Slavistische Beiträge · Band 42

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Robert Kenneth Schulz

The Portrayal of the German in Russian Novels

Gončarov, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, Tolstoj

Verlag Otto Sagner München · Berlin · Washington D.C.

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«Verlag Otto Sagner» ist ein Imprint der Kubon & Sagner GmbH

Robert Kenneth Schulz - 978-3-95479-357-0
via free access

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SLAVISTISCHE BEITRÄGE

Unter Mitwirkung von M. Braun, Göttingen · † P. Diels, München · J. Holthusen, München · E, Koschmieder, München · W. Lettenbauer, Freiburg/Br. J. Matl, Graz F. W. Neumann, Mainz · K.-H. Pollok, Regensburg · L. Sadnik-Aitzetmüller, Saarbrücken · J. Schütz, Erlangen

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON A. SCHMAUS, MÜNCHEN
Technische Redaktion: P. Rehder, München

Band 42

00046799

ROBERT KENNETH SCHULZ

THE PORTRAYAL OF THE GERMAN IN RUSSIAN NOVELS

—GONČAROV, TURGENEV, DOSTOEVSKIJ, TOLSTOJ—

VERLAG OTTO SAGNER · MÜNCHEN
1969

N 69/7175

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Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

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Abteilung der Fa. Kubon & Sagner, München
Druck: Fa. W. u. I. M. Salzer
8 München 2, Schleißheimer Straße 20

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is the intention of this dissertation to investigate, as thoroughly as possible, the portrayal of the German as he appears in the prose works (drama and poetry have been excluded) of four of Russia's greatest nineteenth-century literary writers--I. A. Gončarov, I. S. Turgenev, F. M. Dostoevskij, and L. N. Tolstoj. For that purpose, all the known prose works of each author were read and examined. In a like manner, personal correspondence was studied to the degree it was available. Hence, the writer of this investigation pored over autobiographical material, recollections, notes, letters, excerpts, little-known articles, and the like, searching for material in the biographies of the authors in question which might warrant or explain, at least partially, their depictions of Germans which occur in the works of all four.

One might ask why these particular Russian authors were chosen for this investigative endeavor. Actually, it was only after much deliberation, letter writing, and

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personal conferences that the choice was made. While in Munich, this author discussed his proposed topic with Professor Dr. Alois Schmaus, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Munich, and his own major professor, Dr. Nikola R. Pribić. It was agreed that although a few articles existed which dealt with themes similar to his own, there existed no thorough, exhaustive, scholarly work which really went into any degree of depth concerning the German in Russian literature. Naturally, in order to avoid superficiality and a lack of insight, one could not possibly hope to master the task of treating the entire role of the German as he is characterized in all of Russian literature. As a result, the nineteenth century was initially decided upon, since it is the author's major period. Secondly, four authors were suggested, in order to further limit the scope of the dissertation.

As representatives of the Golden Age of Russian literature (the nineteenth century), I. A. Gončarov, I. S. Turgenev, F. M. Dostoevskij, and L. N. Tolstoj exhibit in their writings many of the great social problems and questions of their era. Since Russian literature reflects Russian history to a greater extent than almost any other major literature, it is not

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unusual to find evidence of: the problem of serfdom, the controversy involving the Westernizers versus the Slavophiles, the nihilists, German and Western European philosophy, religion, questions regarding the existence of God, and the like, mirrored in varying degrees in the different works of the literary personalities selected for research here.

Heretofore, however, no one has attempted an exhaustive study of the German in Russian literature. Whereas one would expect Russia's most famous literary exponents to concern themselves with the injustices they saw in their own society, hardly any significant research has been published which has endeavored to clarify either pro or anti-German sentiments or leanings on the part of Russian writers, whose prose works display ample testimony to the significant role the German played in the evolution and development of Russia.

Historically speaking, the German has played a more important part in the development of Russia than has any other foreign national group. The second chapter of this inquiry will provide relevant data in this connection. *Ergo*, Chapter II, as well as this study as a whole, should have some measure of intellectual appeal and value to the individual concerned with the minutiae of German-Russian relations--whether they be of a literary, historical, or psychological nature--since the views of Gončarov, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, and Tolstoj might shed a new light upon the whole tormented history of German-Russian relations.

Within the overlapping life-spans of these four nineteenth-century Russian contemporaries, divergent sentiments are expressed (sometimes vehemently, in either a positive or negative fashion) regarding the way in which German characters are portrayed in the novels analyzed. This study will attempt to document evidence which will reveal the whys and wherefores governing the behavior of each separate author relating to his conception of the German in nineteenth-century Russian life.

The notions of the writers treated here do not go beyond the nineteenth century. Their conclusions may be based, in part, upon personal experiences: German tutors, valets, servants, shopkeepers, doctors, officers, or noblemen whom they actually encountered during their lives; or they may base their opinions upon German Germans whom they met in Germany or in other European countries. The reader should be aware of the fact that, in many instances, the authors dealt with here differentiate between russified or Russian-Germans and "German" Germans. Evidence given later in the pages which ensue will support this statement. Generally speaking, the russianized German has adopted some Russian customs, thus becoming more acceptable to the Russian society of which he is a part--e.g., Gončarov's Stolz.

In establishing German identity, the fact that a person's native language is German makes him a German (in the broader sense) in the eyes of this author and eases the task of having to determine whether a Bohemian Bavarian, Saxonian, etc., is "German." By assuming such a position, this writer will look upon the German as most Russian authors did--the latter hardly differentiated among the Germans they portrayed on the basis of the individual province or principality from which a particular German came. For Russia's authors, it may be safely stated that there was only one unified German type.[1]

In conclusion, one might wonder how valid an investigation might be which rests upon sources almost a century old in order to illuminate an area long ignored from the scholarly point of view.[2]

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[1] The most comprehensive scholarly investigation dealing with the portrayal of a foreign group in Russian literature is V. Kiparsky's English and American Characters in Russian Fiction (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 1964). Another more recently published work is D. Boden's Das Amerikabild im russischen Schrifttum bis zum Ende des 19. Jhs. (Hamburg: de Gruyter, 1968).

[2] As far as the German in Russian literature is concerned, only a few brief articles have been written: L. Müller's "Das Bild vom Deutschen in der russischen Literatur" Remter (Hannover), Vol. III, No. 4, 1957.

J. Matl, in his article,[1] "Zur Bezeichnung und Wertung fremder Völker bei den Slaven," deals with the contacts of the Slavs with Germanic, Latin, and Oriental peoples, showing either positive or negative effects on the Slavs. Matl treats in a rather general fashion the relations of the Slavs to such peoples as the Goths, Vandals, Langobards, Franks, Germans, Latins, Greeks, Huns, Avars, Tatars, Turks, and the like.

To be sure, the calamities of the twentieth century in regard to German-Russian relations are totally beyond the realm of this analysis. Actually, time, especially such a relatively short period (one hundred years) as is involved within the scope of this investigative exploration, plays a rather minor role in altering

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pp. 39-47; O. Savić's "Deutschland, von Russen gesehen" Slavische Rundschau (Prague), Vol. IV, 123-29; A. Luther's "Der Deutsche in der russischen Literat' " Blick in die Wissenschaft (Berlin), Vol. IV (1948. 353-55; J. Sazonova's "The German in Russian Literature" The American Slavic and East European Review (Menasha: Banta Publishing Co.), Vol. IV No. 8 (1945), 51-79; and F. W. Neumann's article "Deutschland im russischen Schrifttum" Die Welt der Slaven (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), Vol. V (1960), 113-30.

[1] Festschrift für Max Vasmer zum 70. Geburtstag am 28. Febr. 1965. compiled by M. Woltner and H. Bräuer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1956), pp. 293-306.

a people. Therefore, it is believed that through the examination of the divergent views of Gončarov, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, and Tolstoj with regard to the German, should offer fascinating and enlightening deductions with respect to the exciting and stimulating topic of this academic investigation.

CHAPTER II

OPINIONS OF THE RUSSIANS AND GERMANS

> [The Russian people are] frivolous and religious, raw and immensely sensitive, ironic and deeply serious, superficial and intense--just like Russian life. (Eliasberg)[1]

> A Russian never knows what he will do the next minute; and the soul of a Russian does not know of what it is capable. (Brian-Chaninov)[2]

> Always and everywhere the Russian pushes toward the extreme. (Leroy-Beaulieu)[3]

> One has to strangle a Russian in order to make him sensitive/feel. (Montesquieu)[4]

The above quotations relating to the Russian people, Russian life, and the Russian character in general, may be supplemented by a few additional statements of Ernst Moritz Arndt and others. Arndt, a nineteenth century German poet, while secretary (1811-13) to the Prussian statesman, Freiherr vom Stein, spent some time

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[1] H. Harvest, Massloses Russland: Selbstbezichtigungen und Bezichtigungen (Zürich: Rotapfel Verlag, 1949), p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

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in Russia. He was one of those Germans who tried to analyze the Russian character. Arndt found Russia to be a "numb land of snow." Its people, in his view, had the virtues of barbarians, i.e., heartiness, loyalty, and physical courage. The Russian people appeared great to him, but dense (klotzig), a people "formed out of coarseness."[1]

A certain fear of the Russian colossus and a definite consciousness of the superiority of German culture, mixed with disdain for an intellectually barren, barbaric civilization may be discerned in the letters and diaries (written from 1840-63) of the German nineteenth-century writer, F. Hebbel. The latter was considered a liberal, belonging to the same group in which such personalities as Platen, Heine, and Grillparzer could be counted.[2] Toward the end of his life (1863), Hebbel succinctly stated his frank opinion of Poland and Russia: " ... the Russian-Polish world--what a horror."[3]

Germany's "Iron Chancellor" held a different view of the Russians than did Hebbel. Bismarck spoke positively of the power and perseverance of the Russian masses. Like Arndt, however, Bismarck perceived Russia as a natural phenomenon--a nation covered by a thin, courtly-dynastic varnish of civilization, while the other European nations appeared to Bismarck as cultural entities.[1]

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[1] H. Stammler, "Wandlungen des deutschen Bildes vom russischen Menschen," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas (München: 1957), Vol. V, 276.

[2] Ibid., p. 279.

[3] Ibid., p. 280.

Although it is not the intent of this endeavor to explore foreigners' views of the Russian national character, it is certainly of considerable value to have an idea of what others had to say about the Russians *per se*.

For the sake of comparison with the opinions of those previously quoted persons, it might be useful to know the results of a survey, conducted by Bergius[2] in the early 1950's, of one hundred Princeton students concerning their opinions of some fourteen national groups, including, of course, both Russians and Germans. The ten characteristics most often associated with the Russians ran as follows: brutal when intoxicated, wayward, incalculable, primitive, lovers of the homeland, undemanding, cruel, love children, drinkers, melancholy, and narrow-minded.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[2] R. Bergius, "Nationale Vorurteile. Eine sozialpsychologische Untersuchung an 881 Personen," *Forschungen zur Sozialpsychologie und Ethnologie* (Berlin: 1953).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

On the other hand, the most frequently selected traits attributed to the Germans, in descending order, are: scientifically minded, industrious, solid, intelligent, methodical, extremely nationalistic, progressive, efficient, jovial, musical, persistent, and practical.[1] Traits which are specifically German--attributed to no other national group--once again in descending order of popularity are: duty conscious, thorough, dependable, animal lovers, _Dichter und Denker_ (poets and thinkers), brave, bureaucratic, militaristic, the best soldier, and decent.[2]

In the comprehensive table given at the end of Bergius' study, the subsequent relevant conclusions are drawn: 1) that of the fourteen national groups chosen for the survey, the Germans are credited with the most positive traits, followed by the English and the French. The Russians are at the bottom of the list, with the largest number of negative qualities. In fact, their negative traits far outweigh their positive ones.[3] We should be cautious in using such statistics to draw conclusions which might be utilized to evaluate a whole nation. However, these findings are remarkable when one realizes that the results of Bergius' investigation were published in 1953, only eight years after World War II.

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 22.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 37.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 79.

The fundamental differences in those qualities attributed to the Germans and the Russians had to evoke, out of necessity, tension once these two peoples came into direct contact with one another. Basic differences in mentality, such as those previously given, could only result in friction and envy. It ought to be of significant worth to see the degree to which the portrayal of the German in the works of Gončarov, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, and Tolstoj resembles the formerly cited quotations, as well as the findings of a twentieth century study. However, before commencing the analyses of the Russian authors chosen here, a short treatment of the role of the Germans in Eastern Europe will be given.

The German eastern migrations lasted from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries. The Germans were regarded in the Slavic East as industrious, honest, and skilled artisans in many areas. It is a fact of history that both the kings of Bohemia and Poland invited the Germans to come to their realms for the purpose of helping to develop the natural resources of their countries. The Germans excelled especially in the art of town planning. The aristocracy was well aware of the fact that cities were a reflection of a certain measure of progress. The contemporary European traveler will have little trouble recognizing the medieval plans of so many of the old continent's villages and towns. Few were the nobles who thought that the Germans, whom they had invited, might one day take over their domains. Had such a fear existed, then such cities as Kamenec-Podolskij (1374), Lwów (1356), and Brest-Litovsk (1390) would never have been established.[1]

As a settler, the German was, generally speaking, noted for his ability to establish himself almost anywhere in the world, "making his home there and erecting in it a reflection of typical German life ... .[2]

In discussing the particular case of the Transylvanian Germans (Saxons), Schreiber points out something which is also applicable to almost all German colonists in East-Central, Eastern, as well as Southeastern Europe, i.e.,

> ... for their [the Germans'] houses remained conspicuous, as the best kept in the country. Their farmyards were the most lavishly stocked and their towns obviously capable of paying the heaviest tribute.[3]

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[1] H. Schreiber, Teuton and Slave, translated by J. Cleugh (London: Constable, 1965), p. 90.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 107.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 169.

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> ... hostility to the Germans in the various divisions of the old Monarchy [Austria-Hungary] arose because the German farmers so often bred the best cattle, made the most of their land, and kept their premises cleanest. They were not wizards. They were simply diligent, imperturbable and, in a word, efficient. The Serbian, Rumanian, Hungarian, and Ukrainian peasants enjoyed life just as much in their way as the Germans did, perhaps more. They worked no harder and no less than other Rumanians, Serbs, and Ukrainians. But there were German villages staring them in the face in Bacska, in Swabian Turkey, and in Transylvania. They were always running up against ostentatiously prosperous Germans in the markets ... .[1]

As an inducement, the Germans were granted special privileges and exemptions from public charges. Furthermore, they benefited from an autonomous status granted them under the law of Magdeburg.[2] Magdeburg or Nürnberg law were the two most commonly used for the establishment of cities by the Germans in Eastern Europe.

A new feature of the seventeenth century in Europe was its great interest in German princes as candidates for the eligible daughters of Europe's royal houses. Minor German aristocrats were now in the same demand as German peasants and colonists had been previously. In 1714, the German principality of Hannover was

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[1] Ibid., p. 311.

[2] F. Dvornik, The Slavs in European History and Civilization (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1962), p. 128.

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requested to furnish what ultimately became a whole line of English kings. In 1697, Saxony's Augustus the Strong was elected King of Poland.[1]

The eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of Russia as a power with which to be reckoned. Under the aggressive leadership of Peter the Great (1682-1725), Russia made great strides toward the Europeanization of her long neglected, backward customs and ideals. This about-face away from the status of a sleeping giant to that of a nation which had been victorious over a European power (Sweden) occurred within the span of less than a decade. In the battles of Narva (1700), Peter I saw his far more numerous army defeated by Charles of Sweden. The stinging defeat of 1700 was soon compensated by a victory in 1709, when Peter defeated the Swedes at the Battle of Poltava.[2]

In a letter written by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz to Tsar Peter I in 1712, the renowned German philosopher expressed his apprehensions with respect to the Russian tsar's personality:

> It appears to be a divine ordinance that learning should now encircle the entire globe, even Scythia [Russia], and select your Majesty as an instrument to further knowledge ... Since

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[1] H. Schreiber, Teuton and Slav, p. 257.

[2] Ibid., p. 259.

> in a great part of your Majesty's dominions all the data relating to study are still new--hitherto, as it were, a blank sheet of paper--those innumerable errors may still be avoided which have graphically crept unnoticed into European research. It is well known that an entirely new palace will be better suited to its functions than one rebuilt, improved and much transformed over a period of many centuries. I should conceive it, therefore, as the greatest honor, pleasure and reward that could befall me if I were enabled to serve your mighty imperial Majesty in so praiseworthy and pious an undertaking, for I am less passionately attached to the service of a single country than to that of all mankind.[1]

According to Schreiber, the Germans were the most eager group wanting to make a new start on the tabula rasa that was eighteenth century Russia. There, "the project was already implicit if unspoken in the great enterprise of their [the Germans'] late medieval colonization."[2] The Germans hoped to set up their own institutions in Russia, free of the rivalries of the petty nobility and the wars that had plagued their homeland for so long. Russia was "virgin soil," full of hope for the incoming German settlers.

Initially, Peter the Great showed little interest in the German peasant as such. Skilled artisans, builders, engineers, technicians, army officers, and the like were the types most sought after and needed in the Russian Empire. A fair number of Germans was already

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 259. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

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living in Russia at, the beginning of the eighteenth century. A so-called German Suburb (Nemeçkaja Sloboda) grew outside the city walls of Moscow. Its establishment dates from the sixteenth century.[1] It was there that German, Dutch, as well as English tradesmen, craftsmen, and soldiers could be found in some profusion. Within the community, Protestant churches and the general Western European way of life were given free reign by the Russian authorities. Generally speaking, the Roman Catholics were regarded as more dangerous to Russian Orthodoxy than the Protestants.[2]

Besides the formerly mentioned rights, the residents of the German Suburb were permitted to maintain their own schools. Before long, the Muscovite upper classes began to emulate the customs and mode of living of the Suburb's Europeans. Tsar Alexis (1645-76) himself was a leader in the adoption of Western customs.[3]

Understandably, very few of the inhabitants of the German Suburb were fluent in Russian. As a result, the Russians applied to all foreigners living in the Suburb the appellation, nemec, stemming from nemoj

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[1] Ibid., p. 260.

[2] F. Dvornik, The Slavs in European Culture and Civilization, pp. 510-11.

[3] Ibid., p. 511.

(speechless).[1] In other words, the "dumb" one, unable to speak Russian. Later, nemec meant only a German. Even today, the term has a somewhat derogatory meaning. Germanec is considered more polite and bookish, but is used less often to denote a German.

The Russian Church looked upon this foreign colony as a haven for heretics, harboring evil and forces of degeneration. At one point, Patriarch Joachim, prior to his death in 1690, urged Peter the Great not to be found in the company of Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, or other "heretics." In fact, Joachim requested that the Russian tsar expel them all from Russia and destroy completely their houses of worship. These admonitions notwithstanding, many Russians, among whose number one may count Peter I, continued to visit the German Suburb, where they discovered a more liberal intellectual atmosphere and an enjoyment of life far different from the conventional Russian. The English historian, B. H. Summer, described the Nemeckaja Sloboda as: "a little fragment of industrious, ingenious, Protestant Europe."[2]

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[1] I. Spector, An Introduction to Russian History and Culture (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1951), p. 65.

[2] Ibid., p. 67.

The young Russian tsar (Peter I) not only got to know scholars, philosophers, and artisans, as a consequence of his many visits to the German Suburb, but he also became acquainted with the customs practiced by various nationalities. In the realm of religion, Peter the Great came into contact with Protestant missionaries (most often German or Dutch) who undoubtedly had some effect upon Peter's views of church and state. In short, the influence of this foreign colony near Moscow should not be underestimated. Without it, Peter I would not have been exposed to Western ideas to the extent that he became critical of and anxious to eliminate the backward, limiting practices which he saw in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[1]

In order to fulfill his plans for modernizing Russia, Peter the Great depended most often upon foreigners. Among the latter, the Germans played a truly significant role. Too much time did not elapse before a large percentage of the Germans he had summoned to Russia for service acquired high ranks and exerted much influence. The distrust, however, of the Russian masses with regard to foreigners resulted in their blaming the nemcy (Germans) for failures or malfunctions in the

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[1] H. Schreiber, Teuton and Slav, p. 67.

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attempts to carry out Peter's reforms. The Russian people believed that their tsar was infallible. Hence, the "foreigners" were held responsible for any innovations which the Russian people found unpleasant or oppressive.[1] The subsequent quotation is of value in this connection:

> The Germans wished us to adopt all kinds of novelties (wrote the publicist Juri Križanić at that time). They wanted us to give up those estimable, old-established institutions of ours and try to adjust ourselves to their own perverted habits and customs.[2]

As a result of Peter the Great's marrying his niece Anne to the Duke of Kurland, his son to a German princess, his other niece Catherine to the Duke of Mecklenburg, and his own daughter Anne to the Duke of Holstein, the two hundred-year-old custom which stipulated that no Russian princess ought to marry a foreigner

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[1] Ibid., p. 261.

[2] Ibid., p. 261. Juraj Križanić, a Croat priest who, together with M. Orbini, is considered the father of Pan-Slavism, spent more than fifteen years in Russia. In his writings which were stimulated by ideas of a union of the Christian churches, he propagated a common Slavic state under the leadership of the Russian tsar. In some instances, his writings also reflect his anti-German feelings. N. Pribić (co-author), Kleine slavische Biographie (Wiesbaden. O. Harrassowitz, 1958 , p. 343.

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was no longer honored.[1] Through his actions, Peter I established a new fashion; i.e., the overwhelming majority of all the later Romanov tsars who succeeded took German princesses for wives.[2]

The pro-German policy of Peter the Great was continued by Catherine the Great (1762-96) a former German princess of Anhalt-Zerbst. Almost all her "new" ideas or proposals had already been suggested under the reign of Peter the Great. The latter fully realized that he could not accomplish all that had to be done in his empire within the span of his reign. Hence, he not only ordered the liquidation of his son, whom he believed to be inept to prevent his ascending the throne, but also left behind a large collection of drafts, manuscripts, and the like for future reforms which he knew would require more time than the reign of one monarch to be implemented.[3]

Catherine's awareness of Peter's wishes was made quite evident when she, in the first year of her rule, made the following statement to the Russian Senate:

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[1] F. Dvornik, The Slavs in European Culture and Civilization, p. 534.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Teuton and Slav, p. 262.

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> As there are many desolate, unpopulated regions in Russia and many foreigners have begged us for permission to settle in such deserted tracts. We therefore accord in Our senate by the present decree permission for all time . . . to admit all those except Jews, who wish to settle.[1]

Between 1764-67, more than 30,000 German, Dutch, and Swiss immigrants were attracted to Russia. The vast majority of these foreign colonists were sent to areas near the Volga river. Very few managed to settle in the more preferred locations, i.e., Petersburg or the Black Sea coast. Additional waves of immigrants came in 1787-88 and in 1804-09. However, by the time of the Crimean War (1857), this stream of new settlers had, by and large, ceased flowing into the Russian Empire. Afterwards, these German or germanized peasants established thriving colonies along the coastal regions of the Black Sea and around Saratov, which is located on the central Volga. Other smaller communities were founded near Tiflis, St. Petersburg, and in Siberia. If one also includes the Volhynian Germans, who were invited by the Polish princes, the total German population of Russia at the end of the nineteenth century (without the Baltic provinces) was some 1.8 million, out of a total Russian population of 129,000,000.[2] In this connection, the census figures of 1897, the first modern census in Russia and the only one prior to World War I, reveal the following facts about Russia's German population: Russia, without Finland, had a German population of 1,790,489, or 1.4 per cent of the total Russian population. Further, the Germans constituted the eighth strongest minority group--more numerous than the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and Georgians. There were, in 1897, 376,675 Germans in the governments of Saratov and Samara (central Volga district), 360,539 living in the Black Sea colonies; and 169,322 in Volhynia.[1] The same census revealed that St. Petersburg was the home of some 50,000 Germans, the Baltic provinces counted 165,727, and Congress Poland had approximately 400,000 Germans.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 263.

[2] S. Harcave, Russia, A History (New York: Lippincott Co., 1964), p. 338.

Admittedly, a minority comprising only 1.4 per cent of a total population does not form a significant group, numerically speaking. On the other hand, in most instances numbers do not play such an important role in exercising power and influence as do education, skill, industriousness, position, or favor.

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[1] B. Stökl, Osteuropa und die Deutschen (Oldenburg and Hamburg: G. Stalling Verlag, 1967), p. 144. Even in modern times, i.e., under the Soviet regime, there existed, until 1945, a Volga German Soviet Republic. It consisted of 28,200 square kilometers and had a population in 1939 of 605,000 of which two-thirds was German. This republic was created in January, 1924, and dissolved in September, 1945, when the German inhabitants were dispersed to Siberia. Der Grosse Brockhaus, Vol. XII (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1957), 587.

[2] Ibid., p. 145.

The Russians' criticism of the German is not limited to certain peculiarities of the German character. They were, and perhaps still are, rather vitriolic in their attitude toward the German way of living. One should be cognizant of the fact that it was not only the upper-class Russians who came into contact with Germans as a consequence of their travels in Germany. One must also take into account the ever-growing influx of German doctors, skilled individuals, merchants, farmers, bureaucrats, and persons connected with the military who had been immigrating to Russia since the sixteenth century. Because of their numbers, the broad social strata of Russia's urban population also came into contact with the German element. These immigrants nurtured a way of life which was quite different from that of the average Russian. Often it evoked admiration on the part of the Russians. However, it was in most cases the cause of more chiding and criticism than praise. The Russians lauded the Germans' cleverness, industriousness, frugality, honesty, as well as the quality of their work. They could not, however, condone or admire their pedantry, wood-like patience, or arrogance. To the

Russian man in the street, these latter qualities were not only repulsive, but ludicrous.[1]

In an article written by J. Sazonova,[2] appearing in 1945, the author made the subsequent statement about the German colonists in Russia:

> ... The Germans who had set themselves up in Russia despised the Russians and made no attempt to conceal the fact. The folk answered with concealed hatred and biting satire. 'Nemec-perec-kolbasa.' [German-pepper-sausage; it rhymes in Russian], 'Šprehen zi dejč Ivan Andrejč [Sprechen Sie Deutsch, Ivan Andrejč],' 'Što russkomu zdorovo, to nemcu smert' [What is good for a Russian, is bad for a German],' ... .[3]

The sentences quoted above are not flattering to the German. However, Miss Sazonova contradicts herself when she continues:

> ... in Russian literature it is considered unbecoming to depict unfavorably an allied, friendly people, representatives of which played such an important role in the Russian government. Condemnation of the Germans was indecorous, not only because of the Russian ties of the royal family and the generally privileged situation of the Germans in Russia, but also for cultural and intellectual reasons; the Germans had given to the world Kant and Hegel, Bach and Beethoven, Goethe and Schiller, and they had created many scientific treasures. Thus the Germans were protected on two flanks: by the administration and censorship, where there were many Germans, and by the cultural intelligentsia, which was under the spell of German philosophy and art.[4]

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[1] L. Müller, "Das Bild vom Deutschen in der russischen Literatur," pp. 39-47.

[2] J. Sazonova, "The German in Russian Literature," pp. 51-79.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 54. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

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The author of this dissertation certainly did not discover that the works of his selected authors were free of anti-German statements or negative portrayals of Germans. In fact, quite the opposite was the case, as this investigative work will prove in its ensuing pages. Such documentation as will be given here indicates that Miss Sazonova's German censors either did not comprehend what was written on the pages which went through their hands or that they lacked a sufficient knowledge of Russian to understand anti-German statements or negative depictions. Be that as it may, Miss Sazonova gives one the impression that anti-German views and feelings could not be aired in Russian literature because of the Germans' influence over the Russian censorship. However, some of Dostoevskij's novels contain bitterly anti-German passages. Time after time, his German women are drawn in an unflattering light. Moreover, the prose works of Turgenev and Tolstoj are not free of negative comments regarding the Germans or disapproving characterizations of some of the German figures which appear in their works.

When evaluating a national type as it appears in a foreign literature, one ought to consider general behavioral traits. The Russian relation to his fellow man is quite different from that of the German. Whereas the latter is polite to strangers and helpful, he

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exhibits such behavior only to a certain point; e.g., if a stranger tries to be too cordial, the German becomes skeptical; he also often displays a stiff formality, lack of cordiality, and is occasionally overbearing. To the Russian layman, such behavior reveals a lack of common feeling for one's fellow man. In contrast to the German, the Russian has a very close, living relationship with his fellow human beings; the warmth of a personal relationship manifests itself in him through innocence, broadmindedness, and hospitality.[1]

The German is also noted for his frugality, while the Russian tends to spend money whether he has it or not. Accuracy and punctuality are German "trademarks." The Russian is noted for careless generosity and wasting time. The industriousness, assiduity, and drive of the German are notorious to the Russian.[2]

Although most Russians admire the German capacity for work, they feel that such an organized, methodical way of doing things would be like living in a "prison." Perhaps this is due to the general Russian conception of work as toil and drudgery. Today's Soviet communist system may have altered this attitude somewhat.

