

NOTES ON PROSODY

and

ABRAM GANNIBAL

Vladimir Nabokov

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From the Commentary to the author's
translation of Pushkin's EUGENE ONEGIN



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Contents

NOTES ON PROSODY

Author's Note	vii
1. Prosodies	3
2. Feet	4
3. The Scud	9
4. Tilted Scuds	17
5. Spondees	27
6. Elisions	30
7. The Origination of Metrical Verse in Russia	35
8. Difference in Modulation	46
9. Examples of Modulations	51
10. Counts of Modulations in <i>Eugene Onegin</i>	69
11. Other Meters and Rhythms	76
12. Differences in Use of Meter	80
13. Rhyme	82
Index	97

ABRAM GANNIBAL

Foreword	107
Pushkin's Comments Published During His Lifetime	108

Contents

Pushkin's Ancestors	111
The Documents	112
Dates of Abram Gannibal's Birth and Death	114
Gannibal's Origin	116
Gannibal's Birthplace	118
Gannibal's Sister	125
Gannibal's Parentage	127
Gannibal's Enslavement	131
Gannibal in Turkey	134
Gannibal and Raguzinski	139
Gannibal's First Years in Russia (1706-16)	145
Gannibal in Western Europe (1716-23)	148
Gannibal and Annibal	152
Gannibal's Later Years in Russia (1723-81)	153
Conclusions	155
Works Consulted	162
Index	169

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The following Notes on Prosody represent part (Appendix Two) of my Commentary to Aleksandr Pushkin's novel in verse, *Eugene Onegin*. The work, containing this commentary, with two appendixes, index, my critical translation of the novel, and a reproduction of the original 1837 edition, was published in four volumes in Bollingen Series, New York, and by Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

A few corrections, chiefly typographical, have been made for this reprinting. There was not space for a footnote that I should have liked to add, on p. 47, asterisked to the phrase "monosyllabic adjectives" in line 4 of paragraph 2, to wit: "Not counting, of course, the monosyllabic predicative forms—adverbish mongrels, really—of disyllabic adjectives, such as *glup*, 'is stupid,' from *glupïy*, or *bel*, 'is white,' from *belïy*."

*

The sketch of Abram Gannibal's life constitutes Appendix One of my Commentary to *Eugene Onegin*. Previous to its appearance in the four-volume edition, it was published in a somewhat abridged form, entitled "Pushkin and Gannibal," in *Encounter* (London), XIX: 3 (September 1962).

V. N.

NOTES ON PROSODY

Notes on Prosody

1. PROSODIES

The following notes on English and Russian iambic tetrameters are intended only to outline the differences and similarities between them. Pushkin is taken as the greatest representative of Russian poetry; the differences between his iambic tetrameters and those of other masters of the meter among minor and major Russian poets are matters of specific, not generic, distinction. Russian prosody, which came into existence only two centuries ago, is tolerably well known to native students: some good work has been done by a number of Russian theorists in relation to *Eugene Onegin*. On the other hand, the huge and ancient English genus is very imperfectly described. I have not been particularly interested in the question, but as much as I can recall I have not come across a single work that treated English iambs — particularly the tetrameter — on a taxonomical and comparative-literature basis, in a way even remotely acceptable to a student of prosody. In my casual perusals,

I have of course slammed shut without further ado any such works on English prosody in which I glimpsed a crop of musical notes or those ridiculous examples of strophic arrangements which have nothing to do with the structure of verse. In other works, muddleheaded discussions of "short" and "long," "quantity" and "equivalence," not only contain various traditional nonsense or subjective illusions of sense but do not afford any systematic notion of the iambic modulation beyond tedious arguments around and around "apostrophization," "substitution," "spondees," and so forth. In consequence, I have been forced to invent a simple little terminology of my own, explain its application to English verse forms, and indulge in certain rather copious details of classification before even tackling the limited object of these notes to my translation of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*, an object that boils down to very little—in comparison to the forced preliminaries—namely, to a few things that the non-Russian student of Russian literature must know in regard to Russian prosody in general and to *Eugene Onegin* in particular.

2. FEET

If by prosodies we mean systems or forms of versification evolved in Europe during this millennium and used by her finest poets, we can distinguish two main species, the syllabic system and the metrical one, and a subspecific form belonging to the second species (but not inconsistent with certain syllabic compositions), cadential poetry, in which all that matters is lilt depending on random numbers of accents placed at random intervals. A fourth form, which is specifically vague and is rather a catchall than a definite category (not yet having been instrumental in producing great poetry), takes care of unrhymed free verse, which, except for the presence of typographical

turnpikes, grades insensibly into prose, from a taxonomic point of view.

Except in one or two special cases, Greek and Latin verse forms are not taken into consideration in the following notes, and such terms as "iambic tetrameter" and so forth are not meant to suggest their ancient application, whatever that was, but are used strictly in reference to modern types of prosody, as convenient and innocuous nomenclatorial handles, instead of such ambiguous terms, in relation to metrical verse, as "octosyllables," and so forth. A foot is not only the basic element of meter but, in action, becomes the meter itself: a "monometer" is a line of one foot, and so on, to "hexameter," a six-foot line, beyond which the metrical line is no longer felt as a line and breaks into two.

Taken all in all, and with our quest limited to the latter half of the millennium in question, the greatest representative of the syllabic prosody in delicacy and complexity of modulation is certainly the French Alexandrine. The student is generally taught that its three characteristics are: an obligatory equality of syllables (twelve in masculine lines, thirteen in feminine ones), obligatory rhyme (in couplets or in any other arrangement, but with no two different masculine or feminine endings occurring in adjacent lines), and an obligatory caesura after the sixth syllable, which must be accented (or, if this is followed by a final *e muet*, the latter must be neutralized by an apocopate fusion with the vowel heading the second hemistich). Apart from niceties of instrumentation, which, after all, can be paralleled in other prosodies, but to which the French ear seems to be especially sensitive, a major part in the composition of the Alexandrine is played by a combination of the following elements (of which the first is, of course, a feature of other syllabic lengths as well). It should always be remembered that, whatever prosody is followed, the art of the poet depends

on certain contrasts and concords, constraints and liberties, denials and yieldings:

(1) The *e muet*: the interplay between the theoretical or generic value of the unelided *e muet* (which is never heard as a full semeion, as all the other vowels in the line are) and its actual or specific value in a given line. The number of such incomplete semeia and their distribution allow endless variations of melody, in conjunction with the neutralizing effect of apocopes in any part of the line. There are two main varieties of *e muet*, especially noticeable in rhymes (see §13, Rhyme).

(2) The interplay between the prosodically existing pause in mid-line and another pause, or pauses, or absence of pause, proceeding from the inward rhythm or logical sense, or irrational lilt, of the line. Especially beautiful effects have been achieved by the so-called romantics after the pedestrian eighteenth century had all but stamped out French poetry. This kind of acrobatic shifting back and forth across the constant caesural ha-ha is something not duplicated in English or Russian iambic pentameters (of the blank-verse type), in which the artificial caesural pause after the second foot is triumphantly sung out of metrical existence by a Milton or a Pushkin. In the French Alexandrine the caesura is well adjusted to the rhythm of human breath in slow reading, while, on the other hand, secondary pauses owing to "shifts" allow for precipitated or delayed exhalations.

(3) The enjambment or run-on, a fertile source of modulation, which is too well known from its presence in English iambics to need any explication here.

(4) The rich rhyme (which is especially beautiful *when* enjambed, just as the caesural pause is especially enhanced *when* sense glides across it). It is imitated by the Russian rule of rhyme, which will be discussed later.

The metrical system, on the other hand, is based first

of all on a regular recurrence of rhythm within a line of verse, in which foot stress tends to coincide with accent (word stress), and nonstress with nonaccent. This recurrence is seen as a sequence of similar feet. Each such foot can consist of either two or three divisions (*semeia*), one of which is stressed by the meter but not necessarily by the syllable of the word coinciding with it. This stressed division is called the *ictus*, while the unstressed divisions are called *depressions*. Mathematically, only five kinds of feet can exist: the iamb, the trochee, the anapaest, the amphibrach, and the dactyl.

For the final foot to be complete, the presence of one *semeion* is sufficient, provided it is an *ictus*. Conversely, the identity of the meter is not affected by any number of unstressed syllables coming after the final *ictus* of the line. This final *ictus* and these additions to it are called "terminals." A line terminating in an *ictus* is called "masculine"; a line terminating in one unstressed syllable is called "feminine." If the terminals of two, not necessarily adjacent, lines correspond in sound, the result is a "rhyme." The rhyme is masculine if the ultima of the last word of the line is stressed and coincides with the *ictus*. It is feminine if the penultimate coincides with the *ictus*, and "synthetic" or "long" if it is the antepenultimate that is stressed.

The samples given below illustrate the five combinations (of one *ictus* and one or two *depressions*) mathematically possible within the limits of one metrical foot. The first two are masculine tetrameters: (1) iambic and (2) trochaic; the rest are masculine trimeters: (3) dactylic, (4) amphibrachic, and (5) anapaestic.

- (1) The rós- | es áre | again | in blóom
- (2) Róses | áre a- | gáin in | blóom
- (3) Róses a- | gáin are in | blóom
- (4) The róses | again are | in blóom
- (5) And the rós- | es again | are in blóom

An example of pausative or cadential verse using the same words would run:

And again the rose is in bloom

which the metrically trained ear hears as three anapaests with one missed depression in the second foot causing a little gasp or pause, hence the term.

And a syllabic line would be:

De nouveau la rose fleurit

in which the *e* of *rose* is a type of depression that cannot be rendered in English, German, or Russian.

An iambic foot cannot be illustrated by a word unless that word is part of a specific iambic line. An iambic foot can be illustrated by signs only insofar as these signs are made to express the maximal four variations in which an iambic foot actually appears in verse:

- ∪ ∟ regular beat
- ∪ – scud (or false pyrrhic)
- ∪ – tilted scud (or false trochee)
- ∪ ∟ false spondee

To the discussion of these we shall now turn.

An ordinary iambic foot (i.e., one not affected by certain contractional and rhymal variations) consists of two semeia, the first semeion being called a depression (∪ or ∪) and the second an ictus (– or ∟). Any such foot belongs to one of the following types (with the basic metrical stress marked –, and the variable word accent '):

(1) Regular foot, ∪ ∟ (unaccented nonstress followed by accented stress); e.g., “Appéase my grief, and déadly páin” (Earl of Surrey, *The Lover Describeth His Restless State*).

(2) Scudded foot (or false pyrrhic), ∪ – (unaccented nonstress followed by unaccented stress); e.g., “In expec-

tátion of a guést" (Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, vi) and "In lóveliness of pérfect déeds" (ibid., xxxvi).

(3) Tilt (or inversion), $\cup$ – (accented nonstress followed by unaccented stress); e.g., "Sense of intólerable wróng" (Coleridge, *The Pains of Sleep*), "Vaster than Émpires and more slów" (Marvell, *To His Coy Mistress*), and "Perfectly púre and góod: I fóund" (Browning, *Porphyria's Lover*).

(4) False spondee, $\cup \angle$ (accented nonstress and accented stress); e.g., "Twice hóly wás the Sábbath-béll" (Keats, *The Eve of St. Mark*).

3. THE SCUD

We speak of an "accent" in relation to a word and of a "stress" in relation to a metrical foot. A "scud" is an unaccented stress. "An inextinguishable fláme" has two accented and two unaccented stresses.

When in verse a weak monosyllabic word (i.e., one not accented in speech) or a weak syllable of a long word happens to coincide with the stressed part (ictus) of a foot, there results a modulation that I term a "scud."

If an accented syllable in speech be notated ', and a stress accent in verse $\angle$, then a scud is marked –.

The unstressed part of a foot is marked $\cup$ (for which a "depression" is the best term).*

The verse quoted above is notated: $\cup - \cup \angle \cup \cup - \cup \angle$.

A scud can occur in any foot of any metrical line but is far more frequent in double-semeion meters or "binaries" (iambes and trochees) than in triple-semeion meters or "ternaries" (anapaests, amphibrachs, and

*When in verse a strong monosyllable coincides with a depression, the resulting element is marked $\cup$, but the use of this sign is really necessary only in the case of "tilts" (of which further).

dactyls).^{*} We shall be mainly concerned with scuds in the iambic tetrameter.

Weak—i.e., scuddable—monosyllables may be described as follows:

Monosyllables that are of comparatively minor importance (articles, prepositions, etc.), unless especially emphasized, and that are not usually rhymed on, are counted as scuds equivalent to unaccented but metrically stressed syllables in longer words (actually, this is truer of English than Russian, because in Russian verse a scud provided by a monosyllable is a trifle less fluid than one provided by a polysyllable—which, of course, has no secondary accent in Russian). Between a typical weak monosyllable (such as “the”) and an indubitably accented one (such as querulous “why”), there are gradations and borderline cases (“while,” “when,” “had,” etc.), which may be termed “semiscuds.” To determine them depends so much upon context, and is often so subjective a matter—in reference to random lines, at least—that one is not inclined to furnish a special mark for them (say, ÷). I have disregarded them in my percentile calculations. Semiscuds are not frequent enough in either English or Russian to affect numerical results when dealing with relatively small samples (say, fifty lines per poet). A special study of scuds, however, should take into account the fact that if we examine such Russian or English dipodies as:

eyo toski, which means, and is accented, “of her distress”
i on ubit, which means, and is accented, “and he is killed”

we cannot but notice that if these syllables are iambized, the first ictus in each case is somewhat less strongly emphasized than in:

^{*}A good example of scuds in the amphibrachic trimeter is Præd's *Good-Night to the Season*, ll. 23-4:

“Misrepresentations of reasons
And misunderstandings of notes.”

nemoy toski, which means, and is accented, "of mute distress"

i Dzhim ubit, which means, and is accented, "and Jim is killed."

Among indubitably scudded monosyllables the most obvious ones are: "a," "an," "and," "as," "at," "but," "for," "from," "if," "in," "like," "of," "on," "or," "the," "to," etc.

The scudding of such particles as "all," "no," "not," "was," etc., is a question of context and individual taste.

Similarly, in Russian, obvious and unquestionable scuds are: *dlya* ("for"), *do* ("till"), *i* ("and"), *na* ("on"), *ne* ("not," a word that should never be accented in good Russian), *no* ("but"), *ot* ("from"), *po* ("along"), *pod* ("under"), *u* ("at"), etc., whereas the scudding of *bil* ("was"), *net* ("no"), etc., depends on context and elective intonation.

When we turn to polysyllabics, the first thing we notice is an important accentual difference between English and Russian, and this has a definite repercussion on the frequency of pure scuds. In Russian, a polysyllabic word, no matter how long (provided it is not a blatantly artificial compound with the seam showing), can bear but one accent, and consequently a word of any length can bear only one stress accent in verse. Neither *neveroyátneyshie* ("most improbable," pl.) nor *vtkarabkavshiesya* ("scrambled out," pl.) has more than one accent. The first can easily be woven into a mellifluous iambic tetrameter (in which the last word means "dreams"):

neveroyátneyshie sní

whereas the shortest measure into which the second may be crammed is a somewhat bumpy trochaic pentameter:

vtkarabkavshiesya kott

(which means, in prose, "the cats that have scrambled out").

In English polysyllabic words, on the other hand, there may occur a secondary accent, especially in American speech, but still there are numerous long words that have only one accent, such as "guárdedly" or "considering." The secondary accent is found, for example, on the third syllable of the following word, when pronounced the American way: "mátrimóny"; but in British parlance, and thus in poetry written by Englishmen, it should be scanned "mátrimony." In the various examples of verses given further I shall disregard secondary accents when not intended by an English author, but the fact remains that a number of ordinary compounds, constantly recurring in poetry, do bear the ghost of an additional accent, with a resulting semiscud, such as "övermúch" or "sémidiámeters," whereas their Russian counterparts, *chereschúr* and *poludiámetri*, are strictly single-accented.

In regard to nomenclature, I should note at this point that Russian theorists use or have used for, or in connection with, the element I call a scud the terms *pirrihiy* ("pyrrhic"), *peon* ("paeon"), *poluudarenie* ("half stress" or "half accent"), and *uskoreníe* ("acceleration"). None is satisfactory. The notation of the pyrrhic (∪ ∪) suits, at best, two adjacent depressions in a line of ternaries, since it suggests an identical absence of stress and accent on both syllables, whereas the point is, of course, that there persists the shadow of the expected metrical beat on one of the semeia of a binary foot when it is scudded (nor can the pyrrhic be used in the sense of a foot in speaking of scuds in anapaests, amphibrachs, and dactyls, in which it is, as just said, a basic component). The same considerations apply to the paeon, which is a bulky thing containing two binaries (∪ ∨ ∪ ∪ or ∪ ∪ ∪ ∨, and there are other variations), so that the verse "the

inextinguishable flame" would be represented by two paeons of the type $\cup \cup \cup \text{ } ^\wedge$, whereas the verse "extinguishable is the flame" would be represented by both types. If the "paeon" is too big for use, the "half stress" or "half accent" is too small, since it strictly limits to one semeion the idea of "scud" (which, although focused on one semeion, affects the whole foot, especially in "tilt" variations). Moreover, this would entail terming the incomplete scud a "three-quarter accent," which would lead to cumbersome complications. Finally, the term "acceleration" is misleading because second-foot scuds have an exactly opposite—namely, slowing-down—effect upon the line.

In English theories of prosody scuds have been described as "weak places," which is too vague and ambiguous for recurrent nomenclatorial use, and defined as "omitted stresses," which is meaningless, since the metrical stress of a scudded foot is not "omitted," but merely not trodden upon by the unaccented syllable of the passing word, which, however, is aware of the unused steppingstone it skims.

The scudding of iambic tetrameters produces, in English, four simple varieties (of which, as we shall presently see, variety IV can hardly be said to be represented in Russian poetry); the scudded feet are underlined in the following examples:

- I $\cup \text{ } \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \text{ } ^\wedge$ Thě dīsregarded thing we break
Īs ōf the kind we cannot make;
- II $\cup \text{ } ^\wedge \cup \text{ } \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \text{ } ^\wedge$ We break thě dīsregarded thing,
 Not thinking ōf its wistful ring;
- III $\cup \text{ } ^\wedge \cup \text{ } \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \text{ } ^\wedge$ We break the thing wě dīsregard,
 We break the statūe ōf a bard
- IV $\cup \text{ } ^\wedge \cup \text{ } \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \cup \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } ^\wedge$ Near which an age was lingēr-
īng;

o ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ We take the thing and break the
thing.

(The last example is, of course, a scudless line.)

The following are examples of combinations of the above scuds:

I+II+IV ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - Īncōmprēhēnsibīlītŷ,
I+III ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ Thīs īn the unīvērse we see;
I+II ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ Ānd, īn thē cōnflāgration blent,
I+IV ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ - Stārs ānd the awful fīrmāmēnt
II+IV ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ - Shine dīstāntlŷ and sīlētly
II+III ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ On wīldērnēssēs ānd on me.

Of the above six forms, only I+III (not too frequent in English, but fairly frequent in Russian) and II+III (about as infrequent in Russian as in English) have Russian counterparts.

Other possibilities are, theoretically, III+IV, I+II+III, I+III+IV, but they are artificial tongue-twisters of no prosodical importance. I have omitted the accent on "stars" (∪) for simplicity's sake; the foot is a tilt-scudded one (∪-) instead of the basic ∪ ∪. (See § 4, Tilted Scuds.)

The scuds in the same verse and those in adjacent verses, when connected with lines, may form various figures, which express the modulation of the piece. Andrey Beliy (1880-1934), the inventor of this diagrammatic system, was the first to reveal that certain frequencies of scuds (which he called *pohuudareniya*, "half stresses") and certain geometrical figures resulting from their being connected by lines (triangles, quadrangles, trapezoids, etc.) were characteristic of this or that Russian poet's iambic tetrameters.* When I was still a boy, I was greatly fascinated by Beliy's admirable work, but have not consulted it since I last read it in 1919.

*See his tables, "Opit harakteristiki russkogo chetiryohstopnogo yamba," in *Simvolizm*, a collection of essays (Moscow, 1910).

If we apply the Belian system to the fourteen lines, above, given as examples of scudding, but use a slightly different kind of notation (with scudded feet represented by x's and scudless feet by o's), we obtain the following scheme:

I	II	III	IV
x	o	o	o
x	o	o	o
o	x	o	o
o	x	o	o
o	o	x	o
o	o	x	o
o	o	o	x
o	o	o	o
x	x	o	x
x	o	x	o
x	x	o	o
x	o	o	x
o	x	o	x
o	x	x	o

For the sake of easy reference I have collected, below, some English examples of scud modulation. They are mostly culled from Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (1850), which is by far his best work, and are then marked by the numeral of their section. The rest are added because not found in *In Memoriam*. Scudded feet are underlined.

Scudless: $\circ \perp \circ \perp \circ \perp \circ \perp$

Defécts of dóubt, and taints of blóod	[LIV]
And "Áve, Áve, Áve," said	[LVII]
The little village lóoks forlórn	[LX]

Scud I: $\circ - \circ \perp \circ \perp \circ \perp$

<u>And with the thóught her cólour búrns</u>	[VI]
<u>The generátions eách with eách</u>	[XL]
<u>Imaginátions cálm and fáir</u>	[XCIV]

Scud II: $\circ \perp \circ - \circ \perp \circ \perp$

In <u>lóveliness</u> of pérfect déeds	[XXXVI]
---------------------------------------	---------

And thine in undiscóver'd lánds [XL]
A frësh associátion blów [CI]

Scud III: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
The fár-off ínterest of téars [I]
She tákes a riband or a róse [VI]
In váin; a fávourable speéd [IX]

Scud IV: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
The práise that cómes to cónstancy [XXI]
Defámed by évery chárlatan [CXI]

Scuds I + II: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
As on The Lariáno crépt
[Tennyson, *The Daisy*]

Scuds I + III: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
In expectátion of a guést [VI]
My capabilities of lóve [LXXXV]
A contradíction on the tóngue [CXXV]
On the bald stréet breaks the blank dáy [VII]
[Cf.] To a green Thóught in a green Sháde [Marvell,
The Garden]

Scuds I + IV: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
All-comprehénsive ténderness, [LXXXV]
All-subtilísing íntellect

Scuds II + IV: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
On glórious insufficiéncies [CXII]
With ágonies, with énergies [CXIII]

Scuds II + III: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Most músicall, most melanchóly [Milton,
Il Penseroso]
This Éxtasie doth unperpléx [John Donne,
The Extasie]

Below is the analysis of fifty-line-long samples of scudded and scudless iambic tetrameters from ten com-

positions, of which eight are by English authors. Three belong to the seventeenth century, one to the eighteenth, and four to the nineteenth: Donne's *The Extasie*, ll. 1-50; Butler's *Hudibras*, pt. 1, can. 1, ll. 187-236; Marvell's *The Nymph Complaining for the Death of Her Fawn*, ll. 73-122; Cowper's *Written after Leaving Her at New Burns*, 49 ll. in all; Coleridge's *The Pains of Sleep*, ll. 1-50; Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, ll. 1-50; Browning's *Porphyria's Lover*, ll. 1-50; and Arnold's *Resignation*, ll. 1-50. These are compared to two sequences of similar length from Lomonosov's *Ode to Empress Elizabeth* (1747), and from Pushkin's *Evgeniy Onegin*, Four : IX-XII : 1-8 (1825). Semiscuds are not counted in any of the samples, and these are not large enough to permit more than a general impression of comparative scud frequency.

	I	II	III	IV	I-II	I-III	I-IV	II-III	II-IV	O
Donne	6	4	8	2	1	1		1	1	26
Butler	6	5	8	6		3			1	21
Marvell	16	4	8	1		1			1	19
Cowper	12	4	7		1		1			25
Coleridge	5	8	2	1		4		1		29
Tennyson	3	1	4							4 ²
Browning	6	2	6							36
Arnold	6	10	5	1		1	1			26
Lomonosov	1	8	24			2		1		14
Pushkin	3	3	3 ¹			6				7

See also § 9, Examples of Modulations.

4. TILTED SCUDS

In reference to an iambic line, a typical or unqualified "tilt" denotes a sequence of accented depression and unaccented stress, $\cup -$ (instead of the expected $\cup \angle$ or $\cup -$),

coinciding with any foot in the line.* Any tilt is a tilted scud, since the stress in such feet is not accented. English theorists term tilted scuds "inversion of stress"; a better description would be "inversion of accent," since it is the word stress that (more or less gracefully) feigns a surrender to the meter. The meter is basic and cannot succumb to the word.

Typical tilts in English iambs, to which they add considerable beauty, belong to four varieties insofar as number and length of words are involved in their production:

(1) The frequent "split tilt," which consists of an accented monosyllable (say, "deep") and an unaccented one (say, "in");

(2) The not-very-frequent "short tilt," which consists of an accented monosyllable and the unaccented first syllable of the next polysyllabic word ("dark in-"; see example, below);

(3) The fairly frequent "duplex tilt," which consists of a disyllabic word accented on the first syllable in ordinary speech (say, "guarded"); and

(4) The rare "long tilt," which consists of the first and second syllables of a trisyllabic word, accented on the first syllable in ordinary speech ("terri-"; see example, below).

Examples:

- (1) *Deep in the night on mountains steep,*
- (2) *Dark, inaccessible and proud,*
- (3) *Guarded by dragons, castles sleep;*
- (4) *Terrible stars above them crowd.*

*Even with the last one, if we regard the famous (perhaps, accidentally fivefold, or, perhaps, meant as a prose interpolation) "Never, never, never, never!" in *King Lear* (v, iii, 309) as a masculine line in iambic pentameter, entirely consisting of five tilted scuds and thus representing a maximal disembodiment of meter.

The "reverse tilt," which is less interesting artistically, denotes a combination of unaccented stress and accented depression, $- \cup$, instead of the expected $\angle \cup$ or $- \cup$, and may coincide with any even-place, odd-place segment of the iambic line except the last. The result is a scud tilted in reverse.

Reverse tilts come mainly in one variety, the fairly frequent "split reverse tilt," which consists of two monosyllables, the first unaccented and the second accented:

Sweet is the shiver of *cold* Spring
when birds, in garden *and* grove, sing.

There are two reverse tilts here: "of cold" and "and grove"; both are notated $- \cup$; but in the first line the accent (on "cold") is slighter, and metrically more acceptable, than the accent on "grove" in the second line. "Cold" is connected logically with the next word ("spring") and therefore skims on with the impetus of anticipation; it constitutes a common variation throughout the history of English iambs; but the logical beat on "grove" is equivalent in speech to that on the first syllable of "garden," with which it is phrasally linked; in result, the voice strains unduly to combine accent and stress, and the effect is jarring to the ear unless accepted as a deliberate experiment in rhythm variation transcending the meter. It will be noticed, incidentally, that if the second verse is read with a strict adherence to meaning, the prosodical result of "grove, sing" is, in binaries, the closest possible approach to a spondee (two adjacent stress accents); but they are separated by a pause (and it is in pausative variations that we take off from the metrical system in the direction of cadential forms).

Another variety, the "duplex reverse tilt," consisting of a disyllabic word accented on the second syllable

against the grain of a stress-unstress sequence of semeia (in the even-odd places of an iambic verse or in the odd-even places of a trochaic one), inevitably produces a harsh and uncouth effect, since the accent does not submit to the stress as flexibly as it does in the ordinary duplex tilt. Metrically, the iambic foot is stronger than the trochaic word; dictionally, the iambic word is more self-conscious, and thus stronger, than the trochaic foot. Reverse tilts have been vaguely designated as "recession of accent" by English theorists; e.g., Robert Bridges, in *Milton's Prosody* (Oxford, 1893, pp. 52-61).

As with all modulations in iambic meter, the beauty of tilt, especially of duplex tilt, which is such an admirable and natural feature of English iambic pentameter, and gives such allure to the rare lines in which Russian poets use it, lies in a certain teasing quality of rhythm, in the tentative emergence of an intonation that *seems* in total opposition to the dominant meter, but actually owes its subtle magic to the balance it tends to achieve between yielding and not yielding—yielding to the meter and still preserving its accentual voice. Only a blunt ear can perceive in it any "irregularity of meter," and only an old-fashioned pedant would treat it as the intrusion of another species of meter. In English poetry, its carefree admission by major poets, especially in the beginning of the iambic lines, is owing partly to the comparative scarcity of such words in English as conform to the regular iambic foot and partly to accents in English words not being so strong and exclusive as they are in, say, Russian.

I use the new term "tilt" or "tilted scud" in preference to "nonterminal wrenched accent," because physically no special wrench is involved; on the contrary, what happens is an elegant sliding movement, the tipping of a wing, the precise dipping of a balance. "Hovering accent" is ambiguous; and still more ob-

jectionable is the crude term "trochaic substitution," suggesting as it does a mechanical replacement of one block of elements by another block. The whole point of the device lies precisely in the iambization of a trochaic, or sometimes even dactylic, word. It is not a substitution, but a reconciliation: the graceful submission of a noniambic word to the dominant iambic meter of the verse. Further confusion arises from the fact that tilts can, and do, also occur in trochaic lines (in which case the sequence of places that a duplex tilt, say, occupies is not odd-even, as in an iambic line, but even-odd).

Duplex tilts have nothing to do with certain emancipations of meter that form a gradation toward cadential verse (e.g., the recurrent substitution, in the course of a piece, of one entire foot, in, say, an iambic tetrameter, by a triplex foot represented by a word, or words, that cannot be elided). George Saintsbury, for example, who somehow sees tilts as forms of "equivalence," gets hopelessly muddled in his treatment of these modulations.

The application of "wrenched accent" should be limited to forced terminals; i.e., to an artificial switch of accent, in a disyllabic rhyme word, from feminine ("Éngland") to masculine ("Englánd").

When we turn to an examination of tilts in Russian iambic tetrameters, the following facts transpire:

Split and short tilts are as natural a modulation in Russian as they are in English but occur less frequently. They are definitely rare in *EO*.

The split tilt is even less frequent than the short tilt, whereas the contrary is true in the case of English, where the long word is less frequent in the 1 + 4 or 1 + 5 or 1 + 6 or 1 + 7 syllable compartments of the line (where it has to sprawl in order to crowd out, as it were, the lone initial monosyllable of the line and thus produce the short tilt).

Finally (and here we have one of the main differences

between English and Russian prosodies as used by major poets), the duplex tilt, in any part of the line, does not exist in Russian trochaics or iambics (except for the small group of certain two-syllable prepositions, to be discussed further).

The split tilt is represented in *EO* by such more or less widely scattered lines as, for example:

Eight : XVII : 3: *Kák? iz glusht stepn'ih selénij . . .*
How? from the dépth of prairie
hómesteads . . .

Eight : XVII : 11: *Knyáz' na Onégina glyadít* . . .*
prince at Onégin [tum-tee] lóoks . . .

Seven : XVII : 10: *Ktý na bil'yárde otdíhál . . .*
cúe on the billiard did repóse . . .

Six : XL : 13: *Tám u ruch'yá v tent gustóy . . .*
thére, by the bróok, in sháde opáque . . .

In this last example the tilt is not so strong as in the preceding ones, and there are in *EO* a certain number of other tiltings of even less strength, such as on *gde* ("where"), *on* ("he"), etc., which are only semitilts.

The short tilt is represented by such lines as:

Three : IX : 4: *P'yót obol'stitel'nij obmán . . .*
drinks irresistible decéit ["imbibes
the ravishing illusion" would, of
course, be a closer rendering of the
contextual sense] . . .

One : XXXIII : 7: *Nét, níkogdá sred' p'ítkih dnéy . . .*
Nó, [tum-]not ónce mid férvíd
dáys . . .

*Here, and elsewhere, the obligatory article and absence of inflective extensions in English make it impossible to render, with any elegance or completeness, both sense and scansion in the same number of semeia. The translation follows the word order.

Six : v : 14: *V dólg osushát' butílki trí . . .*

[The meaning is "on credit to drain some three bottles."]

Two : xxviii : 4: *Zvyózd ischezdet horovód . . .*

[*Zvyozd*, "of stars," *ischezaet*, "disappears," *horovod*, a choral round dance performed in the open by Russian peasant men and maidens. The sense is "the choral dance of stars is disappearing."]

The duplex tilt does not occur freely in Russian verse: * its use is strictly limited to a dozen or so humble and servile disyllables, which, in speech, are accented on the first syllable but in verse are made, if need be, to undergo a neutralization of accent by scudding. In Pushkin's poems, these words are: *cherez* ("across," "over"), *chtobí* ("in order to," "so that," "lest"), *dabí* ("so as to"), *ili* ("or," "either"), *mezhdú* ("between," "among"), *oto* (the extended form of *ot*, "from," as used before some words beginning with certain combinations of consonants such as *us*), and *pered* ("before," "in front of"): †

Ruslan and Lyudmila,

I : 22: *Cherez lesá, cherez moryá . . .*

Over the woods, over the seas . . .

*I notice that on p. 39 of his frankly compilatory *Russian Versification* (Oxford, 1956), Prof. Boris Unbegaun, when speaking of the device here termed "tilts," is misled by one of his authorities and makes a singular error in his *only* (would-be) example of a duplex tilt in Russian verse by assuming that the first word in the iambic line that he quotes from the poem *Fireplace in Moscow* (*Kamin v Moskve*), published in Penza, 1795, by the poetaster Prince Ivan Dolgoruki, is pronounced *krásen*, when actually here it should be *krasyón* (despite the absence of the diacritical sign)—which, of course, eliminates the "trochaic substitution."

†Not only *oto*, but each of the other words (except *dabí*), possesses an abbreviated form: *chtob*, *chrez*, *il'*, *mezhdú*, *pred*; the last four are mainly used in verse (cf. "amid" and "mid," "over" and "o'er," etc.).

EO, Six : XVII : 11: *Chtobī dvuhútrenniy tsvetók . . .*
[which means: "lest a two-morn-
old blossom"]

Six : VII : 2: *Dabī pozávtrakat' vtroyóm . . .*
[which means: "so as to lunch
all three" (*à trois*)]

Seven : II : 9: *Ili mne chúzhdó naslazhdén'e?*
[which means: "or is enjoyment
strange to me"]

Eight : "Onegin's
Letter" : 17: *Oto vsegó,* chto sérdsu mlo . . .*
[which means: "from all that to
the heart is dear"]

One : LI : 6: *Pered Onéginīm sobrálsya . . .*
[which means: "before Onegin
there assembled"]

Lines beginning with these neutralized words are few in EO. It is therefore of great interest to note that in One : LVI, in which our poet affirms his eagerness to differentiate between Onegin and himself, lest the sarcastic reader or some promoter of slander accuse him of narcissism, Pushkin disposes consecutively three lines, each beginning with one of the six tiltable disyllables:

4 *Mezhdu Onéginīm i mnóy,*
 Chtobī nasméshlivīy chítátel',
 Ili kakóy-nibud' izdátel' . . .
[the last word meaning "editor,"
"publisher," or "promoter"]

One would almost think that our poet, in 1823, recalled Sumarokov's prosodical experiment of 1759 (see pp. 45-6).

Only one scudded trisyllable occurs in EO and in Russian verse generally. This is the staple *peredo* (an end-vowelized form of *pered*, "before," used in speech

*In masculine genitive case endings the gamma of the ultimate is pronounced *v* (*vsevo*).

mainly with *mnoy*, "me," to buffer the clash of consonants), which is normally accented on the first syllable, but in verse may be tilted in such a way as to coincide with a depression-beat-depression compartment; e.g., in *Onegin's Journey*, XVI : 9:

Razóstlan býl peredo mnóy

which may be paraphrased so as to render the tilt in the third foot:

before me spread welcoming mé.

Otherwise, the long tilt, rare in English, never occurs in Russian iambs. An approach to it appears in artificially compounded epithets, such as this translation of "rosy-fingered dawn":

Rozovo-pérstnaya zaryá

in which the hyphen does not prevent the epithet from becoming a word of six syllables carrying but one accent on *perst*, despite the fact that in ordinary speech *rozovo* as a separate adjective or adverb is accented on the first syllable.

