

THE RIGHTEOUS MAN: A STUDY OF POSITIVE  
HEROES IN THE WORKS OF N. S. LESKOV

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
DONALD JAY DRAGT  
1975

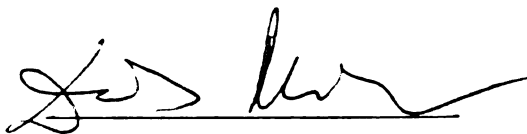
LIBRARY

This is to certify that the  
thesis entitled  
THE RIGHTEOUS MAN: A STUDY OF POSITIVE HEROES  
IN THE WORKS OF N. S. LESKOV

presented by  
Donald Jay Dragt

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Russian



Major professor

Date May 14, 1975

The q  
a task whi  
throughout  
the author  
treated by  
on Leskov'  
substantive

In re  
toward indi  
heroes, thu  
on the deve  
heroes, enc  
life (1860-

This s  
segments, c  
hero in eac  
its period  
recognizes  
adding as  
strongly i  
in literat

## ABSTRACT

### THE RIGHTEOUS MAN: A STUDY OF POSITIVE HEROES IN THE WORKS OF N. S. LESKOV

By

Donald Jay Dragt

The quest for and depiction of a positive ideal was a task which commanded most of Nikolaj Leskov's attention throughout his literary career. Despite its importance to the author, this subject has not yet been sufficiently treated by Leskov scholars. For years attention was focused on Leskov's language and narrative technique, while avoiding substantive discussion of his heroes.

In recent years more attention has been directed toward individual members of Leskov's family of positive heroes, thus preparing the soil for the present discussion on the development and metamorphosis of his positive heroes, encompassing the full extent of Leskov's literary life (1860-1895).

This study divides Leskov's literary career into three segments, consistent with the changing functions of the hero in each stage. Traditional Leskov scholarship, basing its periodization on the political position he projected, recognizes only two literary periods (1860-1875, 1875-1895), adding as a subclass the period 1887-1895, when Leskov was strongly influenced by Tolstoj. Leskov's preparatory period in literature (1860-1875) is here regarded as a time when



his positive  
toward a be  
issues deen  
period, fro  
hero, now a  
continues t  
functions a  
society can  
phase, whic  
function is  
personify o  
society by

It was  
successful  
Men. These  
teachings,  
Sermon on th  
formulated o  
characterize  
period, the  
Righteous M  
principle h  
identifying  
Despit  
three liter  
relationsh

his positive heroes directed their efforts predominantly toward a betterment of society by a criticism of specific issues deemed harmful by Leskov himself. During the second period, from about 1875 to the late 1880's, the positive hero, now a fully developed Leskovian Righteous Man, continues to seek the betterment of society, but now functions as a descriptive ideal, a model after which society can pattern its behavior. Then, during the final phase, which corresponds with Tolstoj's influence, the hero's function is not merely to exemplify goodness, but is to personify one specific aspect of goodness in order to better society by actually teaching righteousness.

It was found that the central period is Leskov's most successful in terms of a balanced portrayal of Righteous Men. These heroes embody and are motivated by Gospel teachings, the essence of which Leskov finds in Christ's Sermon on the Mount. The Righteous Man was conceived and formulated during Leskov's first literary period, best characterized as a period of search. During Leskov's final period, the delicate balance he had achieved in his Righteous Men is sacrificed to tendentiousness; the moral principle he represents stands as the stripped hero's sole identifying feature.

Despite the diversity of the positive heroes of the three literary periods, this study traces that organic relationship which has led scholars to use the term

"Righteous

period. T

frequently

period are

Men so nar

to nine st

Righteous

compared i

physical a

indicating

to effect

audience,

universally

changing en

cut through

attributes

Despit

career with

change, his

"heroes of d

Turgenev, D

"Righteous Man" loosely to describe positive heroes in each period. Thus, four stories containing positive heroes frequently designated as "Righteous Men" in Leskov's first period are compared to eight stories containing Righteous Men so named by Leskov himself, and finally, all are compared to nine stories containing morally didactic variants of the Righteous Men from Leskov's final period. These heroes are compared in outlook, relationship to others, personal goals, physical and moral composition, etc., with the results indicating a continual progression from a hero whose efforts to effect change are initially directed to a very limited audience, to a hero whose message of Christian service is universally comprehensible. They further show the author's changing emphasis from a predominance of heroes who stand out through exotic physical features to heroes whose moral attributes set them apart.