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[1] F. Neumann, "Der Deutsche im russischen Schrifttum," pp. 122-23.

[2] Ibid., p 124.

Modes of living were different for both peoples, too. The cleanliness, order, and well-cared-for look found in German homes was noticed by Turgenev and Gogol'. They were keenly aware of what they saw, since nineteenth-century Russian urban life was truly in a sorry state. The most often cited characteristic of the German landscape was its "manicured look." In this respect, one may aptly employ the term Kulturlandschaft to describe the German countryside. The landscape of Russia, on the contrary, is a primeval, natural one. Furthermore, the Russian countryside is dominated by plains. A similar conclusion may be drawn when one compares German and Russian city life: the eighteenth century Russian dramatist, Fonvizin, when describing German towns, repeatedly mentions the "depressing narrowness and gloominess of the alleys, the tower-like architecture used for houses dating from the Middle Ages, or the old cities surrounded by medieval walls; space, light, and air were missing ... "[1] Turgenev, as we shall see later, fell in love with the little medieval towns nestled between the Rhine and the vine-clad mountains. Proof of this exists in his novel Asja which will be treated in subsequent pages.

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[1] Ibid., p. 120.

Whereas the basic opinions of Russian authors regarding France,[1] for example, are fundamentally stable and positive, those pertaining to the Germans are full of contradictions and variations. Biographical reasons and excerpts from each writer's relevant works will be given in the ensuing pages of this investigative endeavor. It is anticipated that through detailed documentation, the positions of Gončarov, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, and Tolstoj with respect to the task outlined in the Introduction will be presented.

By giving a brief historical summary of events germane to the topic presented here and by revealing some of the concepts of varying individuals from a potpourri of nations who lived during different eras, this writer hopes that he has "set the stage" for a better comprehension of the impressions, descriptions, and sentiments of the four writers prominent in nineteenth-century Russian belles lettres selected for study here.

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[1] In M. Kovalevskij's "Soperničestvo nemeckogo, francuzskogo i anglijskogo vlijanij na russkuju intelligenciju s serediny prošlogo stoletija," appearing in Vestnik Evropy, Vol. LI, No. 1 (St. Petersburg: 1916), 210-34. The author discusses the competition between German, French, and English influence upon the Russian intelligentsia from 1850 to 1916.

CHAPTER III

IVAN ALEXANDROVIČ GONČAROV

The first nineteenth-century Russian author selected for analysis here is Ivan Alexandrovič Gončarov (1812-91) whose work Oblomov (1859) is considered a classic example of Russian literature.

Gončarov was born in 1812, in the town of Simbirsk (today's Uljanovsk) of a fairly wealthy merchant family. Hence, his Weltanschauung was determined, to a large extent, by a mixture of the ideals and values of the utilitarian, bourgeois tradesman and the traditions of the indolent Russian landed gentry to which he had been exposed. These values are clearly exemplified in the character of Oblomov in Gončarov's most famous novel of the same name.[1]

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[1] J. Lavrin, Russian Writers: Their Lives and Literature (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1954), p. 151; see also Istorija russkoj literatury, Vol. VIII, (Moskva and Leningrad: Izd. akad. nauk SSSR, 1956), 400-61.

Ivan Alexandrovič's father died when his son was seven years old. Ivan was raised in accordance with the old Russian patriarchal traditions which existed for a longer time in the rural regions of Russia than in the more urbanized areas. Gončarov received his introduction to the ideals of the landed gentry through his mother's management of a near-by estate. A former naval officer by the name of Tregubov was the owner of the property. Eventually, Tregubov became a very close friend of the Gončarov family. Little Ivan was Tregubov's favorite and, as a result of this relationship, our author became very sympathetic toward the indolent, slow, relaxed, carefree life of provincial Russia.[1]

Ivan Alexandrovič was sent to a small, but good boarding school which was operated by a German woman. It was there that Gončarov eventually mastered German and French.[2] He also knew English and Latin, though not as well as either French or German.[3] During his mature years, he even translated numerous prose compositions of Goethe, Schiller, and Winkelmann into his native tongue. Gončarov, made these translations, not out of desire for monetary reward, but rather to study, to write, and to occupy himself.[1]

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[1] J. Lavrin, Goncharov (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 9-10.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

[3] A. Rybasov, I. A. Gončarov (Moskva: Gos. izd. xudož. lit., 1962), pp. 30-31.

Gončarov's university education began in Moscow, in 1831. It was there that he came into contact with German idealistic philosophy.[2]

Gončarov's first occupation was that of a Petersburg civil servant. His initial published work appeared when he was thirty-five--a rather late age when compared to some of Russia's other nineteenth-century writers.[3] Like Belinskij, the most famous nineteenth-century Russian literary critic, Gončarov believed "that literature should be a reflection and interpretation of life."[4]

In comparison with Gogolj, Dostoevskij, and Tolstoj (the latter two of whom are treated in this dissertation), Gončarov led a rather sedate, peaceful, regulated sort of life. He had as his goal the will to succeed--both as an artist and civil servant. When his first novel, a _Common Story_ (_Obyknovennaja istorija_) appeared in 1847, our author immediately gained fame in his homeland. Within twelve years, this fame placed Gončarov in the same rank as three other Russian literary contemporaries, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, and Tolstoj.[1] During the 1850's, Gončarov and Turgenev were the most popular Russian authors, more popular than Pisemskij, Ostrovskij, Tolstoj, Avdeev, or Grigorovič.[2]

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[1] _Ibid_., pp. 30-31.

[2] J. Lavrin, _Goncharov_, p. 11.

[3] J. Lavrin, _Russian Writers_, p. 151.

[4] _Ibid_.

It is significant to note that besides having a German teacher in his early youth and favoring the philosophy of the German idealists, as well as the tenets of German romanticism, our author had a German valet--a certain Treigult.[3] Treigult remained with Gončarov until the former's death in 1878, a decade before the death of Gončarov.

Like so many of his Russian contemporaries, Gončarov also went abroad. His first venture was an around the world cruise aboard a Russian frigate (Pallada). This more or less official trip (he was sent as a representative of the Russian government) by-passed most of the highlights of Europe.

In May, 1857, Gončarov, who simply could no longer bear the gray, damp, and dismal Petersburg climate, left Russia and went to Marienbad, in Bohemia, for health reasons. His first sojourn on the continent lasted about four weeks.

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[1] Ibid., p. 9.

[2] A. Alkandrov, "O vospitatel'nom značenii proiz. gg. Turgeneva i Gončarova," Nevskij sbornik, Vol. I (Petersburg: V. Kuročkin, 1867), 715.

[3] J. Lavrin, Goncharov, p. 17.

From Marienbad, Gončarov went to Paris. While en route, he wrote the final three parts of Oblomov (1859). Only the very last chapter was completed in St. Petersburg.[1]

Gončarov was so impressed with Western Europe that he returned on a second occasion--22 May--22 September, 1859. The general Russian enthusiasm among the intellectuals for Western Europe is summed up in the following statement made by A. V. Nikitenko (a friend of Gončarov) in his diary for May 19, 1859, regarding Gončarov's up-coming trip:

> Gončarov came to say good-bye. He's going abroad for four months. Lucky boy! Freedom, the South, the hills of the Black Forest, and the Rhine.[2]

During his second journey abroad, Gončarov spent one and one-half months in Marienbad which he called "the most beautiful and most boring little corner of life and (medical) treatment."[3]

In February, 1860, Ivan Alexandrovič gave up his position in the government service and took advantage of his new freedom to travel in Europe (Germany, Austria, and France) once more. From Kronstadt to Stettin,

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[1] M. F. Superanskij, "I. A. Gončarov za granicej," Istoričeskij vestnik, 1912, No. 6, pp. 849-50.

[2] Ibid., p. 851.

[3] Ibid.

Gončarov traversed the Baltic by ship. Berlin and Dresden were intermediate stops on the author's journey to Marienbad.[1]

Besides visiting Berlin, Dresden, Stettin, and Marienbad, Gončarov also went to Baden-Baden, Kissingen, and Karlsbad. In Baden-Baden, he met Dostoevskij, Turgenev, and other Russian celebreties. Gončarov found Baden to be a "green, beautiful city nestled among hills covered with lush vegetation."[2]

As far as Berlin was concerned, Gončarov loved the Berlin of the 1870's and felt that there was no better urban park in any European capital than Berlin's Tiergarten. He would go there everyday after his mid-day meal.[3] His impressions were quite different from those of Turgenev and Dostoevskij with regard to Berlin, as later evidence will attest.

It is not the aim of this dissertation to give a lengthy biography of each author. Nevertheless, it is hoped that by providing basic facts and revealing any personal data which might have affected the authors' conception of the German, conclusions may be drawn concerning each writer's general characterization of the German. It goes without saying that oftentimes the

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 852-53.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 864. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 866.

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good or bad experiences in the life of a writer are reflected in his works.

Thus, from the biographical point of view, Gončarov seemed to look with favor upon both Germany and the Germans.

In the subsequent pages of this chapter, we shall analyze Gončarov's four principal novels--A Common Story, Frigate Pallada, Oblomov, and The Precipice for portrayals of the German. Additionally, as will be shown later, the last two volumes (seven and eight) of his Sobranie sočinenij (Collected Works)[1] contain valuable, candid remarks concerning the author's opinions of the Germans and the reasons why he held such views.

The first great novel by Gončarov to merit our attention is A Common Story.[2] In Part I of this work, there is only a brief allusion to a German--in this instance to a German tailor by the name of Königstein who also made clothes for the governor of the province.[3] Thus, a German is mentioned as having obtained a Russian provincial governor as one of his clients.

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[1] I. A. Gončarov, Sobranie sočinenij (8 vols.; Moskva: Gos. izd. xudož. lit., 1952-55).

[2] I. Gontcharoff, A Common Story, translated by C. Garnett (New York: Once a Week Library, 1894).

[3] Ibid., p. 62.

Although not a German, Alexander's uncle, Pëtr Ivanovič, a character in the novel, does possess some rather non-Russian characteristics--at least as far as Alexander is concerned:

> ... therefore he [Pëtr Ivanovič] analyzes all earthly matters and especially life, as it is, not as we should like it to be ... . My uncle likes to be busy with work, and advises me to do the like and I you; we belong to society, he says, which has need of us; while he is busy, he does not forget his own interests; his work gains money and money brings comfort, which he likes extremely ... .[1]

From the passage cited above, one is able to determine the rationalistic and materialistic inclinations of Pëtr Ivanovič. Alexander, on the contrary, is governed by affairs of the heart and is far more emotional than his clever, calculating uncle. In this sense, he (Pëtr Ivanovič) is more "German," while Alexander possesses a purer "Russian" soul.

Frigate Pallada (1858)[2] was Gončarov's account of his official travels to Africa and Asia. The author's travel diary reveals his impressions of the English, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, as well as many of the natives living in the tropics. His depictions are written in great detail. Gončarov notes the cleanliness,

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[1] Ibid., pp. 70, 80.

[2] I. A. Gontscharow, Die Fregatte Pallas (Stuttgart: Steingrüben, 1967).

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industriousness, apparel, and eating habits of these groups whom he encounters. His judgments are based on the conservative standards of a Russian nobleman.

It should be noted, however, that Gončarov's positive description of the Dutch mode of living in South Africa (pp. 63-108) resembles, rather closely, attributes which are often ascribed to the Germans as well, cleanliness, orderliness, the high productivity of their farms, plus the generally high cultural level of the Dutch in South Africa.

Further commentary dealing with this travel diary is not really warranted, since Gončarov actually does not deal with the German _per se_ within its pages.

Ivan Alexandrovič's fame was assured after the appearance of his most acclaimed work, _Oblomov_ (1859).

Oblomov, the main character of the book, combines, to a certain degree, that previously mentioned combination of values and ideals of two different social strata--those of the old Russian landed gentry and those of the bourgeois, aggressive Russian mercantile class. The hero of the novel is intelligent, clever, humane, and sincere; but at the same time, he is plagued with an almost unbelievable laziness, inertia, and absolute incapacity to get things done or to realize plans or ideas which he has formulated. The character of Ilja Iljič Oblomov is sketched in the following manner by Gončarov:

> He was a man of thirty-two or three, of medium height and pleasant appearance, with dark-grey eyes that strayed idly from the walls to the ceiling with a vague dreaminess which showed that nothing troubled or occupied him.[1]
>
> Ilya Il'ič's complexion was neither rosy nor dark nor pale, but indefinite, or perhaps it seemed so because there was a certain slackness about the muscles of his face, unusual at his age; this may have been due to lack of fresh air or exercise, or to some other reason. The smooth and excessively white skin of his neck, his small soft hands and plump shoulders, suggested a certain physical effeminacy.[2]
>
> Lying down was not for Ilya Il'ič either a necessity as it is for a sick or sleepy man, or an occasional need as it is for a person who is tired, or a pleasure as it is for a sluggard: it was his [Oblomov's] normal state ... .[3]

Oblomov's study and his lack of tidiness are portrayed in such wise:

> It was because of Oblomov's indifference towards his property, and perhaps because of the still greater indifference of his servant Zaxar, that the study struck one at a more careful inspection, by its neglected and untidy condition. Dusty cobwebs hung in festoons round the pictures on the walls; mirrors instead of reflecting objects, might have served as tablets for writing memoranda in the dust; there were stains on the carpets; a towel had been left on the sofa. Almost every morning a dirty plate, with a salt-cellar and a bone from the previous night's supper, was to be seen on the crumb-covered table.[4]

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[1] I. A. Gončarov, *Sobranie sočinenij*, Vol. IV (Moskva: Gos. izd. xudož. lit., 1953), 7; see also I. A. Gončarov, *Oblomov*, translated by Natalie Duddington (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1932), 3.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 7-8.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 8.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 9.

After scolding Zaxar for the mess his apartment is in, Oblomov alludes to the cleanliness and order of the German tuner's house across the way and asks Zaxar why his rooms are in such a state of disorder. The servant's reply is pregnant with sarcasm and derision of the Germans' living habits.

> "Why is it that other people's rooms are clean?" Oblomov retorted. "Look at the tuner's opposite--it's a pleasure to see his place, and he has only one maid."
>
> "And how should the Germans have any dirt?" Zaxar objected suddenly. "Just see how they live! The whole family gnaw one bone all the week. A coat passes from the father to the son and from the son back again to the father. ... the wife and the daughters wear wretched short frocks and keep putting their legs under them like geese ... . How should they have any dirt? They never have stacks of worn-out clothes lying in chests for years as we do, or get a whole corner-full of crusts of bread during the winter ... . They never waste a crust; they make it into rusks and have it with their beer!"[1]

This rather humorous outburst is fairly indicative of the Russian lower classes' disdain for energy, frugality, order, and ability to make a lot out of a little, qualities rather characteristic of the Germans.

As a Russian nobleman, Oblomov considers himself above performing "menial" tasks. While reprimanding Zaxar, he states:

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[1] _Ibid._, pp. 15-16.

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> "What are 'other people?'" Oblomov continued. "They are people who clean their own boots, dress themselves, and though they sometimes look like gentlemen, it's mere pretence, they have never had a servant; if they have no one to send on an errand they run themselves; they think nothing of stirring the wood in the stove or of dusting ... ."
>
> "Lots of Germans are like that," Zaxar remarked gloomily.
>
> "Exactly! And I? Do you imagine I am like that?"[1]

Consequently, although Oblomov admires the achievements of hard work, he is unwilling to perform any of the tasks a German might out of necessity. Obviously, the bourgeois German--the shopkeeper--in short, the German of small or limited means, could be found performing much "menial" work himself--to the disgust of the Russian.

Furthermore, Oblomov was the kind of nobleman who knew very little about the affairs of his own estate. In fact, he hardly ever "burdened" his mind with such matters unless forced to by circumstances.

> . . . I don't know anything about peasants' work, or agricultural labor. I don't know when peasants are considered rich and when poor; I don't know what a quarter of rye or oats means, what it costs, in which month they sow and reap and which crops, how and when they sell corn: I don't know if I am rich or poor, if in a year's time I shall have enough to eat or be a beggar--I know nothing . . . .[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 95.

[2] Ibid., p. 370.

Another negative depiction of the German is given by Oblomov's "friend," Tarant'ev, who is clearly jealous of the gains the Germans who came to Russia made. Tarant'ev is somewhat of a "wheeler and dealer" himself, a person who is looking for the easy, not always legal, way to make a ruble.

> ... "I [Tarant'ev] expect in Saxony his [Stolz's] father hadn't any bread to eat and he came here to lord it over us."
>
> ... "It's not for nothing my father warned me against those Germans--and he knew all sorts of people in his time!"
>
> "And what do you object to in Stolz's father, if you please?" Ilya Il'ič asked.
>
> "I object to his having come to our province with nothing but what he had on and then leaving his son a legacy--what is the meaning of that?"
>
> "He only left his son some forty thousand roubles. Some of it was his wife's dowry and he made the rest by giving lessons and managing an estate. He received a good salary ... . The father had not done anything wrong, as you can see, What's wrong with the son now?"
>
> "He is a fine one! He suddenly made three hundred thousand out of his father's forty and has the rank of a court councillor, and is a man of learning. ... and now he is on his travels! A Jack-of all-trades! Would now, a real good Russian do all that? A Russian would choose some one job and do it without haste, quietly, biding his time, and none too well at that; but this man, just look at him!"[1]

> ... "I [Tarant'ev] have heard he [Stolz] has gone to look at some machine and to order one like it; I expect it's a press for printing Russian money! I would put him in prison. ... Oh, these stocks and shares ... it makes me sick!"[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Envy, ignorance, and jealousy are all the chief motives behind Tarant'ev's denunciation of those Germans, in this case Stolz and his father, who managed to do exceedingly well in Russia within a relatively short period. Although Tarant'ev belonged to a social class higher than that of which Zaxar was a part, the former's statements are practically as anti-German as are those made by Oblomov's valet. In both instances, lack of initiative and willingness to work, plus the fundamental envy of foreigners who have accomplished more than the inhabitants of their adopted country, cannot be overlooked as the true reasons for such feelings.

Andrej Stolz is the character who incarnates all those traits which are missing in Oblomov. Stolz was a russianized German; his father was German, his mother Russian. Andrej was brought up in the Orthodox church. Russian, not German, was his native tongue. Stolz's early education is described in the following fashion by Gončarov:

> ... From eight years upward he [Stolz] had been sitting over a map with his father, spelling out verses from the Bible and from Herder and Wieland, casting up the totals of the badly written accounts presented by peasants, artisans, and factory hands, and reading with his mother Bible histories, learning Krylov's fables and struggling through Télémaque.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 158.

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Andrej's father is portrayed as an agriculturist, technician, and a teacher. Above all, he emphasized practicality and utilitarianism. When he reached the right age, Andrej's grandfather gave his father a new knapsack and one hundred thalers and sent him off into the world.[1]

Stolz's mother did not emphasize the practical, utilitarian aspects of life as much as her German husband. In fact, she had fears that her son might become a German _Bürgher_ like his father's ancestors:

> ... She considered the whole German nation as essentially bourgeois, and disliked the crudity, independence, and self-assertion with which the German masses insist on the civic rights won in the course of centuries, like a cow that can never keep her horns out of sight. In her opinion there was not and there could not be a single gentleman in the whole German nation. She could detect in the German character no softness, no delicacy, no faculty for making allowances, nothing of what makes social life so agreeable and enables one to avoid a rule, to set aside a general custom, to overlook a convention. No, those rude creatures rode roughshod over everything, determined to do what they were bent on. ... The [German] Germans seemed to her just one crowd of men smoking short pipes and spitting through their teeth--shopmen, artisans, merchants, officers straight as sticks with soldierly faces, commonplace-looking clerks; they were in her view capable only of dirty work, of slaving for a livlihood, of living dull, regular lives ruled by routine and of pedantically discharging their duties--all these _Bürghers_ with angular manners, huge clumsy hands, rude speech and plebeian freshness of complexion.[2]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 164. [2] _Ibid_., pp. 160-61.

Stolz's mother had been a governess for wealthy people before she married her Saxon husband. She judges the Germans in rather general terms. Her views are correct as far as the average lower class German is concerned. However, she seems to compare the habits of the ordinary, middle class German to the life led by the Russian aristocracy. To be sure, a vast gulf existed. No comparison is made between the manner of living of the Russian and German aristocracies or landed nobility. Had she selected the Russian middle class instead, the schism would hardly have been as great, since the collation would have been on a more equal basis.

Turning now to the portrayal of Andrej Stolz, Gončarov symbolizes this russianized German as follows:

> Just as nothing was excessive in his physique, so in his mental activities he aimed at a balance between the practical side of life and the finer claims of the spirit. The two sides ran parallel with each other, twisting and twining on the way, but never becoming entangled in heavy, hopeless knots. He went his way firmly and cheerfully; he lived on a fixed plan and tried to account for every day as for every rouble, keeping unremitting watch over his time, his labor, and the amount of mental and emotional energy he expended.[1]

> He [Stolz] considered himself lucky because he could at least remain at a certain level: he was never carried away by feeling beyond the fine line that divides real emotion from false sentimentality, the true

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

> from the ridiculous, and his reactions against emotion never took him to the sandy desert of hard-heartedness, sophistication, distrust, pettiness, and callousness.[1]

Clearly, Stolz embodies traits which Oblomov lacks and Gončarov regards as worthy of emulation. Stolz has goals and strives constantly toward their fulfillment. Moreover, he is neither "flabby" nor unable to perform those tasks which he believes worthwhile. The depiction of Stolz is quite positive and favorable.

> Persistence in pursuing an aim was quality he [Stolz] prized above all: it was a mark of character in his eyes and he never denied respect to people who had it, however poor their aims might be. "They are real people," he said. It need not be added that he pursued his own aims with bold disregard for obstacles and turned aside only when a wall rose before him or an abyss opened at his feet.[2]

One ought to recall, though, that Andrej Stolz was a russianized German, not a German immigrant who had come to Russia in search of a new life and prosperity. Gončarov credits the good qualities in Stolz's character to his upbringing. He states that had it not been for his Russian mother, Stolz would undoubtedly have acquired "the pedantic severity which Germans carry into everything they do ... "[3] Stolz's mother was able to expose her son to different cultural influences through her

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[1] Ibid., pp. 169-70.

[2] Ibid., pp. 170-71.

[3] Ibid., p. 460.

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many-sided activities; the house in which she was a governess, books, and society. As a result, Andrej was "led away from the straight path marked for him by his father."[1] Gončarov credits Russian life with having drawn "its own invisible patterns and transforming the colorless tablet into a broad and vivid picture. ..."[2]

Stolz believed that work gave "form, and completeness, and a purpose to his own life,"[3] an opinion vastly different from that shared by Oblomov who did not wish to slave all his life.

The quotation which follows succinctly illustrates the differences between Oblomov and Stolz.

> Oblomov tore the pages [of a book] with his finger, making festoons round the edges; and it was not his book, but Stolz's, who was so strict and absurdly methodical about everything, books especially! Every little thing, papers, pencils, were to lie in the precise way he had arranged them.[4]

In an article entitled "Lučše pozdno, čem nikogda," appearing in 1870, and found in volume eight of his collected works,[5] Gončarov answers the question of why he chose a German and not a Russian to play the role of Oblomov's antagonist. It seems that he wished to depict laziness and apathy in all its scope as a Russian trait; along with the image of slothfulness and inaction, Gončarov wished to characterize a model of energy, knowledge, work, and in general, those strengths which were in contradiction to Gončarov's own. Our author's task was to portray stagnation, somnolence, and inertia. In order to achieve that goal, he elected for his novel Oblomov one side of the Russian character.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 461.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 189.

[4] Ibid., p. 237.

[5] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. VIII: Stat'i, zametki, recenzii, avtobiografii, 64-113.

Apparently, the Slavophiles did not want the writer under review to have a German painted in such flattering colors. On one occasion, Gončarov was asked by the poet F. I. Tjutčev why he chose Stolz. Gončarov confessed his "error," saying that his selection was a coincidence.[2]

Nonetheless, Gončarov did not really believe that he had "erred" in his portrayal, especially if one recalls the role the Germans and German elements played and still were playing in Russian life. In Gončarov's time, they were teachers, professors, mechanics, engineers, and technicians in all fields. The best and richest branches of industry, of trade, and of other enterprises were in their hands.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

With regard to this situation, Gončarov made the subsequent comments in the aforementioned article:

> This is, of course, upsetting, but just and the reasons for this order of things all evolve from that very *oblomovščina*--Oblomovism was not only psychological conservatism, and escape from reality, and a complex of immaturity with the subsequent idealization of infantilism, but also a sign of Oriental fatalism[1]--the chief motif of which I allude to in *Oblomov's Dream*.[2]

Gončarov did not wish to employ a German German for Stolz's part. Instead, he chose a German born in Russia, one who was raised through the German system to be brave, cheerful, and practical.[3]

To further warrant his choice of Stolz, our author expressed this view:

> The russianized Germans, i.e., the Baltic Germans, are merging, although reluctantly and slowly, with Russian life--and there is no doubt that they will be completely assimilated at some time. To negate the usefulness of this tributary of the foreign element in Russian life, is both unjust and impossible. Above all, they [the Germans] take it into all forms and kinds of activity of their race, and afterwards many other qualities [follow], and no matter where they are--in the army, navy, in administration, science, in a word, everywhere--they serve with Russia and for Russia and the majority of them become her children.[4]

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[1] F. D. Reeve, "Oblomovism Revisited," *Slavic Review* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press) Vol. XV (1956), 114.

[2] *Sobranie sočinenij*, Vol. 8, p. 81.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] *Ibid*.

Truly, the excerpts cited above provide some of the most startling, revealing, and frank comments by a nineteenth-century Russian writer concerning his sentiments about the German element in the society of his day. Admittedly, Gončarov's own utterances are some of the most positive to be found in this study. Additionally, of the four major novels of Gončarov, and taking into account his various articles, correspondence, and minor literary contributions, Oblomov deals with the most detailed unfolding of a German character.

Further, Gončarov himself stated that he wrote only that which he experienced, thought, felt, loved, saw closely, and knew--in a word, he wrote about his life and that which belonged to it.[1]

An interesting view is held by the German scholar A. Luther in his article "Der Deutsche in der russischen Literatur." Luther is of the opinion that

> ... Gončarov, in order not to appear too friendly toward the Germans, gave his Andrej Stolz a Russian mother, from whom he obtained all the traits which would make him [Stolz] appealing to the Russian reader. ...[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 113.

[2] A. Luther, "Der Deutsche in der russischen Literatur," p. 354.

Perhaps the strongest testimony supporting the pro-German leanings of Gončarov were made by Belinskij, when he called our author a "German, a philistine, and the Germans are the seminarians of mankind!"[1]

The epitome of a polite, correct, well-mannered German also manifests itself in _Oblomov_ in the figure of Baron von Langwagen, who came from the Baltic Provinces and was of German descent.

> . . . He [von Langwagen] was exquisitely polite, never smoked in the presence of ladies or crossed his legs, and severely blamed young men who allowed themselves in the drawing-room to lean back in an arm-chair and to raise their knees and boots to the level of their nose. He kept his gloves on even indoors and only removed them when he sat down to dinner. He dressed in the latest fashion and wore several ribbons in his buttonhole. He always drove in a closed carriage and took great care of his horses. . . . He reasoned with equal precision--about virtue, high prices, sciences and society, expressing his opinions in clear-cut ready made sentences that might have been written down in some textbook and circulated for general guidance.[2]

Thus, within the pages comprising _Oblomov_, we are given portrayals of Germans coming from various social strata. The tuner is the representative of the German _petite bourgeoisie_; Andrej's father typifies the destitute German who left his native province of

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[1] I. A. Gončarov, "Zametki o ličnosti Belinskogo," _Sobranie sočinenij_, Vol. VIII (Moskva: Gos. izd. xudož. lit., 1955), 59.

[2] I. A. Gončarov, _Sobranie sočinenij_, Vol. IV, 228-29.

