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**On the Ruins of the “Crystal Palace”
or the Fate of Russian Utopia in the Classical Era
(N.G. Chernyshevsky, F.M. Dostoevsky,
M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin)**

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The analysis of the image of the “Crystal Palace” as one of the most settled symbols of Russian intellectual utopia is analyzed in the article as well as the classic texts which initiated the process of destroying the “happy utopia” in Russia: among them a famous novel by N.G. Chernyshevsky “What is to be done” and works by first writers-“heretics” in genre of utopia – M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin (“The History of a Town”) and F.M. Dostoevsky (“Notes from the Underground”).

Keywords: utopia, “Crystal Palace”, Chernyshevsky, Dostoevsky, Saltykov-Shchedrin.

The image of the “Crystal Palace” is one of the stable symbols of Russian intellectual utopia, and the first authors-“heretics” would use it with a good effect. The history of Russian literary utopia traditionally begins since the 18th century. At that time, the well-known works by European utopians were being translated into Russian. Russian Cultural layer was well acquainted with Plato, Xenophon, Moor, Mercier. Utopian writings were brought to the capitals together with a stream of Masonic publications. The works by V.F. Odoevsky “The Year 4338”, F.W. Bulgarin “Plausible Fiction”, “Dream” by A.D. Ulybyshev are considered an imitation of the utopia by L.-S. Mercier “The Year 2440” (1771) (Zaborov, 1977).

Arguing about the origins of Russian literary utopia, the experts mention two things: an undeniable influence of Western European (mainly French) tradition and reform of Peter the Great (Varese, 1982). Rapid expansion of Freemasonry in Russia in the second half of the 18th century should be also taken into consideration. Mystical ideas of transforming the world and the man in the image of the heavenly temple, squaring them off anew from the unformed lumps of matter, so important in Masonry, appeared important for an artistic utopia as well. There are special studies (Kheraskov, 1997) showing the immediate proximity of utopian novels of the 17th century to Rosicrucianism and its related doctrines. Freemasonry became one of the versions of an ideal design – the utopia of self-improvement

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as the utopia of ideal government. Keen interest in the French Enlightenment was combined in Russia in those years with a penchant for abstract religiosity and mysticism, which is explained by the influence of the national utopia (messianic idea of Moscow – the Third Rome), when the ideology of the Enlightenment was only an intermediary link. The first Utopians (A. Sumarokov, M. Kheraskov, M. Shcherbatov, V. Levshin) themselves were in the Order, thus, literary texts they created, had not only artistic value. Comprehending an alternative spiritual path of development of the nation, they resorted to mysticism. Mystical component is the most important in Russian artistic utopia beginning from Prince M.M. Shcherbatov to A. Bogdanov and socialist realists (Kovtun, 2008).

Innovations of Peter the Great, which deprived the national history of sacred aura, transformed it from an object of divine providence into the object of human manipulation. In the course of Peter's reforms the Russian "lost their original identity" that necessitated the creation of new utopian concepts of history. Changing the course of time, starting a new aeon of History (Peter proclaimed that the Julian Calendar was in effect since 1700), changing the appearance of the entire nation, Peter became aware of as a superhuman, demiurge or the Antichrist (Shmurlo, 1912). Reality had lost substantial qualities, it could be changed according to a sample.

The pedigree of Russian intellectual utopia goes back to the work by historian and publicist, M.M. Shcherbatov "Journey to the Land of Ophir of Mr. S..., Swedish nobleman" (1784). Preceding this utopian works by A. Sumarokov ("Dream, Happy Society", 1759) and M. Kheraskov ("Numa, or Thriving Rome", 1768), had been written by philosophers and had no serious impact on the philological tradition. Philosophicity, masonic intentions, by all means, are inherent in utopias by Prince Shcherbatov, but here the

author deliberately introduced into the text the elements of fiction, gave the idea an artistic shape (Vernadsky, 1917). Intellectual tradition of domestic utopianism incorporates the names of A.S. Pushkin, F.W. Bulgarin, V.F. Odoevsky, Decembrists and up to N.G. Chernyshevsky with his book that initiated debunking a "happy utopia."

