш российский фешен
Пред западным высок.

From Russkij arxiv, 1891, I, 431-432. Odeoiskij, during the period of his service in the Senate in Moscow, had many various foreign visitors. Among them were some titled Baltic students who were brought by their countryman Senator von der Hoven. Sobolevskij disliked this group of swaggering aristocrats. Another frequent guest was Odeoiskij's close friend, the learned Slavist-philologist Ja. O. Orel–Oshmyancev, whose Russian native costume contrasted with the careful toilet of the students. (From Russkij arxiv, 1891, I, 432; and Sobolevskij, 126.)
THREE VERSES ON THE SLAVOPHILES

ПРИЕЗД СЛАВЯН

Субботич, Сундечич, Талан,
Гловачкий, Марк, Мациевский,
И множество разных славян
На берег появлятся незвкий.

И встретит славянский сей хлам
Известная всем Антонина,
Приявшая Костича там
Под сень своего кринолина.

Приедут они и в Москву
На диво для всех идиотов.
Зане уж давно ранде-ву
Есть дан им от всех патриотов.

Пред стаей богемцев, болгар,
Русунов, хорватов, словаков,
Покажут ораторский дар
Самарин, Погодин, Аксаков.

Ламанский, Щебальский, Попов
И прочие славянофильы
Докажут потоками слов
Что значит народные силы.

Затымится тут раздума свет
И мало подобных оказий
Представится в несколько лет
Схотникам до безобразий.

Предвижу я праздник большой
Приличный одним эскимосам
И всякому, кто лишь душой
Весь занят славянским вопросом.

И будут в награду даны
Самарину: "Жизнь Ерусалама."
Венок из листов белены
И целый ушат кукольяна.

2 мая 1867 г.
From Vinogradov, Sobolevskij, 158. The Moscow Slavic Congress of 1867 met for most of the month of May in both capitals. The following personalities mentioned in the verse can be identified as participating in the Congress:

Dr. Jovan Subotić, judge of the Austrian Supreme Court and member of the Austrian Serb delegation.

Iakov F. Holovockij, professor of the University of Lwów, Austrian Ukrainian delegate.

Matija-Ziljski Majar, philologist and publisher of an all-Slavic grammar, Austrian Slovenian delegate.

V. A. Maciejowski (?), Polish scholar.

Dr. Laza Kostić, professor at the Gymnasium of Nowy Sad, Austrian Serb delegate.

Countess Antonina Bludova, lady-in-waiting to the Empress and ardent Slavophile.

Samarin, Pogodin, and Aksakov, Russian Slavophiles.

Vladimir I. Lamanskij, professor of the University of St. Petersburg.

Nil' Popov, professor of Moscow University.

P. Šćebal'skij, Panslavic philologist and advocate of linguistic unity.

The other personalities are unidentified. Information herein given is derived from Michael Boro Petrovich, The Emergence of Russian Panslavism 1856-1870 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1956), 198-240 passim, except for Bludova (page 131), Šćebal'skij (page 157), and Maciejowski (page 112).

Sobolevskij's views of Panslavism are to be found nowhere in available source material aside from the comments he made in this and a few other verses. As a friend of long standing of such ardent Panslavists as Pogodin and Aksakov, to mention but two, he might be thought to hold similar views. This verse seems to show a different position. The fact of the matter is that as yet not enough is known about Sobolevskij to enable one to say with certainty that he did or did not hold such views. Further research will answer the question.
КОРИФЕЙ МОСКОВСКОГО СЛАВЯНОФИЛЬСТВА

Во имя стратаного святого
Поставлен их славянский скит.
На бочке пенькина простого
Блаженный Кокорев сидит.

Пред ним, колено-преклоненный,
Не чуждый также откупов,
Кадит усердно муж почтенный,
Творец "Беседы" Кошелев.

И воскрадит ему он паки,
Пока ему не сломит рог
Кабакомудрый Бенардаки,
Продавший дважды Таганрог.

Emphasis in the original. Pjatkovskij explains the last quatrain thusly: Benardaki twice was responsible for festive decoration of Taganrog, once for a state visit by Aleksandr I and once for his funeral. He used the same decorations for both occasions.
Pjatkovskij received the verse from Count V. A. Sollogub. V. A. Kokorev (1817-1889) was a businessman who defended the wine monopoly as useful to the nation. A. I. Košelev (1806-1883) was editor of the journal Beseda, a wine-trader, and a source of financial support for Slavophile publications. D. E. Benardaki was Greek; Gogol' supposedly used him as a model for Kostan'koglo in Dead Souls. (From Sobolevskij, 123.) In Russkij arxiv, 1895, II, 272, this verse is given as the joint effort of Sobolevskij and I. S. Mal'cov.
Каткову

Катков! Ты мне стал мил,
Что нам в Шедоферотте
Тыму накости открыл.
Миллион сочувствий вот те!

Какой в нем правды глас?
Вы все нас знать привыкли;
Скажите ж, между нас
Что каждый не велик ли?

-выступает вперед-

И смееет он сказать
Про наших, что-де хамы,
Когда протестовать
Здесь стали даже дамы?!

-указывая на А. В. Кирееву-

Держи, держи, Катков,
Газету на аренде:
Арапов, Н. Сушков,
Сергей Шипов, А. Менде.

From Russkij arxiv, 1906, III, 621. In 1862 M. N. Katkov, then lessee of the journal Moskovskie vedomosti, in print attacked the pro-Polish writings of Baron Firks, whose pen-name was "Sedoferotti." Katkov received great praise from many patriotic Russians, among them A. A. Arapov, N. V. Suskov, S. P. Sipov, and A. I. Mende, who collected thousands of signatures on petitions of support. On Katkov's name-day he was guest of honor at a large reception arranged through the efforts of his adherents. The Metropolitan Filaret blessed an ikon and sent it to him; the presentation was made by A. V. Kireeva. (From the cited issue of Russkij arxiv and Sobolevskij, 131.)
НА Г. Н. ГЕННАДИ

За то, что жизнь ярыжника
Без песен он издал,
Уж и б Григорья Книжника
Порядком наказал.

Уж подготов Игнатьева
Что следует ему
И сечь его и гнать его
И засадить в тюрьму.

Вам жить в Москве! не в порте ли?
Москва не то, что Петер!
Здесь много перепортили
Бумаг, чернил, и литер.

Из них уж не две трети ли?
Вы, вы перемарали;
А мы у вас не встретили
На грош в пере морали.

Городите трусы вы,
Трусы на колесах
А там книжны Урусовы
Во вас чуть не в пленёзах...