Despite Leskov's disillusionment toward the end of his career with the efficacies of his heroes as agents of social change, his ideals occupy a distinct position among the "heroes of our time" of Artsybašev, Černyševskij, Pisemskij, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, and Tolstoj.

THE RIGHTEOUS MAN: A STUDY  
OF POSITIVE HEROES IN THE  
WORKS OF N. S. LESKOV

By

Donald Jay Dragt

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of German and Russian

1975

100-214

Dedicated to

G 93214

Dedicated to the memory of my father

The writer w  
to Dr. Denis Mick  
throughout the pr  
Additionally, the  
Munir Sendich, Dr.  
and Dr. William Hu



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer would like to express his deep gratitude to Dr. Denis Mickiewicz for his advice and consultation throughout the preparation of this dissertation. Additionally, the suggestions and encouragement of Dr. Munir Sendich, Dr. Alexander Dynnik, Dr. Frank Ingram, and Dr. William Hughes are greatly appreciated.

INTRODUCTION . . . .

Chapter

I. The Precursors

II. Leskov's Right

III. The Righteous

CONCLUSION . . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . .

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
 <b>Chapter</b>	
I. The Precursors of Leskov's Righteous Man . .	15
II. Leskov's Righteous Man . . . . .	71
III. The Righteous Man in a <u>Tolstovka</u> . . . . .	113
 CONCLUSION . . . . .	 188
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	202

A common  
need to scrutinize  
him. This is a  
study leaves a  
encoded form--in  
literary work of  
derived from ex  
overheard conve  
influences durin  
literary figures  
leave no doubt a  
placed. Russian  
encouraged just  
Throughout the r  
attitudes were m  
radical critics o  
Political direct  
In one instance  
a model of a pos  
on their own. F  
opposition from  
emanate from a i

## INTRODUCTION

A common trait among members of the human race is the need to scrutinize one's fellow man in order to categorize him. This is especially challenging when the object of study leaves a record of his thoughts and attitudes in encoded form--in a painting, a musical composition or a literary work of art. In such cases help is frequently derived from extra-artistic considerations--letters, overheard conversations, circles of friends, early influences during the years of development, etc. Some literary figures, donning the garb of preacher or teacher leave no doubt about the category into which they will be placed. Russian literature from Belinskij onward actually encouraged just such a pose on the part of its writers. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century literary attitudes were moulded and shaped by a series of influential radical critics demanding a literature with social utility. Political direction took priority over literary considerations. In one instance the critic Nikolaj Černyševskij even drew up a model of a positive hero for those unable to conceive him on their own. For a beginning writer of this time to provoke opposition from such critics, even should that opposition emanate from a prison cell, was tantamount to literary suicide.

Even failure to sup  
presumed to imply o  
writer's inability  
Consider even the c  
who was judged to h  
caricature of the  
Sons).<sup>1</sup> The emotio  
raised over this no  
a homeland forever.

Nikolaj Semeno  
literary career dur  
the fate of being  
beginning. This ca  
imposed by Dmitrij  
tainted critical a  
up to the present  
Leskov schola  
concern with the m  
statement. One ef  
the shortcomings

<sup>1</sup> See the st  
by M. A. Antonovi  
No. 3 (1862), rep  
kritičeskie stat'

<sup>2</sup> Avrahm Yarr

<sup>3</sup> Dmitrij Pis  
radical journal  
over its interpre  
Sovremennik grou  
group accepted i

Even failure to support the radical cause actively was presumed to imply opposition to that cause and assured a writer's inability to derive a livelihood from literature. Consider even the case of the established writer Turgenev who was judged to have written himself out because of his caricature of the nihilists in Otcy i deti (Fathers and Sons).<sup>1</sup> The emotional strain resulting from the furor raised over this novel caused Turgenev to give up Russia as a homeland forever.<sup>2</sup>

Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov (1831-1895) launched his literary career during these tempestuous times and suffered the fate of being labeled a reactionary from almost the very beginning. This categorization and the subsequent sentence imposed by Dmitrij Pisarev were so effective that they have tainted critical appraisal of Leskov's work as a whole right up to the present day.<sup>3</sup>

Leskov scholarship in recent years indicates a genuine concern with the misunderstanding brought about by Pisarev's statement. One effort to counteract this tendency "by exposing the shortcomings and fallacies in the critical evaluation of

<sup>1</sup>See the stinging critical appraisal of Turgenev's novel by M. A. Antonovič, "Asmodej našego vremeni," Sovremennik, No. 3 (1862), reprinted in M. A. Antonovič, Literaturno-kritičeskie stat'i (Moscow, 1961), pp. 35-93.