The fourth dream of Vera Pavlovna in the famous novel "What is to be done?" (1863) is a variant of the traditional European utopia with crystal palaces, phalansteries, the idea of harmony of mind and physical labour, equality of the sexes. As one of the most rational of Russian authors, Chernyshevsky dreamt of making "an encyclopedia of knowledge and life", which departments should be realized in the form of novels, entertaining to read (Chernyshevsky, 1939-1950). In accordance with the classical tradition of utopianism, a thinker uses the fictional form to promote his own ideas. He emphasizes his lack of "artistic talent" (Chernyshevsky, 1939-1950), scoffs at the "discerning reader", whose expectations dispels (the tradition, referring to the works by T. Moor), destroys the usual idealist aesthetics, reveals the mechanism of the composition, creates an antinovel with fundamentally new type of a protagonist. Maximum concentrating on the Pushkin's idea of the Russian literature implementing partly religious functions, Chernyshevsky assigns literature the role of "the textbook of life". Consistent realization of this thesis in the practice of national avant-garde, socialist realism led to the substitution of life by literature, and reality by Utopia.

"What is to be done?" is the most consistent of the books related to the ideas of utopian socialism. The novel suggests a well thought out "revolutionary programme" (Skaftymov, 1958), one of the components of which is the theory of rational egoism. Myths of Masonic Enlightenment

get a pragmatic solution. Happiness, prosperity and harmony of the future Russia should provide not so much personal insight into secrets of the universal harmony as social equality, collectivism, moral rationalism. The Future is worth devoting to educate such qualities in society. The Collectivist utopia by Chernyshevsky, Lenin was engrossed in reading it, is an earthly embodiment of a great literary synthesis of the Masonic mysteries, but beyond its mystical sense. Rationalization of a myth or a mystery led to parody, theatricality that was felt by his contemporaries (A.I. Herzen, M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin).

The image of the utopian palace of Russian goddess-beauty with common rooms, meals and entertainment was an analogue of the house-commune, happiness of which was supported by free love. Belinsky saw the future prosperity of Russia through the prism of the utopia of free love. In a letter to V.P. Botkin (1841) he wrote that the marriage is the “establishment of cannibalism, cannibals, Patagonians and the Hottentots, justified by religion and Hegelian philosophy”, it must give place to the relations of lovers and mistresses (Belinsky, 1989). Unchanged components of the socialist “paradise” are now becoming the emancipation of women and freedom of feelings. After reading the novel, Herzen wrote to Ogaryov about the peculiarity of the “Crystal Palace”: “It ends in phalanster, brothel which is very bold. But, my God, what a style ...” (Herzen, 1963).

Of course, comparisons of the kind would not have occurred to Chernyshevsky who himself had never visited such places. The idea of the writer was raising and deification of the eternal feminine, a community love, a shelter which inevitably turned into a brothel (Weisskopf, 2003). A romantic cult revealed itself in the fact that the author transferred the ideal picture of the future to the beauty-heroine, rewarding her with many advantages, which were little or

paradoxically confirmed in the text (Paperno, 1996). Vera Pavlovna was tastefully luxuriating in bed, followed by morning toilet, a hearty breakfast, the conversation with her husband, a dinner, sleep, and fun in the evening. A serious work in a sewing workshop, giving lessons in different places, philosophical conversations do not fit into such a schedule. N.G. Chernyshevsky persistently drifts away from depicting conflict situations in all spheres: in life, love, family relations, the tensest situation unfolds in an idyllic perspective, up to marriage in three. Natural feelings (jealousy, doubt, excitement) receive an utopian solution: they are either considered non-existent “fake”, or frankly ridiculous.

Characteristics of manners, way of life of the dwellers of the cast-crystal “paradise”, given by Chernyshevsky was marked by the previous utopian tradition (from Plato to Russian utopian works of the 18th century). It is worth emphasizing that the chief ideologist of phalansteries – Fourier suggests in the society of abundance and equality, to a general agreement not only diversify the pleasure, but to indulge in any of them with complete selflessness. In the world of the socialist utopia destructive passions, carnal instincts are completely creative. According to Fourier, the happy world is based on free love and a good meal where the status of the holy is given to the most sophisticated master of love art, scholars and poets are recognized as heroes.