From Russkiij arxiv, 1888, III, 469. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, III) comments: "G. N. Gennadi (pseudonym: Grgoriy Knizhnik), the famous bibliographer, very unsuccessfully published a new edition of Žizn' Van'ka Kaina ("Jaryzhnika") without the folk songs which were an important part of it. Ignat'ev was Governor-General of Petersburg. At the time there was in reactionary circles in Petersburg talk of subjecting striking students to corporal punishment. Gennadi, in Sobolevskij's opinion, should, like Van'ka Kain, be sent to a Baltic port . . . and suffer corporal punishment. The Princesses Urusov, adherents of Gennadi, were to dress in mourning for his literary failures. Gennadi worked a great deal and too rapidly. In a list of Gogol's works, for example, he omitted Dead Souls." In the cited issue of Russkiij arxiv P. Efremov notes that for his edition of Van'ka Kain Gennadi did not use the first edition as a basis, and also allowed many editorial errors to escape his notice; he adds that Gennadi was the butt of his circle, which included Dobroljubov and Nekrasov.
На Дмитриева

а/ Михайло Дмитриев похоронен, 
Он был чиновник в пятом классе. 
Он—камер-юнкер при дворе 
И камер-динер на Парнасе.

б/ Не умер я, благодаря судьбе, 
Могу я быть полезен снова: 
Быть в явной с Вяземским борьбе, 
И молна пьянеть в Снегирева.

в/ Так, я в твоем ошибся классе: 
Но верно в том не ошибусь, 
Что ты—болтушка на Парнасе, 
Плевальница для музы.

From Russkij arxiv, 1908, III, 405. Vjazemskij called M. A. Dmitriev, a talentless writer and nephew of the talented poet, "The False Dmitriev." When Sobolevskij committed his epigram upon Dmitriev's falsely-reported death (a), the latter responded with "b", adding that he was not of the fifth rank. Sobolevskij in turn responded with "c", correcting the error in fact but reinforcing his opinion of Dmitriev's talent. (From the cited Russkij arxiv and also Sobolevskij, 112.)

На Соллогуба

Вчера я видел Соллогуба. 
Как он сходил рассуждал, 
И как велет себя—ну любо! 
Благодарю, не ожидал!

From Russkij arxiv, 1895, I, 359. Sobolevskij considered Count Sollogub, the bellettrist and author, frivolous. For his part, Sollogub valued Sobolevskij and his talent. Sollogub loved to compose epigrammatic couplets which ended with the fashionable line, "Благодарю, не ожидал." (From the cited Russkij arxiv and Sobolevskij, 135.)
FOUR VERSES ON K. K. JANIS AND HER HUSBAND
K. K. ЯНИШ-ПАВЛОВОЙ

Ах, куда ни взглянешь,
Все любовь--могила!...
Цула намзель Яниш
В яму посадила.
Молит эта дама,
Молит всё о муже:
"Будь ему та яма
"Уже, хуже, туже ..."
"В ней его держите
"Лет, если возможно,
"Хоть бы до десятку,
"А там с подорожной
"Пустъ его хоть в Вятку,
"Коль нельзя в Камчатку!"

From Saitov, Sobolevskij, ..., 43-44; it is also in other sources in various less accurate versions. The husband of Karolina Karlovna Pavlova (née Janis) was in 1852 rather liberal in his spending of her money. Upon her complaint to the Governor-General of Moscow, Zakrevskij, Pavlov was imprisoned in the so-called "Nobles' Prison" where there was a place of detention for debtors known as "The Hole." Zakrevskij was more concerned with Pavlov's liberalism, however, than his misappropriation of funds. Illegal books were found in his possession and in April 1853 he was exiled to Perm', where he remained for several months. (From T. I. Panaev, Literaturnye vospominaniya, no city, 1950, 395, note 210.) Sobolevskij called Pavlova "Mademoiselle Janis" because she spoke often of her childhood, although married (Sobolevskij, 125-126).

K. K. ЯНИШ-ПАВЛОВОЙ

"Даает небо человеку
"Замену слез и частых бед:
"Блажен факир, узревший Мекку
"На старости печальных лет."
Но тот блаженней, Каролина,
Кто, мир и негу возлюбя,
Нарочно едет из Берлина,
Чтоб только посмотреть тебя!

Sobolevskij, 43; there are several other versions of this work also, one of which supposedly was addressed to A. A. Elagina (Russkij arxiv, 1877, II, 493, and 1893, I, 317, and 1894, I, 119). The first four lines
are from Puškin's "The Fountain of Baršisaraj." Janiš often told how A. Humboldt, the German naturalist, fell in love with her during his visit to Moscow in 1829, in spite of being considerably older than she. Later, after having travelled to Siberia on a scientific expedition, Humboldt supposedly returned to Moscow at considerable inconvenience to himself just to see her. (From Sobolevskij, 123.)

HA ЧТЕНИЕ К. К. ПАВЛОВОЙ В ОБЩЕСТВЕ ЛЮБИТЕЛЕЙ РОССИЙСКОЙ СЛОВЕСНОСТИ В МАЕ 1866 Г.

From Sobolevskij, 179-180. Pavlov, the husband of Janiš, was a journalist and belletrist; he and Sobolevskij were inimical to one another (from Sobolevskij, 132).
FOUR VERSES CONCERNING KANKRIN
КАНКРИНИАДА

Кто на север наш суровый
Изобилие пролил,
И кому венок лавровый
Сам народ определил?

Кто страней, скажите, отчей
Придал исполинский рост?
Кто построил, чудный зодчий,
Самопадающий мост?

То Канкрин! Пришел с алым
Из далеких, чудных чарок;
Стал Россией верным сыном,
Понабив себе карман.

Канкрину Россия верит
Золото и серебро;
Он за русское добро
Депотизм так и вет.

Оком быстрым и прилежным
Он повсюду проникнал,
За Уралом вечно-снежным
Геспериду отыскал.

Золотые самородки
Нашё! И порукой в том
Купленный у Безбородки
Трехэтажный пышный дом.

Они наши, они слиты,
На них выбит наш орел,
И на них у графа Литты
Он именье приобрел.

Серно-кислённая влага
Нам полезна, признал он,
И для общего всех блага
Захватил себе Бальдон.

В окончании легенды
Что осталось мне сказать?
За собой все аренды
Он умеет удержать.

/продолжение следует/
Канкриниада /продолжение/

Сяднами сидя на печке,
Мы узнаем, наконец,
Что для немца мы свечки
Шленских прибылей овец!