The split reverse tilt occurs now and then in Russian verse, but on the whole Pushkin avoids it. Curiously enough, our poet was far from being a lucid theorist in prosody, but, as in Coleridge's case, the intuition of genius was a more than sufficient substitute in practice. In a MS footnote to *EO*, Four : XLI : 7, Pushkin incorrectly defends (by notating it as a pyrrhic ∪ ∪) the jarring split reverse tilt *vo ves'* ("at all," "in all," "in the whole"), which as a separate locution is accented in speech on the *ves'* ("all") and which he scud-tilted in reverse in two passages:

Four : XLI : 7: *Nesyótsya v góru vo ves' dúh . . .*
goes téaring úp hill at all spéed . . .

Three : v : 14: *I pósle vo ves' pút' molchál . . .*
and áfter, the whole wáy was múte* . . .

The duplex reverse tilt is completely banned by Russian major poets (but unintentionally used by some minor ones, such as Vyazemski, Ríleev, and others) because of its association with vulgarity and ineptitude, with the efforts of inexperienced versifiers, as well as with the semiliterate ditties of the servant hall such as the strum songs (*chastushki*) belonging to that deadliest of all folklore, the citified. Thus, in Chapter Four of his admirable novella *The Captain's Daughter* (1833-36), Pushkin, wishing to indicate the poor quality of a madrigal in trochaic tetrameters written by the young "I" of the story, Pyotr Grinyov, has him start l. 7 with a duplex reverse tilt characteristic of such stuff:

Oni dúh vo mné smutlí . . .

Oni (sounded as "ah-nee"), which means "they" (referring to Masha Mironov's eyes), is accented on the second syllable in speech but is horribly tilt-scudded in reverse here. The line means "they have confused [*smutlí*] the spirit in me." A criticism of this effort, and of the young lady who inspired it, is made by a fellow officer, Aleksey Shvabrin, and leads to an *épée* duel.

The *only* time Pushkin himself, by an unfortunate and incomprehensible oversight, uses a duplex reverse tilt is in l. 21 of his *The Feast at the Time of the Plague* (1830), a blank-verse translation (made from a French prose version) of act I, sc. iv, of *The City of the Plague* (1816), a blank-verse tragedy by John Wilson, alias Christopher North (1785-1854). The trochaically tilted word is *ego* ("his"), which is iambically stressed in speech:

*In the preceding stanza, Three : iv : 2, Pushkin stresses *vo ves'* correctly: . . . *vo ves' opór*, "at full career."

Ya predlagáyu vîpit' v ego pámyat'.

In mémoire of him I suggest drinking.*

Pushkin must have got hold of a fairly accurate version, perhaps with the English original *en regard*.

5. SPONDEES

Strictly speaking, the spondee—i.e., two adjacent semeia bearing exactly the same stress accent (˘ ˘) and following each other without any break or pause (as might suggest to the ear an inner caesura or missed beat)—is an impossibility in metrical verse as distinguished from cadential or pausative forms. But a kind of false spondee (˘ ˘ or ˘ ˘) is not infrequent.

It should be noted that there are certain disyllabic words, implicitly or actually hyphenated, that in a certain type of speech or under certain emotional conditions can sound like spondees. I have heard Berliners pronounce *Papa* as “pá-pá.” American youngsters, especially when stylized on the stage, give the two parts of “gée-whíz” practically the same value. And in slow, deliberate, ruminant American speech, especially in business pronouncements or didactic monologues, such a word as “contact” may become “cón-táct.” Any number of other two-syllable formulas of a similar kind can be listed. But the matter is rather of duration and jaw action than of accent, and whenever such a word is used in metrical verse it is bound to become a trochee or an iamb, or a scud, or a tilt; but it never becomes a spondee, unless its hyphen snaps and is replaced by a pause.

“Good God!” Blanche uttered slowly: “Good God! Look!” I looked, and understood.

“Rise! Rise!” I loudly cried to her

“O rise! Rise!” But she did not stir.

*Incidentally, Wilson's original (l. 20) reads:

“Therefore let us drink unto his memory.”

Notes on Prosody

If these lines are to scan at all, their only logical rhythm is:

♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ — ♩
♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
♩ ♩ — ♩ ♩ ♩

The force of the meter sorts out the monosyllables in a certain, iambic, way, and it would be sheer lunacy on a theorist's part to see "Good God" and "Rise! Rise!" as spondees. Thus the first "Rise! Rise!" is a rapid attack on a natural iambic scale, whereas the second set sounds much more slowly, with the last "Rise" lingering on in despair. In whatever way they are pronounced, they belong to the meter.

If we regard the so-called "elegiac pentameter" (really a dactylic hexameter with the depressions of two feet, third and sixth, missing) as one line:

♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

Cynthia, prim and polite, Cynthia, hard to outwit

then the midway combination of "-lite" and "Cynth-" may be regarded as a spondee, but a spondee interrupted by the caesura. This is tantamount to considering the two hemistichs as two separate verses, each a dactylic trimeter with a masculine ending. In result, what we call here a spondee is merely the combined effect of a strong termination and a strong beginning.

A similar case may crop up in trochees:

Pity, if you have a heart, pretty Nancy Brown,
Who on winter mornings, poor girl, must walk to town.

The second line is unscannable metrically unless we spade the spondee in two and write or hear these verses as:

Pity, if you have a heart,
Pretty Nancy Brown,

Who on winter mornings, poor
Girl, must walk to town.

The first verse of a famous, though not very good, poem by Tennyson (1842):

Break, break, break,

if given to read to a person who does not know the entire piece, will probably be scanned as a trio of solid and slow beats devoid of any pathetic sense. For all we know, it might be a boxing referee talking in his sleep. When, however, the dominant rhythm of the poem is known beforehand, then its ternary lilt, broken by pauses, affects by anticipation the scansion of the first line, which may be then scanned either as an anapaestic monometer or, more artistically, as an anapaestic trimeter, with the depressions missing and replaced by rhythmic pauses.

For true spondees, we have to go not to metrical verse but to cadential ones, in which the tonic scansion of what are "irregularities" to the confirmed metrist is of little or no interest:

Gone is Livia, love is gone:
Strong wing, soft breast, bluish plume;
In the juniper tree moaning at dawn:
Doom, doom.

It should be noted that in metrical verse the false spondee, when represented by a hyphenated word or by two strong monosyllables, will disclose its metrical leaning as soon as placed in any compartment of an iambic or a trochaic line and should not be confused with disyllables that may be accented either fore or aft. A false spondee will *generally* lean toward the iambic, for the simple reason that, while its first syllable can take care of itself, the second syllable or monosyllable must be especially strongly stress-accented in order to keep up with its predecessor and show what it can do in its turn (this is

especially clear when two strong monosyllables coming one after the other are identical words).

In Russian poems false spondees are less frequent than in English ones, only because strong monosyllables are less frequent. Turning to *EO*, we find therein a number of these combinations behaving as English false spondees do. Thus *hle^ub-sol^l'* ("bread-salt," meaning "hospitality," "welcome," "shared repast," "good cheer") is metrically duplicated by the sounds of "prep school" or "ebb-sole" (presumably a kind of fish), and *gde, gde* or *tam, tam* by "where, where" and "there, there" respectively. They *may* be placed in a trochaic medium, but (their inclination being iambic) a split reverse tilt will be the only result.

False spondees occur here and there throughout *EO*, but their presence adds little to variety in modulation. In such lines as:

Five : XVII : 7: *Láy, hóhot, pén'e, svíst i hlóp . . .*
Barks, laughter, singing, whistling,
claps . . .

Six : XXXIX : 11: *Ptl, él, skuchál, tolstél, hirél . . .*
drank, ate, was dull, grew fat,
decayed . . .

the accents (*Lay, Pul*) starting the lines are swept off their respective feet by the strong current of the iambic meter.

6. ELISIONS

There are two varieties of elision in English prosody, and it is especially the second that enhances richness of rhythm (the presence or absence of an apostrophe is, of course, merely a typographical detail of no metrical significance; but for the linguist its omission in print

sometimes throws light on matters of local or periodic pronunciation).

Of these two varieties the first is the rudimentary apocopation—i.e., the dropping or slurring of a final vowel before an initial vowel in the next word. A standard English apocope is the metrically suggested reading of “many a” as $\text{ˌ} \cup$ (instead of $\text{ˌ} \cup \cup$). I find it as early as c. 1393, in John Gower’s *Confessio amantis* (bk. III, l. 605). An especially common apocope is the one involving the definite article in such combinations as “th’advice,” “th’enemy,” and so forth. It is still used in modern metrical verse, but the diacritical sign is dropped, perhaps because of its association with obsolete and artificial forms of poetry.

The second variety of elision is the contraction that implies the elimination from the metrical count of a vowel in the middle of a word. Common contractions are, for example, words that have *ve* in the second syllable, such as “heaven,” “haven,” “given,” “never,” and so forth. A well-known contraction is “flower”—with tacit acknowledgment of its French pedigree (*flor*, *flour*, *fleur*) and its prosodical relationship with such rhymes as hour—our (cf. higher—fire). Shakespeare contracted not only “flower” and “being” into one semeion each, but compressed into two semeia such words as “maiden-head” and “violet” (“maid’nhead,” “vi’let”). In some cases, the strange evolution affecting *ve* has resulted in the formation of a new word, such as “o’er” instead of “over.” Among time-honored slurrings is the curious case of “spiritual” contracted from four semeia (spir-it-u-al) to a disyllable sounding like something between “sprichal” and “spirchal,” on the perfectly logical basis that if “spirit” is scanned, as it often is, monosyllabically (as happens with “merit” and “buried”) and if, say, “actual” is scanned “actu’l,” why not contract to one semeion each part of “spiritual” (“spir’tu’l”)?

The vowels *u* and *e* in the unaccented second syllable of trochaic verbs are prone to be elided in participle forms ("murm'ring," "gath'ring," "gard'ning," etc.). Numerous other cases of elision, such as the loss of the *i* value in "-tion" (another obvious analogy with French), come readily to mind and need not be discussed here. In result, the employment of tilt and elision can make a perfect iambic tetrameter out of a sentence that as spoken fits no meter:

watching the approaching flickering storm
watching th'approaching flick'ring storm.

The beauty of the English elision lies neither in the brutal elimination of a syllable by an apostrophe nor in the recognition of an added semeion by leaving the word typographically intact, but in the delicate sensation of something being physically preserved by the voice at the very instant that it is metaphysically denied by the meter. Thus, the pleasure produced by a contraction or a liaison is the simultaneous awareness of the loss of a syllable on one level and its retention on another and the state of balance achieved between meter and rhythm. It is the perfect example of the possibility of eating one's cake and having it.

Indiscriminate apostrophization disfigures elision by trying to reconcile eye and ear and satisfying neither. Judging by a certain pentametric line in *The Canterbury Tales* ("Twenty bokes, clad in blak and reed"—"Prologue," l. 294), I suppose Chaucer pronounced "twenty" as "two-enty," as children still do today, but must a printer try to reproduce chance mannerisms or iron out blatant errors? Inexperienced Russian versifiers have been known to expand *oktyábr*' ("October") and *skiptr* ("scepter") to *ok-tyá-ber*' and *skt-pe-ter*—mere prosodic mistakes of no interest.

Elision, properly speaking, does not occur in Russian.

Faintly approaching it is the substitution in verse of a "soft sign" (transliterated coincidentally by an apostrophe) for the valued *i* before a final vowel in such endings as *-anie* and *-enie* (analogical to "-ion" endings in English). Thus, the contraction of the three-syllabic *tlénie* ("decomposition") to the disyllabic *tlén'e* (I repeat, to avoid confusion, that the apostrophe here merely transcribes the soft sign—a letter that looks somewhat like a 6 in print or script) may be compared to the slurring of the *i* in "lenient" or "onion." Pushkin and other poets of his time wrote and pronounced *koy-kák* ("haphazardly") for *kóe-kák*; and the archaic omission of the final vowel in adjectives, which Pushkin permitted himself now and then (*stáři gódī*, "olden times," and *táyna prélest'*, "secret enchantment," for *stárie gódī* and *táynaya prélest'*), may be regarded as a crude form of elision. Otherwise, such metrical pronunciations as *zháv'ronok* for *zhávoronok* ("lark") and *dvoyúr'dnīy brat* for *dvoyúrodnīy brat* ("first cousin") are but the blunders of poetasters.

7. THE ORIGATION OF METRICAL VERSE IN RUSSIA

*Iz pámyati izgrǎzli gódī,
Kto i za chtó v Hotíne pál;
No pǎrvīy zvúk Hotínskoy ódī
Nam pǎrvīm kríkóm zhǐzni stál.
—HODASEVICH (1938)**

Years have from memory eroded
Who perished at Hotin, and why;
But the Hotinian ode's first sound
For us became our life's first cry.

*This century has not yet produced any Russian poet surpassing Vladislav Hodasevich (1886–1939). The best edition of his poems is *Sobranie stihov*, ed. Nina Berberov (Munich, 1961).

In this section I am not concerned with the anonymous remnants of medieval narrative poetry in Russia, the unrhymed and nonmetrical recitatives, whose form, botched by centuries of oral transmission, was, by the eighteenth century, when the metrical system was first borrowed from the West, incapable of providing individual talent with a diction and a technique:

*Chelovécheskoe sérdtse nesmýslénno i neúlmchivo:
Prel'stlysyá Adám so Évvoyu,
Pozabtlí záповed' Bózhíyu,
Vkuslly plóda vinográdnogo
Ot dtvnogo dréva veltkogo . . .*

Literal English translation:

The human heart is unreasonable and uncontrollable:
Adam was tempted, with Eve;
They forgot God's commandment,
They tasted the fruit of the grape
From the wondrous great tree . . .

These lines (11–15) from a famous recitative piece entitled *The Tale of Grief and Ill-Fortune* (*Povest' o gore i zloschastii*), written probably about 1625 and preserved in a single eighteenth-century MS copy, afford a good example of a loose folk rhythm or ritual rhythm that had flowed on for anything up to half a millennium, but that in the age of Lomonosov had practically no effect at all on the evolution of verse form in Russia. Patriotic scholars have attempted to find a trochaic rhythm in short-line Russian folk songs, but I cannot think of any such piece following a regular tonic scheme before the eighteenth century had set the metrical tune; the latter happened to be congenial to national speech accentuation but was, as most of modern Russian culture, a western European grafting upon an organism that, in intrinsic poetical power, surpassed the models stemming from eighteenth-century Germany and France.

The origins of a national versification are seldom interesting. Prosody begins to matter only after poets have started to use it, and no poets were the makers of ponderous didactic doggerels who in the seventeenth century and on the threshold of the eighteenth century rhymed unscannable lines of random length, in an abruptly Westernized Russia, in an attempt to introduce a Polish system of syllabic verse, with strictly feminine rhyme, stumbling on in cacophonous couplets. Unendurable dullness settles upon him who peruses these imitations of structures, mediocre in themselves and completely alien to the rhythm of live Russian. His poor rewards are a few chance strains of trochaic lilt audible here and there in the otherwise amorphous heptasyllables (not counting the feminine terminals) of the learned monk, Feofán Prokopóvich (1681-1736), and a few curious samples of moralistic pieces, in ludicrously incorrect Russian, put together by German pedagogues peddling various metrical imitations at the Russian court.

By the third decade of the eighteenth century, the syllabic line that really threatened to stay was an uncouth thing of thirteen syllables (counting the obligative feminine terminal), with a caesura after the seventh syllable:

Bezúmnïy prósit víná; zri! múdrost' p'ýot vódu.

The madman clamors for wine; see! wisdom drinks water.

The marks are there merely to show the accentuation of the Russian words; the English counterpart conforms exactly to the original. The order of stresses in the thirteener went in jumps and jolts and varied from line to line. The only rule (followed only by purists) was that the seventh, caesural, syllable must bear a beat. Another beat, the rhyme stress, fell on the twelfth syllable. It was on these two crutches that, as we shall presently see, a metrical form hobbled out of its syllabic prison and, casting away its props, suddenly began to dance.

In 1735, Vasilii Trediakovski (1703-69), a wretched rhymester but a man of intuition and culture, published a muddled and yet rather remarkable *New and Brief Method of Russian Verse-making*, in which he proposed a theory of metrical versification applicable to Russian thirteeners and offered examples composed in accordance with this theory. His "Rule First" reads: "The Russian heroic line [or "Russian hexameter"] consists of thirteen syllables, or six feet." All these feet were, according to him, binaries,* of four species, iamb, trochee, "pyrrhic," and "spondee," placed in any order within the line, except that the last foot (forming the feminine rhyme) was always a trochee, and the third foot was never a trochee or a "pyrrhic."

Now—granted that other misguided metrists had also considered the "pyrrhic" and the "spondee" as "feet"—Trediakovski's system of dividing a thirteener into six feet might have been all right if he:

(1) Had postulated that one of the six feet—namely, one in the first section (of seven syllables)—should be a ternary foot (anapaest, amphibrach, dactyl, or any of the fancy varieties of the old pedants), or

(2) Had transformed his "heroic line" into a feminine-ending Alexandrine by moving the caesura one syllable proximad, thus cutting the line into 3+3 feet, with a stress on the sixth syllable, and discounting the unstressed last syllable of the second section, as being part of the (feminine) rhyme.

Instead, Trediakovski, in order to divide thirteen by six without remainder, followed what seemed to him a more scholarly course: he disregarded the seventh (stressed) syllable of the first (seven-syllable) section, calling it a hypercalectic syllable; i.e., a stressed stop (by analogy with the time-honored error of counting as a

*He denounced ternary feet because their use made an "unseemly scamper" of Russian verse!

caesural stop, and not as the normal ictus of a truncated dactylic foot, the third stress in the so-called elegiac pentameter (see p. 28).

According to his system, the following typically syllabic couplet would have to be scanned as a first line consisting of a medley of myths: two iambs, a pyrrhic, the caesural stop syllable, a spondee, an iamb, and a trochee; and a second line consisting of another assemblage: three iambs, the caesural stop syllable, two iambs, and a trochee:

$\cup$ — The mad-	$\cup$ — man cla-	$\cup$ $\cup$ mors for	STOP	— — wine;	— — see! wis-
$\cup$ — dom drinks	— $\cup$ water;				
$\cup$ — The pant-	$\cup$ — ing rake	$\cup$ — arrives	STOP	$\cup$ — late;	— — success
$\cup$ — is thrift's	— $\cup$ daughter.				

Tredjakovski continues thus: "However, the most perfect and best verse is a line that consists solely or mainly of trochees, whereas a line consisting solely or mainly of iambs is a very bad one."

The first part of this passage was an epoch-making statement. Tredjakovski's attack on the iamb is readily explained by the fact that he so labeled an arbitrarily chosen component of a heterogeneous line broken by a gap no iamb could bridge. Well might he find fault with such doggerel rhythms as I have mimicked above.

It is also of no consequence that he saw his trochaic line as a combination of trochees and "pyrrhics," with the beat of the seventh syllable not counted as part of a foot. This omission did not distort the trochaic meter, for the simple reason that what he omitted was really a trochee truncated by a masculine termination. His faulty theories were redeemed by the "elegies" he submitted as examples; they possess no literary merit but

contain the first trochees deliberately composed in Russian, and prefigure, if not inaugurate, the metrical system.

His *Elegy* II (1735), ll. 79–82, reads:

*Dolgovátoe litsó i rumyáno bílo,
Beliznýu zhe svoéy usyó prevoskhodílo;
Búd' na bélost' zrísh' litsá, to liléi zryátsya,
Na rumyánost' búde zrísh', rózi to krasýátsya.*

Elongated was her face and of rosy brightness,
While surpassing everything by its lily whiteness;
When its whiteness you regard, lilies it discloses,
When its color you regard, lovely are its roses.

In each of these lines the thirteen-syllable abomination of the schoolman was metamorphosed, and what emerged was not one metrical line, as Trediakovski thought, but two trippingly scudded verses—a trochaic tetrameter (with a masculine termination) and a trochaic trimeter (including a feminine rhyme at the end):

When its whiteness you regard,
Lilies it discloses;
When its color you regard,
Lovely are its roses.

The birth of the iambic tetrameter, to which we now must turn, was not a consequence of the breaking up of the Russian heroic line—a trochaic potentiality to begin with. The favorite meter of later poets is heard raising its melodious voice now and then in syllabic verse as an undifferentiated variation of the nonasyllable. Thus, in a “cantata” consisting of syllabic lines of varying length, mostly unscannable, that Trediakovski, in his pre-metrical period, knocked together on the occasion of Empress Anna’s coronation (July 30, 1730), there is an accidental modicum of adjacent metrical verses such as:

*Vospléshchem grómko i rukámi,
Zaskáchem vésele nogámi . . .*

With hands, too, loudly let's be clapping,
With feet let's merrily be hopping . . .

which are ordinary iambic tetrameters scudded on the third foot.* But the introduction of the iambic tetrameter as an emphatic and conscious act, and the establishment of a clearly and correctly expressed metrical system of Russian prosody, were not owing to Trediakovski. He may be deemed the sponsor of the trochee. The godfather of the iambic tetrameter is the famous reformer Lomonosov.

In September, 1739, in a "Letter about the Rules of Russian Versification" (first published in 1778), which Mihail Lomonosov (1711-65) sent (from the German university town of Freiburg, where he was studying metallurgy) to the members of a philologic committee attached to the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, he advocated the total adoption of the metrical system and added as a separate illustrative item the first Russian poem, an ode, entirely and deliberately composed in iambic tetrameters. This is the *Ode to the Sovereign of Blessed Memory Anna Ioannovna on the Victory over the Turks and Tatars and on the Taking of Hotin* (or Khotin, a fortress in Bessarabia, SW Russia, formerly an old Genoese citadel, restored by the Turks with the assistance of French engineers, and stormed by Russian troops on Aug. 19, 1739). The MS of this piece, now known as *The Hotinian Ode*, is lost. Scattered fragments of its initial text are quoted by Lomonosov in his manual,

*Just as in the Northumbrian Psalter, of four and a half centuries ago, we find, here and there, iambic tetrameters, some of which are scudded on the third foot, such as "Of mǫuth of childer and soukánd [sucklings]"—Psalm 8, l. 5. See also the beginning of the so-called "Tale of a Usurer" in the *Sunday Homilies* of c. 1330, in which a Scud II occurs:

"An hólí mán biyónd the sé
Was bíschop of a grét cité."

A Brief Guide to Rhetoric, 1744 (pars. 53, 54, 79, 100, 105, 112) and 1748 (pars. 68, 163, 203). The *Ode* was published by Lomonosov, in a revised edition (revised both in matter and manner, to judge by the fragments in his *Guide to Rhetoric*), only in 1751 (*Collection of Various Works by Lomonosov*), though it seems to have been known to the curious long before that. It is in stanzas of ten iambic tetrameters rhymed babaccddde (as usual in my notation, the vowels represent feminine rhymes). In this particular ode the rhyme scheme reverses the feminine-masculine sequence (ababeecic) of the usual French ode of ten-verse stanzas (inaugurated by Ronsard, popularized by Malherbe), which Lomonosov used as a stanza model, and of the later odes by Lomonosov himself and by Derzhavin, his great successor.

In its preserved form of 1751 *The Hotinian Ode* begins:

- Vostórg vnezápnŭ ūm plenŭ,*
Vedyót na vérh gorŭ vŭsókoy
Gde vétr v lesáh shumét' zabŭl;
4 *V dolŭne tishiná glubókoy;*
Vnimáya néchto, klyúch molchŭt,
Kotórŭy zavsegdá zhurchŭt
I s shúmom vntz s holmóv stremŭtsya.
8 *Lavróvŭ v'yútsya tám ventŭsŭ,*
Tam slúh speshŭt vo vsé kontŭsŭ;
Daléche díŭm v polyáh kurŭtsya.

- A sudden rapture thralls the mind,
leads to the top of a high mountain
where wind in woods forgets to sound;
4 there is a hush in the deep valley;
to something listing silent is
the spring that murmured all the time
and down the hills with noise went surging;
8 there, laurel crowns are being wound;
there, hastes a rumor to all points;
smoke in the fields afar is rising.

The fountain is Castalia, on Mt. Parnassus.

This 1751 version of *The Hotinian Ode* has rather frequent scuds—for example, in II (a modulation that Lomonosov held in better favor than did Pushkin):

- 41 *Ne méď' li v chréve Ėtni rzhyót*
I, s séroyu kipyá, klokóchet?
Ne áď li tyázhki úzi rvyót
I chélyusti razlnut' hóchet?

Does brass in Etna's belly neigh
 And bubble, with the sulphur boiling?
 Is Hades tearing heavy chains,
 Endeavoring his jaws to open?

I have kept the literal sense and the rhythm but have sacrificed to their retention the alternate, masculine and feminine, rhymes. The word "neigh" is taken in the old sense, both English and Russian, meaning "to make a loud, harsh, jarring, and jeering sound." (In modern Russian *rzhanie*, "neighing," would apply only to the voice of a horse, or, vulgarly, to a succession of human guffaws.)

The rhyme sequence babaccdde in the odic stanza of ten lines (as used in *The Hotinian Ode*, ll. 41–50, in which the terminals are *rzhyót*, *klokóchet*, *rvyót*, *hóchet*, *rabí*, *rví*, *brosďet*, *naród*, *bolót*, *derzďet*;^{*} the cc rhyme here is a poor one, as will be explained further) follows not the musical French alternation that begins on a feminine rhyme and ends in a masculine one (ababeecic, as used, for instance, by Malherbe and Boileau), but German models in the odic department (in other respects, imitations of French, of course), which also provided Lomonosov with the predominance of scudless lines that he advocated in his early metrical theories. The babaccdde alternations are found, for example, in an ode by Johann Christian Günther (1695–1723), *Auf*

^{*}In English: neighs, bubbles, tears, wishes (all verbs), slave (fem. gen.), fosses, throws, people, marshes (gen.), dares.

den zwischen Ihre Röm. Kaiserl. Majestät und der Pforte An. 1718 geschlossenen Frieden, a formidable engine of five hundred verses dedicated to the peace concluded between Austria and Turkey (July 21, 1718). It has less than twenty per cent of scudded lines (not counting a few semiscuds). For example, ll. 11-20:

Die Walstatt ist noch nass und lau
Und stinkt nach Türken, Schand und Leichen.
Wer sieht nicht die verstopfte Sau
Von Äsern faul und mühsam schleichen?
Und dennoch will das deutsche Blut
Den alten Kirchhof feiger Wut
An jungen Lorbeern fruchtbar machen,
Und gleichwohl hort der dicke Fluss
Des Sieges feurigen Entschluss
Aus Mörsern und Kartaunen krachen.

Using my modification of the Belian system of notation (see p. 15), we have:

I	II	III	IV
o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o
o	x	o	o
o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o
o	o	o	o
o	o	x	o
o	x	o	o

There are a Scud II in ll. 13 and 20 and a III in l. 19.

The Hotinian Ode, although reversing the French order of rhymes (followed by Lomonosov in his later odes and in an earlier effort of his, in trochaic tetrameter, October, 1738, an imitation of an ode by Fénelon), contains in the quoted lines clumsy echoes of the imagery in the third stanza of Boileau's *Ode sur la prise de Namur* (1693; an imitation in style of Malherbe's ode *Au Roy*

Henry le Grand, sur la prise de Marseille,* composed 1596, pub. 1630), ll. 21-30:

Est-ce Apollon, et Neptune
Qui sur ces Rocs sourcilleux
Ont, compagnons de fortune,
Basti ces murs orgueilleux?
De leur enceinte fameuse
La Sambre unie à la Meuse
Deffend le fatal abord,
Et par cent bouches horribles
L'airain sur ces monts terribles
Vômit le fer, et la mort.†

Among the fragments (1744-48) of *The Hotinian Ode* we find such archaic lines as:

*Prettî' ne mógut ógn', vodá,
Orlítsa kak parlt tudá*

which can be rendered in sixteenth-century English:

Her can ne flame, ne flood retard
When soars the eagless thitherward.

Like all Lomonosov's verses, *The Hotinian Ode* has little poetic merit, but prepares the advent of Derzhavin, who was the first real poet in Russia. It should be noted that despite the clumsiness of Lomonosov's idiom, with its obscure banalities and perilous inversions of speech,

*That particular ode by Malherbe, and Boileau's poem, happen to be not in octosyllabics (as French odes generally are) but heptasyllabics, thus corresponding, in Russian or English, not to iambic but to trochaic tetrameters. The first Russian ode (1734), Trediakovski's *Ode on the Surrender of the Town of Gdansk* (*Oda o sdache goroda Gdanska*, referring to Danzig taken by the Russians in a war with Poland, 1734), in syllabic verse, is also an imitation of Boileau's piece, and was present at the back of Lomonosov's mind in the course of composition.

†The insipid rhymes *sourcilleux-orgueilleux* and *horribles-terribles* contrast oddly with the rich rhymes *Neptune-fortune* and *fameuse-Meuse*, both of which, however, were at least a century old in 1693. The two gods mentioned helped to rebuild the walls of Troy.

his iambic tetrameter already includes all the modulations that Derzhavin, Batyushkov, Zhukovski, and Pushkin brought to such perfection. At first Lomonosov deemed scuds good only for light verses, but in the mid-1740's gave in and sparingly used all the types of scuds we know. He was the first Russian to allow cross rhyme.

To be quite exact, actual priority in the inauguration of the Russian iambic tetrameter should be given not to the fragments of *The Hotinian Ode* found scattered through the *Rhetoric*, but to a sample of this meter supplied by Lomonosov in his letter of 1739 (and marked by a subtle, perhaps unconscious, use of the same "fair-face" imagery as that in Trediakovski's sample trochaic lines of 1735). This very first Russian iambic tetrameter goes:

Beléet búdto snég litsóm . . .

in which *Beleet*=he, she, or it "looks white," or "is fair-skinned," or "whitens" (intr.); *budto*= "as if," "similar to"; *sneg*= "snow"; *litsom*=instr. of *litso*, "face"; corresponding to "in face" or "of face." The closest translation allowed by the meter would be:

Appears as white of face as snow . . .

A little further, in the same letter, Lomonosov devises an example of a scud in the regular iambic tetrameter (at the time he approved of these "pyrrhic" liberties only in "songs"):

Tsvetf, rumyánets umnozháyte !

The first word means "flowers," the second, "rosy complexion" (cf. Trediakovski's less colloquial *rumyánost'*), and the third is "augment" (pl. imp.).

Ye bloóms, augmént your colorátion.

The samples of other meters that Lomonosov gives in his letter look similar, as if stills were taken of them while they hovered above an unknown context; but one

of his illustrations—namely, that of a dactylic hexameter—makes at least pleasing sense:

*V'yótsya krugámi zmiyá po travé, obnovivshis' v
rasséline . . .*

Windeth in circles a snake through the grass, in
a crack having molted . . .

I have not managed to keep the dactylic ending, but the feminine one is the one used by Zhukovski and Pushkin in this measure.

Of tremendous interest to the student of Russian prosody is a forty-four-line song (beginning *Gde ni gulyáyu, ni hozhú*, "Wherever ramble I or go," *Grust' prevelikuyu terplyú*, "I bear immeasurable woe"), which one of Boileau's Russian followers, Aleksandr Sumarokov (1718-77), produced in 1759, when, with Trediakovski's trochees and Lomonosov's iambs, the metrical system had triumphed over the syllabic one. This lyrical poem, a stylized peasant girl's love chant, is of little artistic worth but reveals a singular purity of phrasing, superior to the more imaginative but also more awkward idiom of Lomonosov. In it Sumarokov attempts to blend the liberties of stress, characteristic of the syllabic octosyllable, with a scansion that is practically an iambic one. To an iambically trained ear catching the rhythm of the first two verses, the entire piece sounds exactly like the Russian counterpart of an English poem in which the first foot, and the first foot only, is being boldly tilted in every line. There are as many as twenty duplex tilts, and even one long tilt, in it, while all the rest of the lines are split-tilted with various degrees of sharpness. Of the duplex tilts only one belongs to the small group of "neutral" words (l. 32, *Íli on póverhu plivýót*, "Whether upon the surface floats"). The others are such disyllables as *vésel* (l. 23) and *túzhít* (l. 29):

Vesel li tŕ, kogdá so mnóy?
Merry are you when you're with me?

Tuzhit li v tóy on storoné?
Grieving is he in yonder land?

The long tilt is in l. 18, *Sdelalsya mŕl mne kak dushá*, "Lovable grew he as my soul." Unfortunately, Sumarokov's tilts proved stillborn. This and other poems of his were rejected as syllabic fossils by the next generation, and not a single Russian poet, except one or two innovators of today, ever dared use the free duplex tilt that had been accidentally introduced by the rhythm of Sumarokov's curious experiment in meter.

8. DIFFERENCE IN MODULATION

The first thing that strikes the student visually when he compares Russian verse structures to English ones is the lesser number of words that go to form a Russian line metrically identical to an English one. This feature is owing both to an actual preponderance of polysyllables in the Russian language and to the inflective lengthening of its monosyllables such as nouns and verbs. Certain disyllabic forms, such as most nonmasculine nouns of two syllables, remain of that length despite inflective alterations (except in the instrumental plural, when a syllable is added); and, on the other hand, certain participial adjectives are capable of such a hypertrophy of caudal segments as to make them uncontainable within a tetrametrical line.

Generally speaking, it is only the lower words, such as prepositions and conjunctions, not affected by inflection, that can be readily compared to their English counterparts as represented in verse. But even this is sometimes not possible, since another extreme is obtained in Russian through the scriptorial dwindling of

three common Russian words to metrical nothings in the case of the prepositions *k* ("to"), *s* ("with"), and *v* ("in"), which as such (i.e., not lengthened to *ko*, *so*, *vo*, as they are for euphonic reasons before certain words) are not monosyllables at all, but ethereal consonants that are allowed a discrete existence only by grammatical courtesy. I hope that in the revised, and romanized, Russian script of the future these consonantal prepositions will be connected with the mother word by means of a hyphen (*v-dushe*, "in the soul").

The predominance of polysyllables in Russian verse (as compared to the prodigious quantity of monosyllabic adjectives and verbs in English) is basically owing to the absence of monosyllabic adjectives* in Russian (there is only one: *zloy*, "wicked") and a comparative paucity of monosyllabic past tenses among the verbs (e.g., *pel*, "sang"), all of which, adjectives and verbs alike, are lengthened by number, declension, conjugation, and nonmasculine gender. Inflection also results in the comparatively rare occurrence of lower words corresponding to those that speckle English verse and pullulate in English speech, although of course, in a stanza or short poem in which the notions of altitude, confrontation, or distance happen to predominate, the occurrence of *na* ("on"), *nad* ("above"), *pod* ("under"), *pred* or *pered* ("before"), *ot* ("from"), *do* ("to"), and so forth would be as frequent as in English. And last but not least, the quantity of words in the line is affected by the non-existence of Russian words exactly corresponding to the English definite and indefinite articles.

In result of all these facts, a Russian who wants to say "the man" uses only one word, but this word is a trisyllable: *chelovék*. Its dative, "to a man" or "to the man" or "to man," is *cheloveku* or *k cheloveku*—four syllables. *Dushá* is "soul"; and "in the soul" is *v dushé*—two syllables.

*See Author's Note, p. vii.

bles. Very seldom, in translations from Russian into English and vice versa, can one monosyllabic noun be rendered by another. Some comfort is afforded in this respect by the coincidences *dni* and "days," *sni* and "dreams," *mir* and "peace," and a few others, but the singular *son* is "a dream" or "the dream"—two syllables—and *sna* is "of the dream"—three syllables. And although we can find quite a few long adjectives in English to match those of five, six, and seven syllables that are so abundant in Russian, it will be immediately clear from a comparative study of serious English and Russian poets, especially those of the nineteenth century, that because of associations with the burlesque genre the lyrical English poet will use conspicuous polysyllables warily, sparingly, or not at all, whereas the Russian lyricist, especially one of Pushkin's time, who has no such worries, will feel a natural melodic association between, say, the melancholy of love and polysyllabic epithets. In consequence, the mark of a first-rate performer of the time—the 1820's, when the Russian iambic tetrameter was at its highest level of popularity with minor and major poets*—was the two-word or three-word technique; i.e., the art of making a minimum of words shape the line. This I term the "full line." The natural colloquial falling into place of large words coin-

*A decline of poetry set in after the time of Tyutchev (1803-73), despite the continued existence of two other major poets, Nekrasov (1821-77) and Fet (1820-92), neither of them a master of iambic tetrameter. The revival of poetry in the first two decades of this century was also marked by a revival of the meter in question; but a tendency has arisen among serious poets in recent years to give the form a greater concentration of meaning, sometimes at the expense of melody, owing perhaps to one's irritation by the upstart modulations used by a generation of rhymesters who easily caught the scudding knack after Beliy's work (1910), which found in scudding a separative agent to distinguish genius from mediocrity in the untheorizing past.

cides with an absence of gap fillers and lame monosyllables and results in a surge of scuds, so that, in the nineteenth century, a high rate of scuds became a sign of expert handling in matters of poetical idiom.