Hedonistic ideals of the Fourier project having reflected in the mirror of the novel “What is to be done?” found a worthy continuation in utopian works by A. Chayanov. Behind the utopia by Chernyshevsky there emerges the experience of the American Communist communities, and their erotic novelties. In general, the novel is a description of what to do Vera Pavlovna’s dream to be realized in reality. The first step on the way to the public welfare should be a journey to America, which was taken by Lopukhov, followed

by Rakhmetov (Etkind, 2001). While the heroes are traveling, the heroine meets expectations of the Russian goddess – realizes men's projects of "a better life" in reality. There are separate works about Sophiological background of female characters in the novel: "Salvation of Vera Pavlovna from the bonds of the family is strikingly similar to the Gnostic view of the need to save fallen Sophia from the earthly captivity" – says I.P. Smirnov (Smirnov, 1996). "The Queen" from the "What is to be done?" is another hypostasis of Masonite theosophical Sofia or Goethe's Eternal Feminine, the ideal image of the German Romantics adapted to women's emancipation and Fourierism in 1860 ("equality") – continues the theme M. Weisskopf (Weisskopf, 2003).

Vera Pavlovna's workshops are small communes, built on the same principles as life in phalansteries in the future. A certain incongruity proclaimed by the narrator concerning the welfare of the workshops and the facts (frankly sybaritic daily life of the mistress, the specificity of previous activities of the girls which are hardly conducive to hard work and kindness of manners) when reading the novel casts doubt on the possibility of harmonious existence in the "Crystal Palace". Gnostic mythology (the idea of ascending of the fallen souls to lost integrity), highlighted the evolution of the "women's issue" in the novel (from voluptuous Astarta to the ideal of Equality), inevitably becomes a parody as they relate to the circumstances of today.

Freedom itself of an "utopian human", the ability to choose any type of activity, a sexual partner, the cities and continents for residence: "everyone live as you want" appears to be conditional. All share common principles, "because it is pleasant and profitable to them". "New people" by learning the theory of "rational egoism" and the latest achievements of the "sexual revolution" are a pledge to achieve a "bright future". They do not allow themselves any bad

actions, they refrain from disinterested kindness, not to overshadow the moral feelings of tribesmen by the sense of ought, obligation. As a result, the picture of entirely facade, "external" existence, performed under the laws of pure aesthetics is being built. The last vision of the heroine ends with the words about the beauty of the "bright and beautiful" future. Motives of antique proportionality, elegance are emphasized even in the clothes of people of the coming centuries: they have a "predominant costume, similar to the one worn by Greek women at graceful time in Athens, and males wearing long dress with no waist, something like the gowns".

Beauty, pleasure, carnal joy, delight are the leading characteristics of the future. In this connection it is worth mentioning another motive of an utopian dream of Vera Pavlovna – the theme of the "Garden of Eden". The idea of socialism is the idea of realization of the mystic garden, but in the "sinful" world. The Poetics of the "Garden" plays a significant role in the aesthetics of socialism and, later, socialist realism. "The gardens, lemon and orange trees, peaches and apricots", as attributes of the paradise come at the very beginning of the fourth dream of Vera Pavlovna, in which the future society is reconstituted. It is also stressed in the description of the palace-phalanstery: "the whole house is a huge winter garden". The "Garden of Eden" was created in the novel by the human labour, which is able of transforming the desert into an oasis of beauty, bliss, delight. "These mountains were formerly barren rocks, – says the elder sister. Now they are covered with a thick layer of earth, where among the gardens the groves of the tallest trees grow; they are taller than date palms, fig trees, vineyards are interspersed with plantations of sugar cane" The image of paradise replete with fountains, gardens, "paradise trees", flowers and birds will remain unchanged part of the canon of

utopian socialist realism from M. Gorky to S. Babayevsky and Vs. Kochetov.

It should be emphasized that the utopian pictures of the novel by N.G. Chernyshevsky with many artistic details go back to reality, the boundary between Utopia and the present is destroyed. A lofty solemnity, elevation (theatricality) in describing the future correspond to the laws of romantic art, and their individual manifestations in the artistic form of the dreams. The latter, in its turn, would remind the reader that he touched the outlook, the dreams of an ordinary woman their contemporary, the face of Russian goddess merged with the face of Vera Pavlovna: "Yes, it is she is she but a goddess. Face of the goddess is her own face her living face, whose features are so far from perfect "but" illuminated by the glow of love it is more beautiful than Aphrodite of the Louvre, more beautiful than hitherto known beauties". Such "realism" of the utopia destroys canons of metagenre. All details of the narration are not important any longer, totally predictable, are self-parody. Nabokov in the fourth chapter of the famous novel "The Gift" pointed out the latter circumstance, correlating a utopian novel with another artistic tradition.