<sup>2</sup>Avrahm Yarmolinskij, Turgenev (New York, 1961), p. 222.

<sup>3</sup>Dmitrij Pisarev (1840-1868) was the critic for the radical journal Russkoe slovo. The radical cause was divided over its interpretation of Turgenev's Otcy i deti; Antonovič's Sovremennik group rejected it while Pisarev's more fanatical group accepted it and welcomed the term "nihilist."

him [Leskov]...<sup>4</sup> was  
study was one of a m  
the West at the rate  
first was a study en  
Schoriane and his St  
Thomas Aman sought t  
and trace the roots  
1970 a study of Lesk  
Stephen Lottridge a  
a serious analysis o  
fiction was made by  
dissertations was p  
completed already i  
Intellectual Develo  
William Edgerton me  
its influence on hi

<sup>4</sup>Valentina Bar  
Leskov: Leskov in  
Literary Criticism  
University of Pitt

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Aman,  
Schoriane and his  
dissertation, Univ

<sup>6</sup>Stephen Lott  
Tales," (Unpubl  
1970).

<sup>7</sup>James Russel  
dissertation, Pri

<sup>8</sup>William Edg  
Development of a  
dissertation, Col



him [Leskov]...<sup>4</sup> was made by Valentina Barsom in 1969. This study was one of a number of dissertations which appeared in the West at the rate of one per year from 1968 to 1971. The first was a study entitled "Structural Features of Leskov's Soborjane and his Stories of the 1860's."<sup>5</sup> In this work Thomas Aman sought to define Leskov's early literary manner and trace the roots of his technique in its mature form. In 1970 a study of Leskov's Prolog Tales appeared, written by Stephen Lottridge at Columbia University.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in 1971 a serious analysis of the folklore elements in Leskov's fiction was made by James Russell.<sup>7</sup> This series of four dissertations was preceded in the United States by two others completed already in the mid-fifties. In "Nikolai Leskov: The Intellectual Development of a Literary Nonconformist" William Edgerton meticulously details Leskov's biography and its influence on his thought.<sup>8</sup> Hugh McLean's "Studies

<sup>4</sup>Valentina Barsom, "The Misunderstood and Misinterpreted Leskov: Leskov in Pre-Revolutionary Radical and Soviet Literary Criticism," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969).

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Aman, "Structural Features of Leskov's Soborjane and his Stories of the 1860's," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968).

<sup>6</sup>Stephen Lottridge, "Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov's Prolog Tales," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970).

<sup>7</sup>James Russell, "Leskov and Folklore," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1971).

<sup>8</sup>William Edgerton, "Nikolai Leskov: The Intellectual Development of a Literary Nonconformist," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954).

in the Life and  
influences as  
Despite their  
dissertations  
study in the Un  
the late 1960's  
effect of a reas  
Union, brought a  
works and legiti  
earlier by Maksim  
Leskov credits G  
for the contempo

There were  
to the revolution  
N. S. Leskov: Kri  
Sketch) published  
book entitled Pro

<sup>9</sup>Hugh McLean  
(Unpublished Ph.D.)

<sup>10</sup>See Maksim  
XXIV, 228-37.

<sup>11</sup>Boris Dru  
(Moscow, 1961), I

<sup>12</sup>A. L. Vol  
clerk (Petersbur  
N. S. Leskov. Za  
N. S. Leskov (Pe

<sup>13</sup>A. I. Far  
socinenija, pole

in the Life and Art of Leskov" deals with later biographical influences as well as analyzing Leskov's skaz technique.<sup>9</sup> Despite their high levels of scholarship, these two dissertations do not seem to have sparked further Leskov study in the United States. The studies we mentioned from the late 1960's and 1970's reflect rather the snowballing effect of a reawakened interest in Leskov in the Soviet Union, brought about by the popular appeal of Leskov's works and legitimized by the deep interest in Leskov shown earlier by Maksim Gor'kij.<sup>10</sup> Boris Drugov in his book on Leskov credits Gor'kij as being the one person responsible for the contemporary scholarly interest in Leskov.<sup>11</sup>

There were two books published in Russia on Leskov prior to the revolution. The first was A. L. Volynskij's [Flekser] N. S. Leskov: Kritičeskij očerk (N. S. Leskov: A Critical Sketch) published in 1898.<sup>12</sup> The second was A. I. Faresov's book entitled Protiv tečenij (Against the Currents).<sup>13</sup> In

<sup>9</sup>Hugh McLean, "Studies in the Art and Life of Leskov," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1956).