Masculine full lines in *EO* are limited to twenty-one combinations of three words and to six of two words (the additional possibility 1+7, involving the unpleasant I-II scud, was not used in Pushkin's day). The following are random samples typical of Pushkinian intonations in *EO*:

- 2+5+1: *Egó toskúyushchuyu lén'* [One : VIII : 8; which means "his fretting indolence" (acc.)]
- 2+4+2: *Vdál't Itál'ii svoéy* [One : VIII : 14; which means "far from his Italy"]
- 3+4+1: *Zhelániy svoevól'nŷy róy* [One : XXXII : 8; which is best rendered by the eighteenth-century French "Des désirs le volage essaim"]
- 1+4+3: *Chtob epigráfi razbirát'* [One : VI : 4; which means "in order to make out epigraphs"]
 - 7+1: *Zakonodátel' nitse zál* [Eight : XXVIII : 7; which means "in the legislatrix of salons"]
 - 6+2: *Ostanovílasya oná* [Five : XI : 14; the first word means "stopped," and the second "she" (one wonders by means of what miraculous circumlocution an English versifier might manage to compose a double-scud iambic tetrameter merely meaning "she stopped")]

The number of two-word or three-word lines is about thirty per cent in *EO*, to judge by a number of random samplings. In samplings from English poets, it rises from zero to barely five per cent. Among poets who use full lines more often than most English poets do, we find:

- 2+3+3: Suspends uncertaine victorie [Donne, *The Extasie*, l. 14]
- 2+6: Upon Impossibility [Marvell, *The Definition of Love*, l. 4]
- 4+2+2: Magnanimous Despair alone [ibid., l. 5]

and so forth; but in romantic poets, a natural contempt for Hudibrastics restrains somewhat the urge toward the formation of full lines. *

We can now sum up the main differences in modulation between English and Russian iambic tetrameters as used by major poets. †

English

(1) Scudless lines predominate over scudded ones in any given poem. In exceptional cases, at the maximal frequency of scudded lines, their number is about equal to that of scudless lines.

(2) Sequences of scudded lines are never very long. Five or six in a row occur very seldom. As a rule, they merely dot the background of scudless series instead of forming sustained patterns from line to line.

(3) Scuds are frequently associated with weak monosyllables, duplex tilts, and scudded rhymes (Scud iv).

(4) Scud I and Scud II occur about as frequently as Scud III but often tend to predominate, with Scud IV comparatively a rarity. The line is weighted accentually toward its end.

*Paradoxically enough, it is to English that we must go to find instances, in minor poetry, of a tetrameter made up entirely of one word. I am thinking of T. S. Eliot's *Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service*, which begins with the (apparently, jocular) line: "Polyphiloprogenitive." This, of course, can be (but never has been) duplicated in Russian; e.g., *polupereimenovat'* (which means "to rename incompletely" and illustrates the additional metrical feat, impossible in English, of obtaining three scuds in a row instead of the scud, semiscud, accented stress-scudded terminal of the English example).

†Among major Russian poets, the greatest masters in the form were, in the nineteenth century, Pushkin and Tyutchev and, in the twentieth, Blok and Hodasevich. Lermontov's iambic tetrameters do not reflect his genius at its best, even in his celebrated *Demon*. Baratinski and Yazikov are often mentioned with the major poets as tetrametric performers, but the first was definitely a minor poet and the second a mediocre one.

- (5) Feminine rhymes are scarce, insipid, or burlesque.
- (6) Elisions are more or less frequent.

Russian

(1) Scudded lines greatly predominate over scudless ones.

(2) Scuds often form linked patterns from line to line, for half a dozen lines in a row and up to twenty or more. Scudless lines rarely occur in sequences above two or three lines in a row.

(3) Scuds are frequently associated with the unaccented syllables of long words. Apart from the few exceptions noted, there are no duplex tilts. Rhymes are not scudded (absence of Scud IV).

(4) Scud III greatly predominates over other scuds. The line is weighted accentually toward its beginning.

(5) Feminine rhymes are as frequent as masculine ones and add extrametrical music to the verse.

(6) There are, strictly speaking, no elisions of any kind.

9. EXAMPLES OF MODULATIONS

English meter came into being almost four centuries before Russian meter did. In both cases, modulation was born with the measure. Among the tetrameters of Chaucer's *The Hous of Fame* (1383-84), there are trochaic and iambic lines that contain all the scuds of later poets, although as usual with English poets the basic pattern is the scudless line and not, as in Russian, the third-foot scud. In *The Hous of Fame* we find a few third-foot scuds (l. 352, "Though hit be kevered with the mist," or l. 1095, "Here art poetical be shewed"), a few second-foot scuds (l. 70, "That dwelleth in a cave of stoon"), a few combinations of second-foot and third-foot scuds (l. 223, "And prevely took arrivage"). It dis-

plays such rhythmic formulas as, for example, the famous one based on two sonorous names (l. 589, "Ne Romulus, ne Ganymede"), which probably every English poet who favored the tetrameter has used once or twice, down to our own times. Even tilts are present (l. 605, " 'Gladly,' quod I. 'Now wel,' quod he"), but they are still rare, for when faced with the necessity of using an initial strong monosyllable or a strongheaded disyllable, old poets often preferred to switch for a verse or two from the dominant iambic meter to a trochaic one (i.e., to a line shorter by one, initial, syllable) rather than to tilt the iambic foot.

It is not my intention here to outline, even cursorily, the history of the English iamb. But a few disjointed observations may be of some use.

I think that on the whole the iambic tetrameter has fared better in Russia than in England. The Russian iambic tetrameter is a solid, polished, disciplined thing, with rich concentrated meaning and lofty melody fused in an organic entity: it has said in Russian what the pentameter has said in English, and the hexameter in French. Now, on the other hand, the English iambic tetrameter is a hesitating, loose, capricious form, always in danger of having its opening semeion chopped off, or of being diluted by a recurrent trimeter, or of developing a cadential lilt. The English form has been instrumental in producing a quantity of admirable short poems but has never achieved anything approaching, either in sheer length or artistic importance, a stanzaic romance comparable to *Eugene Onegin*. The trouble is that with the English iambic tetrameter the pendulum of its purpose swings between two extremes—stylized primitivity and ornate burlesque. The scudless or nearly scudless iambic tetrameter has been consistently looked upon by English poets and critics as something characteristic of the "folk ditty" and conducive to an effect of "simplic-

ity" and "sincerity." Now, this kind of thing is a serious obstacle to the evolution of an art form. I am aware that the specious terms "simplicity" and "sincerity" are constantly employed in a commendatory sense by well-meaning teachers of literature. Actually, of course, no matter how "simple" the result looks, true art is never simple, being always an elaborate, magical deception, even if it seems to fit in well with an author's temperament, ideas, biography, and so forth. Art is a magical deception, as all nature is magic and deception. To speak of a "sincere" poem or picture is about the same thing as to call "sincere" a bird's mating dance or a caterpillar's mimetic behavior.

By the seventeenth century, the English iambic tetrameter, in the hands of some performers of genius, becomes capable of elaborate music while treating frivolous as well as metaphysical themes. But at this historical point a disaster takes place. The emancipation of the iambic tetrameter in England becomes associated with the tendency toward Hudibrastics. Even the exceptionally artistic poetry of Marvell tends fatally to lapse into the atrocious genre associated with Samuel Butler's burlesque. This kind of stuff—the boisterous and obscure topical satire, the dismally comic, mock-heroic poem, the social allusion sustained through hundreds of rhymed couplets, the academic tour de force, and the coy fugitive verses—is something intrinsically inartistic and antipoetical since its enjoyment presupposes that Reason is somehow, in the long run, superior to Imagination, and that both are less important than a man's religious or political beliefs. It has nothing to do with wit, but has a great deal to do with a certain persistent strain of mental archness that in modern times is so painfully audible in much of Mr. T. S. Eliot's work.

The sad fact is thus that the English iambic tetrameter, despite the genius of some great poets who made it sing

and shimmer, has been maimed for life by certain, still thriving, trends and forms such as light verse (e.g., more or less elegant rearrangements of conventional images and ideas), the burlesque or mock-heroic genre (a dreadful category that includes political and scholarly romps), didactic verse (comprising not only catalogues of natural phenomena but also various "meditations" and "hymns" reflecting the standard ideas and traditions of organized religious groups), and various junctions and overlappings of these three main varieties.

This is not to say that there are not many tetrametric masterpieces in English. Some of the following samples, to which diagrams of modulations are appended, come from immortal productions unsurpassed in any language by poems belonging to the same category. These samples are followed by diagrams of *EO* rhythms.

In all the diagrams, a scudless foot is designated by an o and a scudded one by an x. Semiscuds (such as the word "when") are treated as regular beats. Duplex tilts are italicized in the text (e.g., in the second sample, l. 6). Split tilts (e.g., in the same sample, l. 5) are not italicized. False spondees (*ibid.*, l. 2) are not marked in the diagrams, even when so topheavy as to border on the split tilt (e.g., in the sixth sample, l. 8, or in the sixteenth, l. 1).

I. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517?-47), *The*

I II III IV *Lover Describeth His Restless State:*

o	o	o	o	1 As oft as I behold, and see
o	o	x	o	The sovereign beauty that me bound;
o	o	o	o	The nigher my comfort is to me,
o	o	o	o	Alas! the fresher is my wound.
o	o	o	o	As flame doth quench by rage of fire,
o	o	o	o	And running streams consume by rain;
o	o	o	o	So doth the sight that I desire
o	o	o	o	Appease my grief and deadly pain.

Like as the fly that see'th the flame,	x	o	o	o
And thinks to play her in the fire;	o	o	x	o
That found her woe, and sought her game	o	o	o	o
Where grief did grow by her desire.	o	o	o	o
First when I saw those crystal streams,	o	o	o	o
14. Whose beauty made my mortal wound . . .	o	o	o	o

In this poem of forty-five lines, with from twenty-six to thirty-one words in each of its nine quatrains, there is only one word that has more than two syllables. In the fourteen lines given above, there are ninety-seven words, a number that is interesting to compare with the eighty words in a reasonably well-scudded English sample or with the Russian average of about fifty in a fourteen-line stanza of *EO*.

II. William Shakespeare (1564-1616), Sonnet CXLV (1609):

	I	II	III	IV
1 Those lips that Love's own hand did make	o	o	o	o
Breathed forth the sound that said "I hate"	o	o	o	o
To me that languish'd for her sake;	o	o	x	o
But when she saw my woeful state,	o	o	o	o
Straight in her heart did mercy come,	x	o	o	o
<i>Chiding</i> that tongue that ever sweet	x	o	o	o
Was used in giving gentle doom,	o	o	o	o
And taught it thus anew to greet;	o	o	o	o
"I hate" she alter'd with an end	o	o	x	o
That follow'd it as gentle day	o	o	o	o
Doth follow night, who, like a fiend,	o	o	x	o
From heaven to hell is flown away;	o	o	o	o
"I hate" from hate away she threw,	o	o	o	o
14 And saved my life, <i>saying</i> "not you."	o	o	x	o

In this elegant little sonnet (Shakespeare's only tetrametric one) the reader should note the comparatively high rate of scudding and, in the last line, the comparatively rare third-foot duplex tilt, here eased in by means of a concettic alliteration.

Notes on Prosody

I	II	III	IV	III. John Donne (1572-1631), <i>The Extasie</i> (pub. 1633):
o	o	x	o	37 A single violet transplant,
o	o	x	o	The strength, the colour, and the size,
o	o	o	o	(All which before was poore, and scant,)
o	o	x	o	Redoubles still, and multiplies.
o	o	o	o	When love, with one another so
x	x	o	o	Interinanimates two soules,
o	o	o	o	That abler soule, which thence doth flow,
o	o	x	o	Defects of lonelinesse controules.
o	o	o	o	Wee then, who are this new soule, know,
o	o	o	o	Of what we are compos'd, and made.
o	x	o	o	For, th'Atomies of which we grow,
o	o	o	o	Are soules, whom no change can invade.
o	o	o	o	But O alas, so long, so farre
o	o	o	o	50 Our bodies why do wee forbear?

A certain interesting eccentricity marks the rhythm of Donne, who has been somewhat overrated in recent years by lovers of religious verse. I have been slightly influenced in the choice of this particular passage by the presence of the very rare variation I + II, which, however, is a little impaired by the possibility of substituting a secondary accent for the second scud. There are plums in the rest of the pie; e.g., l. 29, "This Extasie doth unperplex," = II + III, and l. 66, "T'affections, and to faculties," = II + IV. The apostrophization of the ugly and trite elision in the second example is a mannerism of the time.

I	II	III	IV	IV. John Milton (1608-74), <i>L'Allegro</i> (c. 1640):
o	o	o	o	103 She was pinch't, and pull'd she sed,
o	o	o	o	And he by Friars Lanthorn led
o	o	o	o	Tells how the drudging Goblin swet,
o	o	o	o	To ern his Cream-bowle duly set,
x	o	o	o	When in one night, ere glimps of morn,
o	o	o	o	His shadowy Flare hath thresh'd the Corn
o	o	o	o	That ten day-labourers could not end,
o	o	o	o	Then lies him down the Lubbar fend.

And stretch'd out all the Chimney's length,	o	o	o	o
Basks at the fire his hairy strength;	x	o	o	o
And Crop-full out of dores he flings,	o	x	o	o
Ere the first Cock his Mattin rings.	x	o	o	o
Thus don the Tales, to bed they creep,	o	o	o	o
116 By whispering Windes soon lull'd asleep.	o	o	o	o

It is not easy to find a sustained sequence of iambic tetrameters in Milton, who deliberately interrupts their flow by beheading the iamb every time it begins to domineer. Cadential verse for him, as for Coleridge and Keats, was a great and fertile temptation. This extract from a resplendent masterpiece (l. 112 is one of the best in English poetry) is not very abundantly scudded, but extra modulation is achieved by means of the contractions so characteristic of Milton's style: l. 108, "His shadowy Flale . . ."; l. 109, "That ten day-labourers . . ."; and l. 116, "By whispering Windes . . ."

v. Samuel Butler (1612-80), *Hudibras*, pt. 1 (pub. 1662), can. I:

	I	II	III	IV
187 For his Religion it was fit	o	o	o	o
To match his Learning and his Wit:	o	o	x	o
'Twas Presbyterian true blew,	x	o	x	o
For he was of that stubborn Crew	o	x	o	o
Of Errant Saints, whom all men grant	o	o	o	o
To be the true Church Militant:	o	o	o	x
Such as do build their Faith upon	x	o	o	o
The holy Text of Pike and Gun;	o	o	o	o
Decide all Controversies by	o	x	o	x
Infallible Artillery;	o	x	o	x
And prove their Doctrine Orthodox	o	o	o	x
By Apostolick Blows and Knocks;	x	o	o	o
Call Fire and Sword and Desolation,	o	o	x	o
200 A godly-thorough-Reformation . . .	o	o	x	o

Hudibras teeters, of course, on the verge of jingle; in fact, it is the very parade of this teetering that barely saves it from hopeless topicality; but I give a sample of

the stuff because it displays one of the standard uses—the journalistic, mock-heroic genre—to which English and German satirists have put the most poetical of meters. The passage is scudded ostentatiously and vulgarly (a symptom of this is the frequency of iv). A rich scudding of iambic tetrameters is fatally associated in the English mind with jocose forms of minor poetry and with the same suggestion of verbal intemperance that makes the fancy rhyme odious in English.

VI. Andrew Marvell (1621–78), *To His Coy Mistress*

(pub. 1681):

i	ii	iii	iv	
o	o	o	o	1 Had we but World enough, and Time,
o	o	o	o	This coyness Lady were no crime.
o	o	o	o	We would sit down, and think which way
o	o	o	o	To walk, and pass our long Loves Day.
x	o	o	o	Thou by the Indian Ganges side
o	o	x	o	Should'st Rubies find: I by the Tide
o	o	o	o	Of Humber would complain. I would
o	o	o	o	Love you ten years before the Flood:
o	x	o	o	And you should if you please refuse
x	o	x	o	Till the Conversion of the Jews.
o	x	o	o	My vegetable Love should grow
x	o	o	o	<i>Vaster</i> than Empires, and more slow.
o	o	o	o	An hundred years should go to praise
o	x	o	o	14 Thine Eyes, and on thy Forehead Gaze.

Note the modulations in the second part of this passage. It comes from one of the greatest English short poems. I think that the “you” after the tilted “Love” in l. 8 rates half a scud, while the next one does not. Of the hundreds of English tetrameters I have examined, this—and certain sequences in Cotton and, alas, Samuel Butler—are closest in melodic figures to those so typical of Pushkin and his contemporaries, though still falling short of the Russian predilection for the rapid ripple of Scud iii.

vii. Charles Cotton (1630-87), *The New Year* (pub. 1689):

	I	II	III	IV
25 And all the moments open are	o	o	o	o
To the exact discoverer;	x	o	o	x
Yet more and more he smiles upon	o	o	o	o
The happy revolution.	o	x	o	x
Why should we then suspect or fear	o	o	o	o
The Influences of a year	o	x	x	o
So smiles upon us the first morn,	o	o	x	o
And speaks us good so soon as born?	o	o	o	o
Pox on't! the last was ill enough,	o	o	o	o
This cannot but make better proof;	o	x	o	o
Or, at the worst, as we brush'd through	x	o	o	o
The last, why so we may this too;	o	o	o	o
And then the next in reason shou'd,	o	o	o	o
38 Be superexcellently good . . .	x	o	x	o

For an English poet, Cotton is an uncommonly rich scudder and, in fact, outranks Marvell in the use of long words and rare modulations but also is much inferior to him artistically. He is the only poet among those I have studied whose iambic tetrameters contain a number of the unusual scud variation I+II, with or without tilt (e.g., *The Retreat*, l. 8, "And to my admiration finde"; *Valedictory*, l. 22, "Scarsely to Apprehension knowne"; *The Entertainment to Phillis*, l. 25, "Vessells of the true Antick mold"; and a few others).

viii. Matthew Prior (1664-1721), *An Epitaph* ("Interr'd beneath this Marble Stone"; pub. 1718):

	I	II	III	IV
17 Their Moral and Œconomy	o	x	o	x
Most perfectly They made agree:	o	x	o	o
Each Virtue kept it's proper Bound,	o	o	o	o
Nor Trespass'd on the other's Ground.	o	x	o	o
Nor Fame, nor Censure They regarded:	o	o	o	o
They neither Punish'd, nor Rewarded.	o	o	o	o
He car'd not what the Footmen did:	o	o	o	o
Her Maids She neither prais'd, nor chid:	o	o	o	o

Notes on Prosody

o	o	o	o	So ev'ry Servant took his Course;
o	o	o	o	And bad at First, They all grew worse.
x	o	o	o	<i>Slothful</i> Disorder fill'd His Stable;
o	o	o	o	And sluttish Plenty deck'd Her Table.
o	o	o	o	Their Beer was strong; Their Wine was Port;
o	o	o	o	30 Their Meal was large; Their Grace was short.

I have chosen the most modulated passage in this poem by an essentially second-rate performer true to his pedestrian age. Another sequence of the same number of lines (37-50) is completely scudless. The occurrence of scuds—when they do appear—in II is characteristic of poorly modulated, commonplace poems in which the scudless type of line greatly predominates. The rarity of tilts (in accordance with contemporaneous theory) is also symptomatic of prosodic poverty in poems of that period.

IX. Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), *Stella's Birth-day*

I	II	III	IV	(1726-27):
o	o	o	o	1 This Day, whate'er the Fates decree,
o	o	o	o	Shall still be kept with Joy by me:
o	o	o	o	This Day then, let us not be told,
o	o	o	o	That you are sick, and I grown old,
o	o	o	o	Nor think on our approaching Ills,
o	o	x	o	And talk of Spectacles and Pills;
o	o	o	o	To morrow will be Time enough
o	o	x	o	To hear such mortifying Stuff.
o	o	o	o	Yet since from Reason may be brought
o	x	o	o	A better and more pleasing Thought,
o	o	o	o	Which can in spite of all Decays,
o	o	o	o	Support a few remaining Days:
x	o	x	o	From not the gravest of Divines,
o	o	o	o	14 Accept for once some serious Lines.

This jogging rhythm, with isolated, halfhearted scuds and an avoidance of tilts, is typical of the "light verse" (a ponderous and dreary machine) of the Age of Reason. Some may not think that l. 8 should be allowed a full scud in III. I am not quite sure I should have included Swift's doggerel.

x. John Dyer (1700?-58), <i>Grongar Hill</i> (pub. 1726):				
	I	II	III	IV
79 And there the fox securely feeds;	o	o	o	o
And there the pois'nous adder breeds	o	o	o	o
Conceal'd in ruins, moss and weeds;	o	o	o	o
While, ever and anon, there falls	o	x	o	o
Huge heaps of hoary moulder'd walls.	o	o	o	o
Yet time has seen, that lifts the low,	o	o	o	o
And level lays the lofty brow,	o	o	o	o
Has been this broken pile compleat,	o	o	o	o
Big with the vanity of state;	x	o	x	o
But transient is the smile of fate!	o	o	o	o
A little rule, a little sway,	o	o	o	o
A sun beam in a winter's day,	o	x	o	o
Is all the proud and mighty have	o	o	o	o
92 Between the cradle and the grave.	o	o	x	o

A tame and typical minor poet endowed with a certain delicacy of touch and not as color-blind as most of his grove-and-rill brethren in that most inartistic of centuries.

xi. Samuel Johnson (1709-84), <i>On the Death of Dr. Robert Levet</i> (written 1782; pub. 1783):				
	I	II	III	IV
1 Condemn'd to hope's delusive mine,	o	o	o	o
As on we toil from day to day,	o	o	o	o
By sudden blasts, or slow decline,	o	o	o	o
Our social comforts drop away.	o	o	o	o
Well tried through many a varying year,	o	o	o	o
See Levet to the grave descend;	o	x	o	o
Officious, innocent, sincere,	o	o	x	o
Of ev'ry friendless name the friend.	o	o	o	o
Yet still he fills affection's eye,	o	o	o	o
Obscurely wise, and coarsely kind;	o	o	o	o
Nor, letter'd arrogance, deny	o	o	x	o
Thy praise to merit unrefin'd.	o	o	x	o
When fainting nature call'd for aid,	o	o	o	o
14 And hov'ring death prepar'd the blow . . .	o	o	o	o

The scant microbes of rhythm are a good test-tube sample of Samuel Johnson's plain rhythms.

				XII. William Cowper (1731–1800), <i>Written after Leaving Her at New Burns</i> (written c. 1754; pub. 1825):
I	II	III	IV	
x	o	o	o	12 Welcome my long-lost love, she said,
o	o	o	o	E'er since our adverse fates decreed
o	o	o	o	That we must part, and I must mourn
o	o	o	o	Till once more blest by thy return,
x	o	o	o	Love, on whose influence I relied
o	o	o	o	For all the transports I enjoy'd,
o	o	o	o	Has play'd the cruel tyrant's part,
o	o	x	o	And turn'd tormentor to my heart;
o	o	x	o	But let me hold thee to my breast,
o	x	o	o	Dear partner of my joy and rest,
o	o	o	o	And not a pain, and not a fear
o	o	o	o	Or anxious doubt, shall enter there. —
x	o	o	o	Happy, thought I, the favour'd youth,
x	x	o	o	25 Blest with such undissembled truth!

Cowper has left very few iambic tetrameters. Those of several of his flat *Olney Hymns* are not worth dissecting. The modulations of this poem come rather as a surprise (and perhaps reveal the concentrated music that the poor sick man had in him), seeing the pedestrian quality of most of his rhythms. I have chosen this passage to get in the very rare I+II.

				XIII. William Wordsworth (1770–1850), <i>A Whirl-blast from Behind the Hill</i> (composed 1798; pub. 1800):
I	II	III	IV	
o	x	o	o	1 A whirl-blast from behind the hill
o	o	o	o	Rushed o'er the wood with startling sound;
o	o	o	o	Then—all at once the air was still,
o	o	o	o	And showers of hailstones pattered round.
o	o	o	o	Where leafless oaks towered high above,
o	o	o	o	I sat within an undergrove
o	o	o	o	Of tallest hollies, tall and green;
o	o	o	o	A fairer bower was never seen.
o	o	o	o	From year to year the spacious floor
o	o	o	o	With withered leaves is covered o'er,
o	o	o	o	And all the year the bower is green.
o	o	o	o	But see! where'er the hailstones drop

The withered leaves all skip and hop;	o	o	o	o
14 There's not a breeze—no breath of air . . .	o	o	o	o

The poem, which is an admirable one, seems to have been deliberately kept almost scudless by its author, save for a burst of music toward the end, with the final line (22) scudded on II and IV ("Were dancing to the minstrelsy"). Wordsworth's later tetrameters are also sparsely scudded, with singing lines here and there interrupting lengthy spells of regular ones. With the Hudibrastic nightmare hardly more than a century old, no wonder genuine poets were chary of their scuds in serious verse. That Wordsworth could orchestrate his scuds brilliantly is proved by such lines as 1342-45 of *The White Doe of Rylstone* (composed 1807-08; pub. 1815):

Athwart the unresisting tide
Of the spectators occupied
In admiration or dismay,
Bore instantly his Charge away

in which the combination of scuds (II, I+III, I+III, II) produces a very Pushkinian modulation. In the same poem occurs the very rare I+II line (754):

With unparticipated gaze . . .

XIV. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), *The Pains of Sleep* (composed 1803; pub. 1816):

	I	II	III	IV
14 But yester-night I prayed aloud	o	o	o	o
In anguish and in agony,	o	x	o	x
Up-starting from the fiendish crowd	o	x	o	o
Of shapes and thoughts that tortured me:	o	o	o	o
A lurid light, a trampling throng,	o	o	o	o
Sense of intolerable wrong,	x	o	x	o
And whom I scorned, those only strong!	o	o	o	o
Thirst of revenge, the powerless will	x	o	o	o
Still baffled, and yet burning still!	o	x	o	o
Desire with loathing strangely mixed	o	o	o	o
On wild or hateful objects fixed.	o	o	o	o

Notes on Prosody

o	o	o	o	Fantastic passions! maddening brawl!
o	o	o	o	And shame and terror over all!
x	o	o	o	27 Deeds to be hid that were not hid . . .

In this great poem, contractions and split tilts add to the rippling of scuds, which here and there occur in consecutive lines as they do in the verses of Andrew Marvell and Matthew Arnold.

xv. George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788-1824), *Ma-*

I	II	III	IV	<i>zeppa</i> (composed 1818; pub. 1819):
o	o	x	o	15 Such was the hazard of the die;
o	o	o	o	The wounded Charles was taught to fly
o	o	o	o	By day and night through field and flood,
x	o	o	o	Stained with his own and subjects' blood;
o	o	o	o	For thousands fell that flight to aid:
x	o	o	o	And not a voice was heard to upbraid
o	x	o	o	Ambition in his humbled hour,
o	o	o	o	When Truth had nought to dread from Power.
o	o	o	o	His horse was slain, and Gieta gave
o	o	o	o	His own—and died the Russians' slave.
o	o	o	o	This, too, sinks after many a league
o	o	o	o	Of well-sustained, but vain fatigue;
x	o	o	o	And in the depths of forests darkling,
o	x	o	o	28 The watch-fires in the distance sparkling . . .

Mazeppa is not one of Byron's happiest compositions, but it serves my purpose as being mostly in iambic tetrameter. I have selected a passage from it to show his scudding at its poor best. The commonplace idiom is not redeemed, as it is in Wordsworth, by a concentration of rich poetical sense.

xvi. John Keats (1795-1821), *The Eve of St. Mark*

I	II	III	IV	(composed 1819):
o	o	o	o	1 Upon a Sabbath-day it fell;
o	o	o	o	Twice holy was the Sabbath-bell,
o	o	o	o	That call'd the folk to evening prayer;
o	o	o	o	The city streets were clean and fair

From wholesome drench of April rains;	o	o	o	o
And, on the western window panes,	x	o	o	o
The chilly sunset faintly told	o	o	o	o
Of unmatur'd green vallies cold,	x	o	o	o
Of the green thorny bloomless hedge,	x	o	o	o
Of rivers new with spring-tide sedge,	o	o	o	o
Of primroses by shelter'd rills,	o	x	o	o
And daisies on the aguish hills.	o	x	o	o
Twice holy was the Sabbath-bell:	o	o	o	o
14. The silent streets were crowded well . . .	o	o	o	o

The iambic tetrameter is not Keats' favorite medium of expression. He interrupts its flow either with shorter, lilted lines, as in *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* (in which each quatrain ends in a cadential line), or with sequences of trochaic tetrameters, as in the batch coming after l. 30 in *The Eve of St. Mark*. In the minds of many English poets of the time, tetrametrics were associated with folklore, naïve ditties, knights-errant, minstrelsy, fairy tales, and so forth.

xvii. Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-92), *In Memoriam*, xi (pub. 1850):

	I	II	III	IV
1. Calm is the morn without a sound,	o	o	o	o
Calm as to suit a calmer grief,	x	o	o	o
And only through the faded leaf	o	x	o	o
The chestnut pattering to the ground:	o	o	x	o
Calm and deep peace on this high wold,	x	o	o	o
And on these dews that drench the furze,	x	o	o	o
And all the silvery gossamers	o	o	o	x
That twinkle into green and gold;	o	o	o	o
Calm and still light on yon great plain	x	o	o	o
That sweeps with all its autumn bowers,	o	o	o	o
And crowded farms and lessening towers,	o	o	o	o
To mingle with the bounding main:	o	x	o	o
Calm and deep peace in this wide air,	x	o	o	o
14. These leaves that redden to the fall . . .	o	o	x	o

I have chosen this as a particularly brilliant example of scudding (based mainly on monosyllabics and partly owing to the repetition of a specific split tilt). There are,

however, other sequences of fourteen or more lines in other parts of *In Memoriam* in which there are no scuds at all, or in which these are reduced to one half of their value (e.g., sec. xv). See also pp. 15-16.

XVIII. Robert Browning (1812-89), *Porphyria's Lover*

I	II	III	IV	(1836):
o	o	o	o	29 For love of her, and all in vain:
o	o	o	o	So, she was come through wind and rain.
o	o	x	o	Be sure I looked up at her eyes
x	o	o	o	<i>Happy</i> and proud; at last I knew
o	o	o	o	Porphyria worshipped me; surprise
o	o	o	o	Made my heart swell, and still it grew
o	o	o	o	While I debated what to do.
o	o	o	o	That moment she was mine, mine, fair,
x	o	o	o	<i>Perfectly</i> pure and good: I found
o	o	o	o	A thing to do, and all her hair
o	o	o	o	In one long yellow string I wound
o	o	o	o	Three times her little throat around,
o	o	o	o	And strangled her. No pain felt she;
o	o	o	o	42 I am quite sure she felt no pain.

As already noted, the perception of semiscuds is a somewhat subjective affair and depends very much on the accentuation of adjacent words in the line. "She's," "me's," and "I's" may be sometimes very slightly accented, as I think they are here. Browning crams his iambic tetrameter so full of solid words that no wonder this admirable poem is so little scudded. There is a wonderful long tilt in l. 21, "Murmuring how she loved me—she," and the still more beautiful one in l. 37, which induced me to choose this passage. Split reverse tilts are also characteristic of his style.

XIX. Matthew Arnold (1822-88), *Resignation* (pub.

I	II	III	IV	1849):
o	o	o	o	122 Signs are not wanting, which might raise
o	o	o	o	The ghosts in them of former days—

Signs are not wanting, if they would;	0	0	x	0
Suggestions to disquietude.	0	x	0	x
For them, for all, time's busy touch,	0	0	0	0
While it mends little, troubles much.	0	0	0	0
Their joints grow stiffer—but the year	0	0	x	0
Runs his old round of dubious cheer;	0	0	0	0
<i>Chilly</i> they grow—yet winds in March	x	0	0	0
Still, sharp as ever, freeze and parch;	0	0	0	0
They must live still—and yet, God knows,	0	0	0	0
<i>Crowded</i> and keen the country grows;	x	0	0	0
It seems as if, in their decay,	0	0	0	0
135 The law grew stronger every day.	0	0	0	0

Further on, in l. 160, there occurs the rare long tilt ("Beautiful eyes meet his—and he"). Arnold's tetrameters are splendidly modulated and marked by that special device of artists in prosody, the interruption of musically flowing lines by compact verses full of false spondees. Compare all this with the snip-snap banalities of, say, Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-61), a poetaster, or the eighteenth-century meagerness of modulation in Byron's flat iambic tetrameters (e.g., *The Isles of Greece*, in which geographical names produce the few good scuds).

xx. William Morris (1834-96), <i>Old Love</i> (pub. 1858):	I	II	III	IV
9 He gazed at the great fire a while:	0	x	0	0
"And you are getting old, Sir John;"	0	0	0	0
(He said this with that cunning smile	0	x	0	0
That was most sad;) "we both wear on,	0	0	0	0
Knights come to court and look at me,	0	0	0	0
With eyebrows up, except my lord,	0	0	0	0
And my dear lady, none I see	0	0	0	0
That know the ways of my old sword."	0	0	0	0
(My lady! at that word no pang	0	x	0	0
Stopp'd all my blood.) "But tell me, John,	0	0	0	0
Is it quite true that pagans hang	0	0	0	0
So thick about the east, that on	0	0	0	x
The eastern sea no Venice flag	0	0	0	0
22 Can fly unpaid for?" "True," I said . . .	0	0	0	0

This minor poet, a kind of sterile cross between the stylizations of Tennyson and those of Browning, is no "master of the iambic tetrameter" (as I think Saintsbury has termed him), but he has not unpleasingly experimented in subdued rhyme and curious run-on patterns. The enjambment from one quatrain to another via an unaccented monosyllabic rhyme word in l. 20 is a rarity. The postverbal "on" (closing 12) is of course accented in speech and is not a rare rhyme.