Doubts about the validity of previously put forward socialist demands were felt by many in 1850-1860. Under the influence of unsuccessful attempts to implement its own social agenda (in many respects taking into consideration the experience of the American Economy) in serfs villages at the cost of loss of almost one million fortune N.P. Ogarev became aware of utopian character of "Christian socialism", based on self-righteousness of the peasant community. At the end of 1840 V. Belinsky sharply argues with "cosmopolitan" theories by Val. Maikov about the future wonderful man and "falls upon the ideas of Western utopian socialists for their abstract, unlikelike approach" (Egorov, 1985). In 1860 in the country of Utopia, there appear

first genius "heretics", "Crystal Palaces" shake and deep fissures appear on them. F. Dostoevsky in the "Notes from the Underground", and M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin in the "History of a Town" disrupt a mechanical rhythm of the utopia prejudging features of a new metagenre – dystopia. Both writers were well aware of French utopians, were participants in revolutionary circles of M.V. Petrashevsky and perceived the problem of reconstruction of the society very personally.

The beginning of controversy of Saltykov-Shchedrin with Chernyshevskiy refers to 1864. Initially, it looked like an argument between two directions, one of which was represented by "Sovremennik", and another – "Russkoye slovo". The opponent of Saltykov-Shchedrin was V. Zaitsev, so the arguments were directed against the "lop-eared". The great satirist, while not denying the need to change the foundations of the contemporary society, believes that the "lop-eared" rush about the details." The danger of arbitrary reglamentation of details to predict and depict which the real life didn't provide sufficient data, awaited, in the opinion of the writer, the author of the "What is to be done?" (Saltykov-Shchedrin, 1965-1977). Saltykov-Shchedrin criticizes antihistoricism as a superior quality of the utopia. Three years later the subject of this, then a private polemics would be given a totally different scale and character. In the "History of a Town" Ugryum-Burcheev armed with writing by the "educator" Borodavkin becomes the new organizer of the famous "details". "Living with dancing", bequeathed by the utopian socialists, showed an unexpected side.

Formally, the writer follows the canons of European utopianism: a traditional art form of the chronicle of the unknown town of the 18th century had been chosen for the novel, and a fantastic archive was marked with an epoch of the Russian Enlightenment when metagenre itself came into

being. "A great scoundrel" Ugryum-Burcheev wants to reshape the world following the logic of the barracks utopia, known since the "The City of the Sun" by T. Campanella. With servile of a fanatic, literally treating utopian projects, he builds the "ideal town", whose architectural plan is to detail repeats a scheme of perfect settlements in the utopias of the Renaissance (Panchenko, 1986): "In the middle there is a square from which the streets like radii scatter in all directions, or as he called them mentally, companies. As the distance from the center increases, the companies are intersected by boulevards, which in two places surround the city and at the same time provide protection from external enemies. Then forestate, earthwork – and a dark curtain, that is the end of the world." Saltykov-Shchedrin looks at well-known myths, projects with the eyes of a realist, and phalansteries are easily converted into barracks, reasonable discipline – into drill, in which the entire population is divided into platoons, companies, regiments and placed under strict surveillance of officers, spies. Campanella recommended to install boxes for denunciations and place them in the crowded areas. So clearly and firmly the issue of moral education of the recent inhabitants of crystal palaces is solved. The monotony of forms is bridged in everything: in the construction of premises, clothing, behavior, and the city of absolute intellect gets a characteristic name – Glupov (Foolov).

The problem of ways and means of implementation of the "paradise on the earth" becomes a starting point for the writer. The embodiment of "the system delusion", which was in Ugryum-Burcheev's head requires immediate eradication of all forms of natural life. Following the settlement of the "internal environment of living beings" the war is declared to the natural environment. Fighting of the mayor with the river is carried out in three stages: after the first defeat (an unsuccessful attempt to "eliminate the

river"), "a dark bastard" moved the city itself to another place, and renamed from Glupov to Nepreclonsk (Steadfast). The motive of renaming as rebirth, updating of reality is marked in the text of utopian "Chevengur" by A. Platonov. The satirist does not believe in prospects of moral renovation of mankind. Reality does not give grounds for this, but on their own the "ideas" can not yet serve as a foundation for creation of a new world, as are flawed, incomplete, controversial (Shubin, 1967). The myth, devoided of mystical faith, degenerates into its opposite – the antimyth and shatters into pieces. Renaming is reduced to a miserable changing of decor and does not lead to the resurrection. As well as the revolution for Patonov equates the murder of the world, after which nothing happens.