Saxony to search for a better life in Russia; Andrej Stolz exemplifies a Russian-German assimilation. He added some Russian qualities to his character, resulting in an aggressive, intelligent, practical, often-envied individual. He is the embodiment of a self-made man. Baron von Langwagen, on the other hand, symbolizes the German aristocratic class. He is overly conscious of the way he looks and behaves and observes, with a critical eye, the habits of others. Von Langwagen is well-mannered and a very fashionable dresser. Evidently, all Germans are not crude and rough, as Andrej's mother claimed. It seems explicit in Oblomov that the higher the social class, the more refined (in most cases) were the mode of living and cultural milieu of both Germans and Russians.

When comparing the Russian and German peasants, however, the impartial analyst usually reaches the conclusion that the latter enjoyed a greater number of the amenities and refinements of life than did the former.

In the Precipice (Obryv), the last major work of Gončarov published in 1869,[1] there are but a few instances in which the German is mentioned: Rajskij's landlord is a German,[2] a German professor crops up,[3]

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[1] I. A. Gončarov, The Precipice (New York: A. Knopf, 1915).

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

[3] Ibid., p. 18.

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and there is a German forester mentioned.[1] Needless to say, however, the German still appears on occasion, indicating that he was a part of ordinary, everyday nineteenth-century Russian life.

An examination of the prose works of I. A. Gončarov demonstrates that his depictions of the German vary somewhat according to the social class to which each German belongs. Nevertheless, derogatory and sarcastic statements are usually made by Russians who are envious or do not wish to work, e.g., Zaxar and Tarant'ev; or invalid comparisons are made, as in the case of A. Stolz's mother.

The author himself is generally quite pro-German, as the excerpts from his articles and letters have attested. He esteemed highly Germany and the Germans, as his preference for a German valet, love of Berlin and other German cities (notably spas), and the mighty Rhine bespeak. Gončarov is undoubtedly one of the few major Russian writers to admit and to acknowledge the value of the German immigrant contribution to the development of his native land. His reasoning is justified and lends support to the conviction that he was a very rational, logical individual--a genuine "Westernizer"--free of the more or less violent anti-European sentiments of many of the adherents of the Slavophile movement.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 143-44.

CHAPTER IV

IVAN SERGEEVIČ TURGENEV

Turgenev made the following comment regarding his countrymen:

> You do know what sort of a people the Russians are? We always hope that something or someone will come, in order to cure us at once, in order to heal all our wounds, and in order to rip out all our crimes like a rotten tooth. Who will this magician be? Darwinism? The peasants? Archip Prerentjev? A foreign war? It doesn't matter who it is! Just please pull out that tooth! Basically all this means is: laziness, lack of energy, and thoughtlessness.[1] (Turgenev)

In a letter written to Pauline Viardot at Spasskoe on June 25, 1868, Turgenev wrote the subsequent passage:

> The impression Russia makes on me now is disastrous. I do not know whether it all comes from the recent famine--but it seems to me that I have never seen the dwellings so miserable and so ruined, the faces so wan and so sad with taverns everywhere and incurable poverty. Spasskoe [Turgenev's estate] is the only village I have seen thus far in which the thatched roofs are not open, and God knows that even Spasskoe is worlds apart from the least village in the Black Forest.[2]

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[1] Harvest, Massloses Russland, p. 337.

[2] Turgenev's Letters, translated and edited by E. H. Lehrman (New York: A. Knopf, 1961), p. 179.

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Ivan Sergeevič Turgenev was born in 1818, in the government of Orel, which is equi-distant from Moscow and Kiev. He was the son of very wealthy landowners. Turgenev's childhood was spent on the family estate, Spasskoe. There he was surrounded by tutors, nurses, and governesses. At Spasskoe, Turgenev's mother employed both Germans and Russians.[1] Our author's study of foreign languages began at an early age. Notably, Turgenev was one of the few nineteenth-century Russian men of letters to have a fair command of English. He understood English and possessed some speaking ability.[2] Besides a good command of English, Turgenev was able to read both French and German with native facility.

When the boy was nine, his family moved to Moscow, where Turgenev attended a private school with the name of Veidengammer. Afterwards, he attended the University of Moscow for a year. He began deep study of the German poet Schiller during the year (1833-34) which he spent at the University of Moscow. Schiller became for him "the poet of all mankind, the responsible Citoyen and the great humanist."[3] From Moscow,

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[1] V. Zhitova, The Turgenev Family (London: Harvill Press, 1947), p. 37; see also Istorija russkoj literatury, Vol. VIII, 316-399.

[2] I. Spector, The Golden Age of Russian Literature (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1943), p. 76.

[3] G. Ziegengeist, I. S. Turgenev und Deutschland, Vol. I (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1965), 203.

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Turgenev went on to St. Petersburg, where he continued his studies and from which he graduated. While in the capital, Turgenev majored in literature, philosophy, and philology.[1]

> Having graduated at the Faculty of Philology in 1837, writes Turgenev, I went to Berlin as to a finishing school. I was convinced that in Russia one could obtain no more than a preliminary knowledge--its very source--was in the West. Among the university teachers of those days there was not one who could have shaken me in that conviction. Indeed, it was what they thought themselves; the Ministry was of the same opinion, and Count Uvarov, the Minister of Education, arranged for young men to be sent to German universities at the expense of the Treasury . . . .[2]

After receiving his degree from the University of St. Petersburg, Turgenev went to Berlin, where he attended the university for three years, 1838-41. The first trip abroad of his mature years[3] brought him to Berlin--the city of Savigny, Humboldt, Rauch, and Schinkel--but above all it was the city of Hegel.

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[1] I. Spector, Golden Age of Russian Literature., pp. 75-76.

[2] V. Zhitova, The Turgenev Family, p. 8; see also M. K. Kleman, Letopis' žizni i tvorčestva I. S. Turgeneva (Moskva-Leningrad: Akademija, 1934), p. 19.

[3] When our author was four years old (1822), his whole family went on a European tour which lasted a year and took them to such cities as: Moscow, Petersburg, Narva, Riga, Memel, Königsberg, Berlin, Dresden, Karlsbad, Augsburg, Konstanz, Schaffhausen, Zürich, Bern, Basel, St. Louis, Paris, Strassburg, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Nürnberg, Prague, and Vienna (among others).

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The ideas and thoughts of this great nineteenth-century German philosopher dominated the intellectually hungry Russian youth of the 1830's. Literary and philosophical circles were formed in the Russian Empire and in other European countries which discussed and debated Hegel's views.

Once in the Prussian capital,Turgenev devoted himself to the study of ancient languages. It was soon apparent, however, that Turgenev's linguistic preparation left something to be desired. Hence, he was obliged to repeat his study of Latin and Greek grammar.

The Russian intellectual interest for Hegelian philosophy in the 1830's was soon continued in the form of enthusiasm for Goethe and his poetry. Feeling at home with the second part of Goethe's Faust was considered as important and obvious as the possession of a coat, according to one Russian contemporary.[1] Goethe was Turgenev's favorite. In fact, Turgenev found translating Goethe's letters into Russian or French a pleasant pastime. Quotations from Goethe's works may be discovered in his novels and letters. "Goethe is the teacher of us all,"[1] commented Turgenev in 1869, while addressing a group of young Russian writers.

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[1] E. Borkhovski, "Turgenjew und Deutschland," Westermanns Monatshefte, No. 89, 1901, p. 653.

It was in Berlin that Turgenev developed his great admiration for Western culture which made him a "Westernizer" for the rest of his life.[2] According to J. Lavrin, Turgenev was the first Russian author to become famous abroad. His style, upbringing, and manners could compare favorably with any great Western writer of the epoch.

It is interesting to note that like his uncles and great uncles, Ivan Sergeevič also shared their interest in Germany, German culture, and the sciences. The former were almost German at heart. They translated Kotzebue and attracted that truly remarkable Russian translator--Žukovskij--to German literature.[3]

Thomas Mann stated that nineteenth-century Russian literature belonged to the spiritual wonders of mankind.[4] The rise of Russian letters to such heights is closely connected with the name I. S. Turgenev who is considered one of the greatest personalities of this period. Eugen Zabel, one of Turgenev's oldest and most intimate friends, called him the "Shakespeare of the sketch (Skizze) and the novellette (Novelle)."[1] Ziegengeist is of the opinion that of all the Russian writers of his age, Turgenev was the most closely connected with Germany. He spent some fifteen years of his life in Germany and also maintained personal relations with the most renowned representatives of German intellectual life.[2] From his youth, Turgenev treasured the traditions and values of German culture. In 1883, Bruno Steuben expressed the view that never had a foreign author been able to grasp and understand German poetry so thoroughly, nor write and speak German as well as he. Steuben also remarked (1883) that for twenty years the Germans had practically regarded Turgenev as one of their own. There was no other country in which Turgenev's works were so often translated, so eagerly read, or so enthusiastically admired as in Germany.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 653; see also K. Schütz, Das Goethebild Turgeniews, Series Sprache und Dichtung, LXXV (Bern: P. Haupt, 1952).

[2] J. Lavrin, Russian Wrtiers: Their Lives and Literature, p. 118.

[3] A. Brückner, Literary History of Russia, p. 339.

[4] G. Ziegengeist, I. S. Turgenev und Deutschland, p. ix.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Turgenev corresponded with such literati as Theodor Storm, Berthold Auerbach, F. Bodenstedt, as well as with the publishers Paul and Rudolf Lindau (publishers of: Die Gegenwart and Nord und Süd, etc.). In this respect, Turgenev differs from Gončarov who did not conduct such a voluminous correspondence as did his contemporary.

[3] Ziegengeist, I. S. Turgenev und Deutschland, p. x.

Perhaps the culmination of Turgenev's admiration and love for Germany is reached in the following comment attributed to our author: "I have to thank Germany for too much in order not to love or honor it as my second fatherland."[1]

In addition to Berlin, which did not impress Turgenev as favorably as it had impressed Gončarov,[2] Turgenev also visited Munich, Baden-Baden (where he built a villa), Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, and Schwetzingen.

Baden-Baden, located among verdant hills in the southwestern part of Germany, was Turgenev's permanent place of residence for practically a decade (1862-71). He made many friends there and was visited by many of his acquaintances who were traveling in Europe. Both Gončarov and Dostoevskij visited Turgenev at his home in Baden-Baden. Obviously, Turgenev must have been impressed by the town and its environs, since areas of the city and the surrounding Black Forest are alluded to in some of his works, e.g., Phantoms and Smoke.[1]

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[1] Borkhovski, "Turgenjew und Deutschland," p. 654.

[2] In a letter written to the Sovremennik from Berlin on March 1, 1847, Turgenev made this candid remark: ... You wish to learn some news of Berlin from me ... . But what can one be expected to say about a city in which people get up at six o'clock in the morning, dine at two, and go to bed much earlier than the chickens; about a city in which at ten o'clock in the evening, only melancholy and beerladen night watchmen wander down the empty streets, while some boisterous and tipsy German goes out of the Tiergarten and carefully lights his cigar at the Brandenburg Gate ... . (Turgenev's Letters, p. 14.).

The author also expressed his sentiments regarding the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Although Turgenev felt that Prussia's demand for Alsace-Lorraine was unjustified, he did not wish to sever his numerous contacts with his German friends and acquaintances. Even after the Franco-Prussian War, Turgenev continued to call Germany his "second fatherland." His recognition of the achievements of the Germans in scientific and cultural areas remained unchanged. In 1883, J. Schmidt, while writing about Turgenev, stated that our author "honored Goethe above all and considered German education the most productive (L. N. Tolstoj expressed the opposite opinion concerning German education)."[2] In Prussia's victory over France, Turgenev saw the triumph of a "greater knowledge, a greater art (Kunst), as well as of the stronger civilization."[3]

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[1] Ziegengeist, I. S. Turgenev und Deutschland, pp. 247, 257.

[2] Ibid., p. 187.

[3] Ibid.; see also H. James, "Ivan Turgenieff," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. LIII (Boston, 1884), 42-55. James credited Turgenev with having a "Slavic imagination and German culture." (p. 45)

No doubt exists as to Turgenev's admiration for the humanistic German, the lust of Prussian power notwithstanding.[1]

On August 24, 1870, Turgenev, in a letter to Ivan Petrovič Borisov, revealed the factors which supported his siding with the Germans rather than with the French in the Franco-Prussian War. Interestingly enough, Tolstoj, whom we shall treat later, favored the French.

> . . . I can very well understand why Tolstoy supports the French side. He finds French phrase-mongering repulsive, but he hates sober-mindedness, system, and science (in a word, the Germans) even more. His entire latest novel (War and Peace) is constructed on enmity toward intellect, knowledge, and cognition--and suddenly the learned Germans beat the ignorant French!! . . . . As for me, I rejoice "without any philosophizing" in the defeat of France, for with it Napoleon's Empire, whose existence was incompatible with the progress of freedom in Europe, has been defeated . . . .[2]

Turgenev's *Weltanschauung* is succinctly summarized in the next excerpt of a letter written on February 22 (old style), 1875, to Marija Ageevna Miljutin.

> . . . I shall say in brief that I am mainly a realist and interested most in the living truth of the human physiognomy; I am indifferent to everything supernatural; I do not believe in

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

[2] I. S. Turgenev, Sobranie *sočinenij* v dvenadcati tomax, Vol. XII (Moskva: Gos. izd. xudož. lit., 1953-1958), 431; see also *Turgenev's Letters*, 231.

> any absolutes or (philosophical) systems, and--as far as I can judge--I am vulnerable to poetry. Everything human is dear to me. Slavophilism is alien--as is any other orthodoxy . . . .[1]

Nonetheless, in spite of the opinions mentioned heretofore, one should remember that as a result of his affair with Madame Viardot-Garcia, Turgenev adopted her and her husband's anti-German views for a time. After 1870, Turgenev became a Parisian and Republican.[2] He died on September 3, 1883, in his villa on the outskirts of Paris. On October 9, 1883, he was buried in Petersburg.[3]

Let us now direct our attention to the prose works of Turgenev for evidence which might justify his evaluation of the Germans.

In the first work under review, Andrej Kolosov (1844), there appears a retired German professor whose duty it is to look after the morals of the narrator. The then youthful narrator was afraid of his German professor and respected him a great deal, until he discovered his German tutor at an inn, drinking with several comrades. As a consequence of this encounter,

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[1] Ibid., p. 475; see also Turgenev's Letters, p. 274.

[2] A. Brückner, Literary History of Russia, p. 341.

[3] I. Spector, The Golden Age of Russian Literature, p. 75.

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the young Russian's image of his tutor was shattered, for the latter had proven himself capable of indulging in drink and enjoying it. Moreover, this German had a young wife of the same nationality as his own who was without teeth and carried about her the odor of smoke and cucumber brine.[1] It seems that behind a façade of dignity and high rank, there just might be some characteristics or habits of certain "highly esteemed" individuals which are, in reality, quite uncouth and plebeian.

The Bully (Bretër, 1846) presents us with a very positive description of a Russian German cornet whose cleanliness, order, culture, gemütlich way of living, knowledge of French, and level of education are far superior to that of his Russian colleagues. Kister's values and customs seem worthy of emulation, at least in the view of that cultured, erudite Westernizer of Russian letters, Turgenev. The excerpts quoted below uphold this opinion:

> In May, 1829, not long before the beginning of drill, there came to the regiment a young cornet, Fëdor Fedorovič Kister, a Russian nobleman of German extraction, very fair-haired and very modest, cultured and well-read. Until the age of twenty he had lived in the paternal home under the wing of his mamma, his grandmamma,

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. V, 7-36.

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> and two aunts; he had entered the military service solely at the desire of his grandmother, who even in her old age could not see a white cockade without emotion . . . . He discharged his duties without any special eagerness, but with zeal, just as though he were conscientiously performing his duty; he dressed, not foppishly, but neatly, and according to the regulations. On the very first day of his arrival, Fëdor Fedorovič reported himself to his commanding officers; then he began to put his quarters in order. He had brought with him some cheap wall-paper, rugs, shelves, and so forth; he papered all his walls and the doors, erected various partitions, ordered the yard to be cleaned up, rebuilt the stable and the kitchen; he even set apart a place for a bath . . . . For a whole week he busied himself; but it was a delight to enter his room afterward. In front of the windows stood a neat table, covered with various knick-knacks; in one corner was a small stand for books, with the busts of Goethe and Schiller; on the walls hung maps, four Grévedon heads and a hunting-gun; beside the table ran a stately row of pipes with correct mouthpieces; on the floor of the anteroom lay a rug; all the doors fastened with locks; the windows were hung with curtains. Everything in Fëdor Fedorovič's room exhaled an atmosphere of order and cleanliness . . . .[1]

On the same page, Turgenev admonishes his own people for the filth, neglect, and untidy conditions which they tolerate.

> . . . It was quite different with his comrades! You could hardly make your way to one of them through the filthy yard; in the anteroom, behind a peeling canvas screen, an orderly would be snoring; on the floor lay rotten straw; on the cooking-stove, boots and the bottom of a jar overflowing with shoe-blacking; . . . . glasses half filled with cold, dark brown tea; along the wall, a broad, broken-down, greasy divan; on the windows, pipe ashes . . . .[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39. [2] *Ibid.*

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Kister is discreet, polite, well-mannered, dances well, is a pleasant individual, and understands French. In short, he exhibits all the social graces of the time. The bully, Lučkov, is quite the opposite.

Turgenev's short story, The Jew (Žid.) (1846) reveals a sketch of a German general who, although honest and kind-hearted, values his obligations above his personal sentiments, refusing to permit the latter to interfere with the execution of his responsibilities.[1] Turgenev upholds the widespread reproach regarding the Germans' inhumaneness and devotion to duty, regulations, and the "system" in general.

The business acumen and success of a newly settled German baker at O*** is mentioned in Turgenev's Petuškov (1847). The flourishing bakery provided the local populace with products which otherwise would have been unavailable.[2] The general pattern of successful small business enterprises by Germans in Russia was obviously observed by the author. The tale The Man with Grey Glasses (Čelovek v seryx očkach) which was published in 1848, transmits the personal view of a Frenchman concerning the Germans. The Frenchman informs the story teller that he does not know anything about German philosophy, but he hates that philosophy as he does all Germans. "I hate them--because I'm a patriot, you as a Russian, must hate them too?"[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 116-133.

[2] Ibid., pp. 134-178.

The unnamed French citizen goes on to relate that one of his best memories was the chance he had to shoot at Germans. Turgenev, of course, felt differently at this point in his life, since the Frenchman seemed to embody a blind hatred for the Germans, without giving any logical or rational basis to support such feelings.

In the narrative, Diary of a Superfluous Man (Dnevnik lišnego čeloveka) (1850), the following statement by the narrator may be found:

> . . . We lived for the most part in the country, and sometimes went to Moscow. I had tutors and teachers, as a matter of course; one in particular has remained in my memory, a dried up, tearful German, Rickmann, an exceptionally mournful creature, cruelly maltreated by destiny, and fruitlessly consumed by an intense pining for his far-off fatherland. Sometimes, near the stove, in the fearful stuffiness of the close anteroom, full of the sour smell of stale kvas, my unshaved man-nurse, Vassily, nicknamed Goose, would sit, playing cards with the coachman, Potap, in a new sheepskin, white as foam, and superb tarred boots, while in the next room Rickmann would sing, behind the partition--
>
> Herz, mein Herz, warum so traurig?
> Was bekümmert dich so sehr?
> 'Sist ja schön im fremden Lande--
> Herz--mein Herz--was willst du mehr?[2]

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. X, 366.

[2] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. V, 181-182; see also I. S. Turgenev, First Love, Three Short Novels, translated by Constance Garnett (New York: Lear, 1948), 168.

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[Heart, o my heart, why are you so sad?
What is it that disturbs you so?
It's so nice to be in a foreign land--
Heart, o my heart--what more could you wish?]

Here Turgenev depicts the German's longing for his homeland. Even though he is probably provided with all the necessary material amenities of life in his newly adopted country, Rickmann cannot give up thinking about or longing for his native Germany. This was the case of many, many immigrants who came to Russia in search of a new life.

Further on in the same story, another German, this time an apothecary in the town of O***, emerges. He is described by the author as "an excessively emaciated German, with ferocious pretensions to a good Russian accent, which led him into continually and quite inappropriately employing racy colloquialisms . . ."[1] This certainly is not the final instance in which the fluency of the Germans' use of the Russian language is mentioned or lampooned. As a matter of fact, Turgenev alludes to it on several other occasions which will be pointed out later in this dissertation. Moreover, Dostoevskij, in his portrayals of the German, mentions it quite often. In the case of the apothecary just treated, it seems that he was one of those Germans (they apparently were not few in number) who wished to appear Russian, even if he had to emphasize his "Russianess."

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

Thus, Turgenev contrasts two types of German in Russia; one who cannot be assimilated (Rickmann) into Russian society and one who tries too hard to become part of his adopted country.

In the tale entitled *Xor and Kalinič*, a segment of Turgenev's *Memoirs of a Sportsman* (*Zapiski oxotnika*), published in 1852, the author compares the appearance of peasant farms in the Orel and Kaluga districts. Perhaps Turgenev's critical eye was influenced by what he had witnessed in the villages and hamlets of Germany from 1838 to 1841.

> An Orel village (we are speaking of the eastern part of the Orel Government) is generally situated in the midst of tilled fields, near a ravine somehow converted into a filthy pond. With the exception of a few willow trees, which are always ready for service, and two or three puny birches, you will not see a tree for a verst [roughly a mile] round about: cottage clings close to cottage, the roofs are covered with rotten straw . . . . A Kaluga village, on the contrary, is generally surrouneded by a forest; the cottages stand further apart and more upright, and are covered with boards; the gates are fast locked and the wattled fence round the back yard is not broken down, nor does it bulge outward, inviting a visit from every passing pig . . . .[1]

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[1] *Sobranie sočinenij*, Vol. I, 75: see also I. S. Turgenev, *Memoirs of a Sportsman and A Nobleman's Nest*, translated by Isabel F. Hapgood (New York: Jefferson Press, 1903), 3.

The hamlets in the Kaluga district, what with its inhabitants' customs of preserving trees, locking gates, maintaining their cottages better, as well as preventing their fences from falling down, suggest a more Germanic way of life than the typical ramshackle, neglected Orel village. To be sure, the author prefers the standards of the Kaluga area to those exhibited in the Orel Government.

The Raspberry Water (Malinovaja voda) another episode included in Memoirs of a Sportsman, contains a few critical lines relating to a rather forward German bandmaster who is in the employ of a Russian count:

> . . . He kept a German bandmaster; and the German was awfully conceited; he wanted to eat at the same table with the gentlemen and ladies; so his Illustriousness gave order that he should be turned out of doors, and bidden godspeed: . . . .[1]

Continuing in the vein of alternating between praise and rejection of Germans and their varying attributes, Turgenev, in The Agent (Burmistr), presents us with a sketch of a fellow Russian huntsman who, by German standards, would appear extremely wasteful. The author lauds the German qualities of frugality and independence, as did the previous author, Gončarov.

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[1] Ibid., p. 106.

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> There was no help for it. Instead of setting out at ten o'clock in the morning, we set out at two. Sportsmen will understand my impatience. Arkadij Pavlič was fond, as he expressed himself, of indulging himself on occasion, and took with him such an endless mass of linen, provisions, clothing, perfumes, pillows, and various dressinguises, that an economical and self-contained German would have thought there was enough of these blessings to last him a whole year . . .[1]

Turgenev's sketch Death from Memoirs of a Sportsman has, within its pages, a rather approving characterization of a young, nineteen-year-old German superintendent from the Baltic Provinces. The author does not fail to point out the qualities of accuracy and precision of the Russian German in question.

> . . . a young fellow of nineteen years, thin, fair-haired, mole-eyed, with sloping shoulders, and a large neck, Mr. Gottlieb von der Koch . . . . We rode into the tract of second growth trees. "Wait for me here, in the glade," said Ardalion Mixailič (my neighbor), turning to his satellites. The German bowed, slipped off his horse, pulled a small book from his pocket, apparently a romance by Johann Schopenhauer, and sat down under a bush . . . . [Upon leaving] the German noted his page, rose, put the book in his pocket, and mounted . . .[2]

Within the first paragraph of The Singers (Pevcy), Turgenev alludes to the Petersburg Germans as having taken over the estate of a Russian landed proprietress. There is the implication here that the Germans had a good deal of capital and used it to their advantage.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 204.

[2] Ibid., pp. 278-279. [3] Ibid., p. 291.

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Ridicule of a German architect as well as of those Russian nobles who allow themselves to be hoodwinked by a fraud may be ascertained in the tale The Hamlet of Ščigrij County (Gamlet Ščigrovskogo uězda).

> ... Ah! and the architect he has got here! A German, and with a moustache, and doesn't know his business,--astounding!--But why should he know his business? All he has to do is to take bribes, and set up as many columns and pillars as possible for our ancient nobility.[1]

The narrator's roommate (in the same story) displays his "education" as well as his being au courant by emphasizing his experiences in Germany, his approval of the ideas and thoughts of German thinkers then in vogue, as well as his personal relations with a German family of academic standing.

> ... In the first place, I speak French quite as well as you do, and German even better; in the second place, I have spent three years abroad: I have lived eight months in Berlin alone. I have studied Hegel, my dear sir. I know Goethe by heart: more than that, I was for a long time in love with the daughter of a German professor ... .[2]

An additional negative depiction of the German may be found in Čertopxanov and Nedopjuškin, another tale from Memoirs of a Sportsman. Our author utilizes this opportunity to offer the reader a picture of a mercenary, greedy Alsatian, Bierkopf, who shrewdly exploits the need for his tutorial services. Although he really was an ex-soldier and not a tutor, Bierkopf takes full advantage of the fact that he is the only person in the area who is able to perform the functions of a teacher.[1] Needless to say, characters such as Bierkopf were quite common in the nineteenth century, since so many members of the Russian gentry wished to have their children taught the amenities and refinements of life as it was found in Western Europe. These types, i.e., unqualified teachers, appear relatively often in Russian belles lettres.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 340.

[2] Ibid., pp. 343-344.

The traits of frugality, economy, and getting the maximum amount of work out of those in one's employ, are attributes of Lizaveta Proxorovna Kuntze, a landed proprietress found in The Inn (Postojalyj dvor, 1852). She is a russified German, who, in almost every other regard, is a Russian. Lizaveta Proxorovna maintains a "neat little German park," the sanded paths of which lead "between two rows of dahlias drawn up in military array."[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 367.

[2] Such types previously appeared in Fonvizin's comedy The Minor (Nedorosl'), published in 1783.

[3] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. V, 292-341.

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Turgenev seems to imply that no matter how long a German has lived in Russia, he is still able to retain some habits, traits, or values which had their origins in the homeland.

The Region of Dead Calm (Zatiš'e), which was published in 1854, also refers to the German element. A Russian landlord, while discussing his various neighbors, reveals that one of them is a German--a certain Anton Karlič Zenteler--who is esteemed throughout the area for his knowledge of natural history.[1] On another occasion, Vladimir Sergejič remarks about the beautiful garden which one may see on a near-by estate. Upon further perusal, the reader learns that the garden is the creation of a German caretaker who receives the fairly substantial salary of 2,000 silver rubles for his annual labors.[2]

Turgenev's A Correspondence (Perepiska) (1855) takes place in Dresden.[3] Here we have the debut of the positively drawn German doctor who is destined to crop up many more times in the pages of nineteenth-century Russian literature, especially in the works of Dostoevskij and Čexov.

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. VI, 10.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

Jakov Pasynkov (1855), like many of Turgenev's other works written during the 1850's, contains several positive sketches of Germans. Winterkeller, a German teacher who ran a boarding school, has a German niece whom the author draws in the following manner:

> ... a fair haired pretty little German, with a plump, almost childish little face, and trustful, tender blue eyes. She was very kind-hearted and sentimental, loved Matthisson, Uhland, and Schiller, and recited their verses very agreeably, in her timid, melodious voice ... .[1]

Kniftus, the man whom Frederika marries instead of Pasynkov is also given a fairly positive physical characterization by our author.

> ... her husband, everything about whom was glistening: his eyes, and his black hair curled into a crest, and his forehead, and his teeth, and the buttons on his dress-suit, and the chain on his waistcoat, and the very boots on his decidedly large feet, whose toes were pointed outward ... .[2]

A warm, sympathetic, fatherly sort of German may be ascertained in the pages of Faust (1855).