I	II	III	IV	XXI. Modulations in EO, Four : IX, X, and XI:
o	o	o	o	1 <i>Tak tochno dúmal móy Evgéniy.</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>On v pérvoy yúnosti svoéy</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Bil zhértvoy búrnih zabluzhdéniy</i>
x	o	x	o	<i>I neobúzdannih strastéy.</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Privtchkoý zhízni izbalóvan,</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Odním na vrémya ocharóvan,</i>
x	o	x	o	<i>Razocharóvanniy drugím,</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Zhelán'em médlénno tomím,</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Tomím i vétrenním uspéhom,</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Vnimáya v shúme i v tishí</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Roptán'e véchnoe dúshí,</i>
o	x	o	o	<i>Zevótu podavlyáya sméhom:</i>
o	o	o	o	<i>Vot, kak ubíl on vósem' lét,</i>
o	o	o	o	14 <i>Utrátya zhízni lúchshiy tsvét.</i>

I	II	III	IV	
o	o	x	o	1 <i>V krasávits ón úzh ne vlyublyálsya,</i>
x	o	o	o	<i>A volochílsya kák-nibúd' ;</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Otkázhut—mígom uteshálsya;</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Izményat—rád bil otdohnút'.</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>On th iskál bez upoén'ya,</i>
x	o	x	o	<i>A ostavlyál bez sozhalén'ya,</i>
o	o	o	o	<i>Chut' pómnya th lyubóv' i zlóst'.</i>
o	x	o	o	<i>Tak tochno ravnodúshniy góst'</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Na vist vechérniy priezzháet,</i>
o	o	x	o	<i>Sadítsya; kónchilas' igrá:</i>
x	o	x	o	<i>On uezzháet so dvord,</i>

<i>Spokóyno dóma zasípáet,</i>	0	0	x	0
<i>I sám ne znáet poutrú,</i>	0	0	x	0
14. <i>Kudá poédet vvecherú.</i>	0	0	x	0

	I	II	III	IV
1. <i>No, poluchtv poslán'e Táni,</i>	x	0	0	0
<i>Onégin zhlvo trónut bíl:</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>Yazík devicheskikh mechtániy</i>	0	0	x	0
<i>V nyom dúmĩ róem vozmutill;</i>	0	0	x	0
<i>I vspómnil ón Tat'yáni mlloy</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>I blédnĭy tsvét, i víd untloy;</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>I v sládostnĭy, bezgréshnĭy són</i>	0	x	0	0
<i>Dushóyu pogruzílsya ón.</i>	0	x	0	0
<i>Bít' mózhet, chíuvstviy píl starínnoy</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>Im na minútu ovladél;</i>	x	0	x	0
<i>No obmanút' on ne hotél</i>	x	0	x	0
<i>Dovérchivost' dusht nevínnoy.</i>	0	x	0	0
<i>Tepér' mĩ v sád pereletím,</i>	0	0	x	0
14. <i>Gde vstrétilas' Tat'yána s ním.</i>	0	x	0	0

10. COUNTS OF MODULATIONS IN "EUGENE ONEGIN"

Pushkin's pet line was the *chetürestopnĭy yamb*, the iambic tetrameter. It has been calculated that during a quarter of a century, from his Lyceum period—say, 1814,—to the end of his life, January, 1837, he composed in this measure some 21,600 lines, which amounts to more than half of his entire output in any kind of verse. His most prolific years in regard to poetry were 1814, 1821, 1824, 1826, 1828, and especially 1830 and 1833 (from above 2000 to above 3000 lines yearly); his most barren years in the same respect were 1834 and 1836, with the annual count sinking to about 280. His greatest year in the production of iambic tetrameters was 1828, with some 2350 lines, after which there is a decided decline (e.g., only thirty-five such lines in 1832). I have taken

these figures, with slight alterations, from the *Metrical Guide to Pushkin's Poems* (*Metricheskiy spravochnik k stihotvoreniyam A. S. Pushkina*, 1934).

After having composed his long poem *Poltava* (in which, incidentally, such passages as ll. 295-305 and 401-14 form *EO* stanza sequences of rhyme but do not present separate entities of sense) in one fortnight (Oct. 3-16, 1829, in St. Petersburg) Pushkin seems to have experienced a certain revulsion toward his pet line, although *EO* was not yet completed. His remarkable piece *A Small House in Kolomna* (forty octaves in iambic pentameter, 1829-30) opens with the petulant statement:

Of the four-foot iambus I've grown tired.
In it writes everyone. To boys this plaything
'Tis high time to abandon . . .

However, he used it again for *The Bronze Horseman* (1833), the most mature of his tetrametric masterpieces.

In these notes on prosody, when illustrating such devices as scuds, tilts, false spondees, and so forth, I have discussed several aspects of the versification of *EO*. From the complete table of the scud modulations of *EO*, given for all 5523 lines, it will be seen that the predominant rhythm is Scud III (2603 lines). This is typical of the Russian iambic tetrameter in general. It will also be noted that the sum of all other scudded lines is about equal to the number of scudless lines (1515). Chapter One is unique in variety and richness of scudding. Two, Three, Four, and Five resemble each other in general modulation. Six, Seven, and Eight offer a certain drop in some of the categories.

There are six stanzas in *EO* with every line scudded (Two : IX, Lenski's soul; Three : VI, gossip about Tatiana and Onegin; Three : XX, Tatiana's confession to nurse; Three : XXIV, Tatiana defended; Six : XIII, Lenski goes to visit Olga before duel; Six : XL, Lenski's tomb) and

twenty-six stanzas with only one scudless line in each. No stanza is entirely scudless. The maximum amount of scudded lines is twenty-three in a row, and there are three cases of such sequences: Three : V : 11 to VII : 5; Three : XXIII : 11 to XXV : 5; and Six : XII : 6 to XIII : 14. In all these cases the vivid sustained melody coincides with a torrent of inspired eloquence.

A closer look at the six varieties of modulation (and here the bilingual reader should consult the original text of *EO*) reveals the following facts:

The maximum of first-foot scudders for any given stanza is four (in the last eight lines of One : XXXIII, the famous evocation of the amorous surf; and in Eight : XXIII, Onegin's second conversation with Princess N., "this painful tête-à-tête") and five (in the first seven lines of Six : X, Onegin's dissatisfaction with himself before the duel). In Chapter Seven (in which the number of first-foot scudders ebbs almost to one half of that found in Chapter One) we find runs of six and five stanzas completely deficient in this scud (VII-XIV, Olga's marriage and Tatiana's solitude; XXVIII-XXXII, departure; XLIII-XLVII, first impressions in Moscow).

The number of second-foot scudders, so abundant (100) in Chapter One, dwindles by almost one half in the last three chapters, in which there are also long runs of omissions (172 lines in a row in Eight, interrupted only by a single such scud in "Onegin's Letter"). There are several stanzas containing as many as five such scuds; and one stanza (One : XXI, Onegin's arrival at the theater) breaks the record with six. There are some interesting runs of consecutive second-foot scudders; e.g., four at the end of One : XXXII (see n. to One : XXXII : 11-14) and four at the end of Four : XLVI.

The commonest line in Russian poetry, the pastime of the cruising genius and the last refuge of the poetaster, is that facile and dangerous thing, the third-foot scudder.

It is the predominant melody in *EO* and is generally tripartite; i.e., made up of three words or three logical units. The line "sings" (and may lull the Russian versificator into a state of false poetical security), especially in the frequent cases in which the central word in the third-foot scudded line has at least four syllables after a first word of two syllables, or has at least three syllables after an initial trisyllable. No stanza in *EO* consists exclusively of third-foot scudders; the closest approach to this is presented by Five : xxxv (end of name-day feast), with twelve such lines, and Six : xl (Lenski's tomb), with thirteen such lines. Sustained runs of this rhythm are often associated with a technique much favored by Pushkin, the rapid listing of various objects or actions.

The combination of two scuds in one verse, the fast first-foot scud and the flowing third-foot scud, is what gives vigor and brilliancy to a Russian poet's work, and Pushkin is a great artist in the use of this "fast flow." It is especially attractive when the line is followed or preceded by a second-foot scudder (see n. to One : xxiii : 11-13). The pleasure derived from the fast flow is owing not only to its euphony but also to the perception of its plenitude, of its perfect fit in regard to form and contents. The highest frequency of this line in any stanza is six (*Journey*, xxviii). There are three stanzas with five such lines (Two : xi, Eugene's neighbors; Four : xxx, modish albums; and Eight : ix, defense of Onegin) and fifteen stanzas with four. Very sonorous and delightful are the runs of three consecutive fast flows in Four : xx : 9-11 (on relatives) and Six : xxvii : 3-5 (Onegin's retort to Zaretski).

The frequency of the "slow-flow" line (second-and-third-foot scudder) reaches the extraordinary figure of nine in the brilliantly scudded first chapter, in which it even occurs adjacently (see n. to One : liii : 1-7). The decrease of II+III in all the other chapters may be the

result of Pushkin's deliberate control in regard to a rococo rhythm.

I find the maximum number of scudless lines in a stanza to be nine, and of such there are only two cases: Three : II (Lenski and Onegin talk) and Six : XLIV (sober maturity). In regard to runs of scudless lines (often associated with didactic or conversational passages), I find nine stanzas having four such lines in a row, and five stanzas having five in a row. The record is six consecutive nonscudders: Three : XXI : 3-8 (Tatiana speaking to nurse) and Six : XXI : 4-9 (Lenski's lusterless elegy).

My list of scudded monosyllables commonly occurring in *EO* comprises some forty words. Their bulk is made up mainly of prepositions: *bez* ("without"), *chrez* ("through," "across"), *dlya* ("for"), *do* ("up to"), *iz* ("out"), *ko* ("to"), *mez*h ("between"), *na* ("on"), *nad* ("above"), *o* or *ob* ("about"), *ot* ("from"), *po* ("upon," "along"), *pod* ("under"), *pred* ("before"), *pri* ("by"), *pro* ("about"), *skvoz'* ("through"), *so* ("with"), *sred'* ("amid"), *u* ("at"), *vo* ("in"), and *za* ("behind"). Next come the conjunctions: *i* ("and"), *a* ("but," "and"), *da* ("and," "yet"), *no* ("but"), *il'* ("or"), *ni* ("nor"), *to* ("now," "then"), *chem* ("than"), *chto* ("that"), *chtob* ("in order to"), and *hot'* ("though"). Incidentally, the scuddability of the last word is nicely proved by its vowel being pronounced in good Russian as an unaccented *o*. Finally, there are a few adverbs: *ne* ("not"), *kak* ("as," "like"), *uzh* ("already"), and the terminal particles, conditional, interrogative, and emphatic: *bī*, *li*, and *zhe*.

The disyllables and the one staple trisyllable scudded in *EO* have already been discussed under §4, Tilted Scuds. They are: *pered*, *predo*, *peredo* ("before"), *oto* ("from"), *mez*hdu ("between"), *ili* ("or"), *chtobi* ("in order to"), and *dabi* ("so as to"), all of them accented on the first syllable in speech.

I have ignored the semiscuds completely (counting

them as regular beats) so as to avoid subjective preferences of intonation in assessing borderline cases. Their number is negligible; but in order that other workers may check my calculations when comparing their figures with mine, something about such weak words, which are not quite weak enough to be counted as scuds, should be said. There is, first of all, *bū'* ("to be"), *bud'* ("be"), *bīl* ("was"), which I have invariably counted as beats, even in such combinations as *chto-nibud'* ("something") and *mozhet bit'* ("maybe"), which are generally accented as dactyls in speech but not infrequently terminate a verse with a masculine rhyme. Monosyllabic numerals (such as *raz*, *dva*, *tri*, etc.), personal pronouns (*ya*, *tī*, *on*, etc.), and possessive pronouns (*moy*, *tvoy*, etc.) can be very weak semiscuds, especially in such dactylic locutions as *bozhe moy* ("my goodness") or in the recurrent combination *moy Onegin*. *Chto* in the sense of "what," and *kak* in the sense of "how," are almost good beats, and so are *kto* ("who"), *tak* ("so"), *tam* ("there"), *tut* ("here"), *gde* ("where"), *vot* ("now," "here"), and *sey* ("this"). The trickiest is the little group *bliz* ("near"), *vdal'* ("afar"), *vdol'* ("along"), *vrug* ("around"), *vne* ("outside"), *chut'* ("barely"), and *lish'* ("only"), but I have not succumbed to the temptation of having them influence my count. It is a curious thing that their allies *skvoz'* and *chrez* are felt by Russian prosodists to be true scuds (among which I place them), their pronunciation being affected by the very transiency they help to express. Finally, there is *vsyo* ("all"), which I have left among the semiscuds, although it is very weak when spoken, especially in such anapaestic combinations as *vsyo ravno* ("all the same"). And among the disyllables that produce a semiscudding effect (as examined in another section) there are several pronouns, such as *onā* ("she"), *eyó* ("her," "hers"), *nāshi* ("our," pl.), and to these may be added the words *sredl'* ("amid"), *hotyā*

("although"), *uzhé* ("already"), *kogdá* ("when"), *eshch-yó* ("still"), all of which slightly weaken the beat of the foot, especially when recurring in the beginning of several adjacent lines. None of these semiscuds have I taken into account when calculating the modulations in *EO*.

Consultation of the appended table may be facilitated by reference to the following examples of *EO* lines (the English versions faithfully follow the rhythm; the reader is reminded that a scud is an unaccented syllable coinciding with the stress of a metrical foot):

I: A line scudded on the first foot, or Fast:

I vozbughdát' ul'bku dám . . .
and to provoke the ladies' smiles . . .

II: A line scudded on the second foot, or Slow:

Sred' módnih i starínnih zál . . .
in modern and in ancient halls . . .

III: A line scudded on the third foot, or Flow:

Zarétski, nékogda buyán . . .
Zaretski, formerly a rough . . .

I + III: A line scudded on first and third feet, or Fast Flow:

V filosoficheskoy pusttne . . .
in philosophical reclusion . . .

II + III: A line scudded on second and third feet, or Slow Flow:

Blistátel'na, poluvozdúshna . . .
irradiant, half-insubstantial . . .

0: A scudless line, or Regular:

Porá nadézhda i grústi nézhnoy . . .
the time of hopes and tender sadness . . .

SCUD MODULATIONS IN "EO"

CHAPTER	STAN- ZAS	I	II	III	I + III	II + III	O	TOTAL LINES
One	54	58	100	306	74	9	209	756
Two	40	32	62	261	56	—	137	548
Three	41	33	50	268	58	2	157	568
Four	43	38	67	278	53	1	164	601
Five	42	41	66	282	39	2	158	588
Six	43	59	43	301	39	2	158	602
Seven	52	32	52	378	68	3	195	728
Eight	51	50	41	325	76	1	205	698
Prefatory Piece	—	—	3	7	2	—	5	17
T.'s Letter in Three		8	6	31	6	—	28	79
O.'s Letter in Eight		8	1	26	1	—	24	60
Added in n. to Six		—	1	11	1	—	1	14
Added in n. to Eight		—	1	2	—	—	2	5
O.'s Journey		15	15	127	29	1	72	259
Totals		374	508	2603	502	21	1515	5523

11. OTHER METERS AND RHYTHMS

These notes on prosody, meant only to give the reader a clear idea of the meter used by Pushkin in *EO*, cannot include a study of other metrical forms, beyond the remarks made on their origination. Suffice it to add that the similarities and distinctions between Russian and English forms remain the same throughout. What has been said of scud, tilt, elision, and contraction in special reference to the iambic tetrameter is also applicable of course to its trochaic counterpart and to the other lengths of binaries in use, such as trimeters and pentameters. In ternaries, scudding is possible too, but is of an ex-

tremely infrequent occurrence (being even rarer in English than in Russian), whereas the tilts possible in ternary lines belong to another type than those occurring in duplex feet, since in triplex ones they do not involve the stress but coincide with two adjacent depressions.

Iambic trimeters, those chimes of pocket poetry, whose lilting rhythm in English affords an easy line of communication between meter and cadence, have not thrived in Russian: I can recall no serious first-rate piece composed entirely in that measure. Tyutchev's famous stanzas beginning:

*Zimá nedárom zlítsya,
Proshlá eyó porá . . .*

No wonder winter glowers,
His season has gone by . . .

belong definitely to the lightweight category.

The iambic pentameter, rhymed or unrhymed, is not so abundantly represented in Russian as it is in English, but its blank-verse form vies with its English and German models in monosyllabic tilts, enjambments, and shifts of caesura (see especially Pushkin's "diminutive dramas"), while a greater variety of scuds and the free admission of sonorous feminine terminations among crisp masculine ones go far to compensate for the absence of elision and disyllabic tilting.

The iambic hexameter, which can breathe freely only if the modulations of long scuddable words lend sinuosity to its hemistichs, withers in English, being choked by fill-up words, dull masculine rhymes, and gritty monosyllables; but in Russian poetry it becomes an extremely musical meander because of fluid scuds and the melody of true cross rhyme (feminines interlaced with masculines). It should be noted that the Russian iambic hexameter permits a scudded caesura, which is taboo in its model, the French Alexandrine. Here is an example of

what a Russian elegiac stanza would sound like if transposed into English iambic hexameters:

A linden avenue where light and shadow mingle
Leads to an ancient slab of opalescent stone,
Whereon the visitor distinguishes a single
Unperishable word to scholarship unknown.

Trochaic tetrameters are considerably more seldom used for serious verse than iambic ones in Russian but have provided a form for several memorable poems (such as Pushkin's *Fairy Tales*). Their system of scuds is exactly similar to that of the iambic tetrameter. It should be marked that in a tetrametric piece iambic lines are never combined with trochaic ones, as they have been by several English experimentators (Milton, Blake, Coleridge). On the other hand, a form that is very rare in English poetry—namely, the trochaic pentameter (used, for instance, by Browning in *One Word More*, 1855)—was established by Trediakovski in an idyl of 1752 and has provided Lermontov, Blok, and others with a remarkably musical medium of expression, which I can only mimic here:

Nobody has managed to unravel
That inscription on the stone; and yet
Fools get formidable grants to travel
To the limits of their alphabet.

Ternary meters have thrived in Russia. Owing to the facility with which a Russian rhymester can launch a line upon a dactyl, Russian dactylic hexameters are not so repulsive as English ones, and ternary trimeters are among the most harmonious forms extant. The amphibrachic trimeter in English is generally intermixed with anapaestic lines. The purest example is probably Swinburne's, otherwise dreadful, *Dolores* (1866).

Scuds and tilts occur also in ternary feet, but the situation is somewhat different from that obtained in binaries.

Scudded feet in ternaries are comparatively rare; here

are some examples of such modulations in (1) anapaestic, (2) amphibrachic, and (3) dactylic trimeters scudded on the second foot:

- (1) None too prosperous but not a pauper
Nezazhítóchnŷ, nō i ne nishchiŷ
- (2) Lived opulently but not wisely
Roskoshestvoval, no ne mudro
- (3) Sorrowful but not submissive
Gorestnŷ, nō ne pokornŷ

Incidentally, as every poet knows, (1) can be also scanned as a trochaic pentameter (with a scud on “-rous” and a semiscud on both “None” and “not”); (2), as an iambic tetrameter (with two adjacent scuds in II and III, “-lent” and “but”); and (3), as a trochaic tetrameter (with scuds also in II and III, “-ful” and “not”).

Disyllabic tilts in ternaries are not associated with scuds (as they are in binaries), since, as already mentioned, they coincide with two adjacent depressions. The disyllable is practically neutralized into a pyrrhic. Their occurrence is common. An obvious example in Russian is the third verse of Zemfira's song in Pushkin's *The Gypsies* (composed 1824):

Starŷ muzh, groznŷ muzh . . .
 Husband old, husband fierce . . .

For an English example we may select the word “only” in an amphibrachic line (12) of Wordsworth's *The Reverie of Poor Susan* (composed 1797; pub. 1800):

The one only dwelling on earth that she loves.
Odnó tol'ko v mire ey lyubo zhil'yo.

12. DIFFERENCES IN USE OF METER

In both English and Russian there is a definite predominance of binaries over ternaries; but this predominance is perhaps more marked in English than in Russian. For reasons basically associated with the brevity of English words, an English poem in ternaries seems more diffuse, more self-conscious, more dependent on artificial gap filling, and, in fact, more difficult for the reader to tackle than a poem in binary meter. There is no such effort attending the assimilation of ternaries in Russian, in which long words are frequent and in which, in consequence, a greater number of memorable dactyls, anapaests, and amphibrachs than those in English have been produced.

Pausative forms (connecting meter and cadence) came naturally to English poets since ancient time and did a great deal to alleviate both the monotony and the ornamentality of English ternary feet. In Russian, omissions of depressions, resulting in pausative verse, did not come into general use until Blok (by far the greatest poet of the first two decades of this century), borrowing the device from German cadence (rather than from English cadence), composed a number of magnificent short poems in it. But Tyutchev, as early as 1832 (in the poem *Silentium*, first published that year in *Molva*), had already inaugurated the musical gasp of mixed or broken meter, which he followed up by his Heinian *Last Love*, first published in 1854 (*Sovremennik*). Cadential forms might have been evolved directly out of syllabic ones in Russia if a poet of genius had thought of it before Lomonosov introduced metrical prosody. Derzhavin did leave some experimental verse in that direction, but the rigid adherence of the Zhukovski-Batyushkov-Pushkin school to regular meter in serious poetry precluded the acceptance of cadential lilt.

English poets, when they do turn to ternions, so consistently and so naturally intermingle anapaestic lines with amphibrachic ones that the English student of verse, unacquainted with other languages, is apt to dismiss the amphibrach altogether as an arbitrary meter devised by the ingenuity of prosodists (along with the molossus and what not)* and to regard the amphibrachic lines, even when they predominate in a poem, as acephalous anapaests. In Russian, on the other hand, until the emancipation of meter associated with Blok's name, there was a definite tendency on the part of poets using ternaries to have every line of the poem, no matter how long (except for imitations of the so-called classical hexameters, in which omissions of depressions were permitted), run strictly amphibrachically, or strictly anapaestically, or strictly dactylically.

The most striking difference between Russian and English poems in binaries is the application to English iambics of the device of decapitation (which the anapaest, being bicephalous, can after all survive). The introduction of random trochaic tetrameters, or sequences of them, starting and affirming themselves as iambic tetrameters, is so usual with English poets, and has assisted them in producing such enchanting pieces, that in the light of these examples the trochee is demoted by the theorist to the rank of acephalous iamb. The interruption of an iambic sequence of lines by a trochaic line or lines is completely alien to Russian prosody, as studied in retrospect, but there is no particular reason why such variations could not be introduced. However, an organic reason for their absence may be traced to the general difference between Russian and English, a difference reflected both in speech and in metrical composition. This

*While perversely retaining the spondee and the pyrrhic, which are *not* feet, since no poem, not even a couplet, can be wholly made up of them in terms of metrical prosody.

difference is the greater rigidity, strength, and clarity of the single accent in a Russian word of any length, which leads to a sharper shock in the unexpected passage from an iambic line to a trochaic one (the looser and duller modulations of ternaries in Russian allow the passage from one ternary meter to another much more easily). In an English long word, on the other hand, a secondary accent often takes some of the burden of emphasis off the back of the main accented syllable; and in English verse, the existence of duplex tilt and scudded rhyme (both of which occur only in a rudimentary form in Russian poetry) illustrate the English elasticity of meter, of which, in tetrameters, the trochaic line takes such delightful advantage in rippling the couplet that had been ostentatiously begun by an iambic smoothness of sound in the preceding verse.

13. RHYME

If we exclude a few scattered masterpieces (such as Pushkin's beautiful but obviously derivative dramas), we can say that the medium of blank verse has not produced in Russia, during the two hundred years of its metrical history, anything similar in scope, splendor, and universal influence to the unrhymed iambic pentameter in England since Chaucer's day. On the other hand, there has not appeared, in the course of half a millennium, a rhymed English romance in iambic tetrameter comparable in artistic merit to Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*. Further on, to simplify the comparison, the discussion of Russian and English rhymes is limited to nineteenth-century practice.

Rhyme is not a component of meter, not part of the final foot, but rather its stub or its shoe, or its spur. It may closely fit the ultima when it coincides with the last ictus in masculine lines (hence masculine rhymes or

masculines, stressed on the only, or last, syllable of a word) or else it may be an ornamental and (in French and Russian) very beautiful appendage of feminine lines or of long lines (hence *feminine rhymes* or *feminines*, stressed on the penultimate, and *long rhymes*, stressed on the antepenultimate). The terms "single," "double," and "triple" used by some English theorists for masculine, feminine, and long are ambiguous because rhyme is not the participating word but the effect of two, three, or more "like endings" (to use a famous definition of rhyme); therefore, a "single rhyme" would correctly mean one set of such endings in a piece of verse (e.g., "like endings" throughout a poem). What I term the "long rhyme" Russian theorists call a "dactylic rhyme," which is extremely misleading not only because rhyme lies outside meter and should not be expressed in metrical terms, but also because a long rhyme, or long terminal, when attached to a line of binary verse, does not sound at all like the dactylic chime of the long rhyme, or long terminal, in ternary verse. In the case of iambics or trochees, the ear distinguishes an extrametrical echo of the binary measure, and the voice (while not giving the ultima the kind of value it gives a scudded masculine) reads the final, unaccented syllable more abruptly than it would the same syllable, had ternaries been scanned.

A further removal proximad of the accent results in stunt rhyme, which has not yet been instrumental in producing any major poetry either in English or in Russian. It should be noted that the feminine rhyme and the longer variants may involve two or more words.

Rhyme may be adjacent (in couplets, triplets, etc.) or alternate (bcbc, bcbcbc, abab, baba, AbAb, etc.)* or in-

*Here and elsewhere vowels denote feminines, consonants denote masculines, and capital vowels denote long rhymes.

closing (one rhyme inclosing or "embracing" a couplet or a triplet; e.g., abba, bcccb, etc.).

The more distant a rhyme word is from its fellow in level of sense or grammatical category, the "richer" the rhyme is felt to be.

A rhyme may be formed by terminals spelled differently, such as "laugh-calf," "tant-temps," *lyod-kot* (Russian for "ice-cat"), which are then termed ear rhymes.

Eye rhymes, no longer used in French ("aimer-mer"), are permissible by tradition in English ("grove-love")* and are barely possible in Russian, as in the case of *rog-Bog* ("horn-God"), the latter being pronounced generally "boh," with *h* as in "hob"; or *vóroni-stóroni* ("ravens-sides"), in which the second *o* in the second word is slurred so as almost, but not quite, to make the word sound disyllabic—a very rare case in Russian, in which, as a rule, the ear hears what the eye sees.† Perhaps the nearest approach to the English gynandrous type of rhyme, "flower-our," would be *storozh-morzh* ("watchman-walrus"), but I do not think that this has ever been tried.

Strictly speaking, there are no laws or rules of rhyme except the very general rule that a rhyme should afford at the best "satisfaction and surprise" (as the French say) or at least a sense of euphoric security (which goes for the routine rhyme in all languages), with a hereditary acceptance of certain conventions. But even these sensations can be altered and these traditions broken by any poet whose genius proves powerful and original enough to inaugurate imitable trends.

*In English, such inexact rhymes as "love-off" or "grove-enough" rather curiously combine visual and auditory satisfaction or pain.

†It should be noted, however, that to elide *storoni* to make it a trochee in a binary line would be considered in even worse taste than to rhyme it with *voroni*.

The general difference between English and Russian rhyme is that there are considerably more feminine rhymes in Russian and that in diversity and richness the Russian rhyme is akin to the French rhyme. In result, Russian and French poets can afford the luxury of demanding more from the rhyme than English poets can afford to do. There is a certain subdued and delicate beauty of gray, gentle rhyme in English that is not duplicated in the dazzlingly brilliant romantic and neo-romantic arrays of French and Russian poets.

In French, the presence of at least two different consonants before a final *e muet* gives the latter a semblance of voice (*maître, lettre, nombre, chambre*, etc.) and allows the French poet to mimic both the meter and the feminine rhyme of English and Russian verse. If we devise the line:

Le maître siffle, son chien tremble

it may be scanned (if we do so with more deliberation than a Frenchman would) not much differently from, say:

The master whistles, his dog trembles

or from its Russian counterpart (in which, incidentally, the split reverse tilt is eliminated, together with the weak monosyllables):

Hozydin svîshchet, pyôs trepêshchet.

Similarly, if we take the words:

Phèdre (Fr.)
feather (Eng.)
Fedra (Russ.)

we may say that roughly they rhyme and that "Phèdre-cède" is as fully a feminine rhyme as "feather-weather" or "waiter-véter" (Russ. "wind"). A closer inspection, however, reveals that "Phèdre" is somewhat shorter,

and "feather" (or "waiter") just a trifle shorter, than *Fedra* (or *véter*). This difference becomes immediately apparent if we take another set:

mettre (Fr.)
better (Eng.)
metr (Russ. "meter,"
the measure of length)

Metr-vetr (archaic *veter*) is a masculine rhyme, but it is almost identical in terminal sound to the French "mettre" or "mètre." On the other hand, if an Englishman manages to pronounce *metr* correctly, it will form a gynandrous association with "better" only insofar as "fire" does with "higher."

Another type of *e muet* affecting the eye is what might be termed the deaf-mute *e*. If we take the words:

palette (Fr.)
let (Eng.)
let (Russ. "of years")

it will be seen that what in French makes a feminine rhyme ("palette-omelette") is to the English and Russian ear a harmony with masculine endings in "-et." Consequently, if we devise the line:

Telle montagne, telle aurore

it comes to the metrist as something of a shock that it is syllabically identical to the iambically sounding:

Le maître siffle, son chien tremble.

We are now in a position to draw a comparison between English and Russian rhyme:

There are poems in Russian that consist of only masculine rhymes or only feminine rhymes, but whereas in English a feminine rhyme may crop up at random among a long sequence of masculines, no such cases occur in serious Russian verse. Neither in English nor in Rus-

sian is it necessary for a rigid scheme of rhyme to be sustained throughout a poem, but in a Russian freely rhymed poem, in which both kinds of rhymes occur, terminals belonging to different sets of rhymes will not be placed in adjacent lines (say, ababaecceded, etc.) unless a certain standard scheme is deliberately repeated over and over again.

The Russian masculine rhyme allows identity to be limited to a final vowel if the latter is preceded by a vowel or a soft sign (*moyá*, "my," fem.; *tayá*, "concealing"; *ch'ya*, "whose," fem.); otherwise, it demands at least a two-letter coincidence (*moy*, "my," masc., and *Tol-stóy*, or *son*, "dream," and *balkón*, "balcony") and it conforms to the rule of the *consonne d'appui* ("supporting consonant") whenever a consonant precedes the final vowel. *Da* ("yes") rhymes with *voddá* ("water") but not with *Moskvá*; and *tri* ("three") rhymes with *dari* ("give") and *utri* ("wipe") but not with *prosi* ("ask") as "tree" and "see" would in English. In this respect a certain freedom is traditionally granted—owing to obvious lyrical reasons—to case endings of *lyubóv'*: *lyubvi* ("of love") is allowed to rhyme with words in which the penult is a vowel; e.g., *tvoi* ("thy," pl.). Pushkin happens to go further: in Three : XIV, he rhymes *lyubvi-dni* ("days"), which is not admissible and constitutes the one really bad rhyme in the whole of *EO*. In English it is, of course, the other way round, and although the support of a consonant is sometimes unavoidable—given the paucity of rhyme in general—such coincidences of sound as "sea-foresee" or "Peter-repeater" have been distasteful to most poets of the past.

A curious characteristic of Russian feminine rhymes is the license accorded to certain common unaccented endings. Let us consider the words

záli ("halls")

málĭy ("small")
áloy ("of the red," fem. gen.)
zhálo ("sting")
Urála ("of the Ural")

The endings after the *l* are all slightly different in sound, but a Russian poet of Pushkin's time and later will think nothing of rhyming *zali-malĭy*, *malĭy-aloy*, and *zhalo-Urala*. Of these three types, the first is not inelegant; the second is absolutely correct (indeed, in old-fashioned or declamatory style the adjectival ending *ĭy* is actually pronounced as an unaccented *oy*), and *zhalo-Urala*, though shocking to the purist, is frequently used (Pushkin rhymes both *rana*, "wound," and *rano*, "early," with "Tatiana"). *Zali*, on the other hand, does not rhyme with *aloy* or *zhalo* or *Urala*, and the last does not rhyme with any of the first three in the column. There is no analogy for this in French, and only a very distant one in English (cf. "alley" and "rally" or such cockney assonances as "waiter-potato").

The feminine rhyme in Russian, as already mentioned, sounds a jot fuller and more fluent to the ear than the feminine rhyme in English. It is also (as well as the masculine) more of a masquerader than its English counterpart. The further proximad identity of spelling is carried, the more striking and more delightful the rhyme is deemed, granted that in the course of this improving consonance difference of sense grows in inverse ratio to that of sound. Thus, the identical rhyme *supruga* ("wife") and *supruga* (sing. gen. of *suprug*, "husband"), while conforming to the wonderful comical tone of the narrative poem wherein it occurs (Pushkin's *Graf Nulin*, 1825), would be weak in a serious piece.

In feminine rhymes or in two-letter masculine endings the *consonne d'appui* is welcome but not obligatory. Examples of rhymes that are rich owing to its presence and to other reasons are:

sklon ("slope")

Apollón

prostóy ("simple")

zolótyy ("golden")

prostóy

Tolstóy

prostáya (fem.)

zolótya (fem.)

prostáya

stáya ("a flock")

vstrecháet ("meets")

otvecháet ("answers")

Richness of rhyme can also be achieved by such subtle shuttles of critical consonants as in *balkón-sklon*, in which ornamental support is provided by alliteration.

The existence of a scudded terminal in binary meters depends on the line's ending in a word of at least three syllables with a secondary accent either upon the ultima or on the antepenult; and since organically a Russian word can have but one accent, it follows that scudded rhyme (Scud IV in iambic tetrameter) does not occur in Russian poetry. A few cases occur as prosodic mistakes in old doggerels going back as far as the eighteenth century, and a few experiments by genuine poets have been made in our time. In 1918, during the Civil War, I remember Maksimilian Voloshin, an excellent and erudite poet (1877-1932), reading to me at a Yalta café, one cold and gloomy night with the sea booming and splashing over the parapet onto the pavement, a fine patriotic poem in which the pronoun *moya* or *tvoya* rhymed with the end of the line *inepreodolímayá* ("and [tum-tee-]un-surmountable"), producing a I+II+IV scud combination.

The English situation is quite different. If we choose the word "solitude" for the ending of a line, we observe that a normal secondary accent on the ultima (especially

conspicuous in American speech) affords a perch for a perfectly banal rhyme (say, "solitude-rude"). Not all long words, though, provide this support or, if they do, do so under coercion (e.g., "horrible" forced into rhyme with "dull" or "dell"). In other cases, tradition comes into play, and by an ancient rule of the poetical game or prosodical agreement, polysyllables ending in *y* ("ty," "-ry," "-ny," etc.) may yield a dubious solace to the English versifier by rhyming with "see," "me," "tree," etc.

In Russian verse I find something faintly resembling a Semiscud IV only in the following case, which needs a brief preface. The Russian locution rendering the idea of "some" in relation to time, place, person, thing, or manner (sometime, somewhere, someone, something, somehow, etc.) is *-nibúd'*, and when properly printed is connected by a hyphen with the words for "when" (*kogda*), "where" (*gde*), "who" (*kto*), "what" (*chto*), "how" (*kak*), etc. Thus, *kogda-nibud'* means "some-time" or "someday," *gde-nibud'* means "somewhere," *kto-nibud'* means "someone" or "somebody," *chto-nibud'* means "something," *kak-nibud'* means "somehow," etc. Now, the point is that in ordinary speech, or in any part of a metrical line other than its terminal in binary verse, these compounds are accented on the syllable preceding the neutralized *-nibud'*. A line going:

Któ-nibud', któ-nibud', któ-nibud'
Somebody, somebody, somebody

is a regular dactylic trimeter with a long terminal. Moreover, a few of these forms, when inflected—e.g., *kakdya-nibud'* ("some kind of," fem.)—automatically receive a single accent on the first part of the compound and lack all accent on the end of the second part when participating in a binary line in which otherwise they could not find a scannable place.

Pushkin and other poets of his time rhyme *kto-nibud'*, *gde-nibud'*, etc., with *grud'* ("breast"), *put'* ("way"), *blesnúť* ("to flash"), etc. In describing Onegin's desultory and haphazard education, our poet starts a famous stanza (One : v) with the lines:

*Mi vsé uchilis' ponemnógu,
Chemú-nibud' i kák-nibúd':
Tak vospitán'em, sláva Bógu,
U nás nemudrenó blesnúť'.*

All of us had a bit of schooling
in something and [tum-te-]somehow:
therefore with culture, God be lauded,
with us it is not hard to shine.

Chemu-nibud' is the dative of *chto-nibud'*, and the second line, in which it occurs:

Chemu-nibud' i kak-nibud'
 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

is modulated very much like

With Cherubim and Seraphim

(Christina Rossetti, *The Convent Threshold*, l. 24). However, the Russian reader so little expects a scud on the final ictus that in reading Pushkin's line he would accent the *bud'* more than in ordinary speech.