ЭПИЛОГ: И. С. МАЛЬЦОВУ

Над министром иль колонной,
Ты не смейся, горе тут!
Обойдут тебя короной,
Станиславом обнесут.

И поплёт тебя в Бразилию,
А не то, чтобы в Париж;
За служебные усилия
Ты получишь только шишь.

А со мною будет peggio!!
В съездий дом меня возьмут
И по всем частям arpeggio
Rinforzando зададут.

Зададут мне face-face,
И на тяжкие грехи
Будут сечь меня тем паче,
Чем смешней мои стихи.

The Kankriniaada and its epilogue are from Russkij arxiv, 1896, II, 49, and 1897, III, 297-298. The fourth quatrain of the Kankriniaada is faulty. The second quatrain alone of that work appears in the 1896 Russkij arxiv as cited. The Epilogue appears separately in that journal, 1874, II, 461, with minor variants; there it bears the title "Prijatelju (slluživšemu v Ministerstve Inostrannyx del)" and the date 1834. The 1897 version of the Kankriniaada has the date 1839.

Count E. P. Kankrin was Minister of Finance. Two public works, the construction of which was his responsibility, proved to be poorly built. The bridge which he built over the Krjukov Canal collapsed on the day of its dedication. The Aleksandr Column developed a crack. Kankrin received from Aleksandr I the possession of the curative Baldonsk springs; he raised sheep on his estate. In his later days Sobolevskij regretted having written these lines, for he
felt that Kankrin had been a good administrator and a frugal citizen.
Several Italian words in the Epilogue require explanation:

- **peggio**: worse;
- **arpeggio**: musical term describing rapid sweep of notes in a chord; here to describe the fall of clubs on a body;
- **rinforzando**: with reinforcement;
- **face-face**: probably intended as onomatopeic description of a beating.

Kallaš presents a variant of the Epilogue which he found in a manuscript collection of unidentified origin, with the title given below; he primly omitted the word in the next-to-last line which is here supplied in brackets. (From Soboleškij, 127-128.)

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ПО СЛУЧАЮ ТРЕЩИНЫ, ОТКРЫВШЕЙСЯ НА АЛЕКСАНДРОВСКОЙ КОЛОННЕ В С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЕ, О КОТОРой ЗАПРЕЩЕНО БЫЛО ГОВОРИТЬ МИНИСТЕРСТВОМ ДВОРА

Над министром иль колонной
Ты не смейся, горе тут:
Станиславом иль короной
Или чином обойдут.
Или будет ещё пеггю:
В частный дом тебя сведут:
И по э/денич/е арпеггю
И crescendo зададут.
Везомый парой, а не паром,
Москву изъездил Голендорф
И доказал князям, боярам,
Что есть и уголь, есть и торф.

Что после долгих умыслений,-
Открыли в сале стеарин:
Что на Руси есть дивный гений,
И этот гений—граф Канкрин.

Поверила Москва—столица
Церквей где сорок—сороков,
И эти сорок—единица
К числу наличных дураков.

Но эти выдумки—элодейки,
На зло восторженных речей,
Всех раззорили до копейки
Индустриальных москвичей.

И се—их прояснились очи!
Теперь уж их не проведешь:
Они зубами, из всей моши,
Схватились за последний грош.

Однако, вопреки науки,
И всех законов естества,
В бароне вежнее две штуки
Ценит ученая Москва.

From Russkij arxiv, 1884, III, 350. P. I. Bartenev there notes that the verse refers to the first Moscow Industrial Exposition, created by Minister of Finance Kankrin and his protegé Baron A. K. Mejendorf. "Golendorf" apparently refers to the latter gentleman.
К ГРАФИНЕ Р.

Ах, за чем вы не бульдог,
Только пола нежного!
Полюбить бы я вас мог,
Очень больше прежнего.

Ах, за чем вы не бульдог
С поступью, знать, гордой,
С четверней белых ног,
С розовою мордой!

Как не целовать мне лап,
Белых, как у кролика?
Как лобзанье ног у лап
Счастье для католика?

Быть графиней чтоб за стать?
И с какой ручкой
Вы осмелитесь сравнить
Хвостик с закорячкой?

From Russkij arxiv, 1874, II, 462, with minor corrections from Sobolevskij, 23. L. N. Pavliščev also included these lines in his reminiscences of his uncle A. S. Puškin (Iz semeijnoi kroniki, 70-71). The verse is addressed to Countess E. P. Rostopchina, an old friend of Sobolevskij from Petersburg, who later lived in Moscow. According to Bartenev (in the cited Russkij arxiv), she often rode in her carriage holding on her lap her little bulldog. She was a poetess of no little fame in her day. Her verses on Sobolevskij appear in the first chapter of the present work. Sobolevskij recommended her writings to Mérimée, who expressed a high opinion of them (see above, page 234).

К КОРОНАЦИИ 1856 ГОДА

Так, коронация--вам пир,
Супруги, дочери Москвитян.
А Москвитяне, в свой карман
Глядя, тоже говорят: ваш пир!

From Russkij arxiv, 1899, I, 206. The coronation was that of Aleksandr II.
Гр. А. Ф. РОСТОПЧИНО

Суровый Дант не презирал сонета.
Мы слышали, что дан вам некий чин.
За что же вам дана награда эта?
Что взяли вы?—Угру иль Майчачин?

И вследствие сего мы, два поэта,
Знать не хотя награды сей причин,
Вам шлем привет на край далекий света,
Любезный нам штальмейстер Ростопчин.

Сей чин верной, чем цепь Анонциады
И с королем Сардинским кузинаж,
Когда при нем возвышены оклады

Иль есть другой солидный авантаж.
И так сему мы награжденью рады
И вам кричим: кураж, кураж, кураж!

From Russki, arxiv, 1900, I, 319. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 115) notes that Rostopčin was serving in Irkutsk at the time of this verse, April 1870, and had been given the Sardinian Order of the Annunciation. The "two poets" involved are Sobolevskij and M. N. Longinov. The first line is the first line of A. S. Puškin's "Sonnet" of 1830 (Puškin, PSS-10, III, 166).

НАПИСАТЬ ХВАЛУ ВАМ СНОСНУЮ

Написать хвалу вам сносную
Добрый гений мне шепнул—
В радугу семиполосную
Я перо бы обмакнул;
Из Эдема взял бы лилию,
Песнь на ней бы начертил
И засыпал легкой пилию
С мотыльковых крыл.