> ... There were six of us at table; she, Priimkoff, her little daughter, the governess (an insignificant little white figure), I, and some old German or other, in a short, light brown frock-coat, neat, well-shaven, experienced, with the most peaceable and honest of faces, a toothless smile, and an odor of chicory coffee ... . all old Germans smell like that. He was introduced to me; he was a certain Schimmel, a teacher of the German language in the family of Prince X, a neighbor of Priimkoff ... .[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 130.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 177.

Rudin, the main figure in Turgenev's novel (1856) of the same name, studied in Heidelberg and in Berlin. He obviously was very impressed with the ideas of German thinkers and romanticists, a phenomenon very characteristic of Russian intellectuals of the era.

> ... Rudin would begin to read aloud to her Goethe's "Faust," Hoffmann, or the Letters of Bettina or Novalis, pausing constantly and explaining that which seemed obscure to her. She spoke German badly, like nearly all of our young ladies, but understood it well, and Rudin was completely immersed in German poetry, in the German romantic and philosophical world, and drew her into those interdicted regions ... .[1]

The presentation of the German elements and the Germans in Asja[2] (1858) is quite positive. The hero of the tale is a twenty-five-year-old man who wants to go abroad to "see the world," rather than complete his education, which was the usual custom in those days.

The setting of this narrative is a little town situated along the banks of the Rhine. Turgenev's idyllic, peaceful, and romantic description of the area resembles a painting done in water colors. Moreover, the author is favorably impressed with the beauty of the German womenfolk he observes strolling about the sleepy hamlet. For the sake of comparison, one would

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. II, 60.

[2] J. L. Conrad, "Turgenev's Asja: An Analysis," The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 391-400.

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find himself in a difficult situation if he were asked to find any evidence in Dostoevskij's works of praise for the German woman. The following passage lends credence to Turgenev's positive appreciation of Germany and the local inhabitants.

> I liked the little town for its situation on the slope of two high hills, its ruined walls and towers, its ancient lime-trees, its steep bridges over the little clear stream that falls into the Rhine, and, most of all for its excellent wine. In the evening, directly after sunset (it was June), very pretty flaxen-haired German girls used to walk about the narrow streets and articulate "Guten Abend" in agreeable voices on meeting a stranger,--some of them did not go home even when the moon had risen behind the pointed roofs of the old houses, and the tiny stones that paved the street could be distinctly seen in its still beams. I liked wandering about the town at that time: the moon seemed to keep a steady watch on it from the clear sky; and the town was aware of this steady gaze, and stood quiet and attentive, bathed in the moonlight, that peaceful light which is yet softly exciting to the soul. The cock on the tall Gothic bell-tower gleamed a pale gold, the same gold sheen glimmered in waves over the black surface of the stream; slender candles (the German is a thrifty soul!) twinkled modestly in the narrow windows under the slate roofs; branches of vine thrust out their twining tendrils mysteriously from behind stone walls ... .[1]

The story's narrator soon meets some other Russians who have come to the little Rhine-side town. Among them there is a certain Gagin who paints in his leisure time. When Gagin displays some of his paintings to the narrator, the subsequent conversation takes place.

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. VI, 225-226.

> "Yes, yes," he [Gagin] consented, with a sigh; "you're right; it's all very poor and crude; what's to be done? I haven't had the training I ought to have had; besides, one's cursed Slavonic slackness gets the better of one. While one dreams of work, one soars away in eagle flight; one fancies one's going to shake the earth out of its place--but when it comes to doing anything, one's weak and weary directly."[1]

Gagin seems to incorporate all those qualities attributed to the general Russian nature; furthermore, he is fully aware of his laxness and "Slavonic slackness." Those traits which Gagin lacks are oftentimes attributed to the Germans as their outstanding qualities.

> ... The more I saw of him [Gagin], the more strongly was I attracted by him. I soon understood him. His was a typically Russian nature, truthful, honest, simple; but, unhappily, without energy, lacking tenacity and inward fire ... . no, you'll never toil, you don't know how to put pressure on yourself.[2]

Turgenev's veneration for Germany as well as his appreciation for the attainments of the average German of limited financial means, are summed up thus:

> Even now I like to recall my impressions of those days. Good luck go with thee modest nook of Germany, with thy simple plenty, with traces everywhere of busy hands, patient though leisurely toil ... .[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

Turgenev's novel, A Nobleman's Nest (Dvorjanskoe gnezdo), published in 1858, conveys to the reader a very sympathetic, kind, and almost sentimental image of a German in the person of Christopher Theodore Gottlieb Lemm. The latter is a native German who was born in Chemnitz, in the province of Saxony, of a family of poor musicians. Lemm knew music well, but was not a performer. He was brought to Russia at the age of twenty-eight by a Russian nobleman who disliked music, but who supported an orchestra out of pride. Lemm's patron soon became destitute. Lemm had to entertain the thought of returning to his homeland as a result. However, as much as Lemm loved his native Germany, he, like so many other Germans in Russia, did not wish to return home penniless. This desire caused him to endure his difficult situation, his personal wishes notwithstanding.

Turgenev gives Lemm the following physical description:

> ... He was small of stature, round-shouldered, with shoulder-blades which projected crookedly, and a hollow chest with huge flat feet, with pale blue nails on the stiff, unbending fingers of his sinewy, red hands; he had a wrinkled face, sunken cheeks, and tightly compressed lips that he was incessantly moving as though chewing, which, added to his customary taciturnity, produced an almost malevolent impression; ... . A worshipper of Bach and Handel, an expert in

> his profession, gifted with a lively imagination, and with that audacity of thought which is accessible only to the German race, Lemm, in course of time--who knows?--might have entered the ranks of the great composers of his native land, if life had led him differently; but he had not been born under a fortunate star! ... .[1]

Lemm seems to embody the experiences of a certain group of German settlers who did not "strike it rich" in the Russian Empire, as so many new colonists had undoubtedly expected to do. Lemm's character and goals are quite different from those of Ratsch (in A Hapless Girl), whom we shall treat later.

Turgenev's novel, On the Eve (Nakanune), which was released in 1859, contains both a Russian German, in the person of Zoja Nikitišna Müller, and a native, though nameless, German. The former is fairly favorably presented, while the latter is negatively portrayed.

> ... Zoja Nikitišna Müller, was a pretty, little, slightly crossed-eyed Russian German, with a little nose cleft at the tip, and tiny red lips, fair-haired and plump. She sang Russian romances far from badly, played neatly on the piano divers pieces, sometimes merry, sometimes sentimental; she dressed with taste, but in a childish way, somehow, and too spotlessly ... .[2]

As Šubin, Insarov, Elena Nikolaevna, Ivan Ivanovič, Anna Vasil'evna, and Zoja are returning to their carriages, after having spent a day in the country, they encounter a group of intoxicated Germans, one of whom wants Anna Vasil'evna to sing a certain song for his comrades. Besides that, he wishes to kiss Anna Vasil'evna.

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. II, 154; see also Memoirs of a Sportsman and A Nobleman's Nest, translated by I. F. Hapgood, Part II, 27-28.

[2] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. III, 21.

Insarov, the Bulgarian patriot, jumps to Anna's rescue, amazing all the onlookers by throwing the huge, muscular German into a pond before the latter realized what had happened.

In this episode, the native German is presented by Turgenev in a very negative light: he is crude, speaks a broken Russian, and is overbearing.[1]

Fathers and Sons (Otcy i deti), which was published in 1861, reveals a mixture of characters, some of whom favor German institutions, while others who do not. Pavel Petrovič (an Anglophile), Arkadij's uncle states:

> ... sinful man that I am, I am not fond of the Germans. I am not alluding to the Russian-Germans of course; everyone knows what sort of birds they are. But I cannot stomach the German-Germans either. Those of former days are well enough; then they had Schiller, I believe, Goethe ... . My brother here accords them special favor ... But now a lot of chemists and materialists have sprung up among them ... .[2]

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[1] I. S. Turgenieff, The Works of Ivan Turgenieff, Vol. II, translated by I. F. Hapgood (New York: Jefferson Press, 1904), Part II, 120-122.

[2] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. III, 190.

Toward the end of the novel, a German doctor appears again in the works of Turgenev. (He emerged before in A Correspondence, written in 1855.) This time a German physician is called in to attend the ailing Bazarov. The physician is described as "a small man in spectacles with a German physiognomy."[1]

Phantoms[2] (Prizraki, 1863) mentions the castle in Schwetzingen, describing the park and remarking about its resemblance to Versailles. Asja and Smoke (Dym), (1867), also have their settings in Germany.

Another comment concerning the Germans' ability to speak Russian is illustrated in the short story Lieutenant Ergunov (Istorija Lejtenanta Ergunova) which was published in 1867. Emilia is that example of a German who confused her native tongue with the language of her adopted country. Typically, though, she expects that everyone of importance has a mastery of German: ... "And it wasn't at all necessary to go to the Polizei; but I am so ... . You don't understand German? ... . so hasty, immer so rasch.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 362-363.

[2] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. VII, 30-31.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

For Smoke (1867), Turgenev selected that opulent and beautiful playground of the rich, Baden-Baden. Here, Turgenev treats Russian characters in a German setting. His allusions to various buildings in Baden-Baden are historically accurate and not mere inventions. Authentic local wines and liqueurs are also cited; such as, Affenthaler (a local wine), and Schwarzwälder Kirschwasser (a cherry liqueur produced in the Black Forest).

> At four o'clock, on the afternoon of the tenth of August, in the year 1862, a large number of persons were assembled in front of the famous "Conversation" [Hall] in Baden-Baden. The weather continued to be delightful; everything round about--the verdant trees, the bright-hued houses of the comfortable town, the undulating hills--everything lay outspread in festive guise, with lavish hand, beneath the rays of the benignant sun; everything was smiling in a passive, confiding and engaging manner and the same sort of vague yet amiable smile strayed over the faces of the people, young and old, homely and handsome ... .[1]

Curiously enough, Smoke, which was published four years prior to the appearance of Spring Freshets, includes a very derogatory passage concerning the Russians' ability in the arts. On the other hand, the Germans are praised for their talent.

> ... In the first place, I [Potugin] will remark: why were you not educated? and, in the second, not only Meyerbeer, but the meanest German flute-player, who modestly whistles his part in the meanest German orchestra, has

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. IV, 7.

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> twenty times more ideas than all our born geniuses; only the flute-player keeps his ideas to himself, and does not thrust himself forward with them into the company of Mozarts and Haydns; but our Russian genius gets out a little waltz or a little romance, slap dash, and behold--there he is, hands thrust into his pockets, and a scornful curl on his mouth: "I'm a genius," says he. And it's just the same with painting and everywhere. How I detest those born geniuses! ... .[1]

In a letter written to Ivan Petrovič Borisov on June 28, 1867, from Baden-Baden, Turgenev strongly defends his feeling that the Russians must learn from the Germans, regardless of "national pride."

> ... You do not like Smoke; everything indicates that no one in Russia does. However, I am such a confirmed sinner that not only do I not repent, I even persist. I will add a preface to the separately published edition of the novel in which I will indicate even more strongly that we Russians must learn, as we once did, from the Germans, just as the Germans learned from the Romans, etc. Whether they curse me in all the churches or simply throw me into a mud puddle is no longer any headache of mine ... .[2]

We discover a rather mixed and slightly more negative portrayal of the German in A Hapless Girl (Nesčastnaja, 1868) than in Asja. In depicting one of the main figures, Fustov, Turgenev states that Fustov's remarkable punctuality was probably due to the fact that his grandmother was a German.

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[1] Ibid., p. 92.

[2] Turgenev's Letters, p. 169.

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Ratsch, the rather boisterous, crude villian of this tale, claims to be of Czech origin; the narrator and Fustov believe otherwise, however.

> "What a strange man!"--I said to Fustov, who had already succeeded in getting to work at his turning-lathe.--"Can it be possible that he is a foreigner? He speaks Russian so vigorously."
> "He is a foreigner; only, he settled in Russia thirty years ago. Some prince or other brought him from abroad, in the capacity of secretary ... . or, rather, one may assume, in that of valet, about the year 1802. But he really does express himself fluently in Russian."
> "So boldly and daringly, with such tricks and twists of speech," I put in.
> "Well, yes. Only, it's very unnatural. They're all like that, those russianized Germans."
> "But he is a Czech."
> "I don't know; perhaps so. He talks German with his wife."
> "But why does he [Ratsch] boast of being a veteran of the year '12? Did he really serve in the militia?"
> "In the militia, indeed! During the conflagration he remained in Moscow and lost all his property ... . That's all his service amounts to."
> "But why did he remain in Moscow? ... "
> "The Lord knows. I [Fustov] have heard that he acted as a spy for us; but that he received compensation from the government for his losses is a fact."[1]

Although the German nationality of Ratsch is somewhat in doubt, his "uncanny" fluency in Russian makes him suspicious to native Russians. Moreover, Fustov notes the materialistic nature of Ratsch, who saw to it

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. VII, 132-133.

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that he was fully reimbursed for the property losses he suffered during the holocaust of 1812. Apparently, Ratsch was able to avoid true military service, in spite of the fact that he told everyone that he had "served."

Turgenev's sketch of Ratsch's wife and family is not too flattering. Ratsch continually emphasizes how Russian his family is. Perhaps he is attempting to conceal the fact that his origins are not Slavic. His wife, Eleonora Karpovna, loves Russia for what she can get out of it, namely, a title of nobility.

> ... Not only did the mistress [Eleonora Karpovna] of the house appear to be a model of cleanliness, but everything around her also,--everything in the house was fairly polished and shining; everything had been scrubbed, ironed, washed with soap; the samovar on the round table blazed like a conflagration; the curtains at the windows, and the napkins, were fairly curling with starch, as well as the frocks and chemisettes of Mr. Ratsch's four children, who sat there, sturdy, well-fed little creatures, bearing a great resemblance to their mother, with rough-hewn, strong faces, whorls of hair on their temples, and red, stubby fingers. All four had rather flat noses, thick swollen-looking lips, and tiny, light-grey eyes.[1]
>
> "And She has given all her squalling brats such Russian names!"--went on Mr. Ratsch--"The first you know, she'll be having them baptized into the Greek faith! By heaven, she will! She's a regular Slav; devil take me altogether, if there's any German blood in her! Eleonora Karpovna, are you a Slav?"

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 134.

> Eleonora Karpovna waxed angry.
>
> "I'm a Court Councilloress, that's what I am! And that's as much to say that I'm a Russian lady, and everything that you are now going to say ... ."
>
> "That is, it's simply awful the way she loves Russia!"--interrupted Ivan Demjanič [Ratsch].--"In the nature of an earthquake!"
>
> "Well, and what of that?"--pursued Eleonora Karpovna.--"And, of course, I love Russia because where else could I have obtained a title of nobility? ... ."[1]

The narrator in *Knock, Knock, Knock ... A Study* (*Stuk!* ... *Stuk!* ... *Stuk!* ... *Studija*) (1870) is a Russian of German extraction, Alexandr Vasilevič Riedel, as his name testifies.[2] To be sure, this tale is a very minor one when compared to such works as *Fathers and Sons*, *Rudin*, and *Asja*. Nonetheless, this narration illustrates the extent to which the German, in one form or another, permeates the fiber of Turgenev's works--even some of his least known literary contributions.

Spring Freshets (*Vešnie vody*), appearing in 1871, reflects Turgenev's more anti-German view which developed as a result of two basic factors: the demand by Prussia for Alsace-Lorraine and the author's relationship with his mistress, Madame Viardot-Garcia. The latter was a French citizen who did not exhibit pro-German leanings. Obviously, her views, as well as the Franco-Prussian War,

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

[2] *Sobranie sočinenij*, Vol. VIII, 7-37.

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had an effect upon Turgenev, since he sold his villa in Baden-Baden in 1871, and moved to Paris.

In a conversation with the German critic and literary historian J. Schmidt, Turgenev admitted that his primary intention in Spring Freshets was to bring the Russians to reason, because he belonged to them body and soul; after the Russians, he wished to bring the Germans to reason, for they stood next closest to him.[1]

Spring Freshets caused a great deal of excitement in Germany, since most people interpreted the work as being highly critical of the Germans. The following quotation substantiates this view.

> We are at liberty to infer that, at that time, there was not, in a single shop in the whole of Frankfurt, so polite, decorous, dignified, and amiable a head-clerk as Herr Klüber showed himself to be. The irreproachableness of his toilet equalled the dignity of his demeanor, the elegance--somewhat affected and constrained, it is true, after the English fashion (he had spent a couple of years in England)--but, nevertheless, engaging elegance of his manners! At the very first glance it became clear that this handsome, rather stiff, excellently educated and capitally washed young man was accustomed to obey his superiors and to command his inferiors, and that behind the counter of his shop he was bound to evoke the respect even of his patrons! As to his supernatural honesty there could not exist the shadow of a doubt. A glance at his stiffly-starched cuffs was all that was required. And his voice proved to be just what was to have been expected:

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[1] B. Ziegengeist, I. S. Turgenev und Deutschland, p. 187.

> thick and self-confidantly succulent, but not too loud, with even a certain caressing quality in the timbre. Such a voice is particularly well adapted for issuing orders to subordinate clerks: ... .[1]

Turgenev lampoons the "impeccable" manners of Klüber in such a fashion that Klüber's actions and reactions resemble those of a robot more than those of a normal human being. Furthermore, in spite of the good superficial impression which Klüber obviously makes, Turgenev depicts him as one who enjoys giving order to those subordinate to himself while simultaneously doing everything to please his superiors.

> Herr Klüber began by introducing himself, during which operation he bent his form in so noble a manner, moved his feet so agreeably, and clicked one heel against the other so courteously, that one was bound to feel: "This man's body-linen and spiritual qualities are of the first order!" The elaborate finish of his bare right hand--(in his left, clad in a glove of undressed kid, he held a hat polished like a mirror, at the bottom of which lay the other glove)--the elaborate finish of that right hand, which he modestly but firmly offered to Sanin,--exceeded all belief; every nail was perfection in its way![2]

Sanin, the main character of this novellette, who was considered by many literary critics as a self-portrait of Turgenev,[3] is contrasted with the

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. VIII, 56-57.

[2] Ibid.

[3] I. Spector, An Introduction to Russian History and Culture, p. 208.

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character of the bourgeois Klüber. It goes without saying that Turgenev's sketch of Sanin is far more positive than that of Klüber.

> In the first place, he [Sanin] was very, very far from being bad looking--a stately, slender figure, agreeable, rather formless features, small caressing blue eyes, golden hair, a white and red complexion--chief of all, that artlessly--merry, confiding, frank expression, rather stupid at first sight, by which in times gone by, it was possible instantly to recognize the children of dignified noble families, "fathers'" sons, nice young lordlings, born and fattened in our spacious, halfsteppe regions;--a walk with a hitch, a voice with a lisp, a smile like that of a child, as soon as one glances at it .... . In conclusion, freshness, health--and softness, softness, softness--there you have Sanin complete.[1]

The negative portrayal of Klüber and that of the German officer von Dönhof caused repercussions in Germany. The hitherto highly regarded Turgenev became an enemy in the German press in both Germany and in Russia.[2]

An incident at a German restaurant is the scene used by the author to portray the reactions of Klüber and Sanin to a provocative and insulting move on the part of a German officer, von Dönhof.

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, Vol. VIII, 67.

[2] I. Spector, The Golden Age of Russian Literature, p. 101.

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> Several officers of the Mayence [Mainz] garrison had placed themselves at one of the neighboring tables. From their glances and whisperings, it was easy to divine that Gemma's beauty had made an impression on them; one of them, who had probably been in Frankfurt before, kept staring at her, as at a face well known to him. It was obvious that he knew who she was. He suddenly rose to his feet, and glass in hand,--the officers had been drinking heavily, and the whole tablecloth in front of them was covered with bottles,--he stepped up to the table at which sat Gemma. He [von Dönhof] was a very young, fair-haired man, with sufficiently agreeable and even sympathetic features; but the wine he had drunk had distorted them; his cheeks were twitching, his swollen eyes wandered and assumed an audacious expression. At first his comrades tried to hold him back, but afterward they were curious to see what would come of it.[1]

Von Dönhof took a rose from Gemma, whose expression changed from one of shock to that of anger. Klüber reacted by calling the entire affair "unheard of insolence." He demanded his bill and became increasingly more brave as the distance between himself and the German group widened.

Sanin, on the other hand, walked over to the table at which von Dönhof was sitting and denounced the latter for his inexcusable behavior toward Gemma. As a Russian, Sanin could not "look on, with indifference, at such a piece of insolence."[2] The episode is concluded by Sanin's challenging von Dönhof to a duel.

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[1] *Sobranie sočinenij*, Vol. VIII, 72.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Turgenev obviously wished to show the different responses of a German and a Russian to an affair involving personal honor.

Disapproving opinions of the Germans are also exhibited by Marja Nikolaevna, another figure in _Spring Freshets_, who states that "the Germans bored her, they were stupid when they were wise, and inopportunely wise when they were stupid;--and all at once, straight out--_à brûle pourpoint_ [point blank] . . . ."[1] Her evaluation of the German theatre is quite scathing: "The worst French actor, in the worst little provincial town, plays better and more naturally than the leading German celebrity . . ."[2]

Elsewhere in _Spring Freshets_, Turgenev gives this repulsive sketch of a German drama critic from Wiesbaden:

> Before Marja Nikolaevna had succeeded in uttering this last word, the outer door really did open half-way--and into the box there was thrust a red, greasily-perspiring head, still young but already toothless, with long, lank hair, a pendent nose, huge ears, like those of a bat, with gold spectacles on the curious, dull little eyes and a pair of eyeglasses on top of the spectacles ... .[3]

The result of the publication of such disapproving, negative, and sometimes objectionable sketches of Germans of various professions within the pages of _Spring Freshets_

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 157.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 159-160. [3] _Ibid_., p. 163.

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deprived Turgenev of many of his German friends and sympathizers.

As the reader probably has noted, Asja and Spring Freshets both have their settings on German soil--the former along the Rhine and the latter in Frankfurt and the surrounding area. This is where the similarities end however. Whereas Asja reflects a period (1850's) during which Turgenev was impressed and "in love" with Germany and the Germans, Spring Freshets which appeared thirteen years later (1871) mirrors Turgenev's newer more critical standpoint in this connection. As a matter of fact, the latter novel was interpreted as an affront to the Germans.

An additional work which lends credit to the assertion that the most critical of Turgenev's negative depictions of the Germans are to be found in those works which were published in the 1870's, is Virgin Soil (Nov') which was printed in 1876.

Sipjagin, one of the characters of the novel, expresses his discontent with the German superintendent of his paper factory. Sipjagin uses his dissatisfaction with one person to abuse all Germans. Turgenev characterizes Sipjagin as a moderate Slavophile.[1]

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[1] The Works of Ivan Turgenieff, Vol. VI, Part I, 89.

Markelov, the brother of Sipjagin's wife, hates all Germans, particularly Russian Germans, as a result of a row he had with his commander--a German.[1] Markelov also despises adjutants, since the girl he loves has jilted him in favor of a German adjutant.

Markelov's rather rabid anti-German sentiments are summed-up thus: . . . "everybody was aware that no reliance can be placed on a German . . . . he will immediately cheat you or sell you! . . . ."[2]

Klara Milič (1882) offers a certain amount of evidence which might justify the statement that Turgenev's views of the German were softened and modified during the very early 1880's. One tends to draw this conclusion after having read the works published in the '70's and then coming across a positive sketch once more.

In Klara Milič we encounter a Russian German, by the name of Kupfer, who has been so russified that he does not know a single German word. This factor notwithstanding, Kupfer still retains some German traits which Turgenev approves.

> . . . Strange to say, that solitary friend of Aratov's Kupfer by name, a German who was Russified to the extent of not knowing a single word of German, and even used the epithet

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[1] Ibid., p. 117. [2] Ibid., p. 124.

> "German" as a term of opprobrium,--that friend had, to all appearance, nothing in common with him. He was a jolly, rosy-cheeked young fellow with black, curly hair, loquacious, and very fond of that feminine society which Aratov so shunned. Truth to tell Kupfer breakfasted and dined with him rather often, and even--as he was not a rich man--borrowed small sums of money from him; but it was not that which made the free and easy German so diligently frequent the little house on Šabolovka Street. He had taken a liking to Jakov's spiritual purity, his "ideality,"--possibly as a contrast to what he daily encountered and beheld;--or, perhaps, in that same attraction toward "ideality" the young man's German blood revealed itself. And Jakov liked Kupfer's goodnatured frankness; . . .[1]

Kupfer is further portrayed as possessing the qualities of a manager who loves to bustle and fuss about.

Like Gončarov, Turgenev was a Westernizer. Both authors were basically admirers and connoisseurs of German thought, literature, and art. Gončarov and Turgenev recognized the attainments of German culture and believed that Russia could and should learn from those European nations which were more advanced than their own native land.

Unlike Gončarov, Turgenev did not provide us with such a lengthy, as well as generally positive, portrayal of a German as was embodied in the figure of Stolz in Gončarov's *Oblomov*. Nonetheless, the German occurs more

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[1] *Sobranie sočinenij*, VIII, 397.

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frequently in Turgenev's works, whereas the works of Gončarov illustrate a more concentrated and limited treatment of the German.

Some of Turgenev's writings were influenced by his stays abroad, while others depict German characters as seen through the eyes of members of the Russian landed gentry. In both cases, besides many positive features, the reader encounters brief allusions depicting the Germans in a negative light. Furthermore, Turgenev chose German settings for _Smoke_, _Asja_, _Phantoms_, and _Spring Freshets_. In the stories selected here, we find either Russians in German settings, as the aforementioned works attest, or we discover German Germans and/or Russian Germans in the other novels and short stories cited within the pages of this chapter.

Thus, Turgenev was not only influenced by German life and thought, but also reflected his experiences in Germany by choosing German settings for several of his works. Throughout his literary works, he presented his readers with German characters from many walks of life.

The degree to which the German is mentioned as a figure in Turgenev's works is exemplified by the many strata of society to which Turgenev's Germans belong. We encounter German bakers, generals, teachers, tutors, bandmasters, architects, landlords, physicians,

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musicians, poets, storekeepers, and officers in the short stories, novellettes, and novels of this nineteenth-century Russian man of letters.

Little difference may be ascertained in Turgenev's depictions of Russian Germans or German Germans. Both are criticized or praised to the same degree. Nevertheless, the writer usually shows his German Germans as having a deeper, more intimate relation to their homeland than the already partially or almost totally assimilated Russian Germans.

Positive attitudes and attributes are recognized by Turgenev in both groups. The Germans' industriousness, frugality, cleanliness, and the fundamental German mentality appealed to the writer. Hence, Turgenev is critical of the Russian inability to get things done or achieve the goals which he has outlined for himself. Moreover, Turgenev does not approve of the Russians' "Slavic slackness" or the Russians' scorn of being regulated or controlled by such inventions as schedules, plans, or deadlines. Furthermore, the tidiness, order, and the well-cared for look of German farms, farmhouses, countryside, as well as the higher living standards and cultural level exhibited in Germany, did not fail to be lauded by the author.

Another significant conclusion regarding the works of Turgenev is the duality found in some of his German character portrayals. For example, we are confronted with good teachers (Andrej Kolosov and Diary of a Superfluous Man) and bad ones (Bierkopf in Memoirs of a Sportsman); in one work we encounter a kind-hearted general (The Jew), while in another (Spring Freshets), we discover the ill-mannered and crude von Dönhoff. One finds purely negative Germans too: the deceitful German architect and the conceited German bandmaster in Memoirs of a Sportsman, or the very negatively portrayed Klüber in Spring Freshets, to name a few.

Although the German doctor appears in the works of Turgenev on occasion, he cannot be found to the same degree as he may in the novels of Dostoevskij. However, wherever he does occur, he is sketched in a flattering manner.

Turgenev's female figures are stronger and more positively drawn than are his male characters, generally speaking. German women are also positively portrayed (Asja). Here, too, there is a pronounced difference between Turgenev and Dostoevskij, i.e., while the conception of German women is quite positive in Turgenev's novels, it is of a degrading, negative, derogatory, and unflattering nature in Dostoevskij's works.