In the first third of the nineteenth century in Russia there is a tendency on the part of good poets to resist the facile rhyme depending on verb endings (infinitives in *-at'*, *-et'*, *-it'*, *-ut'*; past tenses in *-al*, *-ala*, *-alo*, *-ali*, *-il*, *-ila*, etc.; present tenses in *-it*, *-yat*, *-aet*, *-ayut*, and many other overwhelmingly repetitious forms), either by using it as seldom as possible or by enriching it with a *consonne d'appui*. Although in *EO* poor verbal rhymes, as well as poor noun rhymes (in *-an'e* and *-en'e* corresponding roughly to "-ition" and "-ation," and case endings, such as *-oy*) are perhaps more frequent than our poet's miraculous art might warrant, the above-

Notes on Prosody

mentioned tendency obtains too, even in such passages in which the deliberate listing of actions or emotions makes it difficult to avoid monotony of rhyme.

In scooping at random a handful of rhymes from *EO* we can sift out such rich ones as:

piróv ("of feasts")
zdoróv ("in good health")
zevál ("yawned")
zal ("of halls")
da-s ("yessir")
glas ("voice")
króv'yu ("blood," instr.)
Praskóv'yu (fem. name, acc.)
nesnósnīy ("odious")
sósni ("pine trees")
istór'ya ("story")
Krasnogór'ya (place name, gen.)
dovólen ("pleased")
kolokólen ("of steeples")
ráda ("glad," fem.)
maskaráda (gen.)

and the best rhyme in the whole poem:

stniy ("blue")
Rosstni

There is also an abundant crop of weak or poor rhymes such as:

Richardsóna (acc.)
Grandisóna (acc.)
bltzhe ("nearer")
ntzhe ("lower")

easy case endings:

umóm ("mind," instr.)
litsóm ("face," instr.)

the easy and inexact:

provórno ("nimble")
pokórna ("submissive")
priézd ("arrival")
prisést ("a sitting down")

and banal rhymes such as:

lyubóv' ("love")
króv' ("blood")
óchi ("eyes")
nóchi ("nights")

In English, fancy rhymes or split rhymes are merely the jester bells of facetious verselets, incompatible with serious poetry (despite Browning's talented efforts to glorify them). The Russian Pushkin can quite naturally and artistically rhyme *gdé vi-dévi* ("where are you"—"maidens"), but the Englishman Byron cannot get away with "gay dens"—"maidens."

The beginning of Four : XLIV contains one of the most ingenious rhymes in the whole of *EO*, an unexpected but at the same time completely natural and delightful chiming of a foreign name with a very Russian locution accented on the preposition:

Pryamím Onégin Chl'd Garól'dom
Vdalsyá v zadúmchivuyu lén':
So sná sadítsya v vánnu só-l'dom,
I póslé, dóma tsél'ny dén' . . .

which means (in free iambs, unrhymed):

Onegin like a regular Childe Harold
 lapsed into pensive indolence:
 right after sleep he takes a bath with ice,
 and then remains at home all day . . .

but all Byron could have achieved, had the roles been reversed, might have resulted in the burlesque:

And similar to the boyar Onegin,
 With a cold bath my Harold would the day 'gin

or perhaps he might have rhymed "licent" with "ice in't" (for other remarks on this curious subject see my n. to Four : XLIV : 1). Another striking rhyme in the same canto, st. XLIII, coming on the heels of a quip regarding weak rhymes, is *W. Scott-rashód*, an ear rhyme with the second word sounding *ras-hót*, a comic echo of the English writer's name.

A few words remain to be said concerning the long rhyme. Since so many thousands of Russian words are accented on the antepenult, or incur this accent by inflection, a long rhyme, especially a weak one (e.g., *nézhnīe-myatézhnīe*, "tender-restless," or *pīldyushchiy-mechtdyushchiy*, "the flaming-the dreaming"), is easier to find and is used far more extensively in Russian than in English. Nor does it have in Russian any particular association with the extravagant and the trivial. It was neither rich nor popular during the first third of the last century, but then steadily increased in fancifulness and charm with poets experimentally inclined. Probably the most famous short poem in long rhyme (alternating with masculines) is Blok's *The Incognita* (*Neznakomka*), a set of iambic tetrameters in which the rhymal concatenation of extra syllables looks like the reflection of lights in the suburban puddles of the poem's locus. The long rhyme, however, leads to a deadly monotony of rhythm in a protracted piece, whereas its more striking specimens (Fet's *skrómno tī-kómnatī*, "demurely you-room," or Blok's *stólikov-królikov*, "of tables-of rabbits") become so closely associated with the poems in which they were initially used that their occurrence in later verse inevitably sounds like a reminiscence or an imitation. The quest for spectacular rhymes eventually led Russian poets to the incomplete or assonant rhyme, but this matter lies outside the scope of our present inquiry.

The reader should be careful not to confuse the scudded masculine rhyme with the long rhyme. In the following

example, all six lines are in iambic tetrameter, with a long rhyme in 1 and 3, a masculine rhyme in 2 and 4, and a feminine rhyme with contraction in 5 and 6.

The man who wants to write a triolet,
When choosing rhymes should not forget
That some prefer a triple violet
And some a single violet;
Nor should he spurn the feminine vi'let
Blooming, contracted, on its islet.

The fact that the rhyme, no matter its length, lies outside the metrical scheme of the line leads to some droll results. If we devise, for example, an iambic couplet in which the rhyme is not merely long, but monstrous and, indeed, a very sea serpent in length, we shall see that despite there being six additional syllables after the ictus, making fourteen syllables in all of the line, the latter still remains a tetrameter (or "octosyllable," as some would call it):

*Est' rífmĭ próchnĭe, napráshivayushchiesya,
I mnogonózhki ést', podkáshivayushchiesya*

which means, in prose, "There are solid rhymes that suggest themselves readily, and centipedes, whose legs buckle under them." This couplet is identical in metrical length with, say:

*Est' rífmĭ tóchnĭe, i ést'
Drugĭe. Vsékh ne perechést'*

which means, "There are exact rhymes, and there are other ones. All cannot be listed."

Index

Devoted to the literary materials chiefly.

A

- Academy of Sciences, *see* St. Petersburg
Allegro, L', *see* Milton
 Anna Ivanovna / Ioannovna, Empress, 38; *see also* Lomonosov
 Arnold, Matthew, 64, 67; *Resignation*, 17, 66-7
Auf den zwischen Ihre Röm. Kaiserl. Majestät und der Pforte An. 1718 geschlossenen Frieden, *see* Günther
Au Roy Henry le Grand, sur la prise de Marseille, *see* Malherbe

B

- Baratinski, Eugeniy Abramovich, 50n
 Batyushkov, Konstantin Nikolaevich, 44, 80
 Beliy, Andrey, *see* Bugaev
Belle Dame Sans Merci, La, *see* Keats
 Berberov, Nina Aleksandrovna, 33n
 Blake, William, 78
 Blok, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, 50n, 78, 80, 81; *Incognita, The* (*Neznakomka*), 94
 Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas, 41, 45; *Ode sur la prise de Namur*, 42-3 & n
Break, Break, Break, *see* Tennyson
 Bridges, Robert: *Milton's Prosody*, 20
Brief Guide to Rhetoric, A (*Kratkoe rukovodstvo k ritorike*), *see* Lomonosov
Bronze Horseman, The, *see* Pushkin
 Browning, Robert, 66, 68, 93;

- One Word More*, 78; *Porphyria's Lover*, 9, 17, 66
 Bugaev, Boris Nikolaevich ("Andrey Beliy"), 14 & n, 15, 42, 48n; *Simvolizm* (*Symbolism*), 14n
 Butler, Samuel: *Hudibras*, 17, 50, 53, 57-8, 63
 Byron, George Gordon, Baron, 64, 93; *Isles of Greece, The*, 67; *Mazeppa*, 64

C

- Canterbury Tales, The*, *see* Chaucer
Captain's Daughter, The, *see* Pushkin
 Castalian Fountain, 40
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 32; *Canterbury Tales, The*, 32; *House of Fame, The*, 51-2
City of the Plague, The, *see* Wilson
 Civil War (Russian), 89
 Clough, Arthur Hugh, 67
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 25, 57, 78; *Pains of Sleep, The*, 9, 17, 63-4
Confessio amantis, *see* Gower
Convent Threshold, The, *see* Rossetti
 Cotton, Charles, 58, 59; *Entertainment to Phillis, The*, 59; *New Year, The*, 59; *Retreat, The*, 59; *Valedictory*, 59
 "Count Null," *see* Pushkin
 Cowper, William, 62; *Olney Hymns*, 62; *Written After Leaving Her at New Burns*, 17, 62

D

- Daisy, The*, *see* Tennyson
 Danzig, ode on, 43n

Index

Definition of Love, *The*, see
Marvell
Demon, see Lermontov
Derzhavin, Gavril Romanovich, 40, 43, 44, 80
Dolgoruki, Prince Ivan Mihaylovich: *Fireplace in Moscow* (*Kamin v Moskve*), 23n
Dolores, see Swinburne
Domik v Kolomne, see Pushkin
Donne, John, 56; *Extasie*, *The*, 16, 17, 49, 56
Dyer, John, 61; *Grongar Hill*, 61

E

Elegy II, see Trediakovski
Eliot, T. S., 53; *Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service*, 50n
Entertainment to Phillis, *The*, see Cotton
Epitaph, *An*, see Prior
Eugene / *Evgeniy Onegin* (EO), see Pushkin
Eve of St. Mark, *The*, see Keats
Evgeniy Onegin, see Pushkin
Extasie, *The*, see Donne

F

Fairy Tales, see Pushkin
Feast at the Time of the Plague, *The*, see Pushkin
Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Motte-, 42
Fet, A. A., see Shenshin
Fireplace in Moscow, see Dolgoruki

G

Garden, *The*, see Marvell
Gde ni gulyayu, ni hozhu, see Sumarokov
Good-Night to the Season, see Praed

Gower, John: *Confessio amantis*, 31
Graf Nulin, see Pushkin
Grongar Hill, *The*, see Dyer
Günther, Johann Christian: *Auf den zwischen Ihre Röm. Kaiserl. Majestät und der Pforte An. 1718 geschlossenen Frieden*, 41-2
Gypsies, *The*, see Pushkin

H

Hodasevich / Khodasevich, Vladislav Felitsianovich, 33n, 50n; *Sobranie stihov* (Collected Verses), 33n; "Years have from memory eroded" (*Iz pamyati izgrizli yodī*), 33
Hotin / Khotin, see Lomonosov, *Hotinian Ode*
Hotinian Ode, see Lomonosov
Hours of Fame, *The*, see Chaucer
Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey; *Lover Describeth His Restless State*, *The*, 8, 54-5
Hudibras, see Butler

I

Incognita, *The*, see Blok
In Memoriam, see Tennyson
Isles of Greece, *The*, see Byron
Iz pamyati izgrizli godī, see Hodasevich

J

Johnson, Samuel, 61; *On the Death of Dr. Robert Levet*, 61

K

Kamin v Moskve, see Dolgoruki
Kapitanskaya dochka, see Pushkin

Keats, John, 57, 65; *Belle Dame Sans Merci*, La, 65; *Eve of St. Mark*, The, 9, 64-5
 Khotin, see Hotin
King Lear, see Shakespeare
Kratkoe rukovodstvo k ritorike, see Lomonosov

L

Last Love, see Tyutchev
 Lenski (EO), 70, 72, 73
 Lermontov, Mihail Yurievich, 50n, 78; *Demon*, 50n
Letter about the Rules of Russian Versification, see Lomonosov
 Lomonosov, Mihail Vasilievich, 34, 39-40, 80; *Brief Guide to Rhetoric*, A (*Kratkoe rukovodstvo k ritorike*), 39-40, 44; *Collection of Various Works*, 40; *Letter about the Rules of Russian Versification* (*Pis'mo o pravilah rossiyskogo stihotvorstva*), 39, 44-50; *Ode on the Anniversary of the Ascent to the All-Russian Throne of Her Majesty Empress Elizaveta Petrovna*, *All-Russian Autocratrix* (*Ode to Empress Elizabeth*) (*Oda na den' vosshestiya na vserossiyskiy prestolevovlechistva Imperatritsi Elizaveti Petrovni, samoderzhitsi vserossiyskiya, 1746*), 17; *Ode to the Sovereign of Blessed Memory Anna Ioannovna on the Victory over the Turks and Tatars and on the Taking of Hotin* (*Hotinian Ode*) (*Oda blazhenniya pamyati Gosudarine Imperatrise Anne Ioannovne na pobedu nad turkami i tatarami i na vzyatie Hotina 1739 goda*), 33, 39-44
Lover Describeth His Restless State, The, see Howard

M

Malherbe, François de, 40, 41; *Au Roy Henry le Grand, sur la prise de Marseille*, 42-3 & n
 Marvell, Andrew, 53, 59, 64; *Definition of Love*, The, 49; *Garden*, The, 16; *Nymph Complaining for the Death of Her Fawn*, 17; *To His Coy Mistress*, 9, 58
Mazeppa, see Byron
Mednty usadnik, see Pushkin
Metrical Guide to Pushkin's Poems (*Metricheskiy spravochnik k stihotvoreniiyam A. S. Pushkina, N. V. Lopatin, I. K. Romanovich, & Yarho, V. I.*), 70
 Milton, John, 6, 57, 78; *Allegro*, L', 56-7; *Penseroso*, Il, 16
Milton's Prosody, see Bridges
Molva (Report, suppl. of *Teleskop*, ed. Nadezhdin), 80
 Morris, William, 68; *Old Love*, 67-8
Mr. Eliot's Sunday Morning Service, see Eliot

N

N., Princess (in EO), 71
 Nekrasov, Nikolay Alekseevich, 48n
New and Brief Method of Russian Verse-making, see Trediakovski
New Year, The, see Cotton
Neznakomka, see Blok
 North, Christopher, see Wilson
Northumbrian Psalter, 39n
Noviy i kratkiy sposob k slozheniyu rossiyskikh stihov, see Trediakovski
 "No wonder winter glowers," see Tyutchev

Index

Nymph Complaining for the Death of Her Fawn, The, see Marvell

O

Oda blazhenniya pamyati . . . Hotina (Hotinian Ode), see Lomonosov

Oda na den' vosshestviya . . ., see Lomonosov

Oda o sdache goroda Gdanska, see Trediakovski

Ode on the Surrender of the Town of Gdansk, see Trediakovski

Ode sur la prise de Namur, see Boileau

Ode to Empress Elizabeth, see Lomonosov

Ode to the Sovereign of Blessed Memory Anna Ioannovna . . . on the Taking of Hotin, see Lomonosov

Old Love, see Morris

Olga (in EO), 70, 71

Olney Hymns, see Cowper

Onegin, Evgeniy (in EO), 70-74, 91, 93

Onegin's Journey, see Pushkin
"Onegin's Letter," 71, 76

On the Death of Dr. Robert Levet, see Johnson

One Word More, see Browning

P

Pains of Sleep, The, see Coleridge

Parnassus, Mt., 40

Penseroso, Il, see Milton

Pir vo vremya chumi, see Pushkin

Pis'mo o pravilah rossiyskogo stihotvorstva, see Lomonosov

Poland, Russian war with, 43n

Poltava, see Pushkin

Porphyria's Lover, see Browning

Poslednyaya lyubov', see Tyutchev

Povest' o gore i zloschastii, see *Tale of Grief and Ill-Fortune*
Praed, W. M.: *Good-Night to the Season*, 10n

Prior, Matthew: Epitaph, An, 59-60

Prokopovich, Feofan, 35

Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeevich, 3, 6, 33, 41, 44, 45, 48, 50n, 58, 63, 69, 70, 77, 80, 91; *Bronze Horseman, The (Medny vsadnik)*, 70; *Captain's Daughter, The (Kapitanskaya dochka)*, 26; *Eugene / Evgeniy Onegin (EO)*, 3, 4, 17, 21-7, 30, 49, 52, 54, 55, 68-76, 82, 87, 91-4; *Fairy Tales (Skazki)*, 78; *Feast at the Time of the Plague, The (Pir vo vremya chumi)*, 26; *Graf Nulin ("Count Null")*, 88; *Gypsies, The (Tsigani)*, 79; *Onegin's Journey*, 25, 72, 76; *Poltava*, 70; *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, 23; *Small House in Kolomna, A (Domik v Kolomne)*, 70

R

Resignation, The, see Arnold

Retreat, The, see Cotton

Reverie of Poor Susan, The, see Wordsworth

Rileev, Kondratii Fyodorovich, 26

Ronsard, Pierre de, 40

Rossetti, Christina: Convent Threshold, The, 91

Ruslan and Lyudmila, see Pushkin

Russian Versification, see Unbegaun

S

- St. Petersburg, 70; Academy of Sciences (Nauk), 39
 Saintsbury, George, 21, 68
 Shakespeare, William, 31, 55; *King Lear*, 18n; Sonnet CXLV, 55
 Shenshin, Afanasiy Afanasievich ("Fet"), 48n, 94
Silentium, see Tyutchev
Simvolizm, see Bugaev
Skazki, see Pushkin
Small House in Kolomna, A, see Pushkin
 Sonnet CXLV, see Shakespeare
Sovremennik (The Contemporary, first ed. Pushkin), 80
Stella's Birth-day, see Swift
 Sumarokov, Aleksandr Petrovich, 24, 45-6; "Wherever ramble I or go" (*Gde ni gulyayu, ni hozhu*), 45-6
Sunday Homilies, 39n
 Surrey, Earl of, see Howard, Henry
 Swift, Jonathan: *Stella's Birth-day*, 60
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles: *Dolores*, 78
Symbolism, see Bugaev

T

- Tale of Grief and Ill-Fortune, The* (*Povest' o gore i zloshchastii*) (anon.), 34
Tale of a Usurer (anon.), 39n
 Tatiana (in EO), 70, 71, 73
 "Tatiana's Letter," 76
 Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 68; *Break, Break, Break*, 29; *Daisy, The*, 16; *In Memoriam*, 9, 15-16, 17, 65-6
To His Coy Mistress, see Marvell
 Trediakovski / Tred'yakovski, Vasil'y Kirilovich, 36-9, 44,

45, 78; *Elegy II*, 38; *New and Brief Method of Russian Verse-making* (*Noviy i kratkiy sposob k slozheniyu rossiyskikh stihov*), 36; *Ode on the Surrender of the Town of Gdansk* (*Oda o sdache goroda Gdanska*), 43n

Tsigani, see Pushkin

Tyutchev, Fyodor Ivanovich, 48n, 50n, 80; *Last Love* (*Poslednyaya lyubov'*), 80; *Silentium*, 80; "No wonder winter glowers" (*Zima nedarom zlitsya*), 77

U

Unbegaun, Boris, 23n; *Russian Versification*, 23n

V

Valedictory, see Cotton
 Voloshin, Maksimilian Aleksandrovich, 89
 Vyazemski, Prince Pyotr Andreevich, 26

W

"Wherever ramble I or go," see Sumarokov
Whirl-blast from Behind the Hill, A, see Wordsworth
White Doe of Rylstone, The, see Wordsworth
 Wilson, John ("Christopher North"): *City of the Plague, The*, 26, 27n
 Wordsworth, William, 63, 64; *Reverie of Poor Susan, The*, 79; *Whirl-blast from Behind the Hill, A*, 62-3; *White Doe of Rylstone, The*, 63
Written After Leaving Her at New Burns, see Cowper

Index

Y

Yalta, 89

Yazikov, Nikolay Mihaylovich,
50n

"Years have from memory
eroded," *see* Hodasevich

Z

Zaretski (in *EO*), 72

Zemfira's song, 79

Zhukovski, Vasilii Andreevich,
44, 45, 80

Zima nedarom zlitsya, *see*
Tyutchev

ABRAM GANNIBAL

Abram Gannibal

FOREWORD

Pridyót li chás moéy svobódi?

Will [it] come the hour of my freedom?

Porá, porá!—vziváyu k néy;

Time, time!—I call to it;

Brozhú nad mórem,¹ zhdú pogódi,

I roam above the sea, I wait for the [right] weather,

4 *Manyú vetrila korabléy.*

I beckon to the sails of ships.

Pod rízoý búr', s volnámi spórya,

Under the cope of storms, with waves disputing,

Po vól'nomu raspút'yu mórya

on the free crossway of the sea

Kogdá zh nachnú ya vól'nüy bég?

when shall I start [on my] free course?

8 *Porá pokínut' skúchnüy brég*

Time to leave the dreary shore

1. The numeral "10" attached to "sea" in the established text refers the reader to Pushkin's note: "Written in Odessa"; i.e., on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in 1823.

- Mne nepriyáznennoy stihli,*
of a to me inimical element,
I sred' polúdennih zibéy,
and 'mid the meridian ripples,
Pod nébom Áfriki moéy,
beneath the sky of my Africa,²
12 *Vzdihát' o súmrachnoy Rossli,*
to sigh for somber Russia,
Gde yá stradal, gde yá lyubil,
where I suffered, where I loved,
Gde sérdtse yá pohoroníl.
where [my] heart I buried.

—*Evgeniy Onegin, One : L*

The following sketch, which deals mainly with the mysterious origin of Pushkin's African ancestor, has no pretensions to settle the many difficulties encountered on the way. It is the outcome of a few odd moments spent in the admirable libraries of Cornell and Harvard universities, and its purpose is merely to draw attention to the riddles that other workers have either ignored or answered wrongly. Although in several instances I have keenly felt the want of original documents, preserved in Russia (where, it seems, they are inaccessible even to native Pushkinians), I am consoled by the fact that any material pertaining to any research is incomparably easier to obtain in the institutions of this country than in those of a wary police state. A list of some of the works consulted in the present case will be found at the end of these notes.

PUSHKIN'S COMMENTS PUBLISHED DURING HIS LIFETIME

Pushkin's n. 11 to *EO, One : L : 11* ("... my Africa"), reads in the 1833 edn.: "The author, on his mother's

2. Here another numeral, "11," refers to a note discussed further.

side, is of African descent," and in the 1837 edn.: "See the first edition of *Eugene Onegin*," which is a reference to the 1825 (Feb. 16) separate edition of Chapter One, in which there is a long note (written probably in mid-October, 1824,³ and certainly after Aug. 9, 1824, the date of his arrival at his estate Mihaylovskoe (near OPOCHKA, province of Pskov) from Odessa, and presumably before his brother's departure for Petersburg, in the first week of November, with the apograph of the canto), based mainly on the MS biography in German of his maternal great-grandfather. Pushkin's note reads:

The author, on his mother's side, is of African descent. His great-grandfather, Abram Petrovich Annibal,⁴ in his eighth year was kidnaped on the coast of Africa⁵ and brought to Constantinople. The Russian envoy, having rescued [*vīruchiv*] him, sent him as a gift to Peter the Great,⁶ who had him baptized⁷ in Vilno. *In his wake, his brother arrived, first in Constantinople, and then in St. Petersburg, with the offer to ransom him; but Peter I did not consent to return his godchild.*⁸ Up to an advanced age, Annibal still remembered Africa, the luxurious life of his father, and nineteen brothers, of whom [*sic*] he was the youngest; he remembered how they used to be led into his father's presence with their hands bound behind their backs, whilst he alone remained free and went swimming under the fountains [or "cascades"] of the paternal home; he also remembered his beloved [or

3. Old Style (Julian calendar) is used throughout for the dating of events in Russia.

4. This is the French form of the English and German "Hannibal" and of the Russian "Gannibal" or "Ganibal"; we should constantly bear in mind that our poet's classical education was entirely dependent on French versions of, and French commentaries on, the ancients. See further my discussion of Abram's assumed surname.

5. Or, lexically, "was stolen from the shores of Africa."

6. Peter I, emperor of Russia, reigned 1682-1725.

7. *Krestil ego*, which also implies "godfathered him."

8. Here, and elsewhere in Pushkin's notes, I have italicized passages that are not supported by, or are in blatant contradiction to, possible or actual facts, as discussed further.

"favorite"] sister, *Lagan*,⁹ swimming in the distance after the ship in which he was receding.

At *eighteen*, Annibal was sent by the tsar to France, where he began his military service in the army of the regent; he returned to Russia with a slashed head¹⁰ and the rank of French lieutenant [Fr. *capitaine*]. Thenceforth he remained *continually* near the person of the tsar. In the reign of *Anna*,¹¹ Annibal, a personal enemy of Bühren,¹² was dispatched, under a specious pretext, to Siberia. *Getting bored with an unpeopled place and a harsh climate, he returned to St. Petersburg of his own accord and appeared before his friend Münnich*.¹³ *Münnich was amazed and advised him to go into hiding without delay. Annibal retired to his country estates and dwelled there all through the reign of Anna, while nominally serving in Siberia.* When Elizabeth ascended the throne, she lavished her favors upon him. A. P. Annibal lived to see the reign of Catherine II, when, relieved of important duties of office, he ended his days with the rank of general in chief, dying in his *ninety-second year* [in 1781]. [An authorial footnote to this reads: "We hope to publish in due time his complete biography."]

His son, Lieutenant General I. A. Annibal, undoubt-

9. An inept, albeit traditional, Russian transliteration; the name is spelled "Lahann" in the German biography.

10. The fact of his having been wounded seems to be supported by the headaches he suffered in later years. The regent was Philippe d'Orléans, who ruled from 1715 to 1723, during the minority of Louis XV.

11. The succession of royal personages in Russia during Gannibal's lifetime was: Catherine I, Peter's widow (r. 1725-27); his grandson, Peter II (r. 1727-30); Anna, daughter of Ivan, Peter I's, brother (r. 1730-40); Anna, daughter of Charles Leopold, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Peter I's grandniece, regent (1740-41) during the minority of her son, who never reigned; Elizabeth, Peter's daughter (r. 1741-61); another grandson of Peter's, Peter III (1761-62); and Catherine II, called the Great (r. 1762-96), self-made widow of Peter III.

12. Anna's powerful favorite; in Russian, Biron; Ernst Johann Bühren, Duke of Courland (1690-1772).

13. In Russian, Minih. Burkhard Christoph, Count Münnich (1683-1767), field marshal.

edly belongs to the number of the most distinguished men of Catherine's age. He died in 1800.

In Russia, where the memory of eminent men is soon obliterated owing to the absence of historical memoirs, the bizarre life of Annibal is known only through family tradition.

PUSHKIN'S ANCESTORS

On the Russian nobility side, Pushkin's family name can be traced back to one Konstantin Pushkin, born in the early fifteenth century, younger son of a Grigoriy Pushka. From Konstantin, there is a direct line of descent to Pyotr Pushkin (d. 1692), the ancestor of both parents of our poet (the paternal great-grandfather of his father and the maternal great-great-grandfather of his mother).

Pyotr Pushkin's son, Aleksandr (d. 1727), was the father of Lev (d. 1790), who was the father of Sergey (1770-1848), who married Nadezhda Gannibal (1775-1836) in 1796 and fathered our poet, Aleksandr Pushkin (1799-1837).

Pyotr Pushkin's younger son, Fyodor (d. 1728), was the father of Aleksey (d. 1777), who was the father of Maria (d. 1818). Maria Pushkin married Osip Gannibal (1744-1806), third son of Avraam Petrov, alias Gannibal, a Russianized African (1693?-1781). Osip's and Maria's daughter, Nadezhda, married Sergey Pushkin (her mother's second cousin) and was our poet's mother.

Abram (Avram, Avraam, Ibragim) Petrovich, or Petrov (baptismal patronymic), Annibal, or Gannibal, or Ganibal (assumed surname), hereafter referred to as "Abram Gannibal," had eleven children by his second wife, Christina Regine von (?) Schöberg, or Scheberch (b. 1706, d. two months before her husband): among them, Ivan Gannibal (1731?-1801), a distinguished general; Pyotr Gannibal (1742-1825?), artillery officer and country squire; Osip Gannibal (1744-1806), also a

military man of sorts, our poet's maternal grandfather (in 1773 he married Maria Pushkin, second cousin of Sergey Pushkin); and two obscurer Gannibals, Isaak (1747-1804) and Yakov (b. 1749).

The following notes, in so far as my own research goes, mainly concern the origins and the first third of Abram Gannibal's life.

THE DOCUMENTS

The basic documents regarding Abram Gannibal's origins are:

The petition: a clerical copy of a petition addressed in February, 1742 (i.e., in the reign of Elizabeth, Peter's daughter), by Major General Abram Gannibal, *ober-komendant* of Revel, or Reval (now Tallin), NW Russia, to the Senate, applying for a nobleman's diploma and heraldic arms.

The German biography: ff. 40-45 of a manuscript some 4000 words long (classified in the Lenin State Library, Moscow, as Cahier 2387A, which is a batch of sheets sewn together, to form a book, by the police immediately after Pushkin's death), comprising an anonymous biography of Abram Gannibal, written in a small Gothic hand, and pompously worded in idiomatic but none-too-literate German. All we know about this German biography (the MS of which I have not seen) is that it was written after Abram Gannibal's death (1781); that it contains certain details, such as a few names and dates, that only Gannibal would have remembered; and that it also includes a number of passages, contradicted either by historical documents (such as Gannibal's own petition) or by plain logic, that were obviously inserted by the biographer with a view to pad the story, to span its gaps, and to give a eulogistic (but actually absurd) interpretation of this or that event in the hero's life. I

think, therefore, that whoever spun this grotesque fabric had before his or her eyes some autobiographic notes left by Gannibal himself. The German seems to me to be that of a Rigan or Revalan. It may be the work of some Livonian or Scandinavian relative of Mme Gannibal (née Schöberg). The bad grammar seems to preclude its being a professional genealogist's job.

Pushkin's n. 11 to *EO* (mainly based on the biography, but with some new details supplied by family tradition or romantic imagination) has already been quoted.

We have in addition four items, curious and important in themselves, but not casting any new light on the subject: (1) an anonymous, very clumsy and incomplete, Russian version of the German biography, on ff. 28-29 and 56-58 of the same Cahier 2387A, in Pushkin's hand, but obviously dictated to him, judging by the uncouth style, probably in October, 1824, and certainly not later than the end of the year, by someone who had more German than he, with some desultory marginalia by Pushkin; (2) a very brief *curriculum vitae*, written or dictated to somebody by Pyotr Gannibal in his old age,¹⁴ when he lived near the Pushkins' Mihaylovskoe, at his small countryseat, Petrovskoe; (3) a few words concerning Abram in a genealogical note, written by Pushkin in the early 1830's, known as *Rodoslovnaya Pushkinih i Ganibalov*, in which a short passage concerning Gannibal begins: "My maternal great-grandfather was a Negro . . ." (same Cahier 2387A, ff. 25, 60, 26, 59, 62); and (4) the factual as faintly seen through the fictional in Pushkin's unfinished historical romance (1827), six chapters and the beginning of a seventh, published

14. In a letter dated Aug. 11, 1825, Pushkin wrote to his country neighbor, Praskovia Osipov: "I plan to look up my old Negro great-uncle, who, I suspect, will die one of these days: I am anxious to obtain from him certain memoirs regarding my great-grandfather." Was this all he was able to get?

posthumously (1837) as *Arap Petra Velikogo* (The Blackamoor of Peter the Great), in which Abram appears as Ibragim (Ibrahim, Turkish form of Abraham).

DATES OF ABRAM GANNIBAL'S BIRTH AND DEATH

The three biographers nearest to Gannibal in time, Helbig (see "Works Consulted"), the unknown author of the German biography (c. 1785), and Bantish-Kamenski (1836), are not in agreement. Helbig says that Abram died in 1781, and reckons his age at eighty-seven. The German biography says he died May 14, 1781, in his ninety-third year, which would have made him about seventeen years old when he first arrived in Moscow, whereas the same document says that he was "unter zehn Jahren" at the time, and in his twenty-eighth year in 1723-24. Bantish gives the date of Abram's death as 1782 and his age as ninety-one (a figure he obtained presumably from Pushkin's published note of 1825). This gives us a range of possible birth dates between 1689 and 1697; I am inclined to take 1693 as the nearest to historical truth.

On the grounds of Pushkin's marginalia in Cahier 2387A (as given in the descriptions of that MS), we can establish the fact that, except for the German biography, our poet had no chronological information regarding his great-grandfather's origin and youth. When beginning (July 31, 1827) his historical romance "*Arap Petra Velikogo*," Pushkin attempted to calculate Gannibal's birth and death dates from the scanty and conflicting data of the German biography (he appears not to have known, or to have ignored, Helbig at the time). In the margin of the first page of the Russian version of the German biography (f. 28 in the batch of sheets in the order in which they were posthumously sewed), our poet computed that if Abram was twenty-eight in 1725

(which would make him only eighty-four at the time of his death), he must have been born in 1697, and at the age of nine (in accordance with the statement in the German biography, a statement that might have set the numerative ball rolling in the first place) was brought to Russia in "1708" (either a mere slip for the correct 1706 or wishful miscalculation). Like many great men, Pushkin was a sedulous and wretched mathematician.

In another abstruse task—namely, at the top of the fourth page of the abridged Russian version of the German biography dictated to him (2387A, f. 56)—our poet apparently attempted to find the date of Gannibal's birth if, say, he were not twenty-eight, but twenty-six, in 1725. He discovered this to be 1699 and, adding nine, obtained the desired "1708," the year in which he thought that Gannibal had been baptized immediately upon his arrival in Russia.

A cryptic note in the right-hand corner of the second page (2387A, f. 57) reads: "brought [to Constantinople] [1]696," which is evidently the result of reckoning based on the fact that the German biography says that Gannibal was seven when removed from Abyssinia and ninety-two at the time of his death. We do not know how Pushkin coped with the awkward mathematical consequence that makes the little Moor spend ten years in the sultan's seraglio and appear as a gangling youth of seventeen before the tsar in Moscow. The only other jotting of interest is the name "Shepelyov," written in the left-hand margin of the same page. It would seem that Pushkin thought Dmitri Shepelyov (d. 1759)¹⁵ to have been the Russian envoy at the time in Turkey. The envoy was, of course, Pyotr Tolstoy.

15. As *gofmarshal* (earl marshal, master of ceremonies), Shepelyov accompanied Peter I on his journey to western Europe in 1716-17; he was made a general by the tsar's daughter, Elizabeth, in 1743.

GANNIBAL'S ORIGIN

The German biography begins: "Awraam Petrowitsch Hannibal war . . . von Geburt ein Afrikanischer Mohr [a blackamoor, an African black] aus Abyssinien. . ."

This fact therefore was known to Pushkin (who took down the Russian translation), but nowhere in his own notes does he ever refer to a specific region when speaking of his ancestor.

The *EO*, Chapter One, note (see earlier, "Pushkin's Comments . . .") begins: "The author, on his mother's side, is of African descent."

Aleksey Vulf, in an entry in his journal, mentions retrospectively that Pushkin showed him, on Sept. 15, 1827, at Mihaylovskoe, "the two first chapters he had just written of a romance in prose [now known as *Arap Petra Velikogo*], in which the main character represents his great-grandfather Gannibal, the son of an Abyssinian emir, captured by the Turks and sent from Constantinople by the Russian ambassador as a gift to Peter I, who had him educated and grew very fond of him."

In the Russian version of the German biography our poet's unknown dictamenter translates "Afrikanischer Mohr" "African Negro." And the German biography itself, in a further passage, refers to Gannibal as a *Neger*.

Abyssinians (or Ethiopians, in the strict sense) have a skin color varying from dusky to black. Their type represents a Hamito-Semitic component of the Caucasian race; and a Negroid strain may so strongly predominate in some tribes that the term "Negro" is in such cases applicable in a general sense; but apart from these considerations (to which I shall return at the end of these notes), the European layman of the time—and, in fact, Abram Gannibal himself—would classify colloquially as a "Negro" or "blackamoor" (in Russian, *negr* or *arap*—note the ultima) any more or less dark-

skinned African who was not an Egyptian and not an Arab (in Russian, *arab*).

In his brief *curriculum vitae*, in badly misspelled Russian, written or more probably dictated in his dotage, Pyotr Gannibal makes the following statement (probably in the autumn of 1825, when our poet presumably consulted him):

My father . . . was a Negro; his father was of noble origin; that is, a ruling seigneur. My father was taken as an *amanat* [a Caucasian term meaning "hostage"] to the court in Constantinople, whence he was stolen and dispatched to Tsar Peter I.