From a manuscript collection found by Kallaš and quoted by him in Sobolevskij, 69.
КНЯЗЮ В. А. ЧЕРКАССКОМУ
/КОГДА ВЫБРАЛИ ЕГО ГОРОДСКИМ ГОЛОВОЙ/

Глава Москвы первопрестольной,
Тебе к бессмертию легок путь:
Для этого тебе довольно
Один приказ лишь подмахнуть.

Бессмертьем наградят заранее
Того, кто здесь устроит то,
Что благодарно Парижане
Именовали Рамбюто.

На каждой улице, Черкасский,
Устрой же нам такой приют:  
Из благодарности Черкасском
Его в городе прозвуют.

From Russkij arxiv, 1904, III, 144. Rambuteau installed sidewalk pisseirs in Paris. Such were subsequently installed in Moscow at the instigation of Professor V. I. Ger'e of the Moscow City Duma. Kallass, from whom these comments derive, found a second copy of this verse, with the title "Zavidnoe bes-smertie: kniazju V. A. Cerkasskomu," and the date August 12, 1869. (From Sobolevskij, 120.)
НА КОНЧИНЕ Н. Н.

Вот жизнь афериста!
Уж был человек!
Играл он Эгиста,
Играл журналиста,
Играл и юриста,
Во все весь свой век
Играя нечисто.

From Russkij arxiv, 1904, II, 308. It is probably di-
rected at Nikolaj Filippovič Pavlov, an actor who la-
ter became a director of the Moscow theater and an au-
thor and translator. He was a great gambler, and once
won P. V. Naščokin's table silver and carriage and ac-
tually took them away in the dead of night. (From Mo-
dzalevskij, Puškin, Pis'ma v trex tomass, III, 486,
which also has the text as quoted above.) Kallaš (So-
bolevskij, 121-122) notes finding the verse in a manu-
script version, with a second verse appended, and bear-
ing the title and Latin epigraph given here:

НА КОНЧИНЕ Н. Ф. ПАВЛОВА БЕЗ ВСЯКОГО ПРЕБУЖДЕНИЯ

I.
De mortuis aut bene, aut nihil.

Вот жизнь афериста!
Уж был человек!
Играл он Эгиста,
Играл и юриста,
Играл журналиста,
Во все весь свой век
Играя нечисто.

II.
Скорей всего, о смерть, ты косишь
И лучший злак, и лучший цвет,
Твоей пошады втуне просишь
За то, к чему шел столько лет.
Замрут уста, сомкнутся вежды,
Уж светлый превратится в тьму,
И лишина вдова надежды
Супруга засадить в тюрьму!
СКАЖИ ОПРИЧНИКАМ СВОИМ

Скажи опричникам своим
Что мы, по манипу народа,
Сюда, под сень гнилого свода,
Сошли мы и твердо здесь стоим.

Или попрет один хожалый
Дворянской грамоты права?!
Нет, одного на это мало!...
И вот является их два.

/Быстро расходятся и не заходят даже в буфет.../

From Russkij arxiv, 1911, II, 225. Bartenev there notes that this verse was occasioned by the elections of January 2/14, 1869. Doubt arose as to the strength of the balconies in the Great Hall of the Nobility in Moscow; which were strained by the weight of the many people who came to hear the speeches being given during the election. Sobolevskij here has the nobility address themselves to the Tsar with this announcement. See the next page for Kallaš on this work.
НАЕВШИСЬ ЩЕЙ, НАПИВШИСЬ КВАСУ

Наевшия щей, напившия квасу,  
Их разобран патриотизм.  
Хоть в двести семьдесят два гласа,  
Но безопасен сей цинизм.  
О цары! исполни их желанье.  
Пусть в два кружка их соберут.  
Поврёг Дворянское Собрание,  
Попереврёт и Лучший Люд.  
С Дворянской Думою мы сладим  
Легко, без грозного "Молчи!"  
Коль их надеждою помним  
На камергерские ключи.  
Потом, лишь будь уха стрельбя,  
Икрой зернистой лишь корми,  
Шампанским глотки лишь увляжъ я  
И слажу с Лучшими Людьми.

From Russkij arxiv, 1911, II, 254. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 64 and 130) prints this as Number Two of a two-part verse to which he gives the title "Po povodu dvorjanskix sobranij." Part One in that version is the same as "Skazi opričnikam svoim", given on the preceding page of the present work. Bartenev says (Russkij arxiv, 1911, II, 254) that the verse reflects the election of Prince Lev Gagarin as President of the Moscow nobility in 1864 or 1865. In the verse, Sobolevskij has Gagarin address the Tsar concerning the rumored bribes used to secure his election.
ПРИ ВСТРЕЧЕ С ДЕВУШКОЙ, КОТОРАЯ НЕКОГДА
ОЧЕНЬ ХВАЛИЛА НЕКОЕГО ВРАНГЕЛЯ

Вы о майоре Врангеле
Говорили мне,
Как будто бы об ангеле,—
Что он теперь, не в ранге ли

Des gens abandonnés?

Когда морской ванной
Лечился он от ран,
Вы были ему манной,
И там—то с вами, с Анною,
Затейл он роман.

Он /вследствие усилия/ вне
Любви вам не казал;
Но часто о Васильевне
Вздыхая, "Va, si elle venait,"
Сквозь слезы он шептал.

From Sobolevskij, 17. The first five lines alone appeared in Russkij arxiv, 1874, II, 461. Kallaš gives this verse the title "Anne Vasil’evne." Sobolevskij wrote the lines for her in her later years to remind her of her youthful meeting with Baron Wrangel, while they were both at the seashore, Wrangel recovering from war wounds. (From Sobolevskij, 112.)
НА ШИПОВА

Что же про Шипова,
Крошку-человечка?
Ума небольшова,
Пред женой—овечка.

From Sobolevskij, 77. For a note on the Šipovs see the following page.

НА М. С. НЕКЛЮДОВУ

Создав огромных пару глаз,
Бог к ним потом приделал вас.

From Sobolevskij, 80. The identity of Nekljudova is unknown.

БЕЛЬВЕДЕРСКИЙ МИТРОФАН

Бельведерский Митрофан
Благоверно окрестился,
И Христу он свой талан
В барыши отдать решил.

Но языческий свой сын
Любит гордый Митрофан:
Им одним его ты тронешь.

И указ Сидоном дан:
С Бельведера Митрофан
Митрофаном же в Воронеж!

From Sobolevskij, 82. Kallaš (ibid., 134) found these lines in a manuscript collection; he believed they refer to the hypocritical spiritual writer A. N. Murav'ev, to whom A. S. Puškin in 1827 addressed the epigram beginning "Лук звенит, стрела треpeřет ... ." and ending with the line used here as the first line. (Puškin, FSS-10, III, 9.)
ТАК, В НЕМИЛОСТЬ Я ПОПАЛ

Так, в неимилость я попал
К мудрой генеральше,
Хоть всегда себя держал
От нее подальше.
От чего пришла в азарт
На меня Шипиха?
— Что Шипов не Бонапарт:
Она не Монтекко.