<sup>10</sup>See Maksim Gor'kij, Sobranie sočinenij (Moscow, 1953), XXIV, 228-37.

<sup>11</sup>Boris Drugov, N. S. Leskov: Očerk tvorčestva, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1961), p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>A. L. Volynskij [Akim Flekser], N. S. Leskov: Kritičeskij očerk (Petersburg, 1898); reprinted as Carstvo Karamazovyx: N. S. Leskov. Zametki (Petersburg, 1901); reprinted again as N. S. Leskov (Petrograd, 1923).

<sup>13</sup>A. I. Faresov, Protiv tečenij: N. S. Leskov. Ego žizn', sočinenija, polemika i vospominanija o nem (Petersburg, 1904).

1902 a rather  
Sementkovskij  
in the Marks 30  
Although there  
by the Formalis  
were forthcoming  
anniversary of  
The most useful  
Grossman called  
(N. S. Leskov: 1  
Gebel's N. S. L  
In his Creative  
of Leskov's work  
by F. Evnin was  
overview of Lesk

To say that  
1904 and 1945 do  
Biographical art  
Nikolaja Leskova  
zapisjam i pamja

<sup>14</sup>R. I. Ser  
Kritiko-biografi  
sobranie sočiner

<sup>15</sup>Leonid G  
Poetika (Moscow,

<sup>16</sup>Valentin  
laboratorii (MO

<sup>17</sup>F. I. Ev

1902 a rather extensive introductory article by R. Sementkovskij entitled N. S. Leskov (N. S. Leskov) appeared in the Marks 36 volume edition of Leskov's "Complete Works."<sup>14</sup> Although there was an interest expressed in Leskov's style by the Formalists in the 1920's, no further books on Leskov were forthcoming in the Soviet Union until 1945, the fiftieth anniversary of his death. At that time three were published. The most useful of them is a full-length study by Leonid Grossman called N. S. Leskov: Žizn'. Tvorčestvo. Poëtika (N. S. Leskov: His Life. Works. Poetics).<sup>15</sup> Valentina Gebel's N. S. Leskov: V tvorčeskoj laboratorii (N. S. Leskov: In his Creative Laboratory) examines primarily the composition of Leskov's works.<sup>16</sup> Finally, a 31 page pamphlet written by F. Evnin was published, providing little more than an overview of Leskov's life and works.<sup>17</sup>

To say that no books on Leskov were published between 1904 and 1945 does not mean to imply that none were written. Biographical articles from Leskov's son Andrej's book Žizn' Nikolaja Leskova: Po ego ličnym, semejnym i nesemejnym zapisjam i pamjatjam (The Life of Nikolaj Leskov: According

<sup>14</sup>R. I. Sementkovskij, "Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov: Kritiko-biografičeskij očerk," in: N. S. Leskov, Polnoe sobranie sočinenij (Petersburg, 1902), I, 5-66.

<sup>15</sup>Leonid Grossman, N. S. Leskov: Žizn'. tvorčestvo. Poëtika (Moscow, 1945).

<sup>16</sup>Valentina Gebel', N. S. Leskov: V tvorčeskoj laboratorii (Moscow, 1945).

<sup>17</sup>F. I. Evnin, N. S. Leskov (Moscow, 1945).

to Personal, Fa  
most important  
already in the  
its entirety un

Boris Drug  
many of his art  
1930's on, was  
full ten years  
coincided with  
edition of Lesk  
(Collected Work  
of Leskov's sto  
in the same col  
taken from throu  
information spur  
Soviet scholars  
them, notably F.  
remained the pri  
Sal'nikova, Troi

<sup>18</sup>See Liter

<sup>19</sup>Andrej Le  
semejnym i nese  
It is quite poss  
released in 1943  
had it not been  
copies of his ma  
Leningrad. He w  
See Zizn' Nikol

<sup>20</sup>N. S. Le  
1956-1958). Her

to Personal, Family and Non-Family Notes and Memoirs), the most important source of biographical data extant, appeared already in the 30's,<sup>18</sup> although it was never published in its entirety until 1954.<sup>19</sup>

Boris Drugov's book mentioned above, a synthesis of many of his articles on Leskov which had appeared from the 1930's on, was published for the first time only in 1957, a full ten years after the author's death. Its appearance coincided with the publication of the first serious Soviet edition of Leskov's works, the eleven volume Sobranie sočinenij (Collected Works).<sup>20</sup> For the first time ever a large quantity of Leskov's stories together with annotations were published in the same collection with a selection of his correspondence taken from throughout his lifetime. The availability of this information spurred on the efforts of literally dozens of Soviet scholars in the 1960's and 70's. While for some of them, notably F. Krasnov, the mechanics of Leskov's style remained the prime subject of consideration, others such as Sal'nikova, Troickij and Mixajlova broadened the scope of

<sup>18</sup>See Literaturnyj sovremennik, No. 3 (1973), pp. 156-93.