This is repeated in Pushkin's note *Rodoslovnaya . . . Ganibalov*.

The German biography continues thus:

[He was] the son of a local ruler, powerful and rich, who proudly traced his descent in direct line from the house of the famed Hannibal, the terror of Rome. [Abram's] father was a vassal of the Turkish emperor or the Ottoman Empire who by the end of the preceding century, because of oppression and molestation [*Druck und Belästigung*], had revolted, with other Abyssinian princes, his countrymen and allies, against his overlord, the sultan; whereupon various petty but bloody wars followed, in which, however, might eventually triumphed and this Hannibal [Abram], still a boy, the youngest son of the ruling prince, with other highborn youths, was sent in his eighth year to Constantinople as a hostage. Although, given his youth, this fate should not have befallen him so early, still, owing to the fact that his father, according to the Moslem custom, had very many wives (even up to about thirty, with a correspondingly large progeny), the numerous old princesses and their children joined forces in the common intention of protecting themselves and their offspring; and since [Abram] was the youngest son of one of the youngest wives, who did not have at court as many supporters [as the elder princesses had], these contrived through trickery and intrigue, almost by force, to put him on a Turkish vessel

[*Fahrzeug*] and turned him over to the fate that had been assigned him.

I shall presently show that in the 1690's, the period referred to here, no Abyssinian was a vassal of the Ottoman Porte, and no Abyssinian prince could have been a Moslem or could have been forced to send any tribute to Constantinople. The "terror of Rome" will also be discussed. But before I attempt to clear up all this muddle, let us glance at the geographical situation.

GANNIBAL'S BIRTHPLACE

Abram Gannibal's petition (1742) contains the following brief but important information:

I, your humble subject, am a native of Africa [*rodomya . . . iz Afriki*], of the high nobility there [*tamoshnego znatnogo dvoryanstva*]. I was born in the demesne [*vo vladenii*] of my father, in the town of Lagona [or Lagono or Lagon: *v gorode Lagone*—this is the locative case, which in Russian does not disclose the ultima of the nominative]. Moreover, my father had under his rule [*imel pod soboyu*] two other towns . . .¹⁶

It will be noted that (in so far as we have to rely on this text as it appears in the various biographical works listed at the end of this appendix—e.g., Anuchin) no particular region in Africa is indicated in the petition. On the strength of the German biography, I assume that this town is in Abyssinia. The locative case, as already stated, does not provide one with any clue to the orthography of the nominative; moreover, the ridiculous Russian custom of transliterating both *h* and *g* by means of a Russian gamma does not tell us whether this African name in a Roman transcription¹⁷ should be "Lagon,"

16. For the next sentence of the petition see the section "Gannibal and Raguzinski."

17. I.e., the characters universally accepted in geographic

"Lahon," "Lagona," "Lahona," "Lagono," or "Lahono." I suspect that "Lahona" is the correct transcription of the unknown original but shall further refer to the place as "L." The similarity between the name of the sister mentioned in the German biography and the name of the native town mentioned only in the petition is very disturbing. I have not found—within the limited scope of my reading—any instance of an Abyssinian child receiving the name of its birthplace.

In the course of a work that in its historical, ethnical, and geo-nomenclatorial portions is below criticism, Dmitri Anuchin (1899), an anthropologizing journalist, states that after talking to a "French traveler, Saint-Yves" (Georges Saint-Yves?), and to "Professor Paulichke" (presumably, Philippe Paulitschke), he has come to the conclusion that "L" is a town and a district located "on the right bank of the river Mareb in the province of Hamasen." The "Loggo" supplied by Paulitschke (teste Anuchin), and also by an Italian map of 1899 (which I have not seen), and the "Logo" of Salt (to be discussed presently), somehow, in the course of Anuchin's comments and deductions, evolve first a caudal *t* and then a caudal *n*, which none of my "L's" do; for at this point I abandoned Anuchin and launched upon some research of my own.

Charles Poncet (traveling in 1698–1700) divides the empire of Ethiopia into several kingdoms (provinces), such as the Tigré. He divides the Tigré (ruled by Viceroy "Gaurekos") into twenty-four principalities (districts),

nomenclature. This has nothing to do with individual mistakes or transliterative predilections (Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English, French, etc.) within the range of this alphabet, or the tendency on the part of experts in this or that language transliterated to break into a rash of diacritical signs. This writer fervently hopes that the Cyrillic alphabet, together with the even more absurd characters of Asiatic languages, will be completely scrapped some near day.

of which he names only a few, such as the "Saravi" (Serawe), a plateau 6000 feet high.

Henry Salt, a century later, divides the Tigré proper ("commonly called the Kingdom of the Baharnegash") into less than half of Poncet's number of districts, among which he names the Hamazen in the north, the Serawe south of it, and, still farther south, the tiny district of Logo. At some later date, when the Hamazen (or Hamasen) and the Serawe became provinces, the latter, in its spread or shift southward to the Mareb River, engulfed the Logo district and other small districts.

The Mareb is easily located, and its name hardly varies in travelers' accounts, of which there are so few prior to the nineteenth century. An examination of the reproductions of the old maps in the splendid work of Albert Kammerer (1952) shows that this is the Mareb of Jacopo d'Angiolo (alias Agnolo della Scarperia), Rome MS, c. 1450; of Melchisedec Thevenot (after Balthazar Tellez), 1663; of Job Ludolf, 1683; of Bourguignon d'Anville, 1727; of Bruce, 1790 (drawn 1772); it is the Marib of Fra Mauro, 1460; the Marabo of Jacopo Gastaldi, 1561; the Marabus of Livio Sanuto, 1578; the Marab of Father Manoel de Almeida, 1645 (sketched c. 1630). It is also the Moraba of Poncet's account (1704).

Anuchin's informer, or more probably Anuchin himself, has confused two separate places: Logo and Logote. Saint-Yves, traveling, I suppose, sometime in the latter part of the nineteenth century, had seen from a mesa (Tokule Mt.) the town of "Logot" (teste Anuchin, Russian transliteration) in the valley of the Mareb. In Salt's time (1810), Logo and Logote (or Legote) were separate townlets in two adjacent districts, the northern Logo and the southern Legote, the latter bounded south by the Munnai stretch of Mareb River. According to the only other author who mentions Logote (T. Lefebvre,

1846, III, 21, 28; whom, no doubt, Anuchin's French informer had read), the district of Logote (Salt's Legote) is separated from the districts of "Tserana" and "To-koulé" by the Belessa River (which is the Mai Belessan of Salt (1816 edn., p. 195), a tributary of the Mareb. Lefebvre describes the Belessa as following the example of the Mareb by disappearing under the sands during the dry season, when, however, a little digging provides one with plenty of water. "*Cette vallée de Logote étant très malsaine et remplie d'animaux carnassiers [lions, panthers], tous les villages sont situés sur la chaîne,*" and the villagers, having to come from those arid heights for water into the valley, are "*très avares de leurs provisions.*"

The Mareb, which in its central course may be roughly said to separate northern Abyssinia from the rest of the country, is at various seasons and at various points of its meandering progress a raging torrent, an underground stream, or a dribble losing itself among the sands. Its various stretches bear, or have borne, local names. Its headwaters arise in the northeast, within fifty miles of Annesley Bay on the Red Sea; it is a tiny rivulet with a narrow bed below Debarwa; then it swells, sweeps south, turns west, and, collecting numerous other streams from the northern mountains, flows west toward the Sudan frontier, to disappear in the soil near Kassala, though in very wet weather an ultimate trickle reaches Atbara. Among these little northern tributaries we find the Seremai, the Belessa, and the Obel. The last appears on Bent's map (1893) and on the U. S. Army map (1943); the Seremai River, which is apparently just east of the Obel, is mentioned by Salt (1814), who, on his way inland from the Red Sea and the town of Dixan, which he left Mar. 5, 1810 (p. 242), arrived the following day at the picturesque village of Abha (p. 245):

March 7th.—We struck our tents at five in the morning, and after proceeding about a mile southward, brought the hill of Cashaat to bear due east of us, at which point . . . we turned off a little to the west, and travelled about eight miles . . . until we reached an agreeable station, by the side of a river called Seremai. This river shapes its course through the bottom of a small secluded valley, surrounded on every side by steep and rugged hills, in a nook of which, about a mile to the eastward, lay a large town called Logo, whence the surrounding district takes its name.

Logo at that time (1810) was commanded by a rebellious chieftain "who in the campaign of the preceding year had been reduced to obedience by the Ras," and who made an attempt to stop and rob Salt's caravan. For all we know, he may have been Pushkin's fourth cousin.

From Logo the Salt party traveled SSW (p. 248) "Our road now [Mar. 7, 1810] lay . . . through a wild and uncultivated country; we crossed the stream called Mai Belessan . . . and, after mounting a steep ascent, reached the village of Legôte. . . . The distance we had travelled from our last station [on the Seremai River, one mile west from the village of Logo] may be computed at about eight miles." Salt then crossed the Mareb and proceeded southward toward the "completely scarped" mountain (Debra Damo), "which in the earliest periods of the Abyssinian history, served as a place of confinement for the younger branches of the [royal] family" (p. 248), at which point Salt recalls Dr. Johnson's "beautiful and instructive romance." This is a reference to Samuel Johnson's insipid tale, *The Prince of Abissinia* or (in later editions) *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*,¹⁸ which appeared anonymously in two volumes

18. *Rasselas* was represented in Pushkin's library (Ballantyne's Novelist Library, vol. V, London, 1823, which also contains Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* and Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield*), but Pushkin had not enough English to

in the spring of 1759—at a time readers managed to find poetry and talent in the journalism of Voltaire's flat *Contes*. Earlier (1735) Johnson had translated for a few shillings Joachim Le Grand's *Voyage historique d'Abissinie, du R.P. Jérôme Lobo*, Paris, 1728 (and this is the explanation of the spelling "Abissinia" in *Rasselas*, which puzzled James Macaulay, author of the preface to the 1884 facsimile edition of that work). Jeronimo Lobo, whose own text has never been printed, was a Portuguese Jesuit; he visited Abyssinia during the years 1624–32, in the reign of Susneyos (Malak Sagad III, later known as Seltan Sagad I), who publicly made his submission to Rome; the hero of Johnson's tale was that emperor's brother, Ras (Prince) Ce'ela Krestos (spelled also Cella Christos), the Rasselas of Le Grand (p. 502), governor of Gojam, and one of the staunchest supporters of the Jesuits (Beckingham and Huntingford, 1954, pp. xxv, 59). It is most pleasing to reflect that Salt may have seen on the very same day the birthplace of Pushkin's ancestor and the scene of Johnson's story.

The only maps on which I have been able to locate Logo are: the one in Salt's work and a smaller one (obviously copied from Salt, without acknowledgment) illustrating the 1830–32 journal kept by Samuel Gobat (a Swiss clergyman born in 1799). On Salt's map, this townlet or village of Logo is situated at 39°2'5" E and 14°7'5" N. It lies about forty-five miles NNW of Aksum and about fifty miles S of Debarwa. I doubt if it exists today;

read it. If he knew Johnson's tale at all, as he probably did, it was in a French translation, of which there were several (Belot, 1760; Fouchecour, 1798; Louis, 1818; Notré, 1823). A Russian translation was published in Moscow, 1795, but a Russian gentleman would ignore the wretched Russian adaptations of the time and prefer the more fluid, though hardly more exact, French versions. Thus the poet and rebel Küchelbecker read *Rasselas* in French in prison, at Sveaborg, Feb. 2, 1832.

perhaps it has wandered to some other site, as Abyssinian villages have been known to do; but its ghost should be sought N of the Munnai stretch of the Mareb River and E of its little northern tributary, the Obel (*obel* means "tamarisk" in Tigré), in the former province of Seraoe (Seræ, Serawe). On Baratieri's map (1896) there is a "Mai Laham" at $38^{\circ}7' \text{ E}$, $14^{\circ}7'5'' \text{ N}$, and on the U. S. Army map (1943), there is an "Adi Mai Laam" on the "Asmara" at $38^{\circ}9' \text{ E}$, $14^{\circ}8' \text{ N}$. *Adi* means "village," *mai* is "water" or "ford," *laham* may be "cattle" or (according to Salt, 1811, III, 12) a "mango-like tree" (which is, I presume, *Eugenia owariensis* Beauv.). On none of the numerous maps made prior to the eighteenth century have I found any locus suggestive of "Logo," or "Lagon," or "Lagona," except obvious Italian or Spanish descriptive terms for "lake," "canal," "hot spring," or "pool" (*lagone*).

The trouble is that at exactly the necessary period, between the last visits of Jesuit priests in the 1630's and James Bruce's travels in the 1770's, no vocal European except Poncet (1698-1700) journeyed to northern Abyssinia—and neither Lobo (in Le Grand), nor Almeida, nor Poncet, nor Bruce mentions "L."

I have discovered, however, another candidate for Gannibal's birthplace. Salt, in his earlier journal (1811, III, 61), mentions the village of "Lahaina,"¹⁹ which he saw on Sept. 9, 1805, on his way northward from "Antalow" (Antalo), the capital of Tigré-Endorta, to "Muc-cullah" (Macalle), in the same province. This Lahaina is, or was, about six miles from Antalo, in a direction nearly NNE, and thus about a hundred miles SSE of Logo. I cannot locate it on any map, but judging by

19. Or is this a misspelling for "Lahama" or "Lehama," a small district in Endorta mentioned by Lefebvre (III, 43)? There is, of course, another "Lahaina" in the world—namely, the former residence of the kings in the Hawaiian Islands.

Salt's account (he had just passed by "a picturesque village called Haraqué," which I identify with Gargara of the U. S. Army map, 1943), I should place Lahaina midway between 39° and 40° E and midway between 13° and 14° N. Beyond "Haraqué," after proceeding from one hill to another, Salt saw "on a rising ground to our right [to the east] a village of considerable extent called Lahaina, from which place the road, turning a little more to the west, led through a more cultivated country, thickly set with acacia and brushwood . . ." There is no reason why this Lahaina, rather than Logo or Logote, should not have been the Lagona or Lahona of Gannibal's petition, and there may have existed other similarly sounding place names (on a "Laham" basis, for instance). I would consider therefore the determination of "L" as not settled at the time of writing (1956); but I am inclined to assume that it was situated in the general region of northern Abyssinia, where we have been following, through the bibliographic dust, the mules and camels of several adventurous caravans.

GANNIBAL'S SISTER

After the passage concerning the scheming senior wives, who managed to have the youngest one's son turned over to the Turks, the German biography continues thus:

His only full sister, Lahann, who was some years older than he, had yet sufficient courage to oppose this act of violence. She tried everything, but had to yield to number; she accompanied him to the very deck of the small ship, still nursing the hope that she might obtain by entreaties the freedom of this much beloved brother or purchase it with her jewels; but when she found that her tender efforts [*zärtliches Bemühen*] remained fruitless to the last, she cast herself in despair into the sea and was drowned. To the very end of his days, the venerable old man [Abram] would shed tears of the tenderest friendship

and love as he recollected her; for although he was still very young at the time of that tragic event, yet whenever he thought of her this vague memory would become new and complete for him; and this offering [Abram's tears] was the better deserved by her sisterly tenderness since she had struggled so hard to free him, and since these two were the only siblings from the same mother.

Pushkin, in his note to the 1825 edn. of Chapter One of *EO*, obviously improves upon the German biography when he says: "[Abram] also remembered his beloved [or "favorite"] sister, *Lagan'* [Russ.], swimming in the distance after the ship in which he was receding."

As I have already mentioned in a footnote to his *Lagan'*, Pushkin carelessly follows here the Russian tradition of rendering the Latin *H* by the Russian gamma (so that, for instance, Henry becomes *Genri* and Heine masquerades as *Geyne*). Moreover, he attempts to feminize the ending of the name, which terminates in a consonant (an impossible ending for a feminine name in Russian), by closing it with a "soft sign" (an apostrophe in transliteration).

The receding ship, in whose wake swam—somewhat ahead of the romantic era—a passionate sister, might be easily condemned to dwindle to a reed raft on a seasonable river; indeed, the entire event might be dismissed by the cynic as one of those fairy-tale recollections that old age confuses with true happenings; but there is one reason it should command attention: the name "*Lahann*" is, I find, a plausible Abyssinian name.²⁰

Generally speaking, names in *L*, and particularly in

20. In Turkish, a language that Gannibal must have been able to understand at one time, *lahana* means "cabbage" and *lahin* "note," "tone," "melody." In Arabic, *lahan* means "melody," "modulation," "mispronunciation," and *layan* means "softness," "gentleness," *Zärtlichkeit*. In several Oriental languages, the stem *lah-* is associated with "loose woman" (cf. the Russian *lahanka*, a slattern, Pskovan dial., and *lahudra*, an inferior whore).

La, occur comparatively seldom in Abyssinian chronicles. According to Amharic dictionaries, there is a man's name "Layahan"; and in the reign of King Bahafa (1719-28) there was a general named Lahen, who died about 1728 when governor of Hamasen (R. Basset, 1881, XVIII, 363).

We do not know how old was Ras Fares, governor of Tigré, in the 1690's, nor do we know the number of his wives or concubines. But we do know that Fares must have been an elderly man at the time, and we also know from the chronicles (Basset, XVIII, 310) that a young wife of his, who died at the latest in 1697, bore the name of Lahia Dengel or Lahya Dengel (meaning in Tigré "beauty of the Virgin"), which has a striking resemblance to that of the girl who may have been her daughter.

GANNIBAL'S PARENTAGE

To understand the various improbabilities and absurdities in the German biography, the history of Abyssinia should be briefly recalled.

The Gospel was introduced there about A.D. 327 by Frumentius (c. 290-c. 350), a native of Phoenicia, who was consecrated bishop of Aksum by Athanasius of Alexandria. An awareness of that primitive empire, so near to Arabia, so far from Rome, was slow in reaching western Europe. The first reliable information was the fortunate outcome of ill-fated ventures on the part of heroic Jesuit missionaries who affronted the nameless dangers of a fabulous land for the holy joys of distributing images of their fair idols and of secretly rebaptizing native children under the pious disguise of medical care. Some of these brave men were successful as martyrs, others as mapmakers. In the sixteenth century, Portuguese troops helped the Abyssinians to break a relatively brief spell of Moslem domination that began about 1528

and lasted till the middle of the century. At one time, c. 1620, under King Susneyos, Abyssinia was actually converted by Portuguese Jesuits into a grotesque form of Catholicism, which petered out about 1630, in the beginning of the reign of Fasilidas, who restored the old religion and had the churches occupied again by the Monophysite clergy. In modern times, Russians have been pleasantly surprised at finding a kind of natural Greek-Orthodox tang to certain old eremitic practices still persisting in Ethiopia; and Protestant missionaries have been suspected by the natives of paganism because of their indifference to pictures of female saints and winged boys.

In the period that alone interests us—the last years of the seventeenth century and the first ones of the eighteenth—most Abyssinians were Christians; i.e., members of the Abyssinian Church, a dreary, Coptic-flavored brew of the more absurd ideas of old Christian and Jewish priests, all this spiced with barbarous local abominations. Despite the memory of cruel invasions, the state tolerated, for commercial reasons, Moslems and, for sporting ones, heathen Negro tribes, such as the Shangalla group, to which belonged the black savages inhabiting at the time a region not far from, or including, Logo, at a point “where the river Mareb, leaving Dobarwa, flows through thick bushes” (Bruce, 1790, II, 549). In the late seventeenth century, and afterward, these heathens were enthusiastically hunted by Abyssinian kings in periodical safaris, and there is nothing impossible in a hypothesis that Pushkin’s ancestor was captured in the process and sold to the Turks.

By 1700, little trace remained of the Moslem invasion that had been led by Ahmed ibn Ibrahim el Ghazi, surnamed Gran (Lefty), possibly a Somali, more than a century and a half before. Indeed, by the time of John I (c. 1667–81), the Moslems, although holding the east-

coast islands, had no political power inland and were compelled to live in separate quarters in Abyssinian towns. It is conceivable that Gannibal's father was a pagan warrior or a well-to-do Moslem trader, and it is likewise conceivable that he was a local chief of princely blood, ruling over a district or a province, but it is impossible for one to imagine (as does Anuchin, blindly followed by Vegner and other ovine compilers) that about 1700, some 150 miles north of Gondar, the proud capital of Abyssinia, and less than 50 miles north from her sacred city Aksum, an Abyssinian nobleman governing three towns would be a subject of the Turkish sultan and thus a vassal of the Ottoman Empire!

We shall now suppose that (1) Gannibal's father was indeed a regional governor in northern Abyssinia and that (2) Gannibal's recollection of "taxes" and "tributes" corresponded in a twisted and nebulous way to certain historical realities.

Gannibal was born in a town beginning with *L*, in the Tigré proper or the Tigré-Endorta, about 1693, in the reign of Jesus the Great (Jyasu I; throne name, Adyam Sagad I), who succeeded his father John in 1680 (according to Basset), 1681 (according to J. Perruchon), or 1682 (according to Beckingham and Huntingford) and was assassinated in result of the machinations of Queen Melakotawit (Fr. transliteration), who wanted her son, Tekla-Haymonot, to reign. Poncet, when spending the summer of 1700 in Debarwa, then the capital of Tigré, feasted there with two regional governors: one of them was apparently the governor of the whole Tigré province (*bahrnegas* or *bahr-negus*, a title that originally meant "lord of the sea," but that by the beginning of the preceding century had lost much of its importance); the other chief was either a temporary coruler or a district governor. Poncet gives the name of the first as "Gaurekos." This, I suspect, should read

"Gyorgis" (or "Guirguis"²¹), which is the Arabic Jirjis and the European George.

The chronicle published by Basset mentions only one governor of Tigré about 1700, namely, Ras Fares (*ras* or *raz* meaning "head" in the Geez language). He became governor in the eleventh year of the reign of Jesus I and was still governor in the twenty-second year of that reign. In the first years of the eighteenth century he seems to have been assigned to other, presumably military, duties, although exercising his governorship off and on; and perhaps the other fellow, George, ruled in the intervals—and was being broken in at the time Poncet found the *bahrnegas* twinned.²² Ras Fares survived the two-year-long reign of Tekla-Haymonot I and was exiled to the isle of Mesrah by the next emperor, Theophilus (Tewoflos), who reigned for three years (c. 1708–11). At this point I lose track of Fares, who presumably died in exile.

Jesus I (1682–1706, according to Beckingham and Huntingford and to Budge) was a not-untalented despot, and a mighty hunter, inordinately fond of chasing the buffalo and the Galla. He also kept a sharp eye on his provincial and district administrators. In the seventeenth year of his reign—that is, in the late 1690's (when Gannibal was five or six years of age)—the exactions of the officials and their robbery of the nation in collecting taxes became so outrageous that the emperor summoned all the notables from Endorta and other districts and

21. The Portuguese Jesuit Almeida, who journeyed inland from the Red Sea in 1621, mentions Keba Christos, governor of Tigré, "encamped in a beautiful meadow near Debaroa [Debarwa]," and Asma Guirguis, his brother.

22. Poncet later met "Guarekos" brother, an eremite whom he saw in September on his way to Massawa and the Red Sea, in the Monastery of Bizen (Debra Bizan, near Asmara), where the sixty-six-year-old holy man was making himself dreadfully ill by trying to subsist on a diet of raw rack-tree leaves.

demanding an explanation of them. The principal article of merchandise was rock salt. The officials, in the name of customs dues, used to confiscate most of the salt that the merchants brought on their asses into the town. The emperor decided that the tax on salt should be uniform throughout the country. The tax on five mules laden with salt was to be one slab (see Basset, XVIII, 303-20, and Budge, I, 417).

The scandal coincided with Poncet's arrival in Abyssinia, and it is possible to believe that Ras Fares and various district governors in the province of Tigré (including Endorta) were involved. In these cases the emperor would no doubt feel even freer than usual to exact tribute from the governors—and probably would think nothing of ordering them to send their children as samples of Abyssinian nobility to the court of a Frankish king.

GANNIBAL'S ENSLAVEMENT

In the Abyssinia of those days everybody seems to have been selling everybody else into slavery. There is a charming story about an Abyssinian priest who is sent young divinity students by a friend, another priest, sells these youths one by one to a Moslem trader, then sells him his friend the priest, and then gets sold himself. In his *Travels* (1790), Bruce mentions Dixan (at 14°59'55" and 39°38'30", according to Salt), the first frontier town he reached in Abyssinia from the coastal island of Masuah (Massawa), on the Red Sea. "Dixan is built on the top of a hill, perfectly in form of a sugar loaf" (III, 84), and consists of Moslems and Christians; "the only trade of either of these sects is a very extraordinary one, that of selling of children. The Christians bring such as they have stolen in Abyssinia to Dixan as to a sure deposit; and the Moors receive them there, and carry

them to a certain market at Masuah, whence they are sent over to Arabia and India" (III, 88).

About 1700, according to Poncet, the price for a robust male slave was only ten *écus* (fifty shillings). In 1880, according to Enid Starkie, the average price of a small boy was twenty strips of copper cut from a kettle. Some eight years later, in the days of "trader Rainbow" (as the English called the French ex-poet Rimbaud), Christian Abyssinian boys cost eighty Levant dollars (about 150 shillings) per head. One suspects that most of the little Africans shipped to Arabia and Turkey were used there as catamites before reaching the age of toil.

I do not know how probable it may have been for the child of a seigneur, a province governor, or district governor to be directly or indirectly sold into slavery; but there is definite information (for instance, in Poncet) that in 1700 Emperor Jesus could and did command the noblemen—i.e., various relatives of his, as all nobles were—to dispatch their children to a distant European court, with the result that these unfortunate Abyssinian youngsters were captured en route by the Turks.

Poncet, a French pharmacist in Cairo, who was invited to Abyssinia to treat Jesus I for conjunctivitis, left Cairo June 10, 1698, and, via the Nile and Dongola, reached Gondar July 21, 1699. The emperor proclaimed a young Armenian merchant (named "Murat" or, more exactly, Murad ben Magdelun, said to be the nephew of one of the emperor's ministers) ambassador to France: he was to accompany Poncet to Paris with gifts for King Louis XIV such as elephants, horses, and *jeunes enfans éthiopiens*, scions of noble families.

On his return voyage to Cairo (now via the Red Sea), Poncet left Gondar May 2, 1700, for Massawa, planning to stop on the way in the capital of Tigré, Debarwa, which he reached in mid-July, and to wait there for

Murad, who was still collecting the animals and the children. But there were further delays; several horses and the only elephant, a young tuskless beast, died while crossing the Serawe Mts., and on Sept. 8, 1700, after waiting for Murad for almost two months, Poncet left Debarwa for the coast. Nine days later he reached the island of Massawa, embarked for Jidda on Sept. 28, and arrived there on Dec. 5. Murad being still delayed, the next meeting place was fixed at the head of the Red Sea in Suez, for which Poncet set out Jan. 12, 1701. At the end of April he reached the Mt. Sinai Monastery, where a month later Murad finally caught up with him, bringing a sad report: in Jidda, "le Roy de la Mecque" (the Grand Sherif Saad?) took away from him the highborn Ethiopian children that Murad had collected for the king of France—and it is not inconceivable that some of these the governor of Mecca (or that of Jidda) forwarded to the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa II, as his own little tribute. All Murad now had were two young attendants obtained on the way at Suakin, "the bigger one an Ethiopian, the smaller a [Negro?] slave" (Le Grand, p. 431). Poncet's and Murad's caravan reached Cairo in the first week of June, and Poncet presented himself there before the French consul, Maillet.

In Cairo Poncet, now impatient to leave for France, got into trouble with Maillet, who questioned Murad's ambassadorial status, and with the Turks, who questioned the religion of the two slave boys (Murad's acquisition?) whom Poncet was taking with him. Says Le Grand (pp. 417–18): "L'Aga et les gens de la Douane [vinrent] l'avertir [June 26, 1701] que ses deux domestiques Abissins étant Mahométans devoient etre rachetés . . . [Poncet] répondit que si ces enfans étaient Mahométans" he would make a gift of them to the Turkish governor of Egypt. But the local Jesuit superior, "touché de zèle pour le salut de ces deux enfans," intervened,

and Poncet was not bothered any more. Whether he got the two youngsters out of Cairo, we do not know. It is also not clear if we should count as one of these boys or count separately as a third item, or consider as representing both, a "*jeune esclave éthiopien*" (Le Grand, p. 432) whom Murad had brought to the French consul at Cairo, to be shipped to France together with the remains—ears and trunk—of the young elephant. This *petit esclave*, when already placed on the Nile barge that was to take him to the ship, began to cry that he was a Moslem, that he was being kidnaped, that he did not want to go to Christendom, which provoked a tumult, in consequence of which the Turkish officials removed the boy from the barge and placed him in the keep of one Mustafa Kiaya Kazdugli, after which Poncet sailed for France. Incidentally, the episode is curiously distorted in its retelling by Bruce (II, 488–89), who says that Poncet, when embarking at Bulaq, on the Nile, for his voyage to France, "watched helplessly as a bought slave, a poor Abyssinian lad, whom he was bringing for Louis the Fourteenth . . . was being taken out of ship by the Janizaries . . . and made a Mahometan before his eyes"—which implies, if I correctly understand what Bruce means, that the boy was an uncircumcised heathen Negro, and not a Christian Ethiopian, who would have been circumcised anyway (on the eighth day after his birth).

GANNIBAL IN TURKEY

After describing Lahann's death at the time of her brother's departure from Abyssinia or some neighboring seaport, the German biography continues:

Not long after [*nicht lange nach*] this separation forever, Hannibal arrived in Constantinople and with the other young hostages was confined in the seraglio, to be raised there among the noble pages of the sultan, and there he

spent one year and some months [*ein Jahr und etliche Monate*].

Let us pause here for a moment in order to check the chronological situation. We shall see presently that the Russian envoy could have obtained the young *arap* only between the autumn of 1702 and the summer of 1705 and that the most probable year is 1703. Working backward, we arrive at the following conclusion.

The journey from his home in inner Abyssinia—which, according to the German biography, Gannibal was forced to leave at seven years of age (“in seinem achten Jahre . . . nach Constantinopel gesandt”)—to Turkey must have taken considerably longer than the meaningless gap-filler “nicht lange nach” implies—even if we choose for him the shortest itinerary of the time, from the Tigré Province to northwestern Turkey. There was an initial trek to a Red Sea port, then the tricky passage up the Red Sea to Suez, then another land journey to a Mediterranean port, and finally the long, awesome, and nauseous voyage to Stambul. Taking into account the difficulties of navigation and many delays, we must reckon the whole journey to have lasted at least one year—probably longer, especially if we take into consideration that Gannibal might have been conveyed to Turkey not by sea but by the caravan road via Arabia and Syria. In other words, he must have left home in 1700 if, by 1703, he had been living in Constantinople since the end of 1701.

We now have to choose between two possibilities: (1) that the boy landed in the Constantinople slave market in the ordinary course of the trade or (2) that, as the German biography avers, he was smuggled out of the sultan's seraglio and delivered to the Russian envoy, with the help of a grand vizier.

If we consider the first proposition, all we can say is either that the Russian envoy's agent may have induced

his employer to show more gratitude by persuading him that the young slave had really been a highborn prisoner in the palace or, more likely, that the Russian envoy, having purchased the boy by ordinary means, cooked up the exotic version to impress the tsar. Since, however, we are inclined to accept the story of Gannibal's noble origin, for want of a better hypothesis, we may as well see what historical background there is to support the contention of the German biography, which, after the sentence referring to the length of time spent by Gannibal in Constantinople, launches upon the account of his deliverance with the following idiotic argument:

At that time the Emperor Peter I [was] introducing the arts and the sciences in his realm and endeavoring to spread them among [his] noblemen. He did succeed to some extent in this undertaking; yet considering the great multitude of nobles in that most extensive of the world's empires, the number of people who showed inclination toward learning proved much too insignificant, a state of affairs that caused the late emperor most grievous and vexing pain. He cast around for means to extract from among the nation . . . examples and models. Finally, he conceived the idea of writing to his ambassador in Constantinople, requesting him to obtain for him and send him some young black boys of good abilities. His minister followed his orders with the utmost fidelity: he got acquainted with the supervisor of the seraglio where the sultan's pages were being reared and educated, and then, through the intermediation of the grand vizier obtained, in a secret and dangerous manner, three lads. . . .

One of these was Gannibal.

Prior to the era of more or less normal diplomatic relations between Russia and Turkey, a councilor of Peter I, Emelian Ukraintsev (1660?-1708), had been sent as envoy extraordinary to Constantinople in 1699, after the cessation of a long and confused war.²³ He

23. The Karlowitz Treaty between Turkey on one side and Austria, Poland, and the state of Venice on the other was

concluded a peace treaty (July 3, 1700), supposed to be good for thirty years, and returned to Russia.²⁴ In 1700-01 Russia was briefly represented at the Porte by the grand envoy, Prince Dmitri Golitsin (1665-1737), who was in Constantinople only to ratify the treaty.

The first regular Russian ambassador to reside in Turkey (where he stayed for twelve years) was Count Pyotr Tolstoy (1645-1729), who was appointed Apr. 2, 1702, and arrived in August. The sultan in power, Mustafa II, had one more year to reign before being dethroned (Aug. 22, 1703), in consequence of a thirty-six-day-long military rebellion, by his brother Ahmed III (who was to last till 1730). Mustafa granted Tolstoy his first audience in November, 1702. During the period interesting us (1702-05), seven grand viziers succeeded one another.

Of these, Hussein Kuprulu,²⁵ an intelligent and amiable pasha, retired Sept. 5, 1702. During his rule, the mortality among Turkish poets was, for some reason, very great: as many as twelve died in 1699. The next grand vizier (*krayniy vizir*?, in the Russian of the time) was Daltaban the Serbian, whom European observers

signed the same year. Incidentally, Emelian Ignatievich (patronymic) Ukraintsev is split into three persons in my edition of Hammer-Purgstall (XIII, 37n): the councilors Amilianusch, Ignatodesich, and Oukraintzov!

24. Subsequently this tough politician was appointed to settle the Russian-Turkish frontier on the river Bug, after which he headed the Department of Provisions, was accused of profiteering, and survived a thrashing with *dub'yo* (a collective noun meaning oak cudgels or knotted clubs), to become envoy to Hungary.

25. The transliteration of Turkish names is the whim of this or that European historian, and the right form is hard to choose without special study. Kuprulu, for instance, appears as Koeprulu in Hammer, Kuprulis in Bonnac, and Kiuprili, Koprulu, or Kuprullu in English works on the subject. As in the case of Abyssinian history, there is also a bothersome discrepancy in matters of dates (I have, on the whole, followed Hammer, with some misgivings).

call an illiterate brute, and who among other wise and important decrees forbade Christians and Jews to wear kalpaks of red cloth. His bellicose spirit made him unpopular, and four months later he was quietly strangled by the palace executioner. He was succeeded on Jan. 25, 1703, by Rami Pasha, said to be an honest and enlightened personage who wrote verse in a polished style. He fell with his master, Sultan Mustafa. The next grand vizier (Aug. 23–Nov. 16, 1703), the first to serve Sultan Ahmed, was a pasha of Russian extraction, Chancellor Ahmed, a very corrupt, rotund little man, dubbed Beehive because of his squat shape and his ability to store up the sweets of life. Less than four months later he was exiled to Lepanto, after having been made to disgorge the treasures he had accumulated. His successor, Hasan, a son-in-law of the sultan, reigned for less than a year (till Sept. 28, 1704). He was a very honest and comparatively humane pasha of Greek origin and cannot be suspected of selling the sultan's pages to a foreigner. His successor was the bad-tempered and violent Kalailikoz, who detested Frenchmen and Russians and who, in his turn, was succeeded on Dec. 26, 1704, by Baltaji Mohammed (a former governor of Jidda), a wily pasha who lasted till May 3, 1706. During his rule, not later than the summer of 1705, Abram Gannibal was shipped to Azov, so we do not have to bother about the next grand vizier (the tyrannic Ali, 1706–10); but if any of these worthies was involved in Gannibal's surreptitious removal from the seraglio to the Russian embassy or to a moored Russian vessel, I would suggest it was Beehive or Mohammed.