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From the evidence presented in this chapter, it would appear that Turgenev's image of the German underwent significant change from the 1840's through 1883. In fact, the writer's views of this national group had "its ups and downs." The 1840's and 1850's reflected Turgenev's period of admiration for Germany and the Germans. On the other hand, the 1860's illustrate a time span in which the author presents his reader with a rather mixed portrayal of the German. Hence, Fathers and Sons (1861) is critical of both German Germans and Russian Germans. Still, the author believed that the Russians should learn from the Germans, since the latter were more capable and productive than their eastern neighbors. In this respect, too, Turgenev held an opposing view to that entertained by Dostoevskij. As was previously stated, the 1870's witnessed the culmination of Turgenev's anti-German sentiment. Spring Freshets and Virgin Soil provide ample proof to support this contention. The animosity toward the German which may be discovered in the writer's novels written in the 1870's falls short of being termed hatred. It cannot be identified with the extremely emotional feelings revealed by the Frenchman in the tale, The Man with the Grey Glasses. Hence, once again Turgenev does not go to the excessive limits to which Dostoevskij went in the latter's denunciation of the Germans. It should be noted that before his death in 1883, Turgenev's portrayal of the German became positive once more. Evidently, his conception of Germany as his "second fatherland" was able to withstand the negative impact caused by the Franco-Prussian War.

The two subsequent authors who will be treated, Dostoevskij and Tolstoj, do not share views similar to those of either Gončarov or Turgenev in connection with the universal evaluation of the German as part of Russian development, or of Germany as a cultural source worthy of emulation and intellectual stimulation for the Russian state and its people.

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CHAPTER V

FEDOR MIXAILOVIČ DOSTOEVSKIJ

Fëdor Mixailovič Dostoevskij is attributed by Harry Harvest with having made the following remarks pertaining to his own people as well as to aesthetics:

> One thing is characteristic of the Russian people to a very high degree: their disdain for moderation in all things.[1]
>
> The Russian soul is a puzzle.[2]
>
> Beauty--a terrible, awful thing.[3]

Concerning the German, the statements listed below are but a brief summation of Dostoevskij's sentiments.

> Germany needs us more than we think. It does not need us for a temporary political alliance, but for all eternity.[4]
>
> Russia's friendship for Germany is both genuine and firm.[5]
>
> The lower class [in Germany] is much worse and less honest than ours and there is no doubt that it is dumber too.[6]

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[1] H. Harvest, Massloses Russland, p. 11.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] O. Savić, "Deutschland von Russen gesehen," p. 126.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 128.

Unlike Turgenev, who was born into a wealthy, worldly family, Fëdr Mixailovič Dostoevskij (1821-81) came from a rather poor family. His father was a physician at the Moscow Hospital for the Poor.[1] Dostoevskij's mother was the daughter of a merchant. The author was one of eight children. The Dostoevskij offspring were brought up in an atmosphere which was quite typical of the Russian mercantile stratum of society, i.e., the father ruled his household in a strict manner, demanding obedience from his spouse and children and requiring them to respect and adhere to Orthodox religious concepts as well as the traditional Russian way of life.

In 1838, Fëdr Mixailovič was sent to St. Petersburg to study at the Academy of Military Engineering.[2] By 1842, he had become a commissioned officer. One year later, he was a draftsman for the War Department. Dissatisfied with his career, Dostoevskij directed his talents solely toward literary endeavors. He enjoyed reading immensely; among his favorites were Sir Walter Scott, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Schiller, Puškin, and Gogol'.[3]

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[1] M. Slonim, The Epic of Russian Literature from Its Origins through Tolstoy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 272.

[2] Ibid., p. 273. [3] Ibid.

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Dostoevskij "knew Schiller by heart," and earned some money by translating Balzac into Russian. Throughout his life, our author was plagued with financial difficulties. While studying in the capital, he was the object of mockery and ridicule by his classmates because of his strained financial situation, bad health, nervousness, and weird looks.[1] Later, when his literary works provided Dostoevskij with a source of income, he often wasted what he had earned by gambling, partying, drinking, and the like. Moreover, the author suffered from fits of extreme depression. In addition, Dostoevskij was susceptible to epileptic seizures.

Like Turgenev, Dostoevskij was greatly influenced by Romanticism--which emanated from Germany--and the idealistic German philosophy which was the intellectual "rage" among the Russian intelligentsia during the 1840's.

In 1849, our author was arrested as a result of his connection with the Petraševskij circle and his concern for the social problems facing Russia. He was imprisoned in the Fortress of Sts. Peter and Paul where he experienced his initial attack of epilepsy.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 273.

[2] Ibid., p. 274.

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Originally sentenced to be executed, Dostoevskij's fate changed when the tsar issued a pardon just as Dostoevskij was being prepared for the firing squad. The author's sentence was commuted to four years at hard labor, plus an additional four years service as a private. All eight years were to be spent in Siberia. It was there that Dostoevskij witnessed the goings on in the Russian prison system and in the work camps. Needless to say, much material for some of his later works--i.e., *Notes from the House of the Dead* (*Zapiski iz mërtvogo doma*), was based on this experience.

Whereas Turgenev did not believe in any orthodox religion per se, Dostoevskij was a *dévôt* of the Russian Orthodox Church. Moreover, whereas the former was clearly a Westernizer, Dostoevskij had pronounced Slavophile leanings, was a Russian nationalist, and had always expressed great hope in the abilities of the Russian people.

Despite his relatively humble origins, Dostoevskij--notwithstanding his epileptic fits, ill health (which became worse after his exile to Siberia), almost mystical faith in the Russian Orthodox Church, fluctuations in mood, and overall unbalanced make-up--was able to attain the ranks of the most celebrated of Russian writers. Dostoevskij wrote for a livelihood, unlike the elegant, independently wealthy Turgenev or L. N. Tolstoj, neither one of whom used writing as his profession.[1]

In January, 1881, F. M. Dostoevskij died of a pulmonary hemorrhage.

As a youth, Dostoevskij led a carefree, indulgent sort of life. He did things according to whim and fancy, rather than according to logic or thought.[2] As a consequence of Dostoevskij's inability to lead a planned, settled life, his family and friends recommended that the writer live with a certain Riesenkampf--a friend of the family. "Take this real methodical German as your model,"[3] he was urged. This attempt to put our author "on the right track" failed. It seems that Riesenkampf, a doctor, discovered that Dostoevskij distributed Riesenkampf's money to the latter's needy patients. Unfortunately, Riesenkampf was unable to stem Dostoevskij's desire to gamble away all that he possessed.

Perhaps there are similarities in the character of Dostoevskij and the "general" Russian stereotype. A Madame Hoffman who wrote a monograph dealing with our writer stated the following:

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[1] Ibid., p. 276.

[2] A. Gide, Dostoevsky (Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions Books, 1949), p. 53.

[3] Ibid.

> It (the Russian people) is inherently incapable of leading a strict and methodical existence, of being punctual even. It would seem as if the Russian did not suffer much in consequence of his own improvidence, for he makes no great effort to free himself from it. . . .[1]

In 1842, after having passed the necessary examination to the higher officer's class, Dostoevskij had at his disposal a twenty-eight day leave which he used to visit his older brother in Reval, today's Tallinn (in the Baltic Provinces). Some three weeks later, Dostoevskij met Riesenkampf there and related to the latter that he was depressed by "the rigid caste spirit of the Baltic Germans and the lack of healthy symptoms of culture among them."[2] Apparently, according to Riesenkampf, Dostoevskij's experiences in Reval resulted in the author's prejudice against the Germans which lasted throughout his life.

From the ensuing quotation, it seems evident that in the view of Dostoevskij the German valued wealth and punctuality above all else.

> . . . In the eyes of a German, there is no greater crime than to be poor and fail to pay on the appointed date.[3]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[2] Magarshack, Dostoevsky (London: Secker and Warburg, 1962), p. 79.

[3] H. Troyat, Firebrand: The Life of Dostoevsky (New York: Roy Publishers, 1946), p. 262.

Dostoevskij's impressions of Germany are mixed. Although he found Berlin "a horribly boring city" and the Germans "coarse and uncouth," he greatly admired the mountains, hills, and castles of Germany and such German towns as Limburg and Marburg.[1]

In a letter written to Pobedonoscev from Bad Ems, on August 9/21, 1879, we not only discover further evidence to support Dostoevskij's anti-German sentiments, but anti-Semitic comments as well.

> . . . When in Berlin, on my way, I observed to Puzikovič that, in my view, Germany, Berlin at any rate, was becoming Judaized. And here I read in the Moskovskie Vedomosti an extract from a pamphlet, which has just appeared in Germany, "Where is the Jew here?" It is an answer by a Jew to a German who dared to write that Germany was becoming Judaized in all respects. 'There is no Jew,' the pamphlet says, and there is a German everywhere; but if there is no Jew there is everywhere Jewish influence, for, it alleges, the Jewish spirit and nationality are higher than the German, and they have indeed inculcated in Germany the spirit of speculative realism, etc., etc. Thus, my view turned out to be right; the Germans and the Jews themselves testify to it. . . . The present-day German trader not only deceives the foreigner (this would yet be pardonable), but he literally robs him. When I complained of it here (Bad Ems) I was told, with a laugh that the Germans also were treated in the same way. . . .[2]

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[1] D. Magarshack, Dostoevsky, p. 445.

[2] Koteliansky, Dostoevsky's Letters and Reminiscences, pp. 246-47.

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The author's opinions of Dresden are no less unfavorable than his conception of Berlin. The subsequent passage is part of a letter Dostoevskij wrote to S. A. Ivanova from Dresden on the 14/26 of December, 1869.

> . . . Dresden is a very dull place anyhow. I can't bear these Germans. . . . There is nothing to go to the stupid theatre for. . . .[1]

Dostoevskij, too, had occasion to visit Switzerland and Italy. Eventually, he became very bored with Western Europe and noticed that he was falling behind the contemporary trends occurring in his native land. In all, Dostoevskij spent some four years abroad.[2] It should be noted that this was a longer time period than Gončarov spent in Europe; it does fall short of the many years in which Turgenev resided on the continent (nine years in Baden-Baden alone), however.

One of Dostoevskij's weaknesses was his addiction to gambling. In an excerpt of a letter written to his wife (A. G. Dostoevskaja) on May 20, 1867, from Homburg, the author accused the Germans of being scoundrels since they had taken advantage of his poor financial situation.

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[1] J. Coulson, Dostoevsky: A Self-Portrait (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 189.

[2] Koteliansky, Dostoevsky's Letters and Reminiscences, p. 100.

> . . . Would you believe that yesterday I lost everything, down to the last kopeck, the last gulden? And I had made up my mind to write to you at once to send me the money to get away. But I remembered my watch and went to a watch-maker's to sell or pawn it. All this is terribly commonplace here, in a gaming town that is. There are whole shops full of gold and silver articles which do no other business. Just think what scoundrels these Germans are: he bought my watch and chain from me (they cost at least 125 rubles) and gave me only sixty-five gulden for them. . . .[1]

Dostoevskij's indebtedness to his literary contemporaries (he even borrowed a small sum from Turgenev which later was the cause of a spat between the two) as well as to his publishers was notorious. It will be dealt with in more detail later. It appears that the author could never arrange his own money matters satisfactorily. He was continually plagued by a shortage of funds. Although Dostoevskij was not paid the high royalties which Turgenev received for his literary works, had Dostoevskij been less frivolous with his income, he probably could have avoided many of the hardships and tribulations which he and his spouse had to endure.

David Magarshack, a recognized authority on Dostoevskij, states in his book, Dostoevsky, that the subsequent quoted passage may contain the nicest things which Dostoevskij ever said about the German. The lines

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[1] J. Coulson, Dostoevsky: A Self-Portrait, p. 156.

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cited below illustrate the difference in mentality among the Germans and the Russians, based upon a rather humorous, if vulgar, incident which happened in Germany.

> . . . The train had not stopped for a long time and we all naturally rushed out to the place marked pour hommes. Just when it was full up with visitors all busily relieving themselves there rushed in--a beautifully dressed lady, by all signs an Englishwoman. She was obviously in great need, for she ran almost to the middle of the convenience before she noticed her mistake, that she had gone into für Männer instead of next door to für Frauen. . . . I don't know whether she went to the für Frauen; if she was an Englishwoman I think she must have died on the spot for shame. But the remarkable thing was that there was no laughter. The Germans were all gloomily silent, while in Russia they would at once have started roaring with laughter from sheer delight.[1]

F. M. Dostoevskij also experienced the Franco-Prussian War during his own lifetime and expressed his own feelings regarding that conflict in his Diary of a Writer (Dnevnik pisatelja) which was published in 1876. His initially sympathetic views toward the German troops who exhibited a "civic spirit" as they marched off to France displaying their "remarkable military bearing . and their firm resolution apparent in their every step and gesture, . . ." changed into scorn when he witnessed "the boastfulness, so typical of the Germans, had assumed the no less national characteristic of arrogance."[2]

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[1] D. Magarshack, Dostoevsky, pp. 457-58.

[2] Ibid., p. 419.

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Even though our author believed in an ultimate French victory, the new arrogance and triumphant attitude of the Germans, stemming from their victory over the French, had a negative effect upon the writer.

At this stage of our investigation, it may be of interest to the reader to be made aware of the fluctuations in Dostoevskij's relationship to Turgenev. In a letter written to his brother Mixail on November 17, 1845, Dostoevskij praised Turgenev in the following manner:

> A few days ago Turgenev returned from Paris . . . and took such a liking to me that Belinsky explains it by saying that Turgenev is in love with me. . . . I too have almost fallen in love with him. A poet, talented, aristocratic, handsome, rich, clever, well-educated, twenty-five years old--nature has denied him nothing. To crown all, a character unswervingly upright, honorable, formed in a kindly school.[1]

The above positive evaluation was not of a permanent nature. The subsequent incident affected their friendship greatly. It is part of a letter addressed to A. N. Majkov in Geneva and written on August 16/28, 1867, describing Dostoevskij's meeting Turgenev in the latter's villa in Baden-Baden.

> . . . I [Dostoevskij] went at twelve o'clock, and found him at table. I must tell you frankly: I disliked the man personally even before this. Worst of all, I still owed him fifty thalers

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[1] E. H. Carr, "Turgenev and Dostoevsky," The Slavonic Review (London: University of London, 1929), VIII, 157.

> from '67, in Wiesbaden (and I haven't paid them yet!). I don't like his aristocratic--farcical embrace, when he advances to kiss you, but presents his cheek to you. Terrible condescension; . . .[1]

Turgenev's Smoke, appearing in 1867, incensed Dostoevskij because the novel's fundamental idea is summarized in the sentence: "If Russia were to perish, it would cause neither loss nor distress to mankind."[2]

Furthermore, in another letter written to A. N. Majkov and dated February 18/March 1, 1868, Dostoevskij related that

> . . . He [Turgenev] himself literally told me [Dostoevskij] that he was a German, and not a Russian, and he considered it an honor to reckon himself a German, and not a Russian,--this is the literal truth.[3]

Due to his extended stays abroad, Dostoevskij felt that Turgenev was no longer able to evaluate adequately what was happening in his native country. He accused Turgenev of being germanized; something which Dostoevskij thought could never happen to him.

> . . . Turgenev has gone stale abroad and lost all his talent. . . . I am not myself afraid of getting Germanified, because I hate all Germans, but I need Russia; without Russia I am losing my last small powers and talents. . . .[4]

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[1] J. Coulson, Dostoevsky: A Self-Portrait, p. 163.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Koteliansky, Dostoevsky's Letters and Reminiscences, p. 44.

[4] J. Coulson, Dostoevsky: A Self-Portrait, p. 180; from a letter written to S. A. Ivanova on 8/20 of March, 1869, in Florence.

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Dostoevskij also reprimanded Turgenev for wanting the Russians to "crawl to the Germans" since, in Turgenev's view, this was the only way Russia could become civilized, rather than attempting to achieve that aim through "Russism and independence" which, according to Turgenev, were "swinish and stupid."[1]

> Before Dostoevskij left Turgenev's presence he gave full vent to his feelings: "Do you know what cheats and scoundrels one comes across here? Really, the common people here [in Baden-Baden] are much worse and more dishonest than ours, and there is no question that they are stupider. You [Turgenev] talk about civilization; well what has civilization done for them, and what have they got to boast about so much, compared with us?"
>
> He went white . . . and said, "When you say that, you are insulting me personally. You must know that I have settled here for good, that I consider myself not a Russian but a German and that I am proud of it!"[2]

Naturally, the material quoted above was Dostoevskij's view of his encounter with Turgenev. After learning that a portion of his letter to Majkov had fallen into the hands of a Moscow publisher without Dostoevskij's consent, Turgenev defended himself by commenting that he had not uttered the anti-Russian statements which had been connected with his name.

> . . . I [Turgenev] should not have considered it appropriate to express my intimate convictions to Mr. Dostoevskij, for the reason that I consider him, in consequence of attacks of illness

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 164. [2] *Ibid.*

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> and other causes, to be a person not fully in command of his mental faculties . . . He sat with me for not more than an hour, and having relieved his feelings by violent abuse of the Germans, myself and my latest book [Smoke], took himself off; I had almost no time, and certainly no desire to answer him: I repeat that I treated him as a sick man.[1]

After Dostoevskij's death in December, 1880, Turgenev included a stinging epitaph comparing the writer to the Marquis de Sade.

> And to think that for our de Sade all the Russian bishops have celebrated masses and preachers read sermons on the universal love of this universal man. . . . Verily, we live in strange times.[2]

As will be documented, the works of Dostoevskij reflect the rather vehement anti-German feelings of the author. There is ample evidence to substantiate this fact.

Poor Folk (Bednye ljudi) which was the first major work of Dostoevskij and which was published in 1846, makes only a brief allusion to the rich Petersburg Germans living on Goroxovaja street.

> . . . It's a wealthy street! There are a great many German bakers in Goroxovoy Street, so they must be a very prosperous set of people too.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 165.

[2] E. H. Carr, "Turgenev and Dostoevsky," p. 163.

[3] F. Dostoevsky, The Gambler and Other Stories, trans. by Constance Garnett (New York: Macmillan, 1950), p. 220.

The Landlady (Xozjajka) which appeared two years later (1847), mentions a poor German by the name of Spiess who had a daughter by the name of Tinchen. Tinchen is depicted as a compassionate, young girl who takes pity upon Ordynov, their new tenant, when she sees him. When he was ill, Tinchen nursed Ordynov to the best of her ability. Her father, on the other hand, is portrayed quite differently. Spiess is characterized as one of those persons who is accurate and honest, but money conscious. This German landlord was ready to rent the room which had been reserved for Ordynov on the very day on which Ordynov's advance payment ran out. The old German believed that once his legal obligations had been met, he was not required to wait in order to rent the room to someone else.[1]

The Double (Dvojnik), 1846, is the first of Dostoevskij's works to present us with a sketch of the German doctor; in this case, he has a German name, at least proving his German descent. Needless to say, Dostoevskij depicts Dr. Rutenspitz in a positive fashion. In fact, one gets the impression that the "German" physician leads a very comfortable, contented sort of life.

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[1] F. M. Dostoevskij, Polnoe sobranie xudožestvennyx proizvedenij, Vol. I (Leningrad: Gos. izd., 1926), 295-356.

> Dr. Krist'jan Ivanovič Rutenspitz, Physician and Surgeon, was an exceptionally healthy, albeit elderly gentleman, with bushy, greying eyebrows and sidewhiskers, an expressive twinkling gaze that seemed by itself to scare away all maladies, and a high decoration upon his breast. On this particular morning, he was sitting in a comfortable armchair in his consulting room smoking a cigar, drinking coffee brought to him by his wife herself, and now and then writing prescriptions for his patients. . . .[1]

Examples of Dostoevskij's unflattering opinion of German women may be ascertained in the pages of The Double.

> "A cook, a disreputable German woman who used to give him his dinner. He offered her his hand instead of payment."
> "Is that what they say?"
> "Can you believe it, Doctor? A German, a vile, beastly, brazen German woman, Karolina Ivanovna, if you know ... "[2]

Another, more scathing appraisal of a female German coffee house owner may also be detected in The Double. Dostoevskij not only draws a bad physical picture of this woman, but also alludes to her inability to speak Russian as well as her materialistic inclinations, since she demands payment from her two fleeing customers.

> . . . The coffee house into which the two Goldjadkins went stood secluded from the main streets, and was at that moment quite deserted. No sooner had they sounded the bell, than a plumpish German woman appeared behind the counter. . . .

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[1] Ibid., p. 115.

[2] Ibid., p. 122.

> The plump German woman looked at both customers with her dull, stupid eyes and smiled affably, obviously not understanding a word of Russian. . . . At the moment however, the plump German, seeing the flight of her two customers, gave a shriek and rang her little bell as hard as she could. . . .[1]

Several Germans are portrayed in Negočka Nezvanova[2] (1849). In one instance, the author compares the general traits of a German to those of a Russian. Oddly enough (in view of Dostoevskij's basic anti-German views), this tale reveals (perhaps) that during the earlier stages of his literary career, Dostoevskij seemed to be more pro-German, or maybe it would be more suitable to say that he was less anti-German, since his sentiments regarding the Germans may not have crystallized entirely.

> . . . But B. was still in his first youth; he had had little experience of poverty and sorrow; moreover, he was pre-eminently a German and worked for his object obstinately and systematically, with a complete consciousness of his powers, and almost able to calculate beforehand the degree of success he could attain; while his companion Efimov, who was thirty, was already tired and weary, had lost all capacity for persistent effort, and had exhausted his early health and vigor in the seven years during which he had been forced for a crust of bread to lead a vagabond existence shifting about from one provincial orchestra to another. . . .[3]

A touching sketch is drawn of the musically gifted German Karl Fedoryč:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 215, 216-19.

[2] Ibid., II, 3-138. [3] Ibid., p. 12.

> This Karl Fedoryč was a very interesting person. I had seen so few people at that period in my life that I could not possibly forget him. I can picture him now: he was a German whose surname was Meyer, he was born in Germany and had come to Russia, set upon getting into the ballet. . . .
>
> The German was the most sentimental, soft-hearted man in the world, and he cherished for my stepfather the most ardent and disinterested affection; but father, I [Negočka Nezvanova] fancy, was not particularly attached to him, and only put up with his company for lack of any other. Moreover, father was so exclusive that he could not see that the art of the ballet was an art at all, and this wounded the poor German to tears. Knowing his weak spot, he always touched upon it, and laughed at the luckless Karl Fedoryč when the latter grew hot and excited trying to refute him. . . .[1]

Uncle's Dream (Djadjuškin son) which appeared in 1859, includes, within its pages, a sketch of an academic, scientifically oriented German who came to a certain Russian province in order to study the habits of a particular type of worm. The German attributes of thoroughness, precision, and efficiency are suggested here.

> . . . A learned German, who came from Karlsruhe expressly to study some kind of worm with horns, which is found in our province, and who wrote four quarto volumes on the creature in question, . . .[2]

Dostoevskij's famous novel, The Insulted and Injured (Unižennye i oskorblennye) which was printed in 1861, contains several rather lengthy passages relevant to the Germans and German elements in nineteenth-century Russia. In the first excerpt selected here, Dostoevskij re-creates for his reader the atmosphere of a German coffee house (_Konditorei_) located in the Russian capital of St. Petersburg and frequented by a large German clientele. One should remember that there was a fairly large "German colony" in Petersburg during the nineteenth century. The sketch which follows is so authentically drawn that one would think that he were in a _Konditorei_ somewhere in Germany or Austria rather than in Russia.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[2] F. Dostoevsky, An Honest Thief and Other Stories, trans. by Constance Garnett (New York: Macmillan, 1950), p. 19.

> The customers of this confectioner's shop were mostly Germans. They gathered there from all parts of Voznesenskij Prospekt, mostly heads of shops of various sorts, carpenters, bakers, painters, hatters, saddlers, all patriarchal people in the German sense of the word. Altogether the patriarchal tradition was kept up at Müller's. Often the master of the shop joined some customer of his acquaintance and sat beside him at the table, when a certain amount of punch would be consumed. The dogs and small children of the household would sometimes come out to see the customers too, and the latter used to fondle both the children and the dogs. They all knew one another and all had a respect for one another. And while the guests were absorbed in the perusal of the German newspapers, through the door leading to the shopkeeper's rooms came the tinkling of "Mein lieber Augustin," on a cracked piano played by the eldest daughter, a little German miss with flaxen curls, very much like a white mouse. The waltz was welcomed with pleasure. I used to go to Müller's at the beginning of every month to read the Russian magazines which were taken there.[1]

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[1] F. M. Dostoevskij, _Polnoe sobranie xudožestvennyx proizvedenij_, III, 8.

Dostoevskij goes on to describe an incident which proved very disconcerting to a merchant from Riga who is the victim of an old Russian's stare. The reactions which Dostoevskij attributes to Mr. Schulz are interesting to say the least, for they reflect, in part, the mentality of the German, revealing a streak of superiority in the character of the German merchant from Riga.

> . . . But meanwhile a drama in dumb show which was being enacted in the room stopped me again. I have said already that as the old man sat down in his chair he would fix his eye on something and not remove it the whole evening. It had been my fate in the past to be exposed to the meaningless, persistent, unseeing stare. It was a very unpleasant, in fact unbearable, sensation, and I usually changed my seat as soon as I could. At this moment the old man's victim was a small, round, very neat little German, with a stiffly starched stand-up collar and an unusually red face, a new visitor to the shop, a merchant from Riga, called as I learned afterwards, Adam Ivanič Schulz. He was an intimate friend of Müller's, but as yet knew nothing of the old man or many of the customers. Sipping his punch and reading with relish the Dorfbarbier, he suddenly raised his eyes and observed the old man's immovable stare fixed upon him. It disconcerted him. Adam Ivanič was a very touchy and sensitive man, like all "superior" Germans. It seemed to him strange and insulting that he should be stared at so unceremoniously. . . . in his turn, he [the German] fastened his little bloodshot eyes on the offensive old man. It looked as though the two of them, the German and his assailant, were trying to overpower each other by the magnetic force of their stares, and were waiting to see which would be the first to be put out of countenance and drop his eyes. The rap of the stick and

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> eccentric position of Adam Ivanič drew the attention of all the customers. All laid aside what they were doing, and with grave and speechless curiosity watched the two opponents. . . .
>
> "Why do you stare at me so intently?" he shouted in German, in a sharp, piercing voice and with a menacing air. . . .
>
> "I am asking you what for you at me are so studiously staring?" he shouted with redoubled fury, "I am to the court well known, and you known not!" . . .
>
> But the old man did not turn a hair. A murmur of indignation was heard among the Germans. Müller himself, attracted by the uproar, came into the room. When he found out what was the matter he imagined that the old man was deaf, and bent down to his ear.
>
> "Master Schulz asked you studiously not to stare at him," he said as loud as he could, looking intently at the incomprehensible visitor.[1]

Once again, Dostoevskij criticizes the Germans' inability to speak Russian well; in this instance, both Schulz and Müller lack fluency in that language. Moreover, the author seems to emphasize the fact that Schulz attempts to utilize his rank and courtly connections in order to stop the old Russian from staring at him.

The conclusion to this little incident reveals that even the Germans are capable of showing compassion and interest in the well-being of their fellow men. Moreover, Dostoevskij portrays the Germans as a people who tenaciously maintain their way of living, even in a foreign environment. The coffee house atmosphere and German newspapers are all an indication of this.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

After finally realizing what had occurred, the old man wanted to leave the coffee house but discovered that his dog had died while he had been sitting at Müller's. Most of the customers are depicted by Dostoevskij as showing an interest in the welfare of the old man who has lost his companion. Hence, Müller offers to stuff the dog. Schulz is willing to pay for the taxidermist. The latter, also a German (Krüger), states that he will stuff the dog for nothing. Although outwardly rather cold, compassionate, human feeling is still a trait which may be found in some Germans.

In the Insulted and Injured mention is also made of a gifted German, who for all intents and purposes, seems to be a venerable man, one who is an expert in agriculture. These positive qualities notwithstanding, Dostoevskij tarnishes this German's image by stating that this German steward robbed his master (a Russian prince) and tortured the estate's peasants on occasion. Eventually, the German, a certain Ivan Karlovič (one might assume that he was a russianized German) is exposed and ultimately dismissed for inhumane and materialistic shortcomings.[1]

The German doctor who is sketched in this novel is, in accordance with precedent, depicted positively.

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[1] Ibid., p. 17.

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The author calls him "one of the most good natured Germans in Petersburg."

Turning now to the House of the Dead (Zapiski iz Mertvogo Doma) which was published in 1861-62, we are confronted with the case history of a Russian (Baklušin) who visits the town of R (Riga or Reval?), among whose residents a large number of Germans could be counted. Soon Baklušin falls in love with a young German girl, Luise. The young Russian is impressed with the girl's cleanliness and her fluency in the Russian language.[1]

Even though Luise really loved Baklušin, she felt obligated to marry a distant relative, a certain Schulz, who was old, had a big nose, was wealthy, and wanted to take Luise for his wife.[2] Thus, the German, in Dostoevskij's eyes, appears to value material well-being more than personal happiness.