In the final fight of the "scoundrel" with live life, the "scheme" with history appeared something which is "it". This symbolic image has in critique plenty of meanings. Traditionally, it is either considered as a "hint of impending spontaneous people uprising" (Bushmin, 1980-1983), or as the beginning of a new stage of the reaction. However, both interpretations are outside the lines of utopia, there are facts that can not be interpreted on the basis of the proposed concepts. "It" is a metaphor of freed existence. Fictitious and absurd history of Nepreklonsk ended, and then it will be what its inhabitants will do. Actually, the decoding of the image depends on their efforts. Secret meaning of the symbol is left to the mercy of real history. "It" is the emblem of tomorrow, beyond the reading in the existing historical and cultural origin. The image of Utopia in the works of Saltykov-Shchedrin is travestied and profaned, Utopia is regarded as a link in the story, but not the last.

The very image of Ugryum-Burcheev, "intended to grasp the universe", replacing God, is traditionally associated in literature with a figure of Arakcheev, but in the context of the

utopia another version seems more convincing. Hero of Saltykov-Shchedrin follows on the one hand, popular utopianism of Khlysty, eunuchs and their general ideas of sanctification of the spiritual leader, the dissolution of the personal in public, the primacy of collective over the individual, where Z. Gippius heard "no doubt-Marxist formula" (Pushchin, 1908), and on the other hand – the ideals of a famous terrorist and nihilist of that time, S.G. Nechaev. The writer calls the mayor "a fisher of the Universe", which corresponds to a key demand of Khlysty put forth by the founder of the sect Danila Philippovich in 1631. Throwing holy books into the Volga, the latter proclaimed the cult of himself, and twelve new commandments, the fourth of which reads: "Keep the commandments of God and be fishers of the universe" (Reutsky, 1872), that is be divine. Fiction analogy "Ugryum-Burcheev – Nechaev" was first proposed by V. Svirsky (Svirsky, 1992). The researcher believes that in the "History of a Town" there was given the image of a hypothetical Nechaev, who received the power and the possibility of realization of plans to repolarization of the world. This version seems even more convincing that one of the prototypes of ascetic Rakhmetov was Saratov landowner P.N. Bakhmetev, who left Russia for the organization of social commune on Marcusas Islands. The money left by the landowner-utopian for Herzen's printing house, was later handed over Ogarev to Nechaev (Svirsky, 1972).

A political conspirator and adventurer Nechaev – a figure widely disputed in the social circles of the 1870's, "Nechaevsky process and fiction appear as equivalent factors" that influenced the ideological choices of young people in those years (Mogilner, 1999). As some of them confessed, example of Nechaev persuaded them to accept the thesis: "The end justifies the means" (Debagory-Mokrievich, 1989), to the refutation of which the "History of a Town" is dedicated.

Utopia – The Revolution – sectarianism – Apocalypse made this paradigmatic series for the first time. "New people" by N.G.Chernyshevsky having reflected in the mirror of M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin's satire, turned into dictators, terrorists and stooges. Rakhmetov returned from America as Shigalyov (Etkind, 2001), and the hooves and devilish horns under Napoleon's cocked hat of Russian socialists were noticed by F. Dostoevsky.

The materials of Nechaev's case were used by the writer as a basis for his novel "The Possessed" (1871-1872). The images of Verkhovensky Jr. (whose prototype was Nechaev), Stavrogin, Kirillov, Shigalyov who were the children of utopian revolutionaries of the 1840's were deliberately infernalized. Superhuman (chelovekobozheskie) claims of the mortals appear to be futile and lead to spiritual bankruptcy. Dostoyevsky's novel was presented by I. Smirnov as an example of the "triple negation", which denied not only nihilism, but antinihilism, making it impossible for faith in any ideal at all: "That reality, which simulate the "The Possessed" is deployed so that it leaves no values: by the finale of the novel it becomes axiologically empty" (Smirnov, 1994). To take a metaposition in this world one can only when a person overcomes all human in themselves and implement, like Stavrogin, the process of self-denial (double negation). It is in this way that the characters of utopias by A. Bogdanov develop, an exemplary socialist realism literature, where a measure of approximation to the communist "paradise" appears to be the extent of immorality, inhumanity (in the ontological sense).