Pyotr Tolstoy is described by historians as a crafty, unscrupulous, and sinister character. In 1717, he was sent by the tsar to retrieve Prince Alexis, the heir to the throne, who had taken advantage of his ferocious sire's journey abroad to escape from Russia to Austria and

Italy, and whom the tsar's agents tracked down and brought back, in a series of quiet moves marked by the kind of hypnotic tenacity, persuasion, and deceit that we associate today with the forced repatriation of fugitives by Soviet thugs. The man who could lure Alexis from the security of Naples to his terrible fatherland, to be tortured to death there under Peter's supervision, might easily have devised a means to obtain a poor little blackamoor for his master's amusement.

My opinion that the tsar's envoy to the Ottoman Porte obtained Gannibal, by the tsar's order and for the tsar's service, not earlier than 1703 and not later than 1704 is corroborated by Gannibal himself in the following two documents:

(1) In a letter from Paris to Councilor Makarov, dated Mar. 5, 1721 (probably, N.S.), Gannibal mentions that he has served the tsar for seventeen years.

(2) In an address to Empress Catherine I, in 1726 (when presenting her a textbook on military engineering that he had compiled on the basis of his La Fère or Metz notes; see below, "Gannibal in Western Europe"), he mentions that he has lived for twenty-two years *pri dome* (at the domicile, in the entourage, in the household) of the late tsar (who died in 1725).

GANNIBAL AND RAGUZINSKI

"In the meantime," the German biography continues, using its favorite formula:

the father of the late general [of Abram Gannibal], who had been ripe in years and almost senile at the time of [Abram's] departure, died, and the succession of his rule [*Regierung*] fell to the lot of one of Abram's stepbrothers. . . . The Russian envoy, who was glad to observe the will of his emperor, sent to Moscow [the three lads]: Ibrahim Hannibal; another black boy—a compatriot of his of noble birth—who, however, died of smallpox on the way;

and a Ragusan of nearly the same age, i.e., under ten. Although deploring the loss of one of the boys, the emperor was delighted that the two others arrived safely, and took over personally the care of bringing them up; the more eagerly because, as already said, he wished to make examples of them . . . and put [Russians] to shame by convincing them that out of every people, and even from among wild men—such as Negroes, whom our civilized nations assign exclusively to the class of slaves—there can be formed men who by dint of application can obtain knowledge and learning [and thus] become helpful and useful to their monarch. . . . A no mean connoisseur of mankind, the emperor investigated in advance the inclinations of his newly arrived objects [sic]. He destined Hannibal, who was a quick, keen, and fiery young fellow, for a military career; and he destined the Ragusan (later known in Russia as Count Raguzinski), who was of a quieter and more meditative nature, for the civil service.

We can ignore the passage concerning the succession of rule, which is only there to dismiss a possible accusation of secondary abduction, this time on the part of the beloved monarch, and turn to Abram Gannibal's petition (1742). This petition, after mentioning the three towns Abram's father governed (see earlier, "Gannibal's Birthplace"), proceeds thus: "In 1706, at an early age [*v malih letah*], I set out for Russia from Constantinople, in the retinue [*pri*] of Count Savva Vladislavich, by my own will, and was brought to Moscow. . . ."

The date 1706 refers to his arrival in Moscow. As we shall presently see, he left Constantinople in the summer of 1705. The Ragusan Vladislavich is the same person that the German biography describes as Gannibal's coeval and fellow page, a preposterous allegation that can be explained only as an attempt to puff up the prestige of the biographee by giving him reputable companions in misfortune and fortune. This Ragusan was thirty-seven years old in 1705, when, according to the relevant passage in the German biography, Gannibal was about ten

years of age—or about twelve, according to a more plausible computation. Curiously enough, Pushkin preserves the fictional synchronization of the two men's respective ages in his mediocre romance known as *Arap Petra Velukogo*: when "Ibragim" at the age of almost thirty (he is "twenty-seven" at the beginning of the novel, when, c. 1720, he falls in love in Paris with a French lady) returns to Petersburg in 1723, he sees in the emperor's palace "young Raguzinski, his former chum [*bivshego svoego tovarishcha*]"—who, historically, was fifty-five years of age at the time.

Who, then, was this Ragusan of the changeable years?

As early as 1699–1700 Ukraintsev had employed in Constantinople the services of secret agents of Illyrian extraction. One of these was a Servian trader named Savva (Christian name) Lukich (patronymic) Vladislavich (surname), known later as Count Vladislavich-Raguzinski (1668–1738). He was born in Popovo, Herzegovina, was brought up in his father's merchant business in Ragusa, and when about twenty-five (thus in the 1690's) was transferred to Constantinople. Rightly or wrongly, his father, Luka Vladislavich, considered himself descending from a Bosnian princely family of that name. Upon his removal from Bosnia to Ragusa, he assumed the composite surname Vladislavich-Raguzinski. His son's title of count, or at least its formal fixation, seems to have been a favor granted by Tsar Peter in recognition of Savva's services.

Under Mustafa II and Ahmed III, Turkey exacted a tribute from Ragusa (e.g., the sum of 4000 ducats in 1703) as well as from Arab tribes;²⁶ but (according to

26. The Arabs, on the other hand, kept pilfering the yearly caravan (a stately affair led by a bejeweled camel) that was sent yearly from Constantinople to Mecca with money for the poor. Some of this pilfering seems to have been organized from Constantinople by the grand viziers themselves.

B. H. Sumner, p. 8n) the law for collecting Christian tribute boys, although nominally in existence until 1750, had not been enforced since the middle of the preceding century. There is no reason not to believe that Savva Vladislavich had been dispatched to Constantinople in the natural course of personal adventure and paternal trade; but the fact of there having been Ragusan tribute boys in the past may have somehow influenced the account of Gannibal's boyhood.

On Sept. 25, 1702, a month after his arrival in Turkey, Pyotr Tolstoy wrote to Count Fyodor Golovin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, thus:

A Ragusan dwelling in Constantinople, Sava Vladislavov [sic], who as you know is a good man, has now, by my advice, set out with wares for Azov and from there will proceed to Moscow. [He] is here an infinitely useful person to His Muscovite Majesty.

Sometime in the autumn of that year Vladislavich arrived in Azov with an ostensible cargo of olive oil, cotton, and calico, and eventually (by the first week of April, 1703) reached Moscow, where in result of the secret reports he brought he was made much of by Peter I.

Bringing sables and ermines, Russian fox (white-collar and red) and wolf (Muscovite and Azovan), he returned to Constantinople in 1704 or early 1705, and then in the summer of 1705 set out again for Azov and Moscow, carrying more calico and more secret dispatches from Pyotr Tolstoy as well as a live present for the tsar.

It is evident that Gannibal was obtained sometime between the dates of Vladislavich's two departures from Constantinople. To judge by a letter from the tsar to the Constantinople ambassador's brother, Ivan Tolstoy, commander of Azov, Vladislavich was in Moscow with the reports, and presumably with the little blackamoor, not later than Jan. 12, 1706 (the exact date of his arrival

might be easily settled by consulting unpublished papers in the local archives). Vladislavich traveled in 1716-22 on diplomatic missions to Venice and Ragusa and in 1725-28 was envoy to China.

GANNIBAL'S FIRST YEARS IN RUSSIA (1706-16)

At the time of Gannibal's arrival in Russia, Peter was in the midst of the Swedish campaign, with the battle-field—a fluctuating and somewhat phantomic affair—in Poland. He had stayed in Vilno from July 8 to Aug. 1, 1705, and arrived in Moscow (from Grodno) on Dec. 19, 1705, remaining there till Jan. 13, 1706, when he went back, via Smolensk, to the martial sport in Poland. In Moscow he amused himself with establishing an anatomical and biological museum, with a botanical garden in front of it. The young blackamoor was no doubt welcomed as an additional curio. Peter visited Kiev in July-August, 1706, and, traveling north again, was just in time to enjoy watching, on Sept. 11, 1706, the first inundation in "Piterburh" (or "Paradis," as he fondly called the town he had just founded). Especially entertaining was the sight of men and women huddling on the roofs of submerged shacks.

Peter was again in Vilno (on his way back from Warsaw to Petersburg) by Sept. 24, 1707, and stayed there till Oct. 10. It is within these time limits that the, at least, fourteen-year-old Abyssinian was baptized and given the name Pyotr. More or less synchronously (Sept. 27, 1707), his royal sponsor jotted down a little memorandum dealing with the naming of the progeny of Lenita or Lenta (from the Latin *lenis*, "gentle," or *lentus*, "tenacious," "slow"), an English mastiff: two years before (June 30, 1705), in the monastery of Polotsk, the tsar had had this hound maul Theophanus, an outspoken Uniate monk of the St. Basil Order, whom

he had then hacked in two with his sword. The pseudo-classical names for her seven pups, which the tsar translated no doubt from some current nomenclator, read—as translated back from Peter's uncouth Russian—Pirrhus (reddish), Eous (dawn), Aethon (bright), Phlegethon (blazing), Pallas, Nymph, and Venus. The eventual surname Annibal given to the blackamoor may also have been thought up by the enlightened monarch, although there are other possibilities (see further, "Gannibal and Annibal"). The fate of the young mastiffs can be traced to another note, a fortnight later (Oct. 10, 1707), in which the tsar commands Lenita's pups to be taught by some foreign-born fancier on his staff to perform various tricks, such as doffing a cap, shouldering a toy musket, and marching under arms into water.

At the time, according to western European observers, reiteration of baptism, and baptism anew, of youths and adults, was performed at Peter's court by pouring cold water three times over the whole body from head to foot. If Gannibal had been born an Abyssinian princeling, he would have been baptized at birth, since Abyssinia had been Christianized six centuries before Russia; but it is quite probable that upon capture the Turks had him Moslemized (*pobasurmanili*, in the Russian of the time), whatever that process implies. The question, however, is completely futile because, first, any African was to Russians a heathen and, second, the ceremony performed on the young blackamoor, at the Pyatnitski church, in late September or early October, 1707 (not "1705," as the memorial plaque there oddly says), with Peter I as godfather and Christiana Eberhardina, wife of King Augustus II of Poland, as godmother (fide the German biography), was conducted in the rowdy and slapstick atmosphere of Peter's court and smacks of mock marriages between freaks or the elevation of jesters to the

rank of governors of Barataria. Indeed, there seems to have been an attempt by some zealous courtiers, a few months before, to marry the blackamoor: in a letter from Poland, dated May 13, 1707, the tsar writes to Councilor Avtonom Ivanov that he does not wish to have the *arap* conjugated—with, presumably, the daughter of some grandee's Negro servant, or a dwarf, or a Russian female house fool (*domashnyaya dura*, *shutiha*). This was a critical moment for the gene that participated in the making of Pushkin, and the tsar should be thanked for directing the course of chance.

With the light of history now beginning to glimmer upon our subject, we can drop the tedious task of following the burlesque and bombastic German biography, which rambles on for as many pages as I have already quoted or paraphrased. We shall still have to refer to it, however, now and then in connection with certain bothersome trivia. Let us turn to some of the anecdotes about young Gannibal.

The best-known story is one given in preposterous detail by the German biography, and repeated with personal variations by Golikov and Pushkin. The gist of it is that young Abram, upon becoming the tsar's valet or assistant valet, slept in an adjacent room and proved his intelligence by transcribing the drafts of decrees that his master would scribble at night on slates. Among a series of Pushkin's notes entitled "Table Talk" (Eng.), 1836–37, the posthumously published eighth item (1873, in *Vestnik Evrope*), described by Pushkin as "A story [that] is not particularly clean but depicts Peter's ways," reads:

One day a little blackamoor accompanying Peter I on his promenade [canceled beginning: "The blackamoor Gannibal accompanied Peter I on one of his journeys. One day the child"] stopped for a certain need and all at once cried out in terror: "Sir, sir! The gut's a-coming out of me!"

Peter went up to him and, having perceived what the matter was, said: "Bosh, this is no gut, it is a worm," and pulled it out with his own fingers.

In a document dated Dec. 20, 1709 (quoted by M. Vegner, p. 23), a passage reads: "By [the tsar's] order, in view of the Christmas holidays, coats have been made for Joachim the dwarf and Abram the blackamoor, with camisoles and breeches. Moreover, eight arshins [six yards] of scarlet cloth . . . and brass buttons have been purchased for both." E. Shmurlo (1892) vaguely refers to some documents in which "Abram is mentioned three times, in the same breath, with the tsar's jester Lacosta." This is Yan Dekosta or, correctly, Jan d'Acosta, Peter's favorite court jester, a Christianized Jew born in Holland.²⁷ According to another anecdote, one day in the summer of about 1715, on board ship, just before a royal cruise from St. Petersburg to Revel, the tsar's physician, Lestocq,²⁸ and a gentleman of the chamber,

27. He was a man of parts and a member of a well-known marrano family (da Costa, or Mendez da Costa) that had fled from Portugal in the seventeenth century and settled in Italy, Holland, England, and other countries. Jan d'Acosta, who was a lawyer in Hamburg, sought a more colorful life and finding a patron in the Russian consul followed him to Muscovy. The tsar was delighted with his wit, made him a count, and gave him a barren island off the Finnish coast.

28. The high spirits of this adventurous French nobleman, Count Jean Armand de Lestocq (1692-1767), also known as "Hermann Lestock" and "Ivan Lestok" (he emigrated to Russia in 1713), appealed to the tsar, who nonetheless would give him a sound thrashing now and then. That despot's guffaws and snarls easily intergraded. Dr. Lestocq seems to have been a confirmed jester-baiter, whereas the tsar, on the other hand, had a special tenderness for his fools. In 1719, Lestocq got into trouble with d'Acosta, whose daughter he had seduced. Peter banished his gay bloodletter to Kazan, in eastern Russia, where Lestocq remained till the reign of Elizabeth. The source of the nautical story is a collection of *Anecdotes* pertaining to Russian customs, etc., published (London, 1792) anonymously by a friend of Lestocq, the

Jonson,²⁹ two merry fellows, having found the tsar's Russian jester Tyurikov fast asleep on the deck, played a period prank upon him: they took some tar and glued his long beard to his bare chest. Upon awakening, the poor jester howled, at which the tsar, interrupted in his studies of navigation and keelhauling, came pounding along, bumped into the innocent Gannibal, and, in a rage, flogged him unmercifully with a length of rope. At dinner the two pranksters could not help chuckling at the sight of the Moor's glum face. When the good tsar, a humorist in his own right, learned the cause of their mirth, he burst out laughing too and told Abram that to mend matters he would ignore his next misdemeanor.

This is about all I was able to gather in the way of published material pertaining to Gannibal's first ten years in Russia. We can dismiss as family fantasy a passage in the German biography that asserts that "the ruling half brother" of Gannibal instructed a young brother to travel to Constantinople to ransom Abram; that, not finding him there, this brother traveled on to Petersburg, bringing as gifts "precious weapons and Arabic writs," which established Abram's princely origin; that the latter refused to go back to heathendom; and that the brother set out on his return journey "with tears on both sides." There is hardly any need to remark that no Abyssinian seigneur could have traveled to Muscovy via Turkey without being enslaved there, nor is there any historical information of any free Abyssinian undertaking such a journey in the first part of the eighteenth century.

It is likely that the tsar took his *arap* along on some of his travels or campaigns, but hardly on all his marches,

German and French writer Johann Benedikt (Jean Benoît) Scherer (1741-1824), who came to Russia about 1760 and joined the French embassy in St. Petersburg.

29. The son of a Livonian architect.

as family tradition has it. We get a ghostly glimpse of a stylized young blackamoor in more or less Turkish garb lurking in the emblematic background—holding a battle horse or a bunch of grapes—in several portraits of Peter I. He is present in an engraving executed by Adriaan Schoonebeeck (d. 1705) from a lost picture painted about 1704; there he stands at the back, and to the anatomical right, of the tsar, who, for the nonce, sports a French king's dress. I am not sure there is not some error in the dating of the thing itself or of its engraver's death. But if we accept the date, and the possibility of the pictured blackamoor being Gannibal, we have to suppose that either he was brought by Raguzinski on the latter's first trip to Moscow (1703) or that he was portrayed—prospectively, as it were—on the strength of information received in Moscow from Constantinople: a blackamoor in attendance was a symbol of supreme luxury and grandeur, and the tsar must have awaited his 1706 New Year gift from his envoy with as much eagerness as he did shipments of lilies and lilacs.

GANNIBAL IN WESTERN EUROPE (1716–23)

In January, 1716, Peter I set out on a European tour. After spending a month or so in Copenhagen, he pursued his journey to Holland and France. He landed in Dunkerque on Apr. 30, 1717, N.S., and arrived May 7 in Paris, where he forthwith asked for beer and bawds. Philippe, Duke of Orléans, was regent of France (1715–23) during the minority of Louis XV. The Muscovite tsar's six-week stay produced little more than a crop of dirty stories—though why the *grandees* of the Régence, a filthy pack in a disgusting and talentless age, should have been so puzzled by Peter's habits is not quite clear.

In the same spring of 1717, four young men arrived in France from Russia to study fortification and military

mining. They may have come with the tsar, but more probably they voyaged separately from him and did not sojourn in Denmark. The four were: Abram Arap, Stepan Korovin, Gavril Rezanov, and Aleksey Yurov, our hero's chum.

The German biography, with its usual overstatement, bad grammar, and inexactitude, says that Peter I sent Gannibal straight to the Regent, asking the latter "to assume supervision," and that Gannibal at first studied "under the great Belior [sic] at a military school for young noblemen." The reference is, I suggest, to Bernard Forest de Belidor (1693-1761), a brilliant young French engineer who taught at the Ecole d'Artillerie of La Fère (in the Aisne, NW of Laon) and wrote a *Sommaire d'un cours d'architecture militaire, civile et hydraulique* (1720) and other distinguished works. As to the Regent's "personal supervision," I cannot find any indication among French sources that he (or any member of his entourage) was aware of Abram's existence.

According to the German biography, Gannibal then joined an artillery regiment in France and as a *capitaine* of a company participated in a war against Spain. This war was declared Jan. 9, 1719, and peace was signed Feb. 17, 1720. During an undermining operation—somewhere in Catalonia, I suppose—he was severely wounded in the head and taken prisoner (it is odd that he never mentions this event in his letters from France). Upon his return to France, Abram apparently went on with his studies at another school, the Ecole d'Artillerie of Metz, an institution founded by the illustrious military engineer Sébastien Le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban (1633-1707). According to E. A. Bégin (1829, p. 592), the subjects taught there at the time were mathematics, physics, and chemistry, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; "l'école pratique se faisait les autres jours, excepté le dimanche, dans l'île Champière, où existait

un parc. . . . Ce n'était, à bien dire, qu'une école régimentaire dont les cours cessaient dès que Metz était privé du corps d'artillerie qui y tenait habituellement garnison."

By January, 1722, the Russian ambassador, Prince V. L. Dolgorukov, had announced to the four young men that they would have to return to Russia, but a year of procrastination followed. It would seem that part of that year Abram and his companions spent in Paris—in the hectic Paris that had been left a financial shambles by John Law. Early spring was marked by fabulous balls and illuminations in honor of the arrival of a tentative bride for the king, the blonde little infanta, aged four and a half, whom, however, the twelve-year-old Louis did not like. The Regent was energetically pursuing his life of debauchery. Courtesans wore stockings of flesh-colored silk. Thieves and highwaymen were subjected to the iron boot, the toasting of toes against an ordinary or extraordinary fire, and foot baths of boiling oil. The financial term "liquidated" (*liquidé*) was used in regard to executed criminals. The poet Arouet (better known as Voltaire) was thrashed by the footmen of an officer whom he had called a police spy. Prodigious sums were won and lost at faro. The Marquis de Saillant successfully wagered he would ride ninety miles on horseback in six hours.

In the midst of these dazzling frolics, little is known of Abram's existence, except that he was continuously and abjectly hard up. I can find nothing in the French memoirs of the Régence that would corroborate statements made by Pushkin in his novel that all the ladies desired to entertain *le nègre du Czar*, that he hobnobbed with Voltaire, and that the playwright Michel Guyot de Merville introduced him to a woman of fashion, "Countess Lénore de D.," who bore him a black baby. The letters Abram wrote in Russian from France to

various officials (clamoring for money, pleading not to be sent home by sea, saying he would rather walk than sail, begging in vain to be left in France for further studies, and so forth) seem to me to have been worded not by him but by his companion in hyperbolic distress, Aleksey Yurov. After six or seven years abroad, Abram appears to have forgotten Russian so thoroughly that upon his return the autocrat bundled him off to grammar school at the Aleksandronevskiy Monastery, where he was enrolled on Mar. 14, 1723, O.S. He seems to have been returned to the imperial household on Nov. 27, 1724 (see P. Pekarski, 1862, I, 112). Commentators have wondered if perhaps the event might refer to some other "Abram the blackamoor" (though no other is known), since it seemed to them to clash with the fact that on Feb. 4, 1724, by a ukase in the tsar's own hand Abram ("in dem 28-sten Jahre seines Alters," says the German biography) was made a lieutenant (*poruchik*) in the bombardier company of the Preobrazhenskiy regiment. However, the whole age was a freakish one.

Gannibal brought from France a small library (sixty-nine titles) consisting mainly of historical works, military manuals, travels, and a sprinkling of fashionable exotica; all these volumes he sold (in 1726) for two hundred rubles to the Imperial Library but bought them (or a similar set) back in 1742. Although the list is quite conventional, with works by Bossuet, Malebranche, Fontenelle, Corneille, and Racine representing its literary section, there is a distinct stress on various voyages, with Chardin taking the reader to Persia to discover that a milk diet cures ulcers; Lahontan visiting, in a kind of proto-Chateaubriandesque America (1688), the Gnacsitares and the Mozemleks, whom none saw after him; and Cyrano de Bergerac journeying to the moon, where people have names only expressible by little melodies of a few musical notes.

GANNIBAL AND ANNIBAL

Officially, the name of Peter I's godchild had become Pyotr Petrovich Petrov (Christian name, patronymic, and surname), but he had grown used in Turkey to the name of Ibrahim and was allowed to call himself by its Russian counterpart, Avraam or Abram. Actually, he should not have boggled at bearing his godfather's name: after all, it had been a Petrus Aethiops (Pasfa Sayon Malbazo) who published in Rome, about 1549, after thirteen years of labor, the New Testament in the language of Abyssinian liturgy (that is, Geez, the ancient Ethiopic, which was later replaced by Amharic).

The statement in the beginning of the German biography to the effect that Abram's father, a proud Abyssinian seigneur, traced his lineage two thousand years back to Hannibal, the famous Carthaginian general, is of course nonsense: it is impossible to conceive that an Abyssinian of the seventeenth century should have known anything of him. The surname Gannibal was applied to Abram in official documents as early as 1723, upon his return from France. In other references, and in all earlier ones, he is called *Abram arap* or *Abram Petrov Arap*, where the middle term is the patronymic in the act of changing into a surname. It is interesting to mark how puzzled Russian commentators are by this choice of name, which in reality is such an obvious one. Anuchin, for example, absurdly suggests that Abram or Abram's family might have derived "Gannibal" from Adi Baro (a village just north of Debarwa, northern Abyssinia)! Why not from Lalibala (an Abyssinian emperor of the thirteenth century), or from Hamalmal (a provincial governor who rebelled against his royal cousin, Malak Sagad I, in the late 1500's), or, still better, from *gane bal*, which means "strange master" in Tigré; there are no holds barred in these linguistic *petits-jeux*.

Actually, of course, our hero's eponym was as trite and familiar a figure in the pseudoclassically minded Europe of the eighteenth century—in its textbooks, essays, historical works, newspaper articles, and academic speeches—as were Caesar and Cicero. In Tsar Peter's Russia no illumination was complete without the names of Greek and Roman heroes appearing in a pyrotechnical display of old saws. Pushkin was quite right in Gallicizing the adopted surname that Abram had most probably brought from France in 1723. There, and in Italy, it was not infrequently met with as a given name (e.g., François Annibal, duc d'Estrées, d. 1687). He had certainly encountered it in his military studies. He had read about "le grand génie d'Annibal" in Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*. If he really took part in the Spanish War, he must have been stationed in 1719 at the fort of Bellegarde (rebuilt by Vauban in 1679) and have trodden there, on the Spanish border, near the village of Le Perthus (Pyrénées Orientales), the Elephant Steps of Hannibal's Highway, still visible today among the arbutus and oak brush. And one also wonders if in Metz he had not had for schoolmate a certain Pierre Robert *dit* Annibal (1699–1783), who must have been living there about 1720, according to the parish records published by Poirier.

GANNIBAL'S LATER YEARS IN RUSSIA (1723–81)

Le capitaine Petrov dit Annibal, having acquired in France some knowledge of bulwarks and buttresses, lived, from 1723 on, in Russia, teaching mathematics and building fortresses. I have not performed any special research in regard to this final lap of his life; it is fairly well known in its main features, and, as Russian commentators have pointed out, Pushkin's presentation of Abram's Siberian period is false. On May 8, 1727, im-

mediately after the end of Catherine I's reign, he was dispatched to inspect a fort in Kazan and then to build one in Selenginsk, on the Chinese border—where, incidentally, Lieutenant Gannibal encountered his former patron, Count Vladislavich-Raguzinski, who was returning from his Chinese embassy. Vaguely accused of political intrigue, Gannibal found himself kept at work in Selenginsk and Tobolsk for a couple of years, and only in the beginning of Anna's reign the governor of St. Petersburg, Münnich, needing a good military engineer, had him transferred to a Baltic fort. In 1731, Gannibal married Evdokia (Eudoxia) Dioper, daughter of a sea captain, Andrey Dioper, presumably of Greek origin. She was unfaithful to him, and so was he to her. According to documents described by Stepan Opatovich (in *Russkaya starina*, 1877), Gannibal, in 1732, rigged up at his home a private torture chamber complete with pulleys, iron clamps, thumbkins, leathern whips, and so forth. An obstinate and formalistic man, he then managed to have his victim imprisoned by the state for marital betrayal. She stayed five years in jail, after which—while divorce proceedings were dragging on—she was more or less at liberty till 1753, when the final separation was accorded; upon which, the unfortunate woman was packed away to a remote convent, where she died. In the meantime, in 1736, Gannibal had married (unlawfully) his mistress of four years' standing, the daughter of another captain, an army captain this time, named Matthias Schöberg, Lutheran, of Swedish-German descent. By this second wife (whose first name was Christina Regine, according to the German biography) Gannibal had eleven children, of whom the third son, Osip, was to be Pushkin's maternal grandfather.

Gannibal spent a few years as a country squire on a piece of acquired land, and then went on building fortresses. In 1742, Elizabeth, Peter I's younger daughter,

made him a major general and four years later granted him the countryseat Mihaylovskoe in the province of Pskov, which was to be forever linked up with Pushkin's name. During these years, Gannibal proved himself an expert at arranging fireworks at state festivals and composing denunciations of various officials. In 1762, after building his last fortress and propelling his last rocket, he was retired and lived in obscure senility for another twenty years on yet another country estate (Suida, near Petersburg), where he died in 1781, at the advanced age of (probably) eighty-eight.

CONCLUSIONS

Besides the unfinished romance (1827) "*The Blackamoor of Peter the Great*" (in which a greatly glamorized Ibrahim is given fictitious adventures in France and Russia—all this not in the author's best vein), there is among Pushkin's works a remarkable piece in verse referring to the same character. In this postscriptum of five stanzas to a poem on his paternal lineage (*Moya rodoslovnaya*), in iambic tetrameter, Pushkin has this to say about his maternal ancestor (I have not rendered the rhymes, feminine and masculine, which alternate in the original):

Figlyarin, snug at home, decided
That my black grandsire, Gannibal,
Was for a bottle of rum acquired
And fell into a skipper's hands.

This skipper was the glorious skipper
Through whom our country was advanced,
Who to our native vessel's helm
Gave mightily a sovereign course.

This skipper was accessible
To my grandsire; the blackamoor,
Bought at a bargain, grew up stanch and loyal,
The emperor's bosom friend, not slave.

"Figlyarin" (from *figlyar*, a zany, a coarse buffoon) is a play on the name of a hated reviewer, Fadey (Thaddeus, Thady) Bulgarin. It was thought up by the minor poet Vyazemski, Pushkin's friend, and first used by another poet, Baratinski, in a published epigram of 1827. Pushkin's piece was written on Oct. 16, 1830, and revised on Dec. 3 of the same year. It is his answer (posthumously published in 1846) to the following vicious innuendo by Bulgarin in his magazine *Severnaya pchela* (The Northern Bee), no. 94 (Aug. 7, 1830):

Byron's lordship [*lordstvo*] and aristocratic capers, combined with God knows what way of thinking, have driven to frenzy a multitude of poets and rhymesters in various countries: all of them have started talking about their six-hundred-year-old nobility! . . . It is openly related that some poet or other in Spanish America, likewise an imitator of Byron, being of mulatto descent on his father's or (I do not quite remember) mother's side, began to affirm that one of his ancestors was a Negro prince. A search in the town hall's archives disclosed that in the past there had been a lawsuit between a skipper and his mate on account of that Negro, and that the skipper maintained he had acquired the Negro for a bottle of rum.

And Nikolay Grech adds in his memoirs (*Zapiski moey zhizni*, St. Petersburg, 1886, p. 456) that the story of the transaction supposedly made in Kronstadt was first told by Count S. Uvarov at the Olenins'.

It would be a waste of time to conjecture that Abram was not born in Abyssinia at all; that he had been captured by slave traders in a totally different place—say, the Lagona region of equatorial Africa, south of Lake Chad, inhabited by Mussulman Negroes; or that he was, as Helbig (1809) affirms, a homeless little *Mohr* (Negro), acquired in Holland by Peter I to serve as a ship's boy (Bulgarin's source); we may also brood on the puzzling question why Gannibal, with his sense of the political, and Pushkin, with his sense of the exotic, never once

allude to Abyssinia (Pushkin, of course, knew of its mention in the German biography, the Russian translation of which had been dictated to him). Nonetheless, it is upon nonbelievers in the Abyssinian theory that the burden of the proof rests; while, on the other hand, those who accept it must waver between seeing in Pushkin the great-great-grandson of one of those rude and free Negro nomads who haunted the Mareb region or a descendant of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, from whom Abyssinian kings derived their dynasty.

According to N. Barsukov (1891), who had it from Elizaveta Pushkin, widow of our poet's brother Lev, the hands of Nadezhda Gannibal, Pushkin's mother, had yellowish palms; and according to another source, quoted by V. Vinogradov (1930), all the daughters of Isaak Gannibal, Pushkin's grand-uncle, son of Abram, spoke with a peculiar singsong intonation—"an African accent," quaintly says an old-timer, who remarks that they "cooed like Egyptian pigeons." There exists no authentic portrait of Abram Gannibal. A late eighteenth-century oil, which some suppose represents him, wearing a decoration he never received, is, anyway, hopelessly stylized by the dauber. Nor can one draw any conclusion from the portraits of his progeny as to what blood predominated in Abram, Negro or Caucasian. In Pushkin, admixtures of Slavic and German strains must have completely obscured whatever definite racial characteristics his ancestors may have possessed, while the fact that certain portraits of Pushkin by good artists, and his death mask, do bear a remarkable resemblance to modern photographs of typical Abyssinians is exactly what one might expect in the descendant of a Negro married to a Caucasian. It should be repeated that "Abyssinian" implies a very complicated blend of the Hamitic and the Semitic and that, moreover, distinct Negroid types commingle with Caucasian ones on the northern plateau and among

ruling families almost as much as they do among the nomadic heathens of the lowland brush. The Galla tribes (the Oromota), for example, who overran the country simultaneously with the Turkish invasion in the sixteenth century, are Hamites with a strong Negro strain. Abram may have had the characteristics that Bent found in the Tigré and Hamasen tribes: "skin . . . of a rich chocolate color, the hair curly, the nose straight with a tendency toward the aquiline, the lips thickish," or—while still technically an Abyssinian—he might have possessed the traits that Pushkin, a conventionalist in these matters, gives Ibrahim in his novel: "a black skin, a flat nose, inverted lips, and rough woolly hair" (ch. 5). The taxonomic problem remains unsettled and will probably remain so despite "anthropological sketches" of the Anuchin brand. And although Abram Gannibal used to refer to himself, in humble letters to grandees, as "a poor Negro," and although Pushkin saw him as a Negro with "African passions" and an independent brilliant personality, actually Pyotr Petrovich Petrov, alias Abram Gannibal, was a sour, groveling, crotchety, timid, ambitious, and cruel person; a good military engineer, perhaps, but humanistically a nonentity; differing in nothing from a typical career-minded, superficially educated, coarse, wife-flogging Russian of his day, in a brutal and dull world of political intrigue, favoritism, Germanic regimentation, old-fashioned Russian misery, and fat-breasted empresses on despicable thrones.

Basing himself on the fact that in 1899, under Italian domination, Debarwa, once the capital of Tigré, was included in a district called at that time "Logon-Chuan" (an assemblage of letters I have been unable to check), Anuchin comes to the singular conclusion, for which there is not a scrap of evidence, that two centuries earlier Logo was synonymous with Debarwa. In Poncet's day

(summer, 1700), Debarwa was divided into two towns, upper and lower, the lower one being assigned to Mohammedans; in Bruce's time, seventy years later, not Debarwa but Adowa, a neighboring town, was the capital of Tigré; and by the end of the nineteenth century, Debarwa was "a place of abject squalor and misery" (Bent, 1893). But if Anuchin is right in identifying "L" with Logo or Legota, it is in that general district that clues should be sought today; for there may still persist a faint chance of experts in Abyssinian history and lore discovering on the spot some trace, some memory, of the circumstances and events that resulted in the son of an Abyssinian becoming a Russian general in the eighteenth century.

We shall now go back to a certain passage in Pushkin's note to One : L : 11, in the separate edition of Chapter One of *EO* (1825). It reads:

Up to an advanced age, Annibal still remembered Africa, the luxurious life of his father, and nineteen brothers, of whom he was the youngest; he remembered how they used to be led into his father's presence with their hands bound behind their backs, whilst he alone remained free and went swimming under the fountains of the paternal home . . .

Had Pushkin explicitly stated here that the paternal home was in Abyssinia, we might have argued that he had borrowed from literary sources of his time this strikingly specific detail of an Ethiopian ruler's sons being treated as captives, potential parricides, possible usurpers. The banishment of young princes to bleak hilltops in the Tigré Province by kings and viceroys as a precaution against violent succession had had a great romanesque impact on the imagination of western Europe in the eighteenth century. And, most curiously, the Abyssinian chronicler Za-Ouald (French transcription) tells us that in the twenty-second year (1702, 1703,

or 1704) of Jesus I's reign he caused all his sons to be put in chains—and was assassinated a couple of years later by his only free son, Tekla. I do not think that Pushkin deliberately introduced here this local note—to corroborate a statement of locus he had never made and allude to a specific incident he could not have known. It seems more plausible to suppose that the governor of "L" dutifully followed his "sultan" in this colorful custom. In fact, I would say that this, and the sister's name Lahann, are the only details that have a true Abyssinian flavor.

The other detail, concerning the swimming under the fountains, *pod fontanami*, is less convincing, unless we take it to imply cascades, small waterfalls, etc., and not the playing sprays of an African Versailles, Abram's paternal home. Of that home we know even less than we do of a certain farm at Snitterfield, near Stratford. One thinks of the faucets in Johnson's watery *Rasselas* (of which Salt thought in Abyssinia) as well as of the *cent mille jets d'eau* of King Belus' marble palace on the Euphrates in Voltaire's unreadable novella *Voyages et Aventures d'une princesse babylonienne, pour servir de suite à ceux de Scarmantado, par un vieux philosophe qui ne radote pas toujours* (Geneva, 1768): ". . . Chacun sait comme le roi d'Éthiopie devint amoureux de la belle Formonsante" (daughter of Belus, king of Babylon) "[et] qu'Amazan" (her lover) ". . . coupa la tête perverse du nègre insolent." Kammerer (1949), pl. CXII, reproduces the picture of "le Roi d'Éthiopie abusant de son pouvoir" (embracing a distraught pale-skinned lady in her bed), which is a vignette by Monnet, engraved by Vidal, in Bevillon's edition (Paris, 1778) of Voltaire's *Romans et contes*.