<sup>19</sup>Andrej Leskov, Žizn' Nikolaja Leskova: Po ego ličnym, semejnym i nesemejnym zapisjam i pamjatjam (Moscow, 1954). It is quite possible that this book too might have been released in 1945 for the 50 year anniversary of Leskov's death had it not been for the fact that Andrej Leskov's only two copies of his manuscript were lost during the blockade of Leningrad. He was forced to reconstruct the bulk of his work. See Žizn' Nikolaja Leskova, pp. 679-80.

<sup>20</sup>N. S. Leskov, Sobranie sočinenij, 11 vols. (Moscow, 1956-1958). Hereafter cited as Sobranie.

stylistic discus  
critical topics  
subject matter  
ples<sup>vv</sup>cunov and S  
Leskov without  
existence of th  
of how Leskov's  
by Amfiteatrov  
two Leskovs, on  
date.<sup>21</sup>

The effort  
evaluate Leskov  
Barsom in her an  
give.<sup>22</sup> Attent  
asymmetrical Les  
one aspect, his  
For years the la  
than the hero hi

Since Lesko  
career was on a  
my purpose in th  
non-linguistic s  
an ideal, that  
These stories f

<sup>21</sup>A. V. Am  
(Petersburg, 19

<sup>22</sup>See Bars



stylistic discussions to include literary-historical and critical topics. Such topics serve more exclusively as subject matter for Pleščunov, Gorjačkina and Stoljarova. Pleščunov and Stoljarova have even concentrated on the early Leskov without offering the traditional apology for the existence of that "reactionary" period. The extreme example of how Leskov's early period had been treated was provided by Amfiteatrov who essentially suggested the existence of two Leskovs, one writing until 1880 and the other after that date.<sup>21</sup>

The effort on the part of the Soviet scholars to evaluate Leskov's attitudes perhaps deserves more credit than Barsom in her analysis of their contributions is willing to give.<sup>22</sup> Attention is now being focused away from an asymmetrical Leskov, i.e., away from a description of only one aspect, his technique, to a more balanced presentation. For years the language of Leskov's heroes has loomed larger than the hero himself. Now that situation is being rectified.

Since Leskov's primary emphasis throughout his literary career was on a search for and depiction of positive heroes, my purpose in this study is to examine those heroes from a non-linguistic standpoint. So intense was Leskov's quest for an ideal, that he devoted an entire cycle of stories to it. These stories focus upon the so-called Leskovian Righteous

<sup>21</sup>A. V. Amfiteatrov, "N. S. Leskov," Sobranie sočinenij (Petersburg, 1912), XX, 327-44.

<sup>22</sup>See Barsom, pp. 190-93.

Man, a term frequently  
positive heroes,  
narrow sense as I  
Righteous Man was  
therefore, providing  
of the ideal in the  
relating an incident  
the purpose for which  
the deathbed of  
was dying for the  
between the two  
depicted in literature  
to be nothing good

Как, - д  
ни в его и  
ничего кроме  
что когда-л  
писателей,  
грустно, эт  
народному  
как же усто  
живет в мо

Leskov set off  
men. The cycle  
search. Here t  
who owe their e  
These heroes co  
The term

23N. S. L  
Leskova (Peter  
as Polnoe.

Man, a term frequently employed to describe all of Leskov's positive heroes, but one which should be used in a more narrow sense as Leskov had intended. The Leskovian Righteous Man was expressly formulated as an ideal and, therefore, provides a unique insight into Leskov's concept of the ideal in the 1880's. He introduced the cycle by relating an incident which serves as the source of and the purpose for the entire cycle. He had been called to the deathbed of his friend Pisemskij, a hypochondriac who was dying for the 48th time. A spirited debate erupted between the two men concerning the type of heroes to be depicted in literature. Pisemskij noted that there seemed to be nothing good left to describe. Leskov took issue:

Как, -думал я, -неужто в самом деле ни в моей, ни в его и ни в чьей иной русской душе не видать ничего кроме дряни? Неужто все доброе и хорошее, что когда-либо заметил художественный глаз других писателей, --одна выдумка и вздор? Это не только грустно, это страшно. Если без трех праведных, по народному верованию, не стоит ни один город, то как же устоять целой земле с одной дрянью, которая живет в моей и в твоей душе, мой читатель?<sup>23</sup>

Leskov set off promptly in search of the three righteous men. The cycle consists of the notes he made during his search. Here then we have a series of ready made ideals who owe their existence to the fact that they are exemplary. These heroes comprise the Leskovian Righteous Man.