In the illusory, ill-aesthetic space all the intrigues, managed by the "demon" P. Verhovensky work well, theatralizing, killing life. Death is seen as the only result of existence deprived of creative fervor. The theme of "the end", the death are fundamental in the literature

of orthodox socialist realism. Dostoevsky foresaw an artist's death, his transformation into pseudoteurg. The writer deliberately distances from the world of demons, transferring author's power to the narrator and, thus, opening up the prospect of inclusion in the text other than the originally proposed, discourses. An American theme plays a special role in "The Possessed". The American temptation is a part of the plot of the novel is its key moment due to travel to the country of pride, pragmatism, and nihilism the heroes sacrifice to Moloch of revolution. America after 1870 is perceived in Russian culture no longer in the aura of revolution, but as the personification of the country for profit and non-spirituality. Famous conveyor system, developed by Taylor, was parodied in the novel "We" by E. Zamyatin, the theme of the "damn" America appears in dystopia by M. Bulgakov "The Fatal Eggs" – anaconda's eggs were sent from America.

Dostoevsky changed the angle of the utopia. The writer takes the present from the point of view of an apocalyptic who got to know the Christian miracle of transformed land, religion of resurrection (Berdyayev). He, following the Ridiculous man, as if he knew Utopia of universal love, saw, had absorbed the soul, through this his innermost secrets and reveals the artistic creativity: "by Dostoevsky one can study only his psychopathy, ... his ideals, his own soul twists, his own sorrows, fighting and dreams", – said Konstantin Leontyev (Leontyev, 1990). "The mystical realism of Dostoevsky as a way of intuitive understanding of reality Vyach. Ivanov connects with the technique of known Masons mystics J. Boehme and E. Swedenborg (Ivanov, 1990). Saint-Martin, Boehme were early translated into the Russian language in Masonic publications of the 18th century and in fact laid the foundation for intellectual mysticism, taking advantage of unlimited authority in the Russian

lodges (Pypin, 1997). In the contemporary literary criticism there is an opinion on the participation of Dostoevsky in the Masonic organization during his stay in the durovsky circle of "in-depth familiarity with its idea" and the subsequent rupture (Kasatkina, 1996).

Dostoevsky's realism does not rely solely on the knowledge of reality, but also on the "penetration", a fusion of subject and object, where possible secret adoption is possible, to feel the stranger. This is not a peripheral expansion of the boundaries of individual consciousness, but the change of determining centers of its coordination which became possible only in the inner experience ("spiritual action" of Masons), the experience of true love for a human being and living God, in the experience of self-alienation of personality in general, already experiencing in the pathos of love. This is the attitude of a "universal" human being which lies in the absolute approval of someone else's life, when there is no someone else's pain and suffering in the world, but only their own. This look at the nature of creativity of the author of "The Possessed" genetically close to the concept of Dostoevsky with M.M. Bakhtin.

The ideas of unity, allunderstanding, Sophiian are important in utopias by N. Fedorov, A. Bogdanov, early A. Platonov, there are special studies concerning the affinity of the artistic world of Dostoevsky to ideas of Plato (Belov, 1985). In Russia, Platonism in the philosophy is especially acute in the end of the 19th century: V. Soloviev, P. Florensky, S. Bulgakov shared ideas of the ancient Greek philosopher of the "higher realism" – the realism of ideas. From reality as such religious thinkers of the Silver Age feel "sick" (E. Trubetskoy) and dream of returning to the medieval understanding of things. Dostoevsky's work in this context can be regarded as a kind of prologue to the scholastic pursuit of Russian theologians of the period of Art Nouveau. The great dream of Atlantis – the land

of blissful wisdom was the basis of philosophy of Plato and Dostoevsky. Significant role in the texts of the writer play folk-religious beliefs about the "earthly paradise".

Socialists and F. Dostoevsky in 1840, believing in the universality of social justice, went to Utopia through rebellion, revolution, armed with their own projects of construction of an ideal temple of civilization. In 1860 Dostoevsky moves in the opposite direction: from Utopia as a divine prototype of the world-paradise to allunderstanding, acceptance and forgiveness of the present. Utopian intention are felt in the "Crime and Punishment" (1866). In Raskolnikov's dreams happy humanity was in "the age of Abraham and his flock. "The image of the 'golden age' is relevant to "The Adolescent" (1875), in Versilov's confession, when the hero had a dream of animated ancient harmony, "the earthly paradise of the humanity". Here Utopia is a great dream, making all the tragedy of modern man's existence more prominent, but at the same time giving him the strength and wisdom to live.