If one likes to think that Dr. Johnson's contemporary, Pushkin's great-grandfather, was born practically in "Rasselas'" lap, at the foot of the joint memorial blend-

ing Ethiopian history and the didactic romance of the French eighteenth century, one may allow oneself also to visualize a Frenchman of Louis XIV's time feasting with Pushkin's dusky great-great-grandfather in the land of Prester John. Let me conclude these rapid notes about Gannibal with the following poetical excerpt from the anonymous English translation (1709) of the travels of Charles Poncet, who stayed in Debarwa in the summer of 1700 (pp. 149-50):

After a solemn service for the emperor's son [Fasilidas, heir to the throne], who had just died, the two Governors [*les deux Barnagas*] seated themselves in a great hall, and placed me in the middle between 'em. After that, the officers and persons of note, both men and women, rang'd themselves round the hall. Certain women with tabors [*tambours de basque*] . . . began to sing [*commencèrent des récits en forme de chansons*] . . . in so doleful a tone that I could not hinder being seized with grief. . . .

One's marginal imagination conjures up here many a pleasing possibility. We recall Coleridge's Abyssinian maid (*Kubla Khan*, 1797) singing of "Mount Abora," which (unless it merely echoes the name of the musical instrument) is, I suggest, either Mt. Tabor, an amba (natural citadel), some 3000 feet high in the Siré district of the Tigré, or still more exactly the unlocated amba Abora, which I find mentioned by the chronicler Za-Ouald (in Basset's translation) as being the burial place of a certain high official named Gyorgis (one of Poncet's two governors?) in 1707. We may further imagine that Coleridge's and Poncet's doleful singer was none other than Pushkin's great-great-grandmother; that her lord, either of Poncet's two hosts, was Pushkin's great-great-grandfather; and that the latter was a son of Cella Christos, Dr. Johnson's Rasselas. There is nothing in the annals of Russian Pushkinology to restrain one from the elaboration of such fancies.

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Index

A

- Abbadie, Antoine d': *Des Conquêtes faites en Abyssinie*, 162
 Abha, 121
 Abissinya, *see* Olderogge
 Abissinskie khroniki, *see* Turaev
 Abora (amba), 161
 Abram arap / Petrov arap, *see* Gannibal, A. P.
 Abyssinia / -ian (Ethiopia), 118-34, 135, 137n, 143, 144, 147, 152, 156, 157-61
 Abyssinian Church, 128
 Acosta / Dekosta, Jan d', 146 & n
 Acts of Peter the Great, *see* Golikov: *Deyaniya*
 Adi Baro, 152
 Adowa, 159
 Adyam, *see* Jesus I
 Africa / -an, 108, 109, 116, 117, 118, 132, 144, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160
 Ahmad ibn . . . 'Uthmān, 162
 Ahmed III, sultan of Turkey, 137, 138, 141
 Ahmed Pasha ("Beehive"), 138
 Aisne, 149
 Aksum, 123, 127, 129
 Aleksandronevskiy Monastery / -tīr', 151
 Aleksey Petrovich, tsarevich, *see* Alexis, Prince
 Alexandria, 127
 Alexis, Prince (s. of Peter I), 138-9
 Ali Pasha, 138
 Almeida, Manoel de, 120, 124, 130n, 162
 Amazon, 160; *see also* Arouet: *Voyages*
 America, 151
 Amharic, 127, 152
 Anecdotes, *see* Scherer
 "Anekdot," *see* Bulgarin
 Anekdoti, *see* Gilokov
 Angiolo, Jacopo d' (Angola della Scarperia), 120
 Anna Ivanovna / Ioannovna, empress, 110 & n, 154
 Anna Leopoldovna, empress, 110n
 Annenkov, P. V., *see* P., PUSHKINIANA: *Pushkin*
 Annesley Bay, 121
 Annibal, A. P., *see* Gannibal, A. P.
 Annibal, I. A., *see* Gannibal, I. A.
 "Annibal," Pierre Robert, 153
 Antalo, 124
 Anuchin, Dmitri Nikolaevich, 118, 119, 120, 121, 129, 152, 158, 159
 Anville, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d', 120
 Arab / -ia / -ic, 117, 126n, 127, 132, 135, 141 & n, 147
 "Arab Petra Velikogo," *see* P., WORKS
 Armbruster, C. H.: *Initia Amharica*, 162
 Armenia, 132
 Arouet, François Marie ("Voltaire"), 150; *Romans et contes*, 123, 160; *Voyages et aventures d'une princesse babylonienne*, 160
 Asmara, 124, 130n
 Athara, 121
 Athanasius, 127
 Augustus II, king of Poland, 144
 Austria, 136n, 138
 Azov, 138, 142

B

- Bahafa, king of Abyssinia, 127
 Bahrey / Bahri: *History of the Galla*, 162
 Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, 122n
 Baltaji, Mohammed, 138
 Baltic Region / Sea, 154

Index

- Bantîsh-Kamenski, D. N., 114;
Slovar' dostopamyatnih lyu-
dey Russkoy zemli (Dictionary
 of Distinguished People of
 the Russian Land), 162
- Barataria (in Cervantes), 145
- Baratieri, Oreste, 124; *Mé-*
moires d'Afrique, 162
- Baratinski, Evgeniy Abramov-
- vich, 156
- Baruskov, N. P., 157
- Basset, René, 127, 129, 130,
 131, 161, 162
- Beckingham, C. F., and Hun-
- tingford, G. W. B., 123, 129,
 130; *Some Records of Ethi-*
opia, 162
- Bégin, Emile Auguste, 149;
Histoire . . . de la civilisation
dans le pays Messin, 162
- Belessa River, 121, 122
- Belidor, Bernard Forest de,
 149; *Sommaire d'un cours*
d'architecture militaire, 149
- Bellegarde, fort de, 153
- Belus, King, 160; *see also*
 Arouet: *Voyages*
- Bent, J. Theodore, 121, 158,
 159; *Sacred City of the Ethi-*
opians, The, 162
- Bevillon, 160
- Biografiya A. P. Gannibala*
 (anon.), *see* Gannibal, Abram,
 German biography of
- Biron / Bühren, Ernst Johann,
 110 & n
- Bizan / Bizen, *see* Debra
- "Blackamoor of Peter the
 Great," *see* P., WORKS: "Arap
 Petra Velikogo"
- Black Sea / Chyornoe More /
 Pontus Euxinus, 107n
- Bogoslovski, M. M.: *Pyotr I*,
 142-5
- Bondi, S. M., *see* P., PUSH-
- KINIANA: *Works*
- Bonnac, Jean Louis Dusson,
 Marquis de, 137n; *Mémoire*
historique sur l'ambassade de
France à Constantinople, 163
- Bosnia, 141
- Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, 151;
Discours sur l'histoire univer-
selle, 153
- Brockhaus / Russ. Brokgauz,
 and Efron, 167; *see also* P.,
 PUSHKINIANA: *Works* (ed. Ven-
- gerov)
- Bruce, James (traveler), 120,
 124, 128, 134, 159; *Travels*,
 131-2, 163
- Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, 130,
 131; *History of Ethiopia, A*,
 163
- Bug River, 137n
- Bühren, *see* Biron
- Bulaq, 134
- Bulgarin, Fadey / Faddey Ven-
- ediktovich, 156; "Byron's
 lordship," 156
- Burton, Sir Richard F.: *First*
Footsteps in East Africa, 163
- Buvat, Jean: *Journal de la*
Régence, 163
- Byron / Russ. Bayron, George
 Gordon, Baron, 156

C

- Caesar, Gaius Julius, 153
- Cairo, 152, 153, 134
- Carthage, 152
- Cashaat, 122
- Castanhoso, Miguel de, 163,
 167
- Catalonia, 149
- Catherine I, empress, 110n,
 139, 154
- Catherine II, empress, 110 & n,
 111
- Caucasian race, 116, 117, 157
- Chad, Lake, 156
- Champière Island, 149
- Chardin, Jean, 151
- Chateaubriand, Viscount Fran-
- çois René de, 151

Chennevières, P. de, 163
 China / -ese, 145, 154
 Christian / -ity / -ize, 127-8,
 131, 132, 134, 138, 142, 144
 Christina Eberhardina, queen
 of Poland, 144
 Christos, Cella / Krestos, Ras
 Ce'ela, 123, 161
 Christos, Haouarya, 162
 Christos, Keba, 130n
Chronique éthiopienne (Krestos
 and Za-Ouald), 162
 Chulkov, N. P., 167
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 153
 Clark, Sereno D., 164
 Coleridge, Samuel Taylor:
Kubla Khan, 161
 Constantinople, 109, 115, 116,
 117, 118, 134-7, 140, 141 &
 n, 142, 147, 148
Contemporary, The, see *Sovremennik*
 Corneille, Pierre, 151
 Cornell University Library,
 108, 167
 Cyrano de Bergerac, Savinien,
 151
 Cyrillic, 119n

D

D., Countess Lénore de, 150;
 see also P., WORKS: "Arap
 Petra Velikogo"
 Da Costa, Mendez, 146n
 Daltaban the Serbian, 137-8
 Dangeau, Philippe de Courcil-
 lon, Marquis de: *Journal*, 163
 Daniel, William, 163
 Debarwa, 121, 123, 128, 129,
 130n, 132, 133, 152, 158-9,
 161
 Debra Bizan / Monastery of
 Bizen, 130n
 Dekosta, Yan, see Acosta
 Denmark, 149
Des Conquêtes faites en Abyssinie, see Abbadie
Deyaniya Petra Velikogo, see
 Golikov
Diary, see Vulf, Aleksey
Diary of an Austrian, see Korb
*Dictionary of Distinguished
 People*, see Bantish-Kamen-
 ski: *Slovar'*
 Dioper, Andrey, 154
 Dioper, Eudoxia / Evdokia, see
 Gannibal, Eudoxia
*Discours sur l'histoire univer-
 selle*, see Bossuet
 Dixan, 121, 131
Dnevnik, see Vulf, Aleksey
 Dobarwa, see Debarwa
 Dolgoruki, Prince Vladimir
 Lukich, 150
 Dolgorukov, see Dolgoruki
 Dongola, 132
 Dunkerque, 148
 Dussieux, L. E., 163

E

Ecole d'Artillerie, see La Fère;
 Metz
 Egypt / Egyptian, 117, 133,
 157
 Elizaveta Petrovna, empress,
 110 & n, 112, 115, 146n, 154-
 155
Encyclopaedia of Islam, 163
 Endorta (Tigré-Endorta), 124n,
 129, 130, 131
 England, 146n
Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'
 (Brockhaus & Efron Encyclo-
 pedia), 167
 Estrées, François Annibal,
 Duke d', 153
 Ethiopia, see Abyssinia
Ethiopia, see Mathew
Etudes sur l'histoire d'Ethiopie,
 see Basset
Eugenia owariensis, 124
 Euphrates River, 160
 Euxine Sea, see Black Sea

F

- Fares, Ras, 127, 130, 131
 Fasilidas (s. of Jesus I), 161
 Fasilidas (s. of Susneyos), 128
 Figlyarin (= Bulgarin), 155,
 156; *see also* Bulgarin
First Footsteps in East Africa,
see Burton
 Formosante, 160; *see also*
 Arouet: *Voyages*
 Foster, Sir William: *Red Sea*
and Adjacent Countries, *The*,
 163
 France / French, 110, 132, 133,
 134, 148-51, 152, 153, 155
 Franks, 131
 Frumentius, 127

G

- Galla (tribe), 130, 158
Gallereya Petra Velikogo (Gal-
 lery of Peter the Great), 163
 Gannibal, (General) Abram /
 Avram Petrov / Abram Pet-
 rovich / Pyotr Petrov (P.'s
 great-grandfather), 107-67;
 German biography of (ed.
 Zenger, in *Rukoyu Pushkina*),
 109, 112-19, 123-6, 127,
 134-6, 139-40, 144, 145, 147,
 149, 151, 152, 157, 166
 Gannibal, Anna Semyonovna,
 163
 Gannibal, Christina (Abram's
 2nd wife; P.'s great-grand-
 mother), 111, 113, 154
 Gannibal, Eudoxia (daughter
 of Andrey Dioper; Abram's
 wife), 154, 165
 Gannibal, Isaak Abramovich,
 112, 157
 Gannibal, Lt. Gen. Ivan
 Abramovich, 110-11
 Gannibal, Maria (daughter of
 Aleksey Pushkin, m. Osip
 Gannibal; P.'s grandmother),
 111, 112
 Gannibal, Nadezhda (daughter
 of Osip), *see* Pushkin, Nadezh-
 da
 Gannibal, Osip (son of Abram;
 P.'s grandfather), 111-12,
 154
 Gannibal, Pyotr Abramovich
 (P.'s granduncle), 111, 113 &
 n, 117
 Gannibal, Yakov Abramovich,
 112
 Gastaldi, Jacopo, 120
 Gastfreynd, N., 163
 "Gaurekos" / Gyorgis /
 Guirguis, 119, 129-30 & n
 Geez language, 130, 152
 German, 157
Geschichte des osmanischen
Reiches, *see* Hammer-
 Purgstall
 Gnaccitares, 151
 Gobat, Samuel, 123; *Journal*,
 164
 Goldsmith, Oliver: *Vicar of*
Wakefield, *The*, 122n
 Golikov, I. I., 145; *Anekdoti . . .*
Petra Velikogo (Anecdotes . . .
 [about] Peter the Great, 164;
Deyaniya Petra Velikogo
 (Acts of Peter the Great),
 164
 Golitsin, Prince Dmitri Mihayl-
 ovich, 137
 Golovin, Count Pyodor Alek-
 seevich, 142
 Gondar, 129, 132
 Gospel, 127
 "Gragne" / Gran' / Gran /
 Gaurane, *see* Muhammad
 Ahmed
 Great Britain, *see* England
 Grech, Nikolay Ivanovich,
Zapiski moyey zhizni (Mem-
 oirs of My Life), 156; *see also*
Severnaya pchela
 Greek, 153

Greek Catholic / ism / Russ.
 Pravoslavnîy, 128
 Grodno, 143
 Guirguis, Asma, 130n
 Guirguis, Bahr-negus, *see*
 "Gaurekos"
 Gyorgis, 130, 161

H

Hamalmal, 152
 Hamasen / Hamazen, 119, 120,
 127, 158
 Hamites, 158
 Hamito-Semitic, 116, 157
 Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph
 von, 137n; *Histoire de l'em-
 pire ottoman*, L', 164,
 Hannibal / Fr. Annibal / Russ.
 Gannibal, 117, 152, 153
 Hannibal, Awraam Petro-
 witsch, *see* Gannibal, Abram
 Hannibal's Highway, 153
 Haraqué (= Gargara?), 125
 Harris, W. Cornwallis: *High-
 lands of Aethiopia*, 164
 Harvard University: Houghton
 Library, 108
 Hasan Pasha, 138
 Hawaiian Islands, 124n
Heimkehr, *Die*, *see* Heine
 Heine, Heinrich, 126
 Helbig, H. von, 114, 156;
Russische Günstlinge, 164
 Hellert, J. J., 164
 Hervez, Jean: *Régence galante*,
La, 164
 Herzegovina, 141
Highlands of Aethiopia, *see*
 Harris
*Histoire . . . de la civilisation
 dans le pays Messin*, L', *see*
 Bégin
Histoire de la Régence, L', *see*
 Leclercq
Histoire de l'empire ottoman,
 L', *see* Hammer-Purgstall
Historia aethiopica, *see* Ludolf

History of Abyssinia, *see* Jones
 & Monroe
History of Ethiopia, *see* Budge
*History of High Ethiopia or
 Abassia*, *see* Beckingham &
 Huntingford
*History of the Reign of Peter
 the Great*, *see* Ustryalov:
Istoriya
 Holland, 146 & n, 148, 156
 Houghton Library, *see* Harvard
 University
 Houtsma, M. Th., 163
 Hungary, 137n
 Huntingford, G. W. B., *see*
 Beckingham

I

Ibragim, 114, 141, 155, 158;
see also P., WORKS: "Arap
 Petra Velikogo"
 Illyria, 141
Initia Amharica, *see* Armbrus-
 ter
International Messenger, *see*
Vsemirniy vestnik
Historiya tsartvovaniya Petra,
see Ustryalov
 Italy / Italian, 139, 146n, 153,
 158
 Ivan V (brother of and coruler
 with Peter I), 110n
 Ivanov, Avtonom, 145

J

Janizaries / Janizeries / Russ.
 Yanichari, 134
 Jesus I the Great / Adyam
 Sagad I, emperor of Abyssinia,
 129, 130-1, 152, 160, 162,
 166
 Jidda, 153, 158
 Joachim (jester of Peter I), 146
 John I, emperor of Abyssinia,
 128, 129

Index

Johnson, Samuel, 160; *Ras-selas*, 122-3 & n, 160, 164
 Jones, A. H. M. *History of Abyssinia*, 1, 164
 Jonson (son of a Livonian architect), 147 & n
Journal, see Dangeau; Peter I: *Zhurnal*
Journal asiatique, 162
Journal de la Régence, see Buvat
Journal de Paris, see Marais
Journal of . . . Residence in Abyssinia, see Gobat
 Julian Calendar, 109n
 Jyasu I, see Jesus I

K

Kalailikoz, Pasha, 158
 Kammerer, Albert, 120, 160, 165; *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie*, etc., 164
 Karlowitz Treaty, 136n-37
 Kassala, 121
 Kazan / Kazan', 146n, 154
 Kazdugli, Mustafa Kiaya, 134
 Kiev, 143
 Korb, Johann Georg: *Diary of an Austrian . . . at the Court of Czar Peter the Great*, 164-5
 Korovin, Stepan, 149
 Krestos, Haouaryá, 162; see also Christos
 Kronstadt, 156
Kubla Khan, see Coleridge
 Küchelbecker, Wilhelm von, see Kyuhel'beker
 Kuprulu, Hussein, 137 & n
 Kyuhel'beker / Küchelbecker, Vil'gel'm Karlovich / Wilhelm, 123n

L

La Fère, 139, 149; Ecole d'Artillerie, 149

Lagan', see Lahann
 Lagona / Lagon / Lahon, see Lahona
 Lagona Region (equatorial Africa), 156
 Lahaina, 124-5
 Lahaina (Hawaii), 124n
 Laham River, see Mai
 Lahama, 124n
 Lahann (Abram Gannibal's sister), 110 & n, 119, 125-7, 134, 160
 Lahen (Abyssinian general), 127
 Lahia Dengel, 127
 Lahona / Lagona / Lagon, 118-19, 124, 125
 Lahontan, Baron Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce de: *Voyage du baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, 151
 Lalibala, emperor of Abyssinia, 152
 Laon, 149
 Law, John, 150
 Layahan, 127
 Leclercq, Henri: *Histoire de la Régence*, 165
 Lefebvre, Théophile, 120-1, 124n; *Voyage en Abyssinie*, 165
 Le Grand, Joachim, 133, 134; *Voyage historique*, 123, 124, 165
 Leningradskaya Publichnaya Biblioteka (PB), see St. Petersburg: Publichnaya Biblioteka (PB)
 Leninskaya Biblioteka (MB), see Moscow: Publichnaya Biblioteka (MB)
 Lenita / Lenta, 143-4
 Lénore, Countess de D., 150; see also P., WORKS: "Arap Petra Velikogo"
 Lepanto, 138
 Le Perthus, 153

- Lestocq, Count Jean Armand de, 146 & n-47 & n
 Lestok, Ivan / Hermann, *see* Lestocq
 Leutholf, *see* Ludolf
 Livonia, 113, 147n
 Lobo, Jeronimo, 123, 124, 165
 Logo, 119, 120, 122, 123-4, 125, 128, 158-9
 Logon-Chuan, 158
 Logote / Legote, 120-1, 122, 125, 159
 Louis XIV, king of France, 132, 134, 161
 Louis XV, king of France, 110n, 148, 150
 Louis (French translator), 123n
 Ludolf, Job, 120; *Historia aethiopica*, 165
 Lutheran, 154
- M**
- Macalle, 124
 Macaulay, James, 123
 MacDonnell, Count Charles, 165
 Mai Belessan, *see* Belessa River
 Mai Laham / Laam, 124
 Maillet (French consul), 133, 134
 Makarov, Aleksey Vasilievich, 139
 Malbazo, *see* "Petrus Aethiops"
 Malebranche, Nicolas de, 151
 Mantz, P., 163
 Marais, Mathieu: *Journal de Paris*, 165
 Mareb River, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 128, 157
 Massawa / Masuah Island, 130n, 131, 132, 133
 Masuah, *see* Massawa
 Mathew, David: *Ethiopia*, 165
 Mauro, Fra, 120
 Mecca, 133, 141n
 Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Charles Leopold, Duke of, 110n
 Mediterranean, 135
 Melakotawit, queen of Abyssinia, 129
Mémoire historique sur l'ambassade de France à Constantinople, *see* Bonnac
Mémoires d'Afrique, *see* Baratieri
Mémoires de la Régence, *see* Piossens
Memoirs of My Life, *see* Grech: *Zapiski*
Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie, La, *see* Kammerer
 Merville, Michel Guyot de, 150
 Mesrah Island, 130
Messenger of Europe, *see* *Vestnik Evrope*
 Metz, 139, 149, 153; *Ecole d'Artillerie*, 149-50
 Metz, *see* Poirier
 Mihaylovskoe, 109, 113, 116, 155
 Minih / Münnich, Count Burkhard Christoph, 110 & n, 154
 Modzalevski, B. L., 165
 Modzalevski, L. B., 166
 Mohammedan, *see* Moslem(s)
 Monnet, 160
 Monophysites, 128
 Monroe, Elizabeth, 164
 Montaignon, A. de, 163
 Moscow, 114, 115, 139, 140, 142, 145, 148; Publichnaya Biblioteka (MB), 112
 Moslem(s), 117, 118, 127, 128-129, 131, 133, 134, 144, 156, 159
Moya rodoslovnaya, *see* P., WORKS
 Mozemleks (in Lahontan), 151
 Muhammad Ahmed ibn Ibrahim el Ghazi ("Gran"), 128, 162
 Munnai River, 120, 124

Index

Münnich, *see* Minih
 Munzinger, Werner: *Vocabulaire de la langue tigré*, 165
 Murad ben Magdelun /
 "Murat," 132, 133, 134
 Mussulman, *see* Moslem(s)
 Mustafa II, sultan of Turkey,
 133, 137, 138, 141
 My Pedigree, *see* P., WORKS:
Moya rodoslovnaya

N

Naples, 139
Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri
Petre, see Pekarski
 Negro(es), 113 & n, 116-17,
 128, 133, 134, 140, 145, 156,
 157, 158
 Negroid race, 157
 New Testament, 152
 Nile River, 132, 134
Northern Bee, see *Severnaya*
pchela
Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie,
see Perruchon

O

Obel River, 121, 124
 Odessa, 107n, 109
 Olderogge, D.: *Abissiniya*, 165
 Olenin, Aleksey Nikolaevich,
 156
 Opatovich, S. I., 154, 165
 Opochka, 109
 Oriental, 126n
 Orléans, Philippe, Duke of,
 110n, 148, 149, 150
 Oromota tribe, 158
 Orthodox, *see* Greek Catholic
 Osipov, Praskovia Aleksandro-
 na (b. Vindomski / Windom-
 sky, m. Vulf), 113n
 Ottoman Empire, *see* Turkey

P

Paris / -ian, 132, 139, 141, 148,
 150
 Paulitschke, Philippe, 119, 162
 PB, *see* St. Petersburg: Pub-
 lichnaya Biblioteka
 Pecherski, Andrey, *see* Mel-
 nikov
Pedigree of My Hero, see P.,
 WORKS: *Rodoslovnaya moego*
geroya
Pedigree of the Pushkins and
the Gannibals, see P., WORKS:
Rodoslovnaya Pushkinih
 Pekarski, Pyotr Petrovich, 151;
Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri
Petre Velikom (Russian
 Science and Literature in the
 Era of Peter the Great), 166
 Perruchon, Jules, 129, 166
 Persia, 151
 Peter I the Great, tsar, 109 &
 n, 110 & n, 112, 115n, 116,
 117, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142,
 143-8, 149, 152, 153, 154,
 156, 164; *Pis'ma i bumagi*
 (Letters and Documents),
 166; *Zhurnal* (Journal), 166
 Peter II, tsar, 110n
 Peter III, tsar, 110n
Peter the Great and the Ottoman
Empire, see Sumner
 Petit, A., 165
 Petrov, Pyotr Petrovich (Peter
 I's godson), *see* Gannibal,
 Abram
 Petrovskoe, 113
 "Petrus Aethiops" (Pasfa
 Sayon Malbazo), 152
 Pezhemski, Pyotr, 166
 Phoenicia, 127
 Piossens, Chevalier de: *Mém-*
oires de la Régence, 166
Pis'ma i bumagi, see Peter I the
 Great
 Pitts, Joseph, 163

- Poirier, Abbé François Jacques, 153; *Metz*, 166
- Polotsk, 143
- Poncet, Charles, 119-20, 124, 129, 130 & n, 131, 132-4, 158-9, 161, 163; *Relation . . . du voyage*, 166
- Popovo, 141
- Portugal / Portuguese, 123, 127-8, 130n, 146n, 165
- Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia*, see Whiteway
- Predki Pushkina*, see P., PUSHKINIANA; *Pushkin's Ancestors*
- Preobrazhenskiy Regiment, 151
- Prester John, 161
- Prince of Abissinia, The*, see Johnson: *Rasselas*
- Protestant, 128
- Pskov / Pskovan, 109, 126n, 155
- Pushka, Grigoriy (ancestor of the Pushkins), 111
- Pushkin, Aleksandr Petrovich (P.'s great-grandfather), 111
- PUSHKIN, ALEKSANDR SERGEEVICH
LETTER TO: Osipov, P., 113n;
WORKS: "Arap Petra Velikogo" ("The Blackamoor of Peter the Great"), 113-4, 116, 141, 150, 155, 158; *Moya rodoslovnaya* (My Pedigree), 155-6; *Rodoslovnaya moego geroya* (Pedigree of My Hero), 117; *Rodoslovnaya Pushkinih i Ganibalov* (Pedigree of the Pushkins and the Gannibals), 113, 117; "Table Talk," 145-6; PUSHKINIANA: *In Pushkin's Hand* (Rukopy Pushkina, ed. Tsyavlovski, L. Lodzalevski, & Zenger), 166; *Pushkin* (Annenkov), 114; *Pushkin and His Contemporaries* (*Pushkin i ego sovremenniki*), 163, 164; *Pushkin in Moscow* (*Pushkin v Moskve*, Vinogradov, Chulkov, & Rozanov), 167; *Pushkin's Ancestors* (*Predki Pushkina*, Venger), 167; *Works* (1906-15, ed. Vengerov), 165 (1937-50, 1959, ed. Blagoy, Bondi, et al.), 166
- Pushkin, Aleksey Fyodorovich, 111
- Pushkin, Elizaveta (Lev Sergeevich's wife), 157
- Pushkin, Fyodor Petrovich, 111
- Pushkin, Konstantin (Grigoriy Pushka's son), 111
- Pushkin, Lev Aleksandrovich (P.'s grandfather), 111
- Pushkin, Lev Sergeevich (P.'s brother), 109, 157
- Pushkin, Maria Alekseevna (m. Osip Gannibal), see Gannibal, Maria
- Pushkin, Nadezhda (Osip Gannibal's daughter, Sergey Pushkin's wife, P.'s mother), 111, 157
- Pushkin, Pyotr (descendant of Konstantin, ancestor of P.'s parents), 111
- Pushkin, Sergey Lvovich (P.'s father), 111, 112
- Pyatnitski Church, 144
- Pyotr I*, see Bogoslovski
- Pyrenées-Orientales, 153

Q

Quartin-Dillon, R., 165

R

Racine, Jean, 151

Ragusa, 140, 141, 142, 143

Raguzinski, see Vladislavich-Raguzinski

Rami Pasha, 138

Index

Rasselas, 123, 160, 161; *see also* Johnson. *Rasselas*
 Red Sea, 121, 130n, 131, 132, 133, 135
Red Sea and Adjacent Countries, *see* Foster
Régence galante, La, *see* Hervez
Relation abrégée du voyage . . . en Ethiopie, *see* Poncet
 Revel / Tallin, 112, 113, 146
Revue rétrospective, 165
Revue sémitique, 166
 Rezanov, Gavril, 149
 Rimbaud, Arthur, 132
Rimbaud in Abyssinia, *see* Starkie
Rodoslovnaya mogo geroya, *see* P., WORKS
Rodoslovnaya Pushkinih i Gannibalov, *see* P., WORKS
 Roman Catholicism, 128
 Rome / Roman, 117, 118, 123, 127, 153
 Rozanov, N. P., 167
Rukoyu Pushkina, *see* P., PUSHKINIANA: *In Pushkin's Hand*
 Rumyantsov Museum, *see* Moscow: Publichnaya Biblioteka
Russian Ancientry, *see* *Russkaya starina*
Russian Archives, *see* *Russkiy arhiv*
Russian Biographical Dictionary, *see* *Russkiy biograficheskiy slovar'*
Russian Gazette, *see* *Russkie vedomosti*
Russian Science and Literature in the Era of Peter the Great, *see* Pekarski: *Nauka*
Russische Günstlinge, *see* Helbig
Russkaya starina (Russian Ancientry), 154, 164, 165
Russkie vedomosti (Russian Gazette), 162

Russkiy arhiv (Russian Archives), 165
Russkiy biograficheskiy slovar' (Russian Biographical Dictionary), 166

S

Saad, Grand Sherif, 135
Sacred City of the Ethiopians, The, *see* Bent
 Sagad I, Malak, emperor of Abyssinia, 132
 Sagad III, *see* Susneyos
 Saillant, Marquis de, 150
 St. Basil Order, 143
 St. Petersburg / Petersburg / Russ. Sankt Peterburg / Petrograd / Leningrad, 109, 110, 141, 143, 146, 147 & n, 154, 155; Publichnaya Biblioteka / Imperatorskaya Publichnaya / Leningradskaya / imeni Saltikova-Schedrina (PB), 151
 Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, Duke de, 163
 Saint-Yves, Georges, 119, 120
 Salt, Henry, 119, 120, 121-2, 123, 124, 125, 131, 140, 164; *Voyage to Abyssinia*, 167
 Sanuto, Livio, 120
 Scandinavia, 113
 Scarperia, *see* Angiolo
 Schefer, Charles, 163
 Scherer, Johann Benedikt / Jean Benoit, 147n; *Anecdotes*, 146n-47
 Schöberg / Scheberch, Christina Regine (m. Abram Gannibal), *see* Gannibal, Christina
 Schoberg / Scheberch, Matthias, 154
 Schoonebeeck, Adriaan, 148
 Selenginsk, 154
 Seraoe / Seræ, *see* Serawe
 Serawe, 120, 124

Serawe Mts., 133
 Serbia, 141
 Seremai River, 121, 122
Severnaya pchela (Northern Bee, ed. Bulgarin & Grech), 156
 Shangalla, 128
 Sheba, Queen of, 157
 Shepelyov, Dmitri Andreevich, 115 & n
 Shmurlo, E. F., 146, 167
 Siberia / Russ. Sibir', 110, 153
 Sinai, Mt., Monastery, 133
 Siré, 161
 Slavic, 157
Slovar' dostopamyatnih lyudey Russkoy zemli, see Bantish-Kamenski
 Snitterfield, 160
 Solomon, King, 157
 Somali, 128
Some Records of Ethiopia, see Beckingham
Sommaire d'un cours d'architecture militaire, see Belidor
 Soulié, E., 163
 Soviet, 139
Souremennik (The Contemporary, first ed. P.), 166
 Spain / Spanish, 149, 153
 Spanish America, 156
 Stambul / Russ. Tsargrad, see Constantinople
 Starkie, Enid, 132; *Rimbaud in Abyssinia*, 167
 Stratford on Avon, 160
 Suakin, 133
 Sudan, 121
 Suez, 133, 135
 Suida, 155
 Sumner, B. H., 142; *Peter the Great and the Ottoman Empire*, 167
 Susneyos / Sagad III, emperor of Abyssinia, 123, 128
 Sveaborg / Suomenlinna, 123n
 Sweden / Swedish, 143
 Syria, 135

T

"Table Talk," see P., WORKS
 Tabor, Mt., 161
 Tekla-Haymonot I, emperor of Abyssinia, 129, 130, 160
 Tellez, Balthazar, 120
 Theophanus / Russ. Feofan, 143
 Theophilus / Tewoflos, emperor of Abyssinia, 130
 Thevenot, Melchisedec, 120
 Tigré, 119-20, 124, 127, 129, 130 & n, 131, 132, 135, 152, 158, 159, 161
 Tigré-Endorta, see Endorta
 Tobolsk, 154
 Tokule, Mt., 120, 121
 Tolstoy, Count Ivan Andreevich, 142
 Tolstoy, Count Pyotr Andreevich, 115, 137, 138-9, 142
Travels, see Bruce
 Tserana, 121
 Tsyavlovski-Zenger, Tatiana, 166
 Turaev, B. A.: *Abissinskii khroniki* (Abyssinian Chronicles), 167
 Turkey / Turkish, 115, 116, 117, 118, 125, 126n, 128, 129, 132, 133, 134-9, 141-2, 144, 147, 148, 152, 158
 Tyurikov (court jester), 147

U

Ukrainsev, Emelian Ignatievich, 136-7 & n, 141
 United States Army Map Service, 121, 124, 125, 167
 Ustryalov, Nikolay Gerasimovich: *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikogo* (History of the Reign of Peter the Great), 167
 Uvarov, Count Sergey Semyonovich, 156

Index

V

- Valentia, George, Viscount:
Voyages and Travels, 167
 Vauban, Sébastien Le Prestre,
 Marquis de, 149, 153
 Vegner, M., 129, 146, 163; *see*
also P., PUSHKINIANA: *Push-*
kin's Ancestors
 Vengerov, S. A., *see* P., PUSH-
 KINIANA: *Works*
 Venice, 136n, 143
 Versailles, 160
Vestnik Evrope (Messenger of
 Europe, first ed. Kachenov-
 ski), 145
Vicar of Wakefield, The, *see*
 Goldsmith
 Vidal, 160
 Vignaud, Henri, 165
 Vilno, 109, 143
 Vinogradov, L. A., 167; *see*
also P., PUSHKINIANA: *Push-*
kin in Moscow
 Vinogradov, V. V., 157
 Vladislavich, Luka, 141
 Vladislavich-Raguzinski,
 Count Savva Lukich, 139-43,
 148, 154
Vocabulaire de la langue tigré,
see Munzinger
 Voltaire, *see* Arouet
Voyage du baron de Lahontan,
Le, *see* Lahontan
Voyage en Abyssinie, *see*
 Lefebvre

- Voyage historique d'Abissinie*,
see Le Grand
Voyage to Abyssinia, *see* Salt
Voyages and Travels, *see*
 Valentia
Voyages . . . d'une princesse
babylonienne, *see* Arouet
Vsemirniy vestnik (interna-
 tional Messenger), 163
 Vsesoyuznaya Biblioteka imeni
 Lenina, *see* Moscow: Publich-
 naya Biblioteka
 Vulf, Aleksey Nikolaevich:
Dnevnik (Diary), 116, 164,
 167
 Vulf, Praskovia (b. Vindomski),
see Osipov, Praskovia
 Vyazemski, Prince Pyotr An-
 dreevich, 156

W

- Warsaw, 143
 Wensinck, A. J., 163
 Whiteway, R. S.: *Portugucse*
Expedition to Abyssinia, The,
 163, 167

Z

- Za-Ouald, 159, 161, 162
Zapiski moey zhizni, *see* Grech
 Zenger, T. G., *see* Tsyavlovski-
 Zenger, T.