From Russkij arxiv, 1899, I, 206. Sobolevskij was treasurer and sergeant-at-arms of the Society of Lovers of Russian Literature. Once, at a meeting of the Society, General S. P. Sipov and his wife, who were present as visitors, by mistake occupied seats reserved for members; Sobolevskij had to ask them to move. (From the cited Russkij arxiv.) In Russkij arxiv, 1908, I, 136, V. V. Danilov contributed the first quatrain only, with the comment that at that meeting Sobolevskij scribbled these lines on a scrap of paper and handed them to Danilov, who preserved them.

НА "ОБОЗ К ПОТОМСТВУ" Н. В. СУШКОВА

Идет обоз с Пarnасса,
Везет навоз Пегаса.

From Sobolevskij, 39; on page 120 of that work Kallaš quotes a longer version. (See the following page). Kallaš states that he found the verse written in Sobolevskij's copy of N. V. Suškov's "Oboz k potomstvu c knigami i rukopis'jami," which appeared in 1854. He calls Suškov an "ungifted, incredibly prolific writer." Saitov, in Sobolevskij, 43, also quotes this verse, noting that Suškov's work mentioned by Kallaš comprised his memoirs; he also refers to the author as "absolutely ungifted."
A. О. СМИРНОВОЙ

Не за пышные плечи,
Не за черный ваш глаз,
А за умные речи
Обожаю я вас.

По глазам вы—плутовка,
По душе вы—дитя;
Мне влюбляться будь льзко,
В вас влюбился бы я.

Что ж сказать мне о муже?
Похвалишь, то сожмешь;
А глупее и жже
С фонарем не найдешь.

From Russkiij arxiv, 1874, 462. Smirnova, née Rosset, was a friend of Puškin, Gogol', and Vjazemskij, as well as of Sobolevskij. The latter did not like her husband, N. M. Smirnov. (From Sobolevskij, 131.)

ГРУЗЯ СРЕДЬ БЕЛА ДНЯ ОБОЗ

Грузя средь бела дня обоз
К потомству лишь чужим товаром,
Извозчик не спроста, не даром
С своим задерживает воз.
Он знает, что добра такого,
С мануфактуры Пустякова,
Каким дарить перо ......ова,
По улицам не пустят днем;
А разве ночью втихомолку,
В чану, воткнув него светелку
С привешенным к ней фонарем.

From Russkiij arxiv, 1910, I, 77. The text is corrupt, as it is so unfortunately with several of the verses given herein. Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 120) states that he found the verse in a manuscript collection, also in corrupted form; he gives the name in the seventh line as "Suškov." For other comments on this and a similar verse see the preceding page.
A. П. ЕЛАГИНОЙ

Святая мученица Евдокия,
Моли Бога о нас!
Мы все грешные такие!!!
А первый из них аз.
Святая мученица Евдокия,
Моли Бога о нас.
Мы все усердно
К тебе прибегаем,
А ты милосердно
Напои нас чаем.
Святая мученица Евдокия,
Моли Бога о нас!

From Russkiij arxiv, 1909, II, 281. A note there states that Sobolevskij had attended Elagina's name-day party on March 1, 1842, in Petersburg, and the following March 21 wrote her from Moscow a letter with this verse. He called the verse "Akafist." A. P. Elagina was the mother of the Kireevskij brothers, her sons by her first husband.

НА 6. А. К. М.

Ханыков был в Бухаре,
А Любимов был в Пекине;
Уверяют, что донине,
Ни в долу, ни на горе,
Ни в пустынях Туркестана
Не встречали шарлатана,
Как вчерашний наш барон,
Многовальный пустозвон.

From Russkiij arxiv, 1884, I, 242. Kallash (Sobolevskij, 133) found the verse in a manuscript collection with the title "On Aleksandr Kazimirovič Mejendorf." Mejendorf (1798-1865) was an economist and the protégé of Minister of Finance Kankrin. He was known for the speeches on his subject which he read in Moscow in 1842 and 1843. This verse apparently discloses Sobolevskij's reaction to one such speech. Xanykov and Ljubimov were in the diplomatic service.
ЧЕСТНЫЕ ГОСПОДА

честные господа—не в России ль?
Охоты нет попасть на пир,
Куда скликали лорд Джон-Россел
И едет уж сир Чарльс Нэпир.

Фамильный лорду
Куда как будет срам велик,
Коли ему раскрасит морду
Наш необтесанный мужик!

From Russkiy arxiv, 1894, I, 114. "Ross" probably refers to Fort Ross, the Russian trading center north of San Francisco. Sir Charles Napier was the English admiral who commanded the British Fleet in the Baltic. The verse refers to the Crimean War. (From Sobolevskij, 137) Lord John Russell was the British diplomat Earl Russell of Kingston Russell, third son of the sixth Duke of Bedford. (From Encyclopaedia Britannica, XIX, 1961, 677.) Kallaš (Sobolevskij, 137) notes that the verse is concerned with S. D. Necaev; but there is no evidence for that, except for the fact that the verse appears in those pages of the 1894 Russkiy arxiv which hold several verses directed at that gentleman.

НА ОТЪЕЗД КНЯЗЯ ЧЕРНЫШЕВА НА КАВКАЗ
ДЛЯ РЕВИЗИИ ВМЕСТЕ С ПОЗЕНОМ

В Колхиду едет вновь Язон,
Руно же привезет не он,
А Позен.

From a manuscript collection found by Kallaš. Černyšev was the Minister of War; his aide, Pozen, was accused of accepting bribes. (From Sobolevskij, 59 and 130.)
ГОРОСКОПИЙ, УЧИНЕННЫЙ ПО СЛУЧАЮ РОЖДЕНИЯ
ЯСНОВЕЛЬМОЖНОГО АЛЕКСАНДРА АЛЕКСЕЕВИЧА ВАСИЛЬЧИКОВА

Поэт—пророк! Вот почему
Двоих вам предвижу жребий;
Внемли глаголу моему,
Новорожденный крошечка—ребенок!

Наделяешь ты тьму детей,
Как истый внучек Разумовских!
Попришь огромность статей
Ты всех возможных Третьяковских!

Тебе пророчу я талант
Различных качеств и манеров,
Издаешь ты не один фольварг,
Царю наставишь гренадеров.