The term "pravednik" or "righteous man" is frequently

<sup>23</sup>N. S. Leskov, Polnoe sobranie sočinenij N. S. Leskova (Petersburg, 1902), III, 74-75. Hereafter cited as Polnoe.

used rather loosely

The British literature

alludes to the imp

Man in The Novel

within Leskov's wo

"Leskov and the Ri

no more than a cur

(The Cathedral Fo

an important work

being fashioned, v

when Leskov actua

R. I. Sement

partially defines

the difference be

hero, but still h

(A Family in Decl

Можно с  
началом цело  
начал вывод  
настроенных  
в жизни. Е  
нам таких и  
Коза, Черве  
несмотря на  
не достига  
то его "прав  
несомненну  
которые сил  
незаметно,  
воплощаетс  
обеспечива

24 Henry Gi  
pp. 73-82.

25 Sementko

used rather loosely by scholars describing Leskovian heroes. The British literary historian Henry Gifford, for example, alludes to the importance of Leskov's theme of the Righteous Man in The Novel in Russia but he neglects the major sources within Leskov's works themselves. He entitles a chapter "Leskov and the Righteous Man," but, unfortunately, provides no more than a cursory examination of the novel Soborjane (The Cathedral Folk).<sup>24</sup> This chronicle, although serving as an important workshop in which Leskov's Righteous Man was being fashioned, was begun many years prior to the time when Leskov actually began to portray him.

R. I. Sementkovskij in his critical biographical sketch partially defines the term "righteous man." He seems to sense the difference between the Righteous Man and a positive hero, but still he places Ragožin, the hero of Zaxudalyj rod (A Family in Decline) in both categories:

Можно сказать, что Захудалый род послужил началом целого ряда очерков, в которых Лесков начал выводить "праведников", то-есть идеально-настроенных людей, которые умеют быть полезными в жизни. Если он с большою симпатиею изобразил нам таких идеалистов, как Овцебык, Райнер (Бенни), Коза, Червев, Рагожин и т. д., --людей, которые, несмотря на возвышенное свое настроение, ничего не достигают и ведут жизнь бродячую, безприютную, то его "праведники" наоборот приносят другим несомненную пользу и составляют тот класс людей, которые сильнее других делают историю, двигают незаметно, но верно культурные успехи. В них воплощается плодотворная работа, более всего обеспечивающая благополучие родины.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Henry Gifford, The Novel in Russia (New York, 1965), pp. 73-82.

<sup>25</sup>Sementkovskij, "N. S. Leskov," in Polnoe, I, 43.

Drugov lis  
significant sho

Leskov him  
of the term "ri  
to Cerkovno-obsh  
Social Herald)

earlier letter v  
which Leskov fa  
allow for the p  
righteous man a  
nonetheless tre  
characteristics

Герои:  
верное опре  
жизни, ибо  
признаков  
"от сосцу  
возвышенней  
качества, и  
в день прав  
не слугави  
пристрастно  
в бездну...  
покойный Ге  
праведности  
муку с плат  
применимо к  
разницы у М  
праведника  
нечестив;  
обычай дав  
"Герои мог

26 Drugov,

27 Immediat  
editorial note  
in love for Chr  
of hero as well

Drugov lists even Ovcebyk, the hero of Leskov's first significant short story, amongst Leskov's righteous men.<sup>26</sup>

Leskov himself, however, was not as free in his usage of the term "righteous man." In 1881 he submitted a note to Cerkovno-obščestvennyj vestnik (The Ecclesiastical and Social Herald) reacting against the use of "hero" by an earlier letter writer in place of the term "righteous man" which Leskov favored. Whereas his logic in refusing to allow for the possibility that a person could be both a righteous man and a hero can be questioned,<sup>27</sup> we are nonetheless treated to an inside look at some of the characteristics he associates with his righteous men.