The experience which Baklušin had in the town of R reminds one of the twenty-one day stay which the author spent in the Baltic Province town of Reval where Dostoevskij was not in the least impressed with the Germans he saw. One should note that there could possibly be some connection between the writer's actual

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[1] Ibid., p. 411.

[2] Ibid.

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visit to Reval and this particular tale from the House of the Dead. There just might be some validity to the assumption that Dostoevskij's antagonism toward German women may have resulted from an affair similar to that of Bakluŝin and Luise.

Further on in the pages of the House of the Dead, we encounter the author's opinion of the Russian peasants' attitude toward hospitals--particularly those run in accordance with the German system. Here, one must consider the differences in mentality as one of the chief causes of the Russians' distrust and uneasiness when the German hospital system is concerned. The Russian does not like to be regimented, nor does he wish to abide by rules and regulations. The strictness and severity practiced by those who ran hospitals according to the German system also ran contrary to the basic Russian nature.

> . . . The people are frightened and prejudiced against hospitals by all sorts of horrible tales and gossip, often absurd but sometimes not without a foundation of fact. But what they fear most is the German routine of the hospital, the presence of strangers about them all the time they are ill, the strict rules in regard to diet, the tales of the rigorous severity of the attendants and doctors and of the cutting open and dissection of the dead and so on. . . .[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 458.

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While discussing some of the general views of the Russian peasant, Dostoevskij does not fail to inform his reader that "a German is always an extremely comic figure in the eyes of the Russian peasant."[1] This is undoubtedly due to the former's seriousness, frugality, hard work, organization, and efficiency.

During the nineteenth century, as well as in the twentieth, the Russians were quite impressed with Germany's technical accomplishments. In relation to those feats however, the Russians found the bragging of the Germans annoying. Dostoevskij, in his *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions* (*Zimnie zametki o letnix vpečatlenijax*) which was printed in 1863, describes the Russians' aversion to the arrogance of the Germans. For this purpose, the author utilizes his own experiences while traveling through Germany. Here are his thoughts concerning a new bridge built across the Rhine at Cologne.

> . . . Naturally, the bridge is superb, and the city has the right to be proud of it. However, it appears to me that the city was too proud of it. Of course, I immediately grew angry about this. Besides, the cashier at the entrance to this "wonder" bridge should not have taken the fee from me with such an expression on his face--as though I had to pay for some unknown offense. . . . "Surely he has come to the conclusion that I am a foreigner, and a Russian at that, "I thought. At least his eyes seemed to say: "You see our bridge over there, you

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 535.

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> poor Russian, well--you are a worm in front of our bridge, as well as in the eyes of the German people, for you don't have such a bridge as this!" One has to agree that such statements are offensive. Naturally, the German never said that, but that was all the same: . . .[1]

The Prussian capital, Berlin, was not one of Dostoevskij's favorite European cities. In this regard, the writer's sentiments were not unlike those of his contemporary Turgenev.

> . . . Judge for yourselves: Berlin, for example, produced a most bitter impression on me, and I spent a grand total of one day there. I realize now that I have done Berlin wrong and I would not dare to state positively that it generally produces a bitter impression. Bitter-sweet, perhaps, perhaps but not bitter pure and simple. From what did my baneful error stem? Certainly from the fact that I, sick with a liver ailment, had spent two days being jolted to Berlin by rail through rain and fog and, once there, sleepy, wan, tired, and wayworn, I noticed immediately, at the very first glance, that Berlin resembled Petersburg to an unbelievable degree. . . .[2]

After Berlin, Dostoevskij proceeded to Dresden where he found the women of that city "repugnant." For some odd, perhaps inexplicable reason, Dostoevskij was quite intolerable and prejudiced when Germans crop up in his works.

When one considers the contrary nature of our author's mind, it really should not be too surprising

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[1] L. Müller, "Das Bild vom Deutschen in der russischen Literatur," pp. 40-41.

[2] F. M. Dostoevskij, Polnoe sobranie xudožestvennyx proizvedenij, IV, 52.

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to discover that Dostoevskij also harbored a fluctuating appraisal of Western Europe, ample proof for which may be ascertained in Winter Notes on Summer Impressions. On one occasion, he states: "Everything, absolutely everthing which we have in the way of progress, learning, art, civic virtue, humanity, everything, everything comes from there [Europe], from that land of holy miracles." On other occasions, Dostoevskij wrote scathing, contemptuous assessments, both individually and collectively, of the English, French, Germans, Swiss, Turks, Jews, and others. Among the Slavic peoples, Dostoevskij had the least respect for the Poles.[1]

A very negative sketch of a German (Ferfičkin) is drawn by the author in his Notes from the Underground (Zapiski iz podpol'ja) which was published in 1864.

> Of Simonov's two visitors, one was Ferfičkin, a russianized German--a little fellow with the face of a monkey, a blockhead who was always deriding everyone, a very bitter enemy of mine from our days in the lower forms--a vulgar, impudent, swaggering fellow, who affected a most sensitive feeling of personal honor, though, of course, he was a wretched little coward at heart. . . .[2]

The author's depiction is hardly flattering and illustrates Dostoevskij's fundamental dislike of the Germans as a people.

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[1] R. Hingley, The Undiscovered Dostoevsky (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), p. 63.

[2] F. M. Dostoevskij, Polnoe sobranie xudožestvennyx proizvedenij, IV, 150.

Perhaps the most derisive portrayal of the German in Volume IV of his Collected Works is revealed in the rather fantastic tale entitled *Crocodile* (*Krokodil*) which appeared in 1865. In this account, Dostoevskij characterizes the avaricious natures of a German zoo-keeper and his wife. It almost goes without saying that the proprietor's wife is drawn more negatively than her husband. She is also more overbearing and seems to "wear the pants in the family." This German couple possesses a crocodile, Karlchen, who is the main attraction at the zoo.

Ivan Matveič, who accompanied Elena Ivanovna to the Germans' zoo, teases Karlchen to such a degree that the crocodile swallows Ivan Matveič; needless to say, this event caused a great commotion. The German proprietor reacts by going into a state of hysteria and calling for his wife. Dostoevskij utilizes this incident to illustrate that the two Germans are far more concerned about the welfare of Karlchen (the major source of their income) than the narrator, Semën Semënovič or Elena Ivanovna. These two Russians want everything possible to be done in order to get Ivan Matveič out of Karlchen's belly. The event is sketched thusly by the writer:

> A door at the rear of the room opened at this cry and the Mutter, a rosy-cheeked, elderly but dishevelled woman in a cap made her appearance, and rushed with a shriek to her German.
>
> A perfect bedlam followed. Elena Ivanovna kept shrieking out the same phrase, as though in a frenzy, "flay him! flay him!" . . . The proprietor and Mutter took no notice whatever of either of us; they were both bellowing like calves over the crocodile.
>
> "He did for himself! He will burst himself at once, for he did swallow a ganz official!" cried the proprietor.[1]
>
> "Unser Karlchen, unser allerliebster Karlchen wird sterben," howled his wife.
>
> "We are bereaved and without bread!" chimed in the proprietor. . . .
>
> "He did tease the crocodile. For what did your man tease the crocodile?" cried the German, pulling away from her. "You will if Karlchen wird burst, therefore pay, das war mein Sohn, das war mein einziger Sohn! . . .[2]

The Germans' total lack of concern for the fate of Ivan Matveič is exhibited in the subsequent comment made by the German proprietor:

> "What! You wish that my crocodile be perished!" the proprietor yelled, running in again. "No! let your husband be perished first, before my crocodile!" . . .[3]

Dostoevskij's ridicule of the German's command of Russian is further re-enforced in this incident. Both the German zookeeper and his wife mix German and Russian words, as the following quotation testifies.

> . . . "Mein Vater showed crocodile, mein Grossvater showed crocodile, mein Sohn will show crocodile, and I will show crocodile! I am known to ganz Europa, and you are not known

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[1] Ibid., p. 202.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 203.

> to ganz Europa and you must pay me a Strafe!"
> "Ja, ja," put in the vindictive German woman, "we shall not let you go. Strafe, since Karlchen is burst!"[1]

When Elena suggests excavating Ivan Matveič from Karlchen's stomach, the Germans react in a manner which betrays their greedy, voracious desire to make the most money possible.

> "Excavate!" cried the proprietor. "I will not let my crocodile be excavated. Now the Publikum will come many more, and I will fünfzig kopecks ask and Karlchen will cease to burst."
> "Gott sei Dank!" put in his wife.
> "They are right," Ivan Matveič [talking from the inside of the crocodile's belly] observed tranquilly; "the principles of economics before everything."[2]

After much haggling, a settlement is ultimately reached between the two Germans and the two Russians affecting the fate of Ivan Matveič and Karlchen. For the loss of Karlchen, the shrewd Germans demand a very high price.

> After consultation with the Mutter, he demanded for his crocodile fifty thousand rubles in bonds of the last Russian loan with lottery voucher attached, a brick house in Goroxovaja Street [one of Petersburg's most fashionable] with a chemist's shop attached, and in addition, the rank of Russian colonel.[3]

Even though this German couple could hardly belong to the upper class, they were quite cognizant of the material advantages which they could reap from the situation. Their personal greed and lack of compassion for a human being in distress are qualities which Dostoevskij obviously wishes to emphasize.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 204.

[3] Ibid., p. 220.

The Gambler (Igrok), printed in 1866, discloses a study in the differences constituting the general German and Russian mentalities. The milieu in which this story takes place is a fictional German town with the name of Roulettenburg. The daring "all or nothing" attitude of the Russian presents a marked contrast to the toil and deprivation the German is willing to endure in order to amass capital. Dostoevskij advocates the carefree way of living--one in which an individual does not worry about tomorrow, but spends money when he has it, without fear of possibly starving the next day.

> "On the fact that the faculty of amassing capital has, with the progress of history, taken a place--and almost the foremost place--among the virtues and merits of the civilized man of the West. The Russian is not only capable of amassing capital, but dissipates it in a reckless and unseemly way." "Nevertheless, we Russians need money, too," I added, "and consequently we are very glad and very eager to make use of such means as roulette, for instance, in which one can grow rich all at once, in two hours, without work. That's very fascinating to us; and since we play badly, recklessly, without taking trouble, we usually lose!"
>
> . . . "I really don't know what is more disgusting: Russian unseemliness or the German faculty of accumulation by honest toil."

"Well, I should prefer to dwell all my life in a Kirgiz tent," I cried, "than bow down to the German idol."

"What idol?" cried the General, beginning to be angry in earnest.

"The German faculty for accumulating wealth. I've not been here long, but all I have been able to observe and verify revolts my Tatar blood. My God! I don't want any such virtue! I succeeded yesterday in making a round of eight miles, and it's all exactly as in the edifying German picturebooks: there is in every house a Vater horribly virtuous and extraordinarily honest--so honest that you are afraid to go near him. I can't endure honest people whom one is afraid to go near. Every such German Vater has a family, and in the evening they read improving books aloud. Elms and chestnut trees rustle over the house. The sun is setting; there is a stork on the roof, and everything is extraordinarily practical and touching.

. . . And in what complete bondage and submission every such family is here. They all work like oxen and all save money like Jews. Suppose the Vater has saved up so many gulden and is reckoning on giving his son a trade or a bit of land; to do so, he gives his daughter no dowry, and she becomes an old maid. To do so, the youngest son is sold into bondage or into the army, and the money is added to the family capital. This is actually done here [Germany]; I've been making inquiries. All this is done from nothing but honesty, from such intense honesty that the younger son who is sold believes that he is sold from nothing but honesty. . . . Come, isn't that a majestic spectacle? A hundred or two hundred years of continuous toil, patience, intelligence, honesty, character, determination, prudence, the stork on the roof! What more do you want? Why, there's nothing loftier than that; and from that standpoint they are beginning to judge the whole world and to punish the guilty; that is, any who are ever so little unlike them.--Well, so that's the point: I would rather waste my substance in the Russian style or grow rich at roulette. . . .[1]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 249-50.

The rather lenghty statement quoted above provides sufficient evidence to justify a very negative, sarcastic, and unfavorable evaluation of the "German way of life." One cannot deny a certain measure of truth in Dostoevskij's assessment of the German's voracious striving for wealth and status, no matter how trying and unfair his methods might be.

On the other hand, Dostoevskij's description of a German baron is not as scornful.

> . . . The Baron was lean and tall. Like most Germans, he had a wry face covered with thousands of fine wrinkles, and wore spectacles; he was about forty-five. His legs seemed to start from his chest: that's a sign of race. He was rather clumsy. There was something like a sheep in the expression of his face that would pass with them [the Germans] for profundity.[1]

Dostoevskij's famous novel, Crime and Punishment (Prestuplenie i nakazanie) maintains our author's custom of portraying German women in a negative light. We are presented with a German landlady, a certain Amalia Ludwigovna Lippewechsel, who insists upon being called Amalia--Ivanovna. She wishes to forget her German origin and is perturbed when people call her by her German name. Like other Germans, Frau Lippewechsel does not display a very good command of the Russian language. Her remarks suffer from faulty word order, mispronunciation, and the like. Dostoevskij characterizes

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[1] Ibid., p. 258.

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Mrs. Lippewechsel (Mrs. Blabbermouth) as "an extremely quarrelsome and irresponsible German woman."[1]

Mrs. Marmeladov, a Russian tenant in Mrs. Lippewechsel's house, ridicules her landlady's manner of speaking, stupidity, and is resentful of the Germans living in Petersburg.

> . . . "And have you noticed, Mr. Raskol'nikov," she went on, after recovering from another fit of coughing, "that as a rule all these Petersburg foreigners--mostly the Germans, I mean, of course--who come to live here from goodness knows where, are much sillier than us? You must admit it is really too absurd for anyone to say "Karl from the chemist's from fear his heart was pierced," . . . all these Germans are so frightfully well-mannered and serious.[2]

Although Frau Lippewechsel does not wish to be called by her German name, she rarely fails to mention that her father came from Berlin and wore a frock-coat, since he was a mayor. Whenever possible, it seems that Mrs. Lippewechsel wishes to make Mrs. Marmeladov aware of her lower class origins.

In spite of this negative depiction, Dostoevskij includes in Crime and Punishment a brief scene which denotes the appearance of another German doctor, about whom our author states: "The doctor came in, a precise little old man; a German, who threw an incredulous look around the room. . . ."[1] Short as the above comment may be, it still embodies some sympathetic feeling on the author's part toward German physicians.

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[1] F. Dostoyevsky, Crime and Punishment, trans. by D. Magarshack (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1951), p. 200.

[2] Ibid., p. 401.

Another unfavorable sketch of German women may be noted when one reads The Idiot which was published in 1868.

> But the silent stranger could hardly have understood what was passing: she was a German who had not been long in Russia and knew not a word of Russian, and she seemed to be as stupid as she was handsome. She was a novelty and it had become a fashion to invite her to certain parties, . . .[2]

In spite of the negative German female image found in The Idiot, there also may be found a rather positively drawn sketch of a good German, one possessing compassion, love, and respect for those less fortunate than he.

> . . . There was an old fellow at Moscow, a "General"--that is, an actual state councilor with a German name. He spent his whole life visiting prisons and prisoners; every party of exiles to Siberia knew beforehand that the "old General" would visit them on Sparrow Hills. He carried out his good work with the greatest earnestness and devotion. . . . All the criminals were on an equal footing with him, he made no distinction between them. He talked to them as though they were brothers, and they came in the end to look on him as a father.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 201.

[2] F. Dostoevsky, The Idiot, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: W. Heinemann, 1913), p. 156.

[3] Ibid., p. 405.

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Dostoevskij's dislike and scorn for the fairly large number of foreigners (especially Germans) in high government circles is revealed in the image he draws of a military general who has a German name.

> . . . there was in the first place a very solid military general, a count, or baron with a German name--a man of extraordinary taciturnity, with a reputation for a marvellous acquaintance with affairs of government, and almost with a reputation for learning--one of those Olympian administrators who know "everything," except perhaps Russia itself; a man who once in five years made some "extraordinarily profound" remark, which inevitably became a proverb and penetrated even to the loftiest circles; one of those governing officials who usually, after an extremely, even strangely protracted term of service, die possessed of large fortunes and high honors in leading positions, though they have never performed any great exploits, and in fact have always a certain aversion for exploits.[1]

The passage just quoted certainly is in keeping with Dostoevskij's general anti-German views. He is highly critical of the German aristocracy serving in the Russian administration. He believes that most of these administrators knew very little about Russia, were semi-educated, managed to become rich through illegal means, and were undeservedly decorated by the state "to boot."

The next bit of evidence discloses the materialistic goals of a man serving the arts, in this instance, poetry. Even though this German is russianized, he still retains some typical German habits.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 537.

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> . . . There was present too a poet of German origin, but a Russian poet, and perfectly presentable, moreover, so that he could be introduced into good society without apprehension. He was of handsome, though for some reason repulsive, appearance. He was thirty-eight, and was irreproachably dressed. He belonged to an intensely bourgeois but intensely respectable German family. He was successful in taking advantage of every opportunity, gaining the patronage of persons in high places and retaining their favor.[1]

Arrogance, even in "modest" Germans was a trait which Dostoevskij simply could not endure. This, the little German poet, "although he behaved with great modesty and politeness, was ready to believe that he was conferring an honor on the family by his presence."[2]

Dostoevskij's hostility toward the German administrators in Russia may be further substantiated by evidence in The Possessed (Besy) which appeared in 1871-72. Here we have the character of von Lembke, whom the writer depicts in the following fashion.

> "Mr. von Lembke is making a tour of the province now. En un mot, this Andrej Antonovič, though he is a Russian German and of the Orthodox persuasion, and even, I will say that for him, a remarkably handsome man of about forty . . .
>
> En un mot, I only wanted to say that he is one of those administrators who begin to have power at forty, who, until they're forty have been stagnating in insignificance and then suddenly come to the front through suddenly acquiring a wife, or some other equally desperate means. . . .[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 538. [2] Ibid., p. 540.

[3] F. Dostoevskij, Polnoe sobranie xudožestvennyx proizvedenij, VII, 48-49.

Von Lembke's clerk, Blum, is also cast in an unflattering light:

> . . . Blum was one of that strange class of "unfortunate" Germans who are unfortunate not through lack of ability but through some inexplicable ill luck. "Unfortunate" Germans are not a myth, but really do exist even in Russia, and are of a special type. Andrej Antonovič [von Lembke] had always had a quite touching sympathy for him, and wherever he could, as he rose himself in the service, had promoted him to subordinate positions under him; but Blum had never been successful. . . . He was precise, but he was gloomy to excess and to his own detriment. He was tall and had red hair; he stooped and was depressed and even sentimental; and in spite of his being humbled by his life, he was obstinate and persistent as an ox, though always at the wrong moment. . . . Blum knew no one in town except the German chemist, had not called on anyone, and led, as he always did, a lonely and niggardly existence. . . .[1]

In The Possessed, a Dr. Salzfisch crops up. "He was a very respectable old man and a practitioner of fairly wide experience who had recently lost his post in the service in consequence of some quarrel on a point of honor with his superiors."[2]

Returning to von Lembke once again, Dostoevskij's comments regarding the German administrator's rise through the ranks of the Russian Civil Service are indicative of the writer's knowledge in this respect.

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[1] Ibid., pp 297-98.

[2] Ibid., p. 538.

> Andrej Antonovič von Lembke belonged to that race, so favored by nature, which is reckoned by hundreds of thousands at the Russian census, and is perhaps unconscious that it forms throughout its whole mass a strictly organized union. And this union, of course, is not planned and premeditated, but exists spontaneously in the whole race, without words or agreements as a moral obligation consisting in mutual support given by all members of the race to one another, at all times and places, and under all circumstances. . . .[1]

Von Lembke was not fluent in German; he only had an ungrammatical knowledge of that language. Besides this fact, Dostoevskij attributes von Lembke's rise to the latter's own hard work and having been able to work under fellow Germans. Basically, von Lembke was a modest type--but as a result of his wife's (Julija Mixailovna's) infecting her husband with ambition and the fact that von Lembke's patron was a German general, the former soon became the governor of a Russian province.

Magarshack believes that it may have been Dostoevskij's hatred of the German administrators in Russia which caused him to be so critical of the Germans as a nation.[2] We discover the following significant statement in Dostoevskij's notebook:

> N. B.--Sh (atov) says: The German is the natural enemy of Russia; he who refuses to see that, sees nothing. What have they done for us that they are so proud of? They are lower than

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[1] Ibid., pp. 253-54.

[2] D. Magarshack, Dostoevsky, p. 416.

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> us in everything. Their coalition in Russia merely helps one of them to replace another. A conspiracy that goes back one hundred fifty years. Owing to certain circumstances [namely, that after Peter the Great, all the tsarist families had German blood] they were always on top. All of them third raters occupying the highest offices of state and looking upon the Russians with asinine contempt. They have sucked out Russian strength. They are a real coalition, etc. . . .[1]

The above commentary was not included in The Possessed, since it would have been far to dangerous to print such views. In the serialized version of the novel, Dostoevskij even eliminated the far less negative remark "hundreds of Lembkes occupy important posts and everything seems to go well."[2]

In accordance with his contradictory nature, Dostoevskij, near the beginning of The Possessed, mentions how much Russia owes the Germans and Germany for her development. In addition, he admonishes his fellow countrymen.

> . . . Everything in Russia comes of idleness, everything good and fine even. It all springs from the charming, cultured, whimsical idleness of our gentry! I'm ready to repeat it for 30,000 years. We don't know how to live by our own labor. . . . Nothing is to be gained for nothing. If we work, we shall have an opinion of our own. But as we never shall work, our

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[1] Ibid., pp. 416-17.

[2] Ibid., p. 417. This statement by Dostoevskij would tend to substantiate Miss Sazanova's belief that one could not make negative remarks about the Germans because they held important administrative positions.

> opinions will be formed for us by those who have hitherto done the work instead of us, that is, as always, Europe,[1] the everlasting Germans--our teachers for the last two centuries. Moreover, Russia is too big a tangle for us to unravel alone without the German, and without hard work. . . .[2]

Such admissions hardly seem possible from a man who so vehemently denounced the Germans on so many other occasions. It is proof enough, however, to make a person ask himself the question whether Dostoevskij really admired the Germans, but covered up his true inclinations and opinions by finding fault with them. People with inferiority complexes often act in a condescending fashion. Perhaps this was the case with Dostoevskij, i.e., he hid his secret admiration for Germany under a cloak of denunciation and scorn.

A Raw Youth (Podrostok) which appeared in 1876 contains a sketch of a German named Kraft. Although not negatively portrayed, Dostoevskij attributes Kraft with a streak of arrogance and pride which is not envied by the narrator. Kraft's feeling that the Russians

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[1] E. Wasiolek, in his Dostoevsky--the Major Fiction, is of the opinion that Dostoevskij's original worship of Europe soured once our author toured the Continent where he found corruption so prevalent. This may have been a traumatic experience for Dostoevskij --an occurrence similar to the one which he experienced when the writer traveled to a Baltic town (R) which had a fairly numerous German population. After returning from his holiday there, the writer had long lasting anti-German views.

[2] F. M. Dostoevskij, Polnoe sobranie xudožestvennyx proizvedenij, VII, 31-32.

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are a second-rate people may reflect his "superior" attitude and condescending opinion of the Russians.

> . . . Kraft's face I shall never forget. There was no particular beauty about it, but a positive excess of mildness and delicacy, though personal dignity was conspicuous in everything about him. He was twenty-six, rather thin, above medium height, fair haired, with an earnest but soft face; there was a peculiar gentleness about his whole personality. And yet if I were asked I would not have changed my own, possibly very commonplace, countenance for his, which struck me so attractive. There was something in his face I should not have cared to have in mine, too marked a calm (in a moral sense) and something like a secret, conscious pride. . . .[1]

Kraft's low opinion of the Russian people is exemplified in the excerpt cited below, in which Kraft is credited with having said that the Russians are incapable of acting independently and lack the drive to accomplish their goals.

> . . . "It's all our friend Kraft who is well known to us all for his character and the solidity of his convictions. From a very ordinary fact he has deduced a very extraordinary conviction that has surprised us all. He has deduced that the Russians are a second-rate people . . ."
> "Third-rate," shouted someone.
> ". . . A second-rate people destined to serve as the raw material for a nobler race, and not to play an independent part in the history of humanity. . . .[2]

The Brothers Karamazov (Brat'ja Karamazovy) could not have been complete without the presence of a German physician. In this famous novel, however, Dostoevskij includes a Dr. Eisenschmidt as well as a Dr. Herzenstube. The former is mentioned only in passing, while more is said regarding the latter. Needless to say, in the case of Dr. Herzenstube, Dostoevskij does not waver from his established course of portraying the German doctor positively, as the next quotation will prove. Dr. Herzenstube is distinguished, competent, highly esteemed, and speaks Russian well.

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[1] Ibid., VIII, 43.

[2] Ibid., p. 44.

> The first to be called in the capacity of expert was Doctor Herzenstube. He was a grey and bald old man of seventy, of middle height and sturdy build. He was much esteemed and respected by everyone in the town. He was a conscientious doctor and an excellent and pious man, a Herrnhuter or Moravian brother, I am not sure which. He had been living amongst us for many years and behaved with wonderful dignity. He was a kind-hearted and humane man. He treated the sick, poor, and peasants for nothing, visited them in their slums and huts, and left money for medicine, but he was as obstinate as a mule. If once he had taken an idea into his head there was no shaking it. . . . I must add that he spoke Russian readily, but every phrase was formed in a German style, which did not, however, trouble him, for it had always been a weakness of his to believe that he spoke Russian perfectly, better indeed than Russians. . . .[1]

Some of Dostoevskij's most candid comments concerning the Germans may be found in his Diary of a Writer (Dnevnik pisatelja) which was published from 1877-81. The first passage chosen from the Diary illustrates our author's comparison of an intoxicated German as opposed to a drunken Russian. It is interesting to note how differently these two persons of varying mentalities react to a similar situation.

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[1] Ibid., X, 335-36.

> . . . Take a Russian drunkard and compare him, let us say, with a German drunkard: the Russian is more abominable than the German; still the German drunkard is unmistakably more stupid and ridiculous than the Russian. The Germans are pre-eminently a self-conceited people; they are proud of themselves. In a drunken German these fundamental national traits increase with the measure of the beer consumed. He gets home drunk as a fiddler, and yet proud of himself. The Russian toper likes to drink from grief and to weep. And even while he assumes bold airs, he does not triumph, but is merely turbulent. Invariably, he will recall some offense and will start reproaching the offender, whether or not he be present. Insolently, he will perhaps, argue that he is something next to a general, he swears bitterly and, if people refuse to believe him, he will finally sound an alarm and cry out for help. Still, the reason why he is so ugly and why he cries out for help is that, in the innermost part of his tipsy soul, he is unquestionably convinced that he is no "general" at all, but merely a nasty sot, and that he has become filthier than a beast. . . .[1]

Dostoevskij's analysis of the reactions of a German and a Russian to a work of art--in this instance, a painting--reveal our author's belief that where art is concerned, the Russian is able to express a greater feeling of empathy and comprehension toward a work not depicting a Russian genre, than a German who is asked to interpret a painting illustrating a Russian milieu.

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[1] *Ibid.*, XI, 36.

> . . . Now, I ask you, what will a German or a Viennese Jew (Vienna, even as Odessa, they say, is full of Jews) understand in this picture? Perhaps somebody will explain the gist of the matter, and they will learn that a Russian merchant of average standing has two passions--the race horse and the nightingale--and that on this account the picture is awfully amusing. But what will this come to? This is some abstract knowledge, and it will be hard for the German to comprehend why this is amusing. . . . The thing which is most annoying is the fact that we should understand a similar German picture, portraying German genre, just as well as they would, and we should even be delighted as much as they, experiencing almost their German sentiments, whereas, in Russian painting, they will understand nothing at all. But then, maybe, in a sense, this is to our advantage.[1]

Dostoevskij regretted that the Russians did not adhere to the civilizing traditions of the Greeks, who were so close to Byzantium, preferring instead to emulate and be influenced by the "coarse" Germans, a people who had far less in common with the Russians than with the Greeks.

> If in Finnish Petersburg we did not elude the influence of the neighboring Germans who, though useful, had paralyzed Russian progress before its genuine path had been ascertained, how then in Constantinople--so enormous and original, with her remnants of a most powerful and ancient civilization--could we have managed to elude the influence of the Greeks, men far more subtle than the coarse Germans, men who have infinitely more points in common with us than the Germans who do not resemble us at

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[1] Ibid., p. 73.