Ambivalence of interpretation of utopia is a characteristic feature of the artistic world of the writer. Dostoevsky's doubts relate not so much to the ways and methods of implementation of the projects of the future, as to the price for their implementation. In the "Notes from the Underground" ideal cities under glass domes – swatches of prudence – runs into the desire of a gentleman "by his stupid will to live". At this point, the glittering crystal palaces of Russian socialists, primarily those of N. Chernyshevsky are presented as a blank wall erected in the way of self-development of a human being, as a new kind of prison, hell. "The City of the Sun" in the long run of the real history is not just travested (Saltykov-Shchedrin), but it gets a clear link with the "last days", and is associated with Babylon (Dostoevsky, 1972-1990). The price for the bliss promised by the utopians is declared free will of

man. B. Grossman in his novel "Life and Fate" (1961) – one of the first experiments of refutation of the "Soviet Utopia" – defends the same human right "not to want" to be and live within it, the right "not to give up the person.

The "Notes from the Underground" mark the transition of Dostoevsky Petrashchevists to the position of mysticism. Critic saw in the work of the artist giving up the old ideals of faith in the truth of love and suffering, "a contemptuous lampoon of idealists and utopians" (Grossman, 1924), which makes it difficult to accept. The underground man rebelled not against the moral ideal, but against the attempts of its primitive, rational proof. Dostoevsky did not break with Utopia, but brings it into another plane of the transcendental, gives back the myth to its original meaning and significance. Freedom of self-realization proclaimed in the New Testament, is for the writer a pledge of genuine Christian love, opposed to the principles of good, benefits, calculation, promises harmony in society. Continuing and intensifying the idealized picture of the Russian peasantry inherent to Slavophiles the great writer approves the height of the Orthodox faith, which preserved the truth of Christ, the true follower of which is the nation of Antioch (soil).

Revolt of the underground man against the world is a consequence of his moral emptiness, and he is "soilless", and thus, an atheist heavily affected by this. The proof of the necessity to believe in the absolute is a proof of contradiction: devoid of moral orientation the hero is on the brink of insanity and death, his living space shrinks to the size of a "corner". Actually, the choice that the writer leaves to his characters is the choice between belief in the moral utopia and the "corner". Having debunked the idea of a classical Enlightenment on the natural goodness of man, Dostoevsky makes this conclusion the main argument in a dispute with the progressists. Human nature is the main obstacle for the

"paradise on earth". People will always seek to "express" their will, but if they give up, capitulate, they recognize the rightness of the Grand Inquisitor, whose image, apparently marked the ideology of Freemasonry (Kasatkin, 1996).

The "Dream of a Ridiculous Man" is an utopia where a traditional artistic method of dreams is used. Dostoevsky developed a special philosophy of a dream, where dreams are heart pain points, they "seek not reason but the desire, not your head but your heart". The dream is a special state of intelligent life in opposition to the chaos of reality, the possibility of enlightenment of the truth, the recall of genuine you. As a traveller around Utopia Dostoevsky chose an unfortunate rejected by the society person "hunted in the corner", ready to commit suicide. In fact, the "Dream" begins where the "Notes from the Underground" end, but now the hero is given to behold the ideal to believe in another life. For metagenre of utopia the benchmark event often coincides with the climax in the life of the hero-observer: the person is on the brink of death, and then he sees the truth about the life of present and future.

In the dream, the hero of Dostoevsky gets to another planet (an utopia of place) where fairy idyllic world comes to life, in Versilov's dream. The description of the "blessed land" is presented in full accordance with heavenly attributes: all bathed in bright sunshine, wonderful plants, fresh herbs, birds, and the air is filled with "some kind of celebration and great, holy and reached, finally, triumph". People of the happy land, the land before the fall (utopia of time), are beautiful, smart and naive, like children. The "Children's Complex" is highly characteristic of Soviet Literature of 1930-1950's, when the utopian sentiments in society reached its peak. Kids are always in need of a tutor, the defender – the Father, they should and can be cultivated, using child plasticity. Dostoevsky, on the contrary, thinks the invasion

of an "adult", civilized human brings death of a fairytale world. Rework, re-education of children threatens them with humiliation, death, the child becomes a corpse.