Героизм отнюдь не лучшее и даже совсем не верное определение для характеристики людей святой жизни, ибо многие из святых не проявляли никаких признаков героизма,--"бывали такие от природы" "от сосцу матерне", но святые отличались возвышеннейшими свойствами гораздо более высокого качества, именно--праведностью. Прожить изо дня в день праведно долгую жизнь, не солгав, не обманув, не слукавив, не огорчив ближнего и не осудив пристрастно врага, гораздо труднее чем броситься в бездну.... Это когда-то строго разграничивал покойный Герцен, сравнивая... Курция с безмолвною праведностью некоторых русских женщин "несущих муку с платком во рту", но еще лучше и притом более применимо к данному случаю находим разъяснение этой разницы у Массильона: "героя создает случай; праведника--ежедневная доблесть". Герой может быть нечестив; праведник всегда сияет чистотою (отсюда обычай давать светящийся ореол изображениям праведных). "Герои могут вынудить удивление и даже уважение

<sup>26</sup>Drugov, p. 93.

<sup>27</sup>Immediately following Leskov's letter there is an editorial note suggesting that martyrs giving their lives in love for Christ certainly would deserve the classification of hero as well.

(говорит  
Больше в  
храбреца  
вид геро  
говорил,  
умножают  
почему и  
грешнико  
наисовер  
способны

А п  
"праведн  
которое  
понятий.  
выше их  
"при умно

According

above all other  
by day, lifelong  
of righteousness  
lying, it presu  
as well as the  
complaint. Sem  
dimension, as n  
Leskov offered u  
evidence to excl  
possessing "exal  
righteousness."  
Chapter Two, Over  
respects. He bo  
into the abyss.  
by Leskov and fa  
member of the fa

28 Nikolaj L  
ctsestvennyj ve



(говорит Боссюэт), но никогда не овладевают сердцами". Больше всего мы привыкли указывать героев между храбрецами. Это и в самом деле самый общеизвестный вид героизма в наше время, но Гребильон справедливо говорил, что "между тем", как по словам Писания, "где умножаются праведники, там веселится народ". Вот почему и сказано, что "один праведник лучше тысячи грешников", хотя бы в числе последних были такие наисовершеннейшие герои, которые наприим. даже способны "говорить правду, не боясь потерять дружбу".

А потом мне кажется, между словами "героизм" и "праведность" надо отнюдь не допускать смешения, которое вредит ясности и точности выражаемых ими понятий. Мы в меру чтим наших героев, но без меры выше их ставим праведников, ибо веруем, что только "при умножении праведников возвеселится народ".<sup>28</sup>

According to Leskov, the Righteous Man clearly stands above all other earthly beings. Being righteous is a day by day, lifelong experience. While attainment of a state of righteousness disallows such behaviour as cheating and lying, it presumptively includes purity of action and thought as well as the passive ability to endure pain without complaint. Sementkovskij correctly added the dynamic dimension, as noted earlier. However, based on the list Leskov offered us in this article, we have sufficient evidence to exclude Ovcebyk from the select group of those possessing "exalted qualities of a much higher sort, namely righteousness." As will be revealed in the discussion in Chapter Two, Ovcebyk fails to qualify in at least two respects. He both judges unfairly and he casts himself into the abyss. Nonetheless, he is sympathetically treated by Leskov and falls within the scope of this study as a member of the family of positive heroes.

<sup>28</sup>Nikolaj Leskov, "O gerojax i pravednikax," Cerkovno-obščestvennyj vestnik, October 28, 1881, p. 5.

The "hero"  
no more than a  
my own usage of  
The qualifier "p  
predominant trait  
general ethical  
sympathetically  
is admittedly su  
the category of  
to the readers c  
usually does pos  
of character. T  
hand, while poss  
idiosyncracies a  
a flawless chara

Thus Chapt  
the period prece  
Man, i.e., the p  
Righteous Man."  
sympathetically  
as embodiments o  
later Righteous  
Righteous Man h  
study with a de  
Man whose appea  
Leskov was bein  
teachings of Le  
"The Righteous

The "hero" to which Leskov refers in his letter is no more than a "brave man" and should not be confused with my own usage of the term as "principal personage of a story." The qualifier "positive" denotes those heroes whose predominant traits are taken as being good according to general ethical standards, and who are obviously treated sympathetically by the author. It is a general category which is admittedly subjective to a degree, but, contrasted to the category of negative heroes, should present no confusion to the readers of this study. A positive hero can and usually does possess negative traits, including even weaknesses of character. The Leskovian Righteous Man, on the other hand, while possibly displaying certain unpleasant idiosyncracies and lack of ability in certain areas, possesses a flawless character according to Leskov's standards.