> all--numerous courtiers who would promptly have surrounded the Throne and who, ahead of the Russians, would have become educated and learned, who would have captivated Peter himself, not to speak of his immediate successors, taking advantage of his weak spot by their skill in seamanship. . . .[1]

In his Diary of a Writer, Dostoevskij admits that he spoke German badly, but he did understand it.[2] Furthermore, the writer states that he knew all his life that the Germans continually, ever since the time of the German Suburb near Moscow, disliked the Russians.[3]

In connection with the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War, our author initially believed that the French would encounter little difficulty in defeating the Germans. The ultimate German victory resulted, in Dostoevskij's view, in increased arrogance and haughtiness on the part of the Germans. Those persons coming from the Eastern European countries seemed quite aware of this phenomenon, since they felt that, after France, they might be the targets of German designs.[4]

Dostoevskij made some interesting observations in his Diary of a Writer pertaining to his experiences in the German town of Bad Ems, where he went to drink mineral waters. His diary contains lengthy commentaries about the efficiency of the German girls giving out the mineral waters to the guests as well as the industriousness, order, and cleanliness exhibited by the management of a small hotel in Bad Ems.

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[1] Ibid., p. 327.

[2] Ibid., p. 337.

[3] Ibid., p. 339.

[4] Ibid., p. 338.

> As far as work specifically is concerned, the observing Russian also feels perplexed. Living one month in the hotel--(strictly speaking, not in a hotel: here every house is a hotel, and the majority of these hotels, with the exception of several big ones, are simply apartments with service and board by stipulation)--I kept wondering at our maid servant. In the hotel where I lived there were twelve apartments, all of them occupied; in some of them whole families were living. Everyone rings the bell; everyone orders something; everyone has to be served; many times during the day she has to run up and down the staircase. And for all this there is in the hotel only one servant --a nineteen-year-old girl. . . That hostess, a widow, had three children; somehow they had to be taken care of, served; in the mornings they had to be dressed for school. Every Saturday the maid had to wash all the floors in the house; every day every room had to be cleaned, bed and table linen had to be changed, and each time after the departure of a tenant his entire apartment had to be immediately washed and cleaned without waiting for Saturday. The girl went to bed at half past eleven in the evening, and in the morning the hostess would wake her up with a bell at five o'clock. All this is literally so, as I am stating it, and I do not exaggerate in the least. Add to this the fact that she worked for a modest renumberation-inconceivable in Petersburg--and, on top of that, she had to be neatly dressed. Please note that there was nothing contrite or oppressed in the appearance of the maid-servant: she was cheerful, bold, healthy--with a perfectly contented air and an unperturbed calmness. . . .[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 353-54.

After giving his reader a detailed description of the everyday chores of a servant girl in a German *Pension*, he goes on to say that the Russians not only take their work less seriously, but the quality of their work often leaves much to be desired.

> . . . Nay, in Russia people do not work this way: for no amount of money will our Russian maidservant accept such a "hard labor" position. Besides the quality of her work is different: a hundred times will she forget things; she will spill something; she will fail to bring things; she will break something; she will make a mistake; she will grow angry or "fresh." Whereas here, during the whole month, there was absolutely nothing to complain about. . . .[1]

Dostoevskij also compares the efficiency and attitude of the German bureaucrat to his Russian counterpart. Specifically, our author chooses to compare post-office workers. The Russian functionary is attributed with the qualities of irritability, anger, haughtiness--especially prevalent among the most minor government officials. Dostoevskij finds that the officials of his native land ignore the public and cause the latter undue and uncalled for inconvenience.[2]

> Our functionary, compared with the German, spends much less time at his work. Rudeness, inattention, neglect, *animosity* the public for the sole reason that it is the public, and most of all--petty Jupiterism. He is anxious by all means to prove to you that you depend upon him.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

> "Look at me; you there, behind the balustrade, you can do nothing to me, and I can do to you whatever pleases me, and if you grow angry, I shall call a guard and you will be ejected." He seeks to take vengeance upon someone for some kind of offense, to take vengeance upon you for his nothingness. . . .[1]

Oddly enough, the next excerpt contains a comment which rejects the contention of those who might say that Dostoevskij never really admired the Germans for any of the contributions they made to mankind.

> . . . Among us Russians, there has always circulated a great number of anecdotes about the tightness and dullness of the Germans, notwithstanding all our sincere admiration of their learnedness. But it seems to me that the Germans merely possess too strong a distinctiveness, too obstinate a national peculiarity, to the degree of haughtiness, which, at times, makes one indignant, and which, for this reason, leads to erroneous conclusions regarding them. . . .[2]

Dostoevskij's observations lead one to the conclusion that such stereotyped images are, in large part, due to a very fundamental difference in mentality between the two national groups. What is good for one, almost seems to be anathema for the other.

The writer displayed very little sympathy for what he termed "Luther's heresy." He felt that Germany had been doing nothing but protesting for nineteen centuries and that if Catholicism were to disappear

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 356.

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from our planet, then Protestantism too would expire, since it would no longer have anything against which it could protest.[1] Thus, Dostoevskij seems to place Germany in the position of a powder key in the heart of Europe able to turn both against the West (when she attacked France) as well as against her Eastern neighbors.[2]

Unlike Turgenev, who believed that the Germans had learned from the Romans, Dostoevskij was of the persuasion that:

> Germany's aim is one; it existed before, always. It is her Protestantism--not that single formula of Protestantism, her continual protest against the Roman world ever since Arminius,--against everything that was Rome and Roman in aim, and subsequently--against everything that was bequeathed by ancient Rome to the new Rome and to all those peoples who inherited from Rome her idea, her formula and element against the heir of Rome and everything that constitutes this legacy. . . .[3]

Dostoevskij sums up his view of Germany's historical role in the passage cited below in which he praises the Germans by calling them a "great" and "proud" people. Dostoevksij attributes their unsettling influence upon the affairs of Europe to the Germans protesting against the unification of their own fate and ideals with those of the successors of the old Roman tradition. It is Dostoevskij's contention that the Germans, with their haughtiness, thought themselves able of providing leadership for Europe and hence, mankind.

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[1] Ibid., XII, 8.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 156.

Perhaps the reader has already noted the disparity in the appraisals of the Germans (excluding German physicians) existing in the author's works and those comments he makes about the German in his Diary of a Writer. While most of the former are very critical and negative, the latter reveal a more logical and rational evaluation of the German. Moreover, in most cases, we are confronted with positive, sympathetic sketches of the German doctor, whenever he crops up in Dostoevskij's works. Perhaps Dostoevskij received some sort of medical attention from a German physician whose treatment of the writer left a lifelong favorable impact upon Dostoevskij. On the other hand, Dostoevskij's German women are usually portrayed in a negative, degrading manner. Could this have been the result of the writer's possible rejection by some German woman whom he attempted to woo? The author's old comrade, Riesenkampf, felt that Dostoevskij's experiences in Reval made him basically anti-German for the rest of his life.

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The works of Dostoevskij, like those of Turgenev, exemplify how fully the German was a part of everyday Russian life. Hence, we encounter German coffee house owners, estate managers, teachers, musicians, bureaucrats, nobles, landladies, zookeepers, innkeepers, merchants, and the like who permeate the fabric of life in nineteenth-century Russia.

Was Dostoevskij trying to hide a secret admiration for the Germans by repeatedly denouncing their mannerisms and customs, while lauding those of his native land? Considering the writer's unhealthy physical and mental states, this might be entirely possible. Dostoevskij's sarcastic remarks regarding the Germans' ability to save money, be efficient, neat, prosperous, and the like, may have been the embodiments of those traits which Dostoevskij had, at one time or another, sought. The writer was a gambler, an individual who lived from one day to the next; one who continually suffered from a lack of money. His debts were, at times, enormous. Although a very sensitive and nervous person, Dostoevskij was subject to intense emotions of ecstasy which could be soon followed by periods of extreme depression.

Dostoevskij's mentality and values appear typically Russian. He lacked the patrician, sauve,

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cosmopolitan savoir faire of his nineteenth-century contemporary Turgenev. Since opposites supposedly attract, it is possible that some of those things which Dostoevskij attacked in the German character actually could have been qualities which our author had sought but was unable to attain.

Dostoevskij exhibited a type of love-hate relationship toward the Germans which might reveal the fact that (as his Diary attests--at least in part) he secretly admired that race of which he had been so critical in his literary works.

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CHAPTER VI

LEV NIKOLAEVIČ TOLSTOJ

L. N. Tolstoj presents a marked contrast to F. M. Dostoevskij as far as their Weltanschauungen are concerned. Dostoevskij embodied the revolutionary spirit. He was able to mirror many of the shortcomings in nineteenth-century Russian society. Furthermore, Dostoevskij loved his native land, the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as the historical traditions of Russia. Tolstoj could not be called a "revolutionary"--he was instead a painter of static things, an individual who looked toward the past for inspiration and guidance. Actually, Tolstoj expressed little sympathy for old historical or religious traditions. Unlike Dostoevskij, Tolstoj denounced Russian Orthodoxy (for which he was excommunicated), ridiculed the Russian Empire, and sought safety from the contemporary industrializing world about him by remaining on his estate.[1]

Lev (Count) Nikolaevič Tolstoj was born on August 28 (old style), 1828. The author's mother passed

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[1] N. Berdyaev, Dostoievsky, pp. 22-23.

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away when he was three, and his father died when the boy was nine. When Tolstoj reached the age of five, he was placed in the charge of a German tutor, a certain Fëdor Ivanovič Rössel (who is portrayed in Childhood) who had also been the tutor for the author's older brothers.[1]

Like Turgenev, Tolstoj was born into a very old, established, and wealthy aristocratic Russian family. Throughout his youth, Tolstoj was raised according to the old noble traditions. The writer spoke excellent French and English. He loved the life of the Russian gentry and seemed happiest when he was on his estate, Jasnaja Poljana (Bright Meadow).[2]

In 1843, Tolstoj entered the Philological Faculty of the University of Kazan'. He never graduated from that institution. The writer served in the Russian army from 1851-54, during which time he was in the Caucasus and in the Crimea. Afterwards, he traveled about Europe and enjoyed the "good" life of a young, wealthy Russian aristocrat.[3]

In 1862, Tolstoj returned to Jasnaja Poljana with his bride, Sophie Behrs, an eighteen-year-old girl who obviously was of German extraction. From then until his death in 1910, Tolstoj remained on his ancestral estate where, after his passing, he was buried.[1]

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[1] L. N. Tolstoy, Complete Works, trans. by Leo Wiener (Boston: Estes and Co., 1905), XXIV, 219.

[2] M. Slonim, The Epic of Russian Literature, pp. 310-11.

[3] Ibid., p. 311.

It was in 1857 that Tolstoj made his initial journey abroad. On this occasion, the author visited Germany, Paris, and Switzerland. During his stay at the Schweizerhof in Lucerne, Tolstoj gathered material for his story entitled Lucerne, in which he describes his disillusionment with European society.[2]

Like his nineteenth-century contemporaries, Turgenev and Dostoevskij, Tolstoj visited many German cities. It is known that the writer went to Stettin, Berlin (where he attended university lectures), Leipzig, Dresden, Kissingen, Soden, and Frankfurt.[3]

Again, Tolstoj journeyed to Germany in 1860. In 1895, when the author wished to embark upon his third trip to that country, he was told by a high government official that nothing would stand in the writer's way, but perhaps Tolstoj's return to Russia might not be a decision of the author. As a result of this admonition,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] L. N. Tolstoy, Complete Works, XXIV, 234.

[3] Ibid., p. 237.

Tolstoj did not undertake this trip which had Bayreuth as its goal.[1]

When Tolstoj went to Dresden (1860), he was accompanied by Bertold Auerbach who also shared the writer's interest in the masses and in public schools. In Bad Kissingen, Tolstoj met with Julius Fröbel, the nephew of the founder of the kindergarten. On his return to Russia from France, Tolstoj traveled to Weimar, paid the composer Liszt a visit, and saw Goethe's summer house. While at Jena, he took the mathematician Keller back with him to Russia. Keller aided Tolstoj in establishing a school at Jasnaja Poljana.[2]

According to T. Motylëva's article "Tolstoj und die deutsche Literatur,"[3] Tolstoj did not have the same degree of contact or exposure to German writers as he did with Rousseau, Stendhal, or Lawrence Sterne. Nonetheless, Tolstoj was quite aware of German literature and studied it assiduously. In fact, when one examines his diaries and correspondence--not to mention his works--from his youth until his death, one is able to determine the numerous occasions on which Tolstoj

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[1] H. Halm, "Wechselbeziehungen zwischen L. N. Tolstoj und der deutschen Literatur," _Archiv für slavische Philologie_ (Berlin), XXXV (1914), 454.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 455.

[3] _Zeitschrift für Slawistik_, VII (1962), 216-23.

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made remarks pertaining to German writers.[1] Tolstoj's opinion of Goethe, for example, was schismatic, although he claimed to have read forty-two volumes of Goethe's works.[2]

On the other hand, in spite of the fact that Tolstoj made fewer comments about Schiller, the author's relation to Schiller was far more positive than his relation to Goethe.[3]

Tolstoj made some interesting observations regarding the different forces motivating German and Russian peasants. The Russian peasant, in Tolstoj's view, is reasonable, alert, patient, and easily satisfied, centuries of serfdom notwithstanding. The author, nonetheless, was aware of his countrymen's lack of energy, goals, and endurance (especially that sort which stimulates one to complete projects). According to Tolstoj, it was these latter qualities, in particular, which gave the German his moral superiority.[4] Although the Russians had learned a great deal from the Germans, Tolstoj believed that there still remained a fair amount to be mastered.[5]

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 216.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 218. [3] _Ibid._, p. 219.

[4] H. Halm, "Wechelbeziehungen zwischen L. N. Tolstoj und der deutschen Literatur," p. 469.

[5] _Ibid._

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Nevertheless, L. N. Tolstoj was highly critical of the Russian educational system which had been modelled (during his lifetime) after the German pattern. He found the latter system unsuitable for the un-pedantic Russian mentality. To be sure, he felt that this "new" pattern almost created as many problems as it was intended to eliminate in the old church method.[1]

Thus, one is able to conclude that like Gončarov, Turgenev, and Dostoevskij, Tolstoj was aware of the fundamental variations in mentality between Germans and Russians. He realized that some institutions, procedures, or systems could not be expected to function well in Russia, merely because they were operable and worthy of praise in another country. Values, outlooks, and mentalities certainly must be taken into account if one society attempts to improve itself by emulating another. Total imitation rarely works; modifications which take into consideration varying mentalities are usually necessary.

In keeping with his later developing religious thought, Tolstoj, in the Patriotism and Government (1900), blames the German ruling classes for having originated the idea of universal, compulsory military service during the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[1] L. N. Tolstoy, Complete Works, XII, 277.

In Tolstoj's view, "this terrible measure, which in the rudest way offends all the best sentiments of men, has under the influence of patriotism, been accepted without a murmur by the German nation."[1] Hence, Tolstoj, who looked with disdain upon any form of military service, was very critical of this action which was silently accepted by the German people.

From the evidence given thus far, one may see that Tolstoj had a German tutor as a boy--an individual whom he depicts favorably in his work *Childhood* (1852)--traveled to Germany on two occasions, was thoroughly familiar and well versed in the works of both Goethe and Schiller, and chose for his wife a young girl with a German name, Sophie Behrs. Perhaps it was a result of these, in part, first-hand observations that Tolstoj devoted more space in his works to the Germans than to any other foreign group.

The works of Tolstoj will be treated in a chronological fashion, as were the prose works of the three previously dealt with nineteenth-century Russian authors.

Tolstoj's first major literary work was *Childhood* (*Detstvo*), *Boyhood* (*Otročestvo*), and *Youth* (*Junost'*) appearing in 1852, 1854, and 1857 respectively. In Childhood, we are given a very positive depiction of a German tutor, Karl Ivanovič Mauer, who represents the German teacher (Karl Ivanovič Rössel) Tolstoj had when he was very young. The subsequent quotation indicates the good feelings Tolstoj had for this man.

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[1] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 150.

> Karl Ivanyč was surprised, left my soles in peace, and with a disturbed mien began to ask what was the matter with me, and whether I had not had a bad dream . . . His good German face and the interest which he evinced in trying to ascertain the cause of my tears made them flow more copiously; I felt ashamed, and I could not understand how a minute ago I could have disliked Karl Ivanyč, and how I could have found his gown, his cap, and his tassel contemptible. Now, on the contrary, all those things appeared particularly charming to me, and even the tassel seemed to be an evident proof of his goodness. . . .[1]

A moving, sympathetic image is drawn of Karl Ivanovič when he is supposed to leave the Tolstoj household:

> When he entered the cabinet with the notes in his hand and with a ready speech in his head, he had intended to expatiate to papa on all the injustice which he had suffered in our house, but when he began to speak in the same touching voice and the same touching intonation in which he generally dictated to us, his eloquence acted most powerfully upon himself, so that when he reached the place where he said, "However sad it will be for me to part from the children," he completely lost himself, his voice began to

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[1] L. N. Tolstoj, Sobranie sočinenij (Moskva: Gos. izd. xudož. lit., 1960), I, 18.

> tremble, and he was compelled to get his checkered handkerchief out of his pocket.[1]

Within the pages of Childhood, there also appears another German tutor (actually, a russianized German) who is employed by another Russian family, the Irvins. Frost, however, is quite different from Karl Ivanovič. Frost, as his name might reflect, is cool, correct, stiff, and very fashionable. In a word, he is a sort of Beau Brummel.

> The young tutor of the Irvins, Herr Frost, went with grandmother's permission, down into the garden with us, seated himself on a green bench picturesquely crossed his legs, placing between them his cane with a brass knob, and, with the expression of a man who is satisfied with his actions, lighted a cigar.
>
> Herr Frost was a German, but of an entirely different type from our good Karl Ivanovič. In the first place he spoke Russian correctly, and French with a bad pronunciation, and enjoyed, particularly among the ladies, the reputation of being a very learned gentleman; in the second, he wore red moustaches, a large ruby pin in a black satin cravat, the ends of which were tucked under his suspenders, and light blue pantaloons with changing hues and with footstraps; in the third, he was young, had a beautiful, self-satisfied expression, and unusually well developed, muscular legs. It was evident he very much treasured this advantage; he regarded the effect as irresistible on persons of the feminine sex and, no doubt for this reason, tried to place his legs in a most noticeable position, and, whether he was standing or sitting, continually moved his thighs. He was the type of a young Russian German who wished to be a beau and a Lovelace.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 50. [2] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

There is a brief mention of a German physician, a Dr. Blumenthal, in Tolstoj's Boyhood. Thus, as in the works of Turgenev and Dostoevskij, the German doctor crops up here too.

In Youth, Tolstoj intersperses the contents of the story with a brief allusion to German university students from the University of Dorpat, whom he encountered while he was a student. The writer discusses their customs and drinking habits.

In his Sevastopol Tales (Sevastopol'skie rasskazy) which were written from 1854-56, we are confronted with a Russian German officer type who, although superficially very positive, seems to lack something characterwise. Tolstoj notes his excellent command of the Russian language, good physical appearance, and dependability. At this stage in his literary endeavors, Tolstoj distinguishes between the Russian Germans who are not fault-free and the "ideal" German Germans.

> Before dinner the staff captain was relieved in the bastion, and he joined their company. Staff Captain Kraut was a blond, handsome, audacious officer, with a long sandy moustache and whiskers; he spoke Russian excellently, but a little too well and too regularly for a Russian. In his service and in life he was the same as with his language; he served beautifully, was an excellent companion, a most reliable man in monetary affairs; but simply, as a man, even

> because everything was so good, there was something lacking. Like all Russian Germans, he was in strange contradistinction to the ideal German Germans, in the highest degree practical.[1]

Another German officer, Kraft, is depicted in Tolstoj's Cutting of the Forest (Rubka lesa), published in 1858. Kraft is that sort of individual who wishes to please his superiors at all times; occasionally he is even obsequious in his manner.

> At this moment a white head with a flat nose was thrust through the opening of the booth, and a sharp voice with a German accent said:
>
> "Are you here, Abram Ilič? The officer of the day is looking for you."
>
> "Come in Kraft!" said Bolxov.
>
> A long figure in the coat of the general staff squeezed through the door, and began to press everyone's hands with great fervor.
>
> "Ah, dear captain! you are here, too?" he said, addressing Trosenko.
>
> The new guest, in spite of the darkness, made his way toward him, and to the captain's great surprise and dissatisfaction, as I thought, kissed his lips.
>
> "This is a German who wants to be a good comrade," I thought.[2]

In the narrative entitled Two Hussars (Dva gusara) which appeared in 1856, we are presented with a favorable sketch of a Captain Schulz who probably was a Russian German.

> On the following day the squadron departed. The officers did not see their hosts and did not bid them farewell. Nor did they speak to each other. Upon arriving at the first day's

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[1] Ibid., II, 200.

[2] Ibid., p. 84.

> halt it was proposed to have a duel. But Captain Schulz, a good fellow, an excellent horseman, the favorite of everybody in the regiment, and having been selected by the count to be his second, so managed to arrange matters that not only was there no duel, but no one in the regiment ever knew anything about the affair.[1]

Albert (1857) is a story about a German musician of the same name. The image of Albert which is drawn by the writer is a sad, pitiful one. Physically somewhat deformed, untidy, and dishevelled, Albert devotes himself totally to his music. He is able to transfer his feelings to his audience. The latter are spellbound when Albert plays his violin. The passage cited below describes Albert's transformation from an insignificant, ordinary soul into a performer of the highest caliber.

> . . . Albert's face became red; his eyes burned, without growing dim; large drops of perspiration coursed down his cheeks. The veins on his brow were swollen; his whole body came into an ever increasing motion; the pale lips no longer closed up, and his whole figure expressed an ecstatic eagerness of enjoyment.[2]

After having given a truly laudatory performance, Albert's

> . . . back became bent, his lips were folded, his eyes were dimmed, and he, as though ashamed of himself, looking timidly about him and stumbling, went into another room.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 317.

[2] Ibid., III, 38-39.

[3] Ibid., p. 39.

Here, Tolstoj has drawn a picture of a timid, shy, frightened German musician who possesses a magnificent gift for music. Albert seems to embody a split-personality, only coming "out of his shell" when he plays his beloved violin. The novelist's portrayal of Albert is positive and quite sympathetic. Tolstoj seems to admire people who are able to devote themselves completely to serving art. Albert is described as one who "seems wretched to you and you despise him, but he is the best and happiest of men!"[1]

Tolstoj's literary masterpiece, War and Peace (Vojna i mir), written in the years 1862-69 contains several portrayals of the German. The German officers whom the writer under discussion depicts are, in most cases, conceited "know it alls" and doctrinaire individuals. Tolstoj's attitude toward them is a malevolent one.

The Germans in War and Peace irritate the author no matter how appealing they might appear to anyone else. Even a type such as Lieutenant Rosenkranz, who spoke often of his ancestry, in an attempt to prove that his forebears were Russians, is not accepted by Tolstoj. More space is devoted by the writer to Lieutenant Adolf

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[1] Ibid., p. 59.

Karlovič Berg, a Russian German who is characterized in the following fashion:

> . . . The latter, a fresh, rosy officer of the Guards, irreproachably washed, brushed, and buttoned, held his pipe in the middle of his mouth and with red lips gently inhaled the smoke, letting it escape from his handsome mouth in rings. This was Lieutenant Berg, an officer in the Semenov regiment. . . .[1]

Berg is further depicted as that sort of person who is reserved, polite, and precise. He was an egotist and conceited, for he only enjoyed speaking about himself.

> Berg always spoke quietly, politely, and with great precision. His conversation always related entirely to himself; he would remain calm and silent when the talk related to any topic that had no direct bearing on himself. He could remain silent for hours without being at all put out of countenance himself or making others uncomfortable, but as soon as the conversation concerned himself he would begin to talk circumstantially and with evident satisfaction.[2]

Berg is very conscious of his position, career, rank, as well as his own financial affairs. As a matter of fact, the Germans were credited with knowing how to "skin a flint." Berg was so mercenary and materialistically oriented that he did not overlook how far he could advance if certain people above him were to die. Career advancement was constantly on his mind.

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[1] _Ibid_., IV, 80-81.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 81.

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> . . . Berg, oblivious of irony or indifference, continued to explain how by exchanging into the Guards he had already gained a step on his old comrades of the Cadet Corps.; how in wartime the company commander might get killed and he, as senior in the company, might easily succeed to the post; how popular he was with everyone in the regiment, and how satisfied his father was with him. Berg evidently enjoyed narrating all this, and did not seem to suspect that others, too, might have their own interests. . . .[1]

In addition, Berg made sure everyone knew that he had suffered an injury to his right hand at Austerlitz.

When it came to selecting a wife, Berg was very methodical, calculating, thorough, and always kept his ultimate goals in mind.

> "Do you see," Berg said to his companion, whom he called a friend only because he knew that all people had friends, "do you see, I have considered everything well: I should not marry if I had not considered it, or if it for any reason were inconvenient. But now, on the contrary, my parents are taken care of, for I have fixed them as tenants in the Baltic Provinces, and I can live in St. Petersburg with my salary and with her dowry, and considering my moderation, I can live well. I do not marry her for her money--that I regard as disgraceful, but a wife must bring with her her part, just as the husband brings his. I serve, and she has connections and some means. This means something in our days, does it not? And, above all, she is a beautiful, respectful girl and she loves me. . . ."[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 82.

[2] Ibid., V, 208-09.

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Berg's home seemed to exhibit all the amenities of someone in his class. The "proper" atmosphere in Berg's home was achieved by choosing the right furniture, symmetrically arranged, in order to impress his guests. Berg and his wife also dressed in the most au courant manner so that their invited guests would receive the proper impression. In a word, Berg did all this to ease his advancement to higher posts.

> Berg and his wife were sitting in a clean, bright cabinet, which was ornamented with small busts and pictures and new furniture. Berg was sitting near his wife, wearing a new uniform, which was all buttoned up, and was explaining to her that it was always proper to have acquaintances among people who stand higher, because only then is there any pleasure in having acquaintances.
>
> "You learn something, and you may ask for something. See how I have risen from the first ranks!" (Berg did not count his life by years, but by imperial rewards). "My comrades are still nothing, and I am in command of a regiment pro tem," . . .[1]

In the final chapters of War and Peace, we are informed of Berg's successful rise through the ranks of the military:

> Berg, the Rostovs' son in law, was already a colonel wearing the Orders of Vladimir and Anna, and he still filled the quiet and agreeable post of assistant to the head of the staff of assistant commander of the first division of the Second Army.
>
> He had nothing to do in Moscow, but he had noticed that everyone in the army was asking for

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[1] Ibid., p. 237.

> leave to visit Moscow and had something to do there. So he considered it necessary to ask for leave of absence for family and domestic reasons.
>
> Berg drove up to his father-in-law's house in his spruce little trap with a pair of sleek roans, exactly like those of a certain prince. . . .[1]

Apparently, Berg's efforts have been rewarded many times over, for he has achieved the goals for which he has striven so assiduously. His rank, income, and material possessions illustrate his success in the military.

A German tutor also crops up in the text of War and Peace. Obviously, the one described below seems to wish to impress his relatives in Germany with how well he is able to dine in Russia.

> The German tutor was trying to remember all the dishes, wines, and kinds of dessert, in order to send a full description of the dinner to his people in Germany; and he felt greatly offended when the butler with a bottle wrapped in a napkin passed him by. . . .[2]

On the same page, Tolstoj draws a sketch of another German military type, in this case a German colonel who does not speak Russian well. The writer, like Dostoevskij, underlines this shortcoming.

> The colonel was a stout, tall, plethoric German, evidently devoted to the service and patriotically Russian. . . .

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[1] Ibid., VI, 352.

[2] Ibid., IV, 86.

> "It is for the reasson, my goot sir," said he, speaking with a German accent, "for the reasson zat ze Emperor knows zat He declares in ze manifessto zat he cannot fiew wiz indifference ze danger treatening Russia and zat ze safety and dignity of ze Empire as vell as ze sanctity of its alliances . . ."[1]

Perhaps some additional clues regarding Tolstoj's general view of the Germans may be ascertained in the following quoted statements from War and Peace.