От этого нам—кутерьма,
Тебе под старость отом и плачи;
Построишь для сынов дома,
И наставишь дочкам дачи.

А для меня расход другой:
Покупка новых книжных шкафов,
Лишь только будешь ты большой,
Вот как Шипов или Потапов.

From Sobolevskij, 20, found by Kallaš in a manuscript
collection (ibid., 113). A. A. Vasil'čikov (1832—
1890) was descended from the Razumovskij family; he
was author of the Dictionary of Russian Portraits
and the multi-volume The Razumovskij Family.
СЕГОДНЯ ПРАЗДНИК-ЮБИЛЕЙ

Сегодня праздник-юбилей,
Ради того, что барин некий
Был великий дуралей
Целых пять десятилетий.

From Russkij arxiv, 1895, I, 359. It is apparently directed at Nazimov, trustee of the Moscow teaching district, famed for his stupidity and good nature (from Sobolevskij, 116).

НА ФЕДОРОВА

Федорова Борьки,
Мадригалы горьки,
Эпиграммы сладки,
А доносы гадки.

From Sobolevskij, 14; in that source (page 111) Kallaš says (with the emphasis in the original): "It was attributed to Puškin and Baron A. A. Del'vig. Not a single positive fact speaks for its belonging to the former; against such an attribution to Del'vig militates the fact that the 'dirty denunciations' of Fedorov belong to the period after the death of Del'vig, for before the beginning of the 1830's he was only a bad and pretentious author. Bestuzhev-Marlinskij in 1823 called him 'a dirty philological thief and super-repulsive father'. . . . The authorship of Sobolevskij, supported by tradition dating from that time, is most likely . . . ." Fedorov (1794-1875) was a notorious police informer in his day, and also a prolific bad author (from Saltov, Sobolevskij . . . , 41, note 2).
From Sobolevskij, 107. Glinka's story concerning this little verse and his musical setting of it, are on page 15 above. In that version the order of the last two lines is reversed, and the first word is different, as the repeat of that verse given below will show:

Подъинспектор Колмаков
Умножает дураков,
Он глазами всё моргает
И жилет свой поправляет.

СТИХИ ПРО В. Д. Д.
Случилось-ли тебе пускать волчок по гладкому паркету?
Уж как шумит от пустоты.
Ни дать ни взять как ты,
Природной на смех пущенный по свету.

From Russkij arxiv, 1892, II, 397. Research has revealed nothing about this verse, which is apparently faultily recorded in the source.
М. П. ПОЛУДЕНСКИЙ АКТРИСЕ МУХИНОЙ, БРАТ КОЕЙ—
СТОЯР. В ДЕГТЯРНОМ ПЕРЕУЛКЕ НА ТВЕРСКОЙ

Елизавета Английского клуба
Чудный бережет товар
Некто мастерства сугуба;
Он обойчик и столяр:

Как его набита мебель,
Как удобно и легка
И для юношеских ....,
И для лени старика!

Счастлив он! Не тем, что кресла
И диваны продает—
Нет, он счастлив тем, что чресла
Мукиной на ней кладет.

Ангел мой, не будь же дурой,—
Прочь, законные мужья!
Бедь столярной политурой
Не побрезгую уж я!

Пусь шепнет мне милый ротик,
Что пришла, дескать, пора—
И набью я твой .......
Верь, не хуже столяра!

From Sobolevskij, 22, where the text has been bowdler-
ized. Poludenskij was a bibliographer (ibid., 114).
НА ЗАСЕДАНИЕ ОБЩЕСТВА ЛЮБИТЕЛЕЙ
РОССИЙСКОЙ СЛОВЕСНОСТИ /1859/ 

Когда б я был Аркадским принцем,
Я также бы библиофил
И свой народ я, как гостинец,
Статейками не раз дарили.
Но что в статейку ни поставь я,
А все лицом ударясь в грязь!
Проклятая библиофилья
Ни как, ни как мне не далаась.

Когда б я был Аркадским принцем,
В Аркадии ферму я завел,
Уютный домик с мезонинцем,
Двор для овец и улья пчел.
Топить я дом и мезонинец
Не нужно покупать мне дров;
На это мне пришлет в гостинец
Свои наданья Пустячков.

Я не бывал Аркадским принцем,
Но у вельможных у господ
В смиренью был я челядинцем,
И очищал я им проход.
И надувал я очень много
И многих, милые, из вас.
А всес ли Господа я Божа
Надую тоже в смертный час!

From Russkij arxiv, 1886, III, 272. After many years of quiescence the Moscow Society of Lovers of Russian Literature was reactivated in 1859. At this period, Jacques Offenbach’s operetta Orpheus in the Underworld was enjoying a great success in Moscow; particularly popular were the couplets of the "Arcadian Prince" which Sobolevskij here—and elsewhere in this collection—parodies. (From Sobolevskij, 123-125.)
ПРОМ ВСЕ ПРОЧИЕ

Когда я был Аркадским принцем,
В Любителях я заседал.
Всех просим: нами, как зверицем,
Любуйтесь, велик и мал.
Какие все ми купидоны!
Кто Антион, кто Аполлон!
Почто же, беременные жены,
От вас мужья нас гонят вон??

From Sobolevskij, 46. See the preceding page for a comment on this verse as a parody of Offenbach. The models for Antinaeus and Apollo are not known today.

АПРАКСИННОЙ /РЕШЕНИЕ АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ ЗАДАЧИ/

Что рай земной был меж Евфрат
И Тигра, ведомо давно;
Хоть в это веровали свято,
Но мне поверить мудрено.

По зрелому соображенью
Пришел к тому я убежденью
/А слышно, многие уже
Согласны в этом с Соболевским/--
Чтоб рай искать на рубеже
Уезда Дмитровского с Севским.

From Sobolevskij, 67. Kallaš notes that the estate of the Apraksin family, "Brasovo," was on the border between two counties in the Orlov gubernija.

К СВОЕЙ ПАЛКЕ, У КОТОРОЙ НАБАЛДАШНИКОМ ЛЫСАЯ ГОЛОВА

Чья это плешь нарядная?
Сократ или Мельтунов?
А все-таки отрадная
Защита от воров!
С сей палкой гуттаперчевой,
Забывши всякий страх,
Гуляй себе доверчиво
Хоть в Муромских лесах!