The Traveller – "progressives and infamous from St. Petersburg" – corrupts the innocent people and does it in jest. "In an idyll, as a rule, there are no heroes alien to idyllic world" (Bakhtin, 1975), their appearance turns out the death of a perfect world. It all started "with a joke, with flirting, with a love game", when the difference between literal and figurative sense of the things is lost, and all the sins of civilization (pride, lust, cruelty), are but the mechanical consequences of the destruction of the former integrity, which is impossible within rational Enlightenment. As a result Gnostic times have come: "the religions with the cult of nonexistence and self-destruction for the sake of the eternal peace in nonentity". Dostoevsky emphasizes the connection of the Enlightenment not just with terrorism that Pushkin had seen, but with the Gnostic cults which will play a significant role in the ideology of the Russian socialists. "Golden Age" collapsed, but the hero saw the truth and kept it in his heart: "Love others as yourself, that's the main thing, and that's all, nothing more is necessary". Such unity in Christ is recognized by the author as "Russian socialism", leading directly to the kingdom of heaven not of this world, but in this world. The image of the narrator in the finale is highlighted as a holy fool, the Christ. From a passive observer of Utopia the hero becomes its messenger and herald. Active-Christian attitude of Dostoevsky is as close as possible to utopia by N. Fyodorov, whose thoughts the writer "read as if for his" (Dostoevsky, 1972-1990).

With the emphasis on Christian ethics, anthropology supplanting utopianism in domestic public opinion, the works by VI. Solovyov, transforming the idea of "the kingdom of God"

in the theory of the "positive unity" stand out. The man-creator becomes the spokesman of the religious idea, is endowed with the ability to own it, control its earthly incarnations. The concept of representation of the "eternal ideas" through art and mystical revelation of Sofia – cosmic creative principle – largely determine the ethical and aesthetic quests of the beginning of the twentieth century (Bychkov, 1999). No chance that Dostoevsky as a unique personality and creator is seen by a philosopher as the forerunner of future art, embodying the "positive religious ideal" – the universal Church, collected by the efforts of entire mankind.

Dostoevsky's ridiculous man is a doer, he destroys Utopia, but at the same time he inherits it. The image of a traditional traveller loses uniqueness, sketchiness, that changes the entire structure of utopia. It acquires features of plasticity, is moving, evolving, repeating the stages of human history: from Eden up to the Apocalypse Orthodox biblical idea of paradise, fused with history, becomes unusually acute: it is discussed, thought out, continued by the hero as very personal. Dogmatic idea, alerted M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, becomes lively, colorful, unpredictable, the finale of utopia remains open, it gets prospective, personal qualities. Utopia by F. Dostoevsky is consonant with

the artistic discoveries of the late XX century, predeterminating them.

The works by Saltykov-Shchedrin, Dostoevsky, outlining the contours of dystopia in domestic literature are responsible for the change in the metagenre structure of utopia: clear "historicity" of narration (the ideal, the hero moved from eternity into time – historical, biographical), the plot, dynamism replace description and "comprehension"; emphasizes attention to detail, "details"; conflictness of the text accentuation of death motive, disasters, hero-doer replaces hero observer, "heretic", rebel, destroying the utopian harmony, self-conscious of hostility of utopian ideal of human nature, narration in the first person; suspense, "an utopian hero" transforms from the prophet into a common man, an outcast, and loses the right to the "final truth", a satirical pathos, the carnival nature of the disaster as a release; open final, "Utopian tongue" is replaced by nostalgia for culture, a satirical solution to traditional utopian motives.

In the 70s of the 19th century, the findings of Dostoevsky and Saltykov-Shchedrin sound too unusual, their doubts concerning the "bright future", the possibilities of rationalization of happiness are not heard: "You grasped the wrong demons" – Dostoevsky was told.

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На руинах «хрустального дворца» или судьба русской утопии в классическую эпоху (Н.Г. Чернышевский, Ф.М. Достоевский, М.Е. Салтыков-Щедрин)

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В статье представлен анализ образа «хрустального дворца» как одного из наиболее устойчивых символов русской интеллектуальной утопии, проанализированы классические тексты, ставшие у истоков разрушения «счастливой утопии» в России: от знаменитого романа Н.Г. Чернышевского «Что делать?» до произведений первых «еретиков» от утопии – М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина («История одного города») и Ф.М. Достоевского («Записки из подполья»).

Ключевые слова: утопия, «хрустальный дворец», Чернышевский, Достоевский, Салтыков-Щедрин.