> . . . "Besides he began by attacking Germans and only idlers have failed to beat the Germans. Since the world began everybody has beaten the Germans. They beat no one--except one another. . . ."[2]

> "I am very sorry you did not find me in yesterday. I was fussing about with Germans all day. We went with Weyrother to survey the dispositions. When Germans start being accurate, there's no end to it!"[3]

> "The colonel of those Württembergers is delightful," he suddenly said. "He's a German, but a nice fellow all the same. . . . But he's a German."[4]

Thus, Tolstoj was not too favorably impressed with the fighting ability of the Germans. Moreover, he found their pedantry to be extreme; German officers were also looked down upon; rarely is there a German military man who is positively or humanly portrayed in the novels of the writer under analysis.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 86-87.

[2] Ibid., p. 141.

[3] Ibid., p. 337.

[4] Ibid., VI, 417.

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Pfuel is the embodiment of the self-assertive, sarcastic, and aggressive German officer (a general in the Russian army). He is more concerned about the scientific accuracy of his military operations than about their success. Tolstoj depicts Pfuel in this manner:

> Pfuel was short and very thin but broad-boned, of coarse, robust build, broad in the hips, and with prominent shoulder blades. His face was much wrinkled and his eyes deep set. . . .[1]

The writer supports his views as to why the citizens of the major European nations are self-confident. His perception in differentiating the various national mentalities is commendable. It should be noted, though, that Tolstoj is especially critical of the Germans in this respect.

> . . . Pfuel was one of those hopelessly and immutably self-confident men, self-confident to the point of martyrdom as only Germans are, because only Germans are self-confident on the basis of an abstract notion --science, that is, the supposed knowledge of absolute truth. A Frenchman is self-assured because he regards himself personally, both in mind and body, as irresistibly attractive to men and women. An Englishman is self-assured, as being a citizen of the best-organized state in the world, and therefore as an Englishman always knows what he should do and knows that all he does as an Englishman is undoubtedly correct. An Italian is self-assured because he is excitable and easily

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

> forgets himself and other people. A Russian is self-assured just because he knows nothing and does not want to know anything, since he does not believe that anything can be known. The German's self-assurance is worst of all, stronger and more repulsive than any other, because he imagines that he knows the truth--science--which he himself has invented but which is for him the absolute truth. . . .[1]

The next novel to be examined is Anna Karenina was written during the three-year period 1873-76 and published in 1877. This volume of Tolstoj lampoons the accuracy, pedantry, and routine manner of life characteristic of the Germans. The author's sketches ridicule the various classes of German under examination. Hence, in the first instance, a German clockmaker is seen as a rather comical figure:

> It was Friday, and a German Clockmaker was winding up the clock in the dining room. Stepan recalled his joke about this accurate, bald-headed clockmaker, which was that "the German himself was wound up for a lifetime, in order to wind up clocks," and he smiled. . . .[2]

Later in the novel, when Germany and the Germans are the topic of conversation, the following derogatory comments are made pertaining to the everyday life of the Germans.

> "But I know everything of interest: I know their cherry soup and their pea sausages. I know it all."

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[1] Ibid., p. 57.

[2] Ibid., VIII, 20-21.

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> "No, say what you please prince, their institutions are charming," said the colonel.
> "What is there interesting? They are all satisfied like copper pennies: they have conquered everybody [Anna Karenina was written after the Franco-Prussian War]. But what have I to be satisfied with? I have not conquered anybody; all I have to do is to take off my own boots and put them myself in front of the door. In the morning you have to get up, dress yourself at once, and go to the hall to drink miserable tea. It's quite different at home! You wake up when you get ready, grumble at something or other, growl, regain your consciousness, think matters over, and are in no hurry whatsoever."
> "But time is money,--you are forgetting," said the colonel.[1]

Unlike Dostoevskij, Tolstoj was not too happy with the routine sort of schedule which the guests of small hotels in Germany had to follow. As was previously stated, the discipline demanded of a person in order that he meet certain deadlines or appointments seemed to run contrary to the Russian way of doing things, at least as far as the nobility was concerned.

German estate managers are also dealt with in Anna Karenina. By and large, many of the Russian landed gentry (according to the manifold examples one can discover in Russian literature) encountered difficulties wherever financial matters pertaining to their estates were involved. Indeed, it was a rare occurrence to find a Russian landowner who was not losing money in the management of his estate or was being robbed and/or exploited by his steward.

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[1] Ibid., p. 276.

The extreme accuracy of a German bookkeeper is noted in the excerpt cited below:

> Besides, this question was not quite honest on Levin's part. The hostess had just told him at tea that they had sent to Moscow for a German expert bookkeeper, who for a fee of five hundred rubles examined the condition of the estate and had found that it footed up a loss of three thousand rubles or more. She did not remember exactly how much, but she thought the German had figured it out to one-fourth of a kopeck.[1]

Vronskij, a main character in the novel, does not allow himself to be fooled or persuaded by his German manager to purchase unnecessary equipment.

> . . . He [Vronskij] did not surrender himself to the cunning and the glibness of the German, who wanted to draw him into purchases and who presented all the calculations in such a light that at first it appeared that more was needed, but who after reflection showed that the same could be done with less money and yet bring immediate return. He listened to his manager, and asked him for details and agreed with him only when the importations or the new structures were to be something entirely new in Russia, which would call forth admiration. . . .[2]

In his book entitled Resurrection (Voskresenie), published in 1899, Tolstoj describes a German estate manager who has become wealthy through shortchanging his Russian employer.

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[1] Ibid., p. 391.

[2] Ibid., IX, 247.

> "A superb German," said the driver, who had lived in the city and read novels. . . . "He has provided himself with a cream-colored trojka, and when he drives out with his lady, it makes you feel small," he continued.
>
> "In winter, at Christmas, there was a Christmas tree in the large house,--I then took some guests there; it was lighted with an electric spark. You could not find the like of it in the whole Government! He has stolen a lot of money! And why not? Everything is in his power. They say he has bought himself a fine estate."
>
> Nexljudov had thought that he was quite indifferent to the way the German was managing and using his estate. But the story of the driver with the long waist was disagreeable to him. . . .[1]

Clearly, Tolstoj suggested that many German managers took advantage of their masters' absence to benefit themselves. The serfs were exploited, inhumane measures were instituted, and falsifications were made to the advantage of the estate manager. Tolstoj depicts Nexljudov's German superintendent as follows:

> . . . This embarrassing silence was broken by the calm, self-confident German superintendent, who regarded himself as a connoisseur of the Russian peasant, and who spoke Russian beautifully and correctly. This strong, overfed man, just like Nexljudov, presented a striking contrast to the lean, wrinkled faces and the thin shoulderblades of the peasants, which protruded underneath their kaftans.[2]

The German manager depicted here is shrewd, aggressive, and not interested in the peasants' welfare. He wishes to use his master's land to his own advantage.

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[1] Ibid., XIII, 225.

[2] Ibid., p. 230.

The German superintendent has a superior air and is quite immune toward the personal needs of the peasants.

Anna Karenina does make a brief allusion to a Baron Kriegsmut, chief officer of a Russian fortress, who is characterized as "un très brave homme" a "good fellow." This kind word concerning a Russian German military type hardly outweighs or balances the numerous negative sketches of this stratum of Russian nineteenth-century life.

Perhaps the most scathing reprimand of the German military type may be discovered within the pages of Resurrection. One is confronted with an old Russian general of German noble descent, who, for all intents and purposes, is without humane feelings. Like many of the Nazi military during the Hitler era, this general believed in duty and the implementation of his orders above all else. He lacked any sort of compassion for his fellow man. Some of the qualities attributed to him by the writer would tend to cause one to envision this general as a person totally devoid of emotion or humane feeling; as a "machine" whose sole duty it is to carry out orders submitted by his superiors. For his service, he was decorated by the Russian state.

> The man on whom depended the alleviation of the lot of those who were confined in St. Petersburg had decorations enough to cover him, but, with the exception of a white cross in the

> buttonhole, he did not wear them; he was a superannuated old general, in his clotage, as they said, and was of German baronial origin. . . . He executed severely all orders from above, and was exceedingly proud of this execution; to these orders from above he ascribed a special meaning, and thought that everything in the world might be changed, except these orders from above. His duty consisted in keeping political prisoners in barracks, in solitary confinement, and he kept them there in such a way that half of them perished in the course of ten years, partly becoming insane, partly dying from consumption, and partly committing suicide: some by starving themselves, others by cutting their veins open with pieces of glass, or by hanging, or by burning themselves to death.
>
> The old general knew all this; all this took place under his eyes, but all these cases did not touch his conscience any more than his conscience was touched by accidents arising from storms, inundations, and so on. These accidents happened on account of his executing orders from above, in the name of the emperor. These orders had to be carried out without questioning, and therefore it was quite useless to think of the consequences resulting from these orders. The old general did not permit himself even to think of such affairs considering it his patriotic duty as a soldier not to think, in order not to weaken in the execution of these, as he thought extremely important duties of his.[1]

Even though the content of Hadži Murat (1904) concerns itself with the nineteenth-century Russian campaigns in the Caucasus, one still encounters German names--particularly in the Russian military establishment. Thus, we have the commander-in-chief at Tiflis, a certain Baron Rosen,[2] as well as a General Klügenau.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 297-98.

[2] L. N. Tolstoy, Complete Works, XXV, 131 and 148.

Tolstoj does not fail to include the German element in such a tale as Hadži Murat the setting of which is far away from the capital, Moscow, or the Baltic Provinces, where the Germans were more numerous.

In the Posthumous Papers of the Hermit Fëdor Kuzmič (Posmertnye zapiski starca Fedora Kuzmiča), Tolstoj presents us with the female counterpart to Turgenev's Klüber in Spring Freshets. As in the case of Klüber, Tolstoj's Sophia Ivanovna Benkendorf is aloof in the presence of those subordinate to her, but servile and obsequious to her superiors.

> . . . My head nurse was a certain Sophia Ivanovna Benkendorf, a German; my second nurse was a Miss Hessler, an Englishwoman. Sophia Ivanovna Benkendorf was a tall, stout woman, with a pale complexion and straight nose. She had a majestic bearing when in the nursery, but was marvellously small and servile when in the presence of my grandmother, who was about a head shorter than herself. She was obsequious and severe with me at the same time. At one moment she was a queen in her broad skirts and with her haughty countenance; at another she was a cringing, hypocritical serving-maid.[1]

As has been documented, Tolstoj entertained the same sort of negative attitude toward the Germans as Dostoevskij. However, the former's views are expressed in a more refined manner. Dostoevskij utilized a rough, coarse sort of criticism, which, in many instances, was directed against German women too. F. Dukmeyer, in his article "Die Deutschen in Tolstois Schilderungen"[1] is of the opinion that Tolstoj's dislike of the Germans may be based, to a large extent, upon his antagonism toward Western European culture in general. To this, one must add the author's personal aversion to the Germans which was based on Tolstoj's unhappy associations and observations.

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[1] Sobranie sočinenij, XIV, 404.

Another factor which may have affected Tolstoj's conception of the German was his admiration for the philosophers Rousseau and Schopenhauer. Naturally, the thoughts of these two men do not run parallel to one another. The writer's anti-German leanings may have been strengthened by Schopenhauer's dissension with the Germans.[2]

Tolstoj's Germans are limited, narrow, heartless, and egotistical. His Germans are drawn in a black and white fashion; there is little grey. The author's Germans lack goodness, kind-heartedness, and fundamental humane traits. Moreover, they are shown as ready to betray or sellout the Russians if their own benefit is involved.

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[1] Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, II (Munich), No. 111, 1902, 299-302.

[2] Ibid., p. 299.

Dukmeyer states that Tolstoj may have met Germans such as those whom he depicted. Nonetheless, the general human shortcomings which he observed in the Germans or about whom he heard or read were converted into rigid, repulsive, and irrevocable national traits.[1] Besides that, Dukmeyer contends that "Tolstoj knows little and an insufficient amount about the Germans, but in spite of that he categorically states that they have no humane qualities which indeed are attributed to the Russians."[2] Thus, Tolstoj praises his own people, (in reality overlooking some of their shortcomings) in order to unjustly and blindly denounce the German. Minor idiosyncrasies of various German characters (not all, to be sure) are blown out of proportion and used to stereotype the German.

In conclusion, Tolstoj, along with Dostoevskij, falls into the realm of those nineteenth-century Russian men of letters who were highly critical of the German elements in their own society as well as of Germany. Clearly, Tolstoj was practically as vehemently anti-German as was Dostoevskij, his literary contemporary. The only real differences were that Tolstoj did not single German women out for ridicule as did Dostoevskij, nor did he resort to the sometimes crude, coarse techniques employed by Dostoevskij to portray his Germans in a negative light.

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 301. [2] _Ibid._, p. 302.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The appraisal of an alien group by natives is the result of multiple vicissitudes, among which historical events probably play a major role. In order to be able to discover any change in attitude, one of several possible methods is to recur to those authors who best reflect current popular opinion. The animosity against Western Europeans which began when the Russian tsars (starting in the fifteenth century) granted foreigners permission to establish colonies in certain areas in Russia, was strengthened during following centuries as a result of increasing immigration to the Empire. Hence, the tsars were obliged to restrict previously awarded privileges as well as confine the areas of settlement for foreigners to particular sections of cities or districts. As an example, one need only mention the Nemeckaja Sloboda near Moscow which, especially during the eighteenth century, was the object of severe verbal attacks. This is not too surprising if one recalls that during the reign of Peter the Great foreign influences became so strong that they affected almost every facet of Russian life.

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The contempt for the widespread innovations introduced, in part, out of necessity, was caused by various factors: differences in habits, customs, religion, language, mentality, and Weltanschauung. In addition, there also existed the envy resulting from the greater material comforts enjoyed by the foreign minorities.

Since Russian literature reflects Russian life very strongly, it is not unusual to discover a pronounced criticism of foreigners as well as of the "aping" of foreign ways of life within the pages of Russian belles lettres. One need only be reminded of D. I. Fonvizin's eighteenth-century comedies which sharply criticized the Francomania exhibited by the Russian landed gentry. Moreover, the polemic exchanges which occurred between Admiral Šiškov and N. M. Karamzin and the chasm separating the Westernizers and the Slavophiles, mirror this antagonism.

The four nineteenth-century Russian literary contemporaries dealt with in the pages of the investigative endeavor are no exception. They may be divided into two opposing camps, regarding the treatment of the German elements in Russian society a century ago. On the one hand, we have two authors who, generally speaking, depict the German in a positive manner. Gončarov and Turgenev fall within this

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classification. Both maintained that the Germans were aiding Russia in its development. Moreover, they advocated that the Russians certainly could learn and benefit from traits which could be termed characteristically German, i.e., frugality, hard work, honesty, tidiness, a constant striving to achieve goals, and the like. A contradictory attitude was put forth by Dostoevskij and Tolstoj. These two writers, both Slavophiles, believed that Russia's destiny and progress lay in her own people and not in the imitation of the attainments, habits, or customs of the great nations of Western Europe, particularly Germany. Dostoevskij and Tolstoj felt that those things which were good for the Germans were not necessarily advantageous to the Russians. They shared such an evaluation, since both recognized the gap separating the fundamental German and Russian mentalities. All four authors under review were what may be termed "educated" men (all spent at least some time at institutions of higher learning), and all were exposed to German teachers, tutors, valets, spouses, or close friends.

Gončarov and Turgenev were engaged in translating or deep studies of the works of Goethe, Schiller, and/or other German thinkers, authors, and poets. Both writers, were, for all intents and purposes, fluent in German. Their command of German was superior to that of Dostoevskij (who understood it, but could not speak German well) and Tolstoj, whose knowledge of German probably did not exceed that of Dostoevskij. Concerning philosophical ideas, Gončarov, Turgenev, and Dostoevskij were influenced by German idealist philosophers, whereas Tolstoj owed his Weltanschauung, to a large extent, to the influence of Rousseau and Schopenhauer.

As the reader has already noted, all four writers treated within the scope of this dissertation had occasion to travel to Germany for various reasons. Three of the four really did not have any financial problems, while Dostoevskij was constantly plagued by financial difficulties. Gončarov made only two short trips to Europe; in 1857, he spent one month abroad and, in 1859, he remained in Europe for a period of three months. During his stays, he visited Marienbad, Berlin, Baden-Baden, Karlsbad, and Kissingen, to name but a few of the places. Turgenev, on the other hand, was so infatuated with Germany, and especially Baden-Baden, that he established his residence there for nine years. In all, Turgenev spent some fifteen years of his life in Germany, thus becoming the nineteenth-century Russian writer most closely connected with Germany. Perhaps this is one of the fundamental reasons

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for Turgenev's very positive evaluation of the Germans. Of all four authors, he undoubtedly knew Germany best. Consequently, we discover numerous German settings and a great variety of German characters in his works.

Dostoevskij and Tolstoj also had occasion to visit Germany; yet, their stays were of shorter duration than those of Turgenev. Besides this fact, Germany affected them in quite a different fashion than it did Gončarov, for example. _In toto_, Dostoevskij resided abroad for a period of four years, while Tolstoj made two trips to Europe. Thus, all four authors had the opportunity to deal with three different kinds of German: the German in his native environment, the German as a newcomer to Russia, and, finally, the assimilated, russified German.

Naturally, one's experiences in a foreign land or with an alien element in one's homeland will tend to color an individual's portrayal of that country's nationals. Gončarov and Turgenev were favorably impressed with Russian Germans, German Germans, and with Germany, as their comments and sketches, in the main, verify. Dostoevskij, who may have had a bad experience with a German girl in a town located in the Baltic Provinces, exhibited anti-German views in most of his works; moreover, he was particularly critical.

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and derogatory of German women wherever they appeared in his novels. Oddly enough, as often as the German physician is mentioned in the prose works of Dostoevskij, he is rarely, if ever, sketched in a negative manner. Tolstoj, it seems evident, permitted his evaluation of the Germans to be determined by those Russian Germans he saw in his homeland and those whom he encountered in Germany. However, he utilized the shortcomings he discovered to stereotype the Germans in his works so that they would appear, for the most part, as inhumane, materialistic, goal-conscious people, bent upon performing their duties and advancing through the ranks of their various professions. In this connection, it should be remembered that both authors, Dostoevskij and Tolstoj, entertained rather particular attitudes in regard to money and material possessions. As is known, Dostoevskij did not know how to manage money. He spent it when he had it, without worrying about the future and he did not hesitate accruing debts. Tolstoj, in his later years, gave away many of his material possessions and donated large sums of money to benefit the poor. As a consequence of these attitudes, Dostoevskij and Tolstoj were very critical of the Germans' emphasis upon saving and acquiring material possessions, traits which were obviously looked down upon by these two Russian men of letters.

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The Germans in the works of the four authors under analysis here represent a full spectrum of cultural and social strata. There are German valets, craftsmen, shopkeepers, teachers, tutors, musicians, doctors, landowners, officers, government officials and administrators, as well as members of the nobility.

The evaluation of the German also stems from different social strata. Thus, relevant observations may be made by the authors themselves, members of high society, or by the lower classes.

In Gončarov's major work, Oblomov, the criticism of the German which is uttered comes from the mouths of Oblomov's servant Zaxar and the scheming Tarant'ev. Both express sarcastic and derogatory comments concerning the role of the German in Russian society. In reality, they are jealous of the wealth and social status achieved through the efforts of Stolz's father and his son Andrej. On the other hand, the author praises the attainments of the Germans in Russia and acknowledges their contributions to the betterment of Russia. Thus, in the case of Gončarov, the hard working, middle class German who practices good economy, works hard, is industrious, and strives toward the improvement of himself and his family is lauded and held up as a model for the Russians to emulate.

Turgenev provides us with a far greater variety of German characters stemming from different social levels (as well as numerous German settings) than does Gončarov. Turgenev also depicted both positive and negative German types, as seen from the point of view of an author who had been in Germany on several occasions and who favored the German mentality and German institutions, or in many cases, as seen through the eyes of the Russian landed gentry. German settings were selected by the writer for _Smoke_, _Asja_, _Phantoms_, and _Spring Freshets_. As the evidence in this dissertation has indicated, we find either Russians in German settings (the previously cited works offer proof of this) and/or Russian Germans in the other short stories and novels which contain German characters.

The extent to which the German crops up as a figure in Turgenev's works is exemplified by the manifold social strata to which the writer's Germans belong. Thus, Turgenev's prose works reveal German bakers, teachers, tutors, bandmasters, storekeepers, architects, doctors, landlords, generals, and the like.

Turgenev makes little differentiation between the Russian Germans or the German Germans whom he draws. Both groups are equally praised or criticized. Nevertheless, the author often depicts his German

Germans as possessing a more intimate feeling for their native land than the already partially or almost completely assimilated Russian Germans.

Turgenev admires those qualities most often attributed to the Germans--orderliness, cleanliness, good financial management, and industriousness. Moreover, unlike Dostoevskij or Tolstoj, the basic German mentality appealed to Turgenev. The author was critical of the Russian tendency to avoid labor, repair, as well as his inclination to spend rather than save.

Another conclusion worthy of note in the prose works of Turgenev is the quality of duality which may be ascertained in some of his sketches of the German. Hence, we discover good teachers (Andrej Kolosov and Diary of a Superfluous Man) and bad ones (Bierkopf in Memoirs of a Sportsman); there are good-natured generals (The Jew) and crude, boisterous ones (Spring Freshets). A few purely negative types are also drawn: the deceitful German architect and the conceited German bandmaster in Memoirs of a Sportsman, or the very unflattering portrayal of Klüber in Spring Freshets.

In further contrast to Dostoevskij, Turgenev's female figures are positively drawn while those of the former are sketched in a negative fashion.

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It is important to recall that Turgenev's assessment of the German underwent periods of marked fluctuation. The 1840's and 1850's witnessed Turgenev's positive appraisal of Germany and the Germans. On the other hand, the 1860's reflected a time during which the writer under analysis displayed mixed emotions regarding the German (cf. Fathers and Sons). In spite of these sentiments, Turgenev continued to believe that the Russians should emulate the Germans, since the latter were more capable and productive than the former. Thus, in this respect too, Turgenev differed from Dostoevskij. The 1870's mirrored the zenith of Turgenev's anti-German views. Spring Freshets and Virgin Soil provide sufficient evidence to support such a contention. However, Turgenev's newly developed dislike of the German cannot, in all fairness, be termed hatred. His feelings do not correspond with the extremely emotional views of the Frenchman in the tale, The Man with the Grey Glasses. Again, Turgenev does not allow himself to go to the extremes to which Dostoevskij went in his denunciation of the Germans. An interesting change occurred in Turgenev's evaluation of the German shortly before his death in 1883. His portrayal of the German became positive once more (Kupfer in Klara Milič, 1881). In all likelihood,

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Turgenev's conception of Germany as his "second fatherland" was able to withstand the negative impact caused by the Franco-Prussian War.

Germans from numerous social levels are also depicted in Dostoevskij's novels. The Germans _per se_, the German mentality in general, and German women in particular are cast in an unflattering light by both the author and some Russian characters appearing in his works. The only German who was consistently presented in a positive manner was the German doctor.

Tolstoj does not really approve of any level in German society. From the evidence given in this study, it is apparent that Tolstoj disliked especially the German military officer. He or members of the Russian nobility express their dissatisfaction with the pedantry, accuracy, and thoroughness characteristic of the German. Tolstoj's belief that the broad masses of the Russian people actually win wars and not the generals or army officers, combined with his basic animosity toward the German mentality as such, may have been the reasons for his depicting the German military type so negatively.

Knowledge of the Russian language seemed to have played an important role, since all four writers refer to it in their literary works. In many instances,

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the German in Russia was criticized for his accent, faulty word order, or for mixing German and Russian words in his speech. As if this were not sufficient, those Germans in Russia who were able to speak Russian excellently (and there were some, as the documentation attests) were also denounced, since their Russian was somehow "unnaturally perfect." This phenomenon is, needless to say, most prevalent in the works of Dostoevskij and Tolstoj whose German was not at the same level as that of Gončarov or Turgenev. Perhaps, from the psychological point of view, this was Dostoevskij's and Tolstoj's method of balancing their linguistic inadequacies (Tolstoj did speak French well, though). Also other criteria may have contributed to the writer's assessments of the Germans. In this connection, it may be of significance to note that the general public feelings of the period concerning the degree of animosity generated against the Germans throughout Europe were a result of certain historical events. Specifically, the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) was undoubtedly of paramount importance in determining a general appraisal of the Germans.

Gončarov's Oblomov appeared in 1859; thus, the conflagration of 1870-71 did not play a role in that writer's major literary endeavor praising Russo-German assimilation as embodied in the figure of Andrej Stolz.

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In the case of other authors, however, this does not hold true. Turgenev, who, until the 1870's, was pro-German in his outlook, changed his views, for a time, after the conflict of 1870-71 (Spring Freshets offers adequate proof). Dostoevskij's and Tolstoj's sketches of the German were not altered as a consequence of that war. In fact, they may have been further encouraged to maintain their original antagonisms as a result of the newly created dislike of the Germans which was an outgrowth of the Germans' arrogance and unjust demands upon the French nation for the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The hatred stemming from the Franco-Prussian War did not begin to cease until France regained her "lost provinces" in 1918. Obviously, negative sentiments affecting the Germans which lasted for half a century, may have influenced Dostoevskij's and Tolstoj's conceptions of the German as he was drawn in their novels. In short, public opinion of the period may have given them a sufficient basis for continuing and justifying their abhorrence of the Germans' mentality, customs, and values.

In addition to European public opinion of the era, Dostoevskij and Tolstoj mirror, to a greater extent than Gončarov and Turgenev, that animosity, distrust, and jealousy of the German which were exhibited on the part of the local inhabitants ever since the establishment of the Nemeckaja Sloboda on the outskirts of Moscow. The differences in cultural levels which existed between the residents of the Suburb and the Russian population, as well as that which was evidenced between the German population in the Baltic provinces and the local populace, could only lead to a certain amount of tension, envy, and derision on the parts of all those concerned. This disparity in living standards, cultural level, and mode of living contributed to the distrust which developed among these two national groups possessing such widely divergent mentalities.

The four writers chosen for this analysis were selected expressly to illustrate two essentially different views pertaining to the assessment of the German element in nineteenth-century Russian life. Gončarov and Turgenev, the two most outstanding mid-nineteenth-century Russian novelists who looked favorably upon the achievements of both German Germans and Russian Germans, are counterbalanced by Dostoevskij and Tolstoj, two contemporary *literati* who entertained strong Slavophile leanings. Thus, two epochs, two *Weltanschauungen*, and two divergent opinions regarding German contributions in their homeland are

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documented, contrasted, and explained in this work. Gončarov and Turgenev on one hand, and Dostoevskij and Tolstoj on the other, best reflect the whole array of mixed opinion and sentiment with respect to the Germans --from the standpoint of the Russian literature of the era.

After having presented the manner in which the German is portrayed in the prose works of these four men of the "Golden Age" of Russian letters, one might be curious to know how the German was characterized in the works of contemporary minor Russian authors. The treatment of the Russian in the novels of some major nineteenth-century German writers would also be a challenging topic. One is inclined to imagine that he also was drawn in a similar fashion in corresponding works of German literature.

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APPENDIX

TRANSLITERATION

Obviously, when an individual treats in English a topic for which there are sources written in a language using an alphabet other than the Latin, the question of transliteration becomes immediately self-evident. Hitherto, many varying systems have been used, resulting in a high degree of confusion to the reader unfamiliar with Slavic languages. This dissertation, however, conforms with the approved, scholarly, academic method found in the standard learned journal of Slavic studies in the United States, the Slavic and East European Journal, as well as with the method taught Slavic majors at progressive institutions everywhere. Die Welt der Slaven may be cited as a leading German periodical which employs the transliteration scheme found in this investigative work. Academicians and scholars who deal with Slavic languages are in agreement that the chart below reproduces Russian phonemes as accurately as possible.

The Russian alphabet and its English equivalents follow:

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а -- a
б -- b
в -- v
г -- g
д -- d
е -- e
ё -- ë
ж -- ž

з -- z
и -- i
й -- j
к -- k
л -- l
м -- m
н -- n
о -- o

п -- p
р -- r
с -- s
т -- t
у -- u
ф -- f
х -- x
ц -- c

ч -- č
ш -- š
щ -- šč
ъ -- '
ы -- y
ь -- ’
э -- è
ю -- ju

я -- ja

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Epilogue

The author wishes to express his special and sincere gratitude for the aid, guidance, and encouragement given by both Dr. Elisabeth Pribić and Dr. Nikola R. Pribić in the writing of this dissertation. It is truly unique to find two such internationally recognized scholars who are always willing and able to be of assistance to their students.

R. K. Schulz