From Sobolevskij, 81. Mel'gunov is probably the writer of that name, Nikolaj Aleksandrovič.
МАДАМ МЕНД

Беру я десять пятачков,
Кладу их рядом; живо, ясно
Рисуется в душе, каков
Объем руки ее прикрасной.
Ах, что за маленький объем!
Лишь десять их, и затоскую,
Как будто бы мне класть на нем,
Что пятачок, по поцелую.
Хоть и не мне, а все подчас
Подумаешь: чтоб эту душку
Снабдить на таковой-то раз
Рукой толщины в Царь-пушку!

From Sobolevskij, 89. The identity of Mme. Mend is not known.

НА М. Е. КУБЛИЦКОГО

То, что меж рыбами осетр,
Кублицкий толк смотрит de lettres.

From Sobolevskij, 90. Kallak (ibid., 135) notes that during the 1870's Kublickij wrote on music and the theater; his visiting card bore the inscription, "Monsieur de Koublitzky, homme de lettres de Russie."

НА ДВУХ ГРЕКОВ

Врето и Тестоки,
Тестоки и Врето:
Оба грека, оба доки,
Что ни скажут, все не то.

From Sobolevskij, 93. The names are not identified.

П. И. БАРТЕНЕВУ, КОГДА ОН ОБЪЯВИЛ О СВОЕМ ЖЕЛАНИИ ЖЕНИТЬСЯ

Цепь из матrimониальных звеньев
Тебе понравилась, о мой Бартенев!

Ф. Ф. ВИГЕЛЮ

Ах, Филипп Филиппыч Вигель!
Тяжела судьба твоя:
По-немецки ты—Schweinwigel,
А по-русски ты—свина!

Счастлив дом, а с ним и флигель
В коих, свинства не любя,
Ах, Филипп Филиппыч Вигель,
В шею выгнали тебя!

В Петербурге, в Керчи, в Риге ль,
Нет нигде тебе житья:
Ах, Филипп Филиппыч Вигель,
Тяжела судьба твоя!

Счастлив дом тот и тот флигель,
Где, разверта не любя,
Друг, Филипп Филиппыч Вигель,
В шею выгнали тебя.

From Sobolevskij, 24. "Schweinwigel" is an error for "Schweinwigel"; a slovenly person. The final quatrain appears in Pavliščev, Iz semelnoj kroniki, 154.

F. F. Vigel' was infamous among Sobolevskij's friends for his reports to the police against members of that circle. He was a poor writer as well, and a notorious pederast. (From Sobolevskij, 114.) Pavliščev reports (page 73) that Vigel' was an enemy of Sobolevskij. Once, when Ol'ga Sergeevna Pavliščeva happened to mention the latter to him, Vigel' leaped to his feet and said, "Madame, ne me parlez pas de cette obsé-nité de la tête aux pieds!"
Просвещения "Маяк"
Издаёт большой дурак,
По прозванию Корсак;
Помогает дурачек,
По прозванию Бурачок.

From Sobolevskij, 28. Majak was a religious journal of the early 1840's, published by P. A. Korsakov and General S. O. Buračok. At one time the latter published a series of articles in which he proved the complete worthlessness of the poetry of A. S. Puškin, because the poet did not celebrate the name of Christ. (From Sobolevskij, 115.)

КЕТЧЕРУ

Вот и он, любитель пира
И знаток шампанских вин,--
Перепер он нам Шекспира
На язык родных осин.

From Sobolevskij, 21. Ketčer was a translator of Shakespeare. This epigram was at one time attributed to Turgenev. (From Sobolevskij, 113.)
НА ПОЛЕВЫХ

Нет подле до Алтая
Полевого Николая.
И глупее нет от Понта
Полевого Ксенофонта.

От Каспийского до Балтийского
До большого до Черного понта
Нет подле, нет сквернее
Полевого Ксенофонта.

От Кавказского до Уральского
До большого хребта до Алтая
Нет сквернее, нет подле
Полевого Николая.

The first version is from Sobolevskij, 42; the second, from page 122 of that anthology. These verses were originally attributed to Puškin, until Vjazemskij averred that they were by Sobolevskij. The Polevoj brothers edited the journal Moscow Telegraph.

Гр. А. Д. БЛУДОВОЙ

Я не причастен секте оной,
И в панславическом жару
Перед Булгарской Мадонной
Я на колени не паду.
Смешны мне синие чулочки,
Хотя б в пожилых годах,
Хотя б на министерской дочке,
На камерфрейлинских ногах.

From Russkij arxiv, 1906, III, 564. Countess Bludova was a lady-in-waiting and a strong supporter of Pan-slavism. Her father, Count D. N. Bludov, was a minis-ter—but Kallaš does not give his field. (Sobolev- skij, 113.) For further evidence of Sobolevskij's anti-Panslavist feelings, as well as another men- tion in verse of Bludova, see page 273.
FIVE VERSES ON BEREZIN-SIRJAEV
NA Я. Ф. БЕРЕЗИН-ШИРЯЕВА...

I.
Когда я был Аркадским принцем,
На книж был я очень рьян,
И этим тепл нас гостинец
Белуюненгви Белорян.

В известном городе Лугдуна
Жил некто Фишио Леон;
Моими книгами не втуне
Народ был очень восхищен.

Один Терений Кристиани
Про "Матерьялы" мне твердил:
"Вы не в свои садитесь сани,
"Библиограф-библиофил!"

И в том же городе Лугдуна
На площадях он повторил:
"Федулч-дучка! Души, плюни
"На святомом "матерьял!""

II.
Когда б я был Аркадским принцем,
То спроста ел бы свой бифштекс
И не касался бы мизинцем
До описи библиотек-с.

Я от стыда давно бы умер!
Как, издавая каталог,
Не знать, что лишь текущий нумер
Его полезным сделать мог!

III.
САКТМИЕНТАЛЬНАЯ ПЕСНЯ
Когда б я был Аркадским принцем,
В Лугдуна я б шале завел,
Уютный домик с мезонинцем,
Овечки, телки, улья, пчел.
Топить и дом и мезонинец
Березы я б не покупал,
На топку получал в гостинец
Березинский "Материал".

—Карамзин
ИУ.

Когда я был Аркадским принцем,
Я страственный был библиофил
И свой народ я, как гостинцем,
"Материалы" дарил.
В "Материалы" что ни ставь я—
А все лицом ударюсь в грязь!
Проклятая библиография
Ни как, никак мне не далася!

У.

Ежа, мовче народной веря,
Считал за дельного я зверя;
Тем более—ежей отца
Как не считать за мудреца
И в каждом деле—за дельца.

На опыте сие позверя,
Скажу теперь не лицемеря:
"По части книг...
"Свои описывать...
"Отыскивать их..."

These five verses directed to Jakov Fedulevič Berezn-Sirjaev, Sobolevskij's friend and biographer, are taken from the former's Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij (Iz vospominannij bibliofila), published in St. Petersburg in 1892; they are to be found respectively on pages 8-9, 9, 9-10, 11-12, and 12. Comments herein are from the same source, with page numbers indicated in parentheses. The verses are among the last written by Sobolevskij, dating from his acquaintance with Berezn-Sirjaev, 1868-1870.

Berezn's Material dlja bibliografii, prepared for use by professional bibliographers, appeared in 1868 and attracted Sobolevskij's eye. He entered into correspondence with Berezn and the two eventually met in Moscow on June 27, 1868. (4-5) Berezn's work was issued without an index, which caused Sobolevskij much distress; it also contained many typographical errors which serve as fuel for Sobolevskij's comments in the verses. Such errors included in the first-quoted verse are: "Lugduna" instead of "Lyons;" "Leon Fishio" instead of "Leonard Fuchs;" and "Terencij Eristiani" instead of "Terencij xristianyj."

(8-9) The second quoted verse contains a comment on the lack of an index and consecutive pagination in
the Material. (9) The third verse refers to the seventh volume of the Material and a misprint therein: in discussing the work of Karamzin, Berezin referred to its sentimental characteristics, the word being printed as "sentimentality." (9-10) The fourth verse contains Sobolevskij's reaction to the eighth and last volume of Berezin's opus, which appeared on July 1, 1870, three months before the death of the former. (11) Sobolevskij had earlier referred to that eighth volume as a "hedgehog"—"ez"—and to Berezin as its father; when later Berezin was unable to find some books for Sobolevskij, the latter wrote this fifth in the series of verses. Berezin did not print the last words in the final three lines because of their lack of decency. (11-12) Four of the five verses reveal Sobolevskij's fondness for the couplets from Offenbach's Orpheus in the Underworld mentioned several times in this chapter.
SIX FOREIGN LANGUAGE VERSES

UN JOUR EN CAUSANT

Un jour en causant des choses à d'autres
Et de la pluie à de beau temps,
Notre Seigneur d'a en montrant
Schevireff à ses Apôtres:
Amen, amen, en vérité, j'enrage,
En le créant en notre image
Papa ne nous a pas flatté...

From Sobolevskij, 95. The text is corrupt in the original manuscript version found by Kallaš (ibid., 136).

POUR ÉVITER VOTRE RUINE

Pour éviter votre ruine
Et que le diable les emporte,
Sire, chassez Golovnine
Et mettez Reitern à la porte.

From Sobolevskij, 63. Kallaš (ibid., 130) notes that Golovnin was Minister of Popular Education and Reitern was Minister of Finance.

WIR ALLE LEIDEN AN DEM SPLEEN

Wir alle leiden an dem Spleen,
Und nichts kann uns erheitern,
Hängt man nicht auf den Golovnine,
Mit Konstantin und Reitern.

EX CAMPIS ELYSIIS

Sie werden sie schon haben
Die Länder an dem Rheine,
Mit alles Gottesgaben
Und mit dem Moselweine.

Das heisst ja: annexiren
Des Rheines lincke Seite!
Уж немцу будет сирен,
Лишь чаще его бейте!

Sie werden es behalten
Und deutsche Mädchen .........en
Die jungern und die alten,
Die magern und die dicken.

Den Mädchen wird's gefallen,
Den ultra-deutsch gesinnten!
Viel besser als das knallen
All' ihrer Nagelflinten.

Ist auch den deutschen Schreibern
Gehässig der Franzose—
Lieb ist den deutschen Weibern
Die Ziegelrothe Hose.

Und wür der grosse Körner
Der Dichter, noch am Leben,
So wür' es grosse Körner
Für ihm aus Frankreich geben.

—1866

From Sobolevskij, 60. In 1866 Napoleon III attempted to extend the eastern boundaries of France in order to offset somewhat the rising power of Prussia. He ultimately failed. This verse apparently reflects Sobolevskij's sympathy with the French move—sympathy which came naturally to him as an old friend of the Empress Eugénie.
To A. I. von Kruzenstern

O wäre ich ein Potentat
(Das sollte mir jedoch gebühren),
Wer würde lenken meine Staat
Und meine Heere führen?
Wer würde tragen meinen Stern
Und meine Orden? Woll kein ander,
Als Du, mein lieber Alexander
Ifanowitch von Kruzenstern!

From Russkij arxiv, 1902, II, 368. Von Kruzenstern served in the diplomatic corps and was famed for his great love of awards and decorations (Sobolevskij, 129).

GULAK-ARTEMOVSKIJ

Artemovskij:

Adornato d'un tuluppo
Di ovtchina o di lutto,
Me ne vado in luoghi ameni
Per mangear della batveni,
Nella qual luc dello Tchesnoko...
Per rigar in libertà.

Chorus:

Vadi, vadi, qual tu sia
Nella Piccola Rossia;
Sarai sempre, car' amico,
Neotessani mujicco.

From Russkij arxiv, 1884, IV, 480. Gulak was a singer of the Petersburg Opera and eventually a composer. This verse was written in Florence, where Sobolevskij met Gulak, and in its mixture of Italian and Russian reproduces Gulak's speech habits. (From Sobolevskij, 115.)
CONCLUSION

On page one of this work V. Grakov, eulogizer of Sobolevskij on the centenary of his death, is reported as having written:

In the history of Russian literature one can name not a few persons who brought to that history little ... of their own creating, but who at the same time ... played leading roles in literary circles, and who were not without influence on the course of contemporary literary life. One of these people is ... Sobolevskij.

One hopes that the present work on the life and literary activity of Sobolevskij will serve to awaken attention to the contributions he made to Russian literature. His gift to Puškin of the forbidden edition of Mickiewicz resulted in the creation of the former's Bronze Horseman. His enthusiasm for his native literature led to Mérimée's becoming interested in it, and its eventual champion in the west. For these two reasons alone Sobolevskij deserves to be recognized. But his activity did not stop there. His presence influenced the lives of several others—Mickiewicz, Glinka, Petr Kireevskij, Pogodin, Bartenev, possibly even Georges Bizet—and his contributions to such literary enterprises as The Moscow Herald, Russkij arxiv, and various bibliographical journals were
not inconsiderable. His activity as bibliographer may be seen even today in the Lenin Library, formerly the Rumjancev Museum, the contents of which Sobolevskij catalogued for its original owner.

Sergej Aleksandrovič Sobolevskij was a witty, erudite, and keenly observant member of his society. Further exploration of his life will hopefully lead to the discovery of other interesting insights into his world than those catalogued herein.
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