Thus Chapter One will describe the positive heroes of the period preceding the appearance of the first Righteous Man, i.e., the period up to 1879, as the "Precursors of Leskov's Righteous Man." These are positive heroes, treated sympathetically by Leskov; they were not created exclusively as embodiments of Leskov's concept of the ideal, as was his later Righteous Man. Chapter Two describes Leskov's Righteous Man himself, while Chapter Three concludes the study with a description of the late variant of the Righteous Man whose appearance coincided with the period during which Leskov was being strongly influenced by the moralistic teachings of Lev Tolstoj. I have therefore termed this hero "The Righteous Man in a Tolstovka." During his period of

Tolstojan influence  
openly tendentious  
righteousness the  
descriptions he  
effort to achieve  
by step pictures  
state of righteous

The conclusion  
positive heroes  
to the end.

My approach  
and comparative.  
important as the  
de-emphasized art  
Faresov reports t  
regard:

...вот вам м  
которых похо  
фигуры, напр  
Марковну. Т  
фигуры. Гов  
и Ахилла, ка  
пятьдесят ле  
меня... И пр  
"смысл жизни  
выделаны мно  
они не буду  
не занимает  
это-ли не х  
здесь только  
плечах прин  
жизни к сух  
Туберозов в  
за ним? Да  
Филиппову,  
и мечтать о  
не знаю, чт  
если-бы он

Tolstojan influence, Leskov for the first time became openly tendentious, striving to teach society the righteousness they had been unable to visualize from the descriptions he had been offering for so long. In an effort to achieve this goal, he turned to presenting step by step pictures of the heroes' actual conversion into a state of righteousness.

The conclusion summarizes the metamorphosis of Leskov's positive heroes from the beginning of his literary activity to the end.

My approach to Leskov's positive heroes is descriptive and comparative. Artistic analyses become decreasingly important as the study progresses as Leskov more and more de-emphasized artistry toward the end of his career. Faresov reports the following statement by Leskov in that regard:

...вот вам мое мнение о себе: Все эти "художники", которых похваливают у нас, иногда дают крупные фигуры, напр., Гончаров своего Обломова и Татьяну Марковну. Таких размеров у меня нет ни одной фигуры. Говорят, однако, что и у меня Туберозов и Ахилла, как живые.... Знаю только, что через пятьдесят лет будут читать Толстого, Тургенева и меня... И причиной тому идеи в наших произведениях, "смысл жизни", а не "художественность". Наиболее выделаны мною Соборяне, но через пятьдесят лет они не будут занимать собой читающую публику, как не занимает ее теперь Бурса Помяловского... А уж это-ли не художественное произведение? Недостает здесь только автора-мыслителя, который-бы на своих плечах принес читателя через грязь изображенной им жизни к сухому и чистому берегу. А куда у меня Туберозов вынесет своего читателя и куда мне идти за ним? Да и я сам не знаю! К Третью Ивановичу Филиппову, разве? Слушать олонеккую вопленицу и мечтать о патриаршестве для Туберозова? Решительно не знаю, что-бы я стал делать и говорить с Туберозовым если-бы он явился ко мне собственной персоной при

моих наст  
я его соз  
своих сын  
и все об  
к разным  
примешь  
русских п  
Тургенева  
"Праведни  
(т. XI),  
дорогой и  
люди с жи

Leskov co

of the value c  
those ideas, t  
personification  
will be the su

моих настоящих понятиях о христианстве и государстве. Я его создал, но встретил бы его, как Тарас Бульба своих сыновей из киевской коллегии. Рано или поздно и все общество отнесется точно также с недоумением к разным Туберозовым. Художественностью одной не проймешь его и оно обратится к "учению" в произведениях русских писателей и найдет его только у Толстого, Тургенева и у Лескова... Да-сь, у меня есть "Праведники" (т. 2) из русского быта и христианства (т. XI), с которыми долгое время можно идти одной дорогой и радоваться за человеческий род, где есть люди с жизнеспособными сердцами.<sup>29</sup>

Leskov considered artistry an obstacle to the preservation of the value of a work, whereas ideas ensure its immortality; those ideas, their expression, their evolution, and their personification by the positive heroes of Leskov's stories will be the subject of this study.

<sup>29</sup>Faresov, pp. 384-86.

The Precu

Leskov's f  
to the middle 70  
closely identifi  
an unsettled per  
time to test his  
and perspective.  
precisely the wr  
1859 writers wer  
journals began t  
political positi  
to the formulati  
ultimately deter  
in the extremist  
for a new writer  
that no new sign  
scene during the  
Leskov's be  
literature. Fr  
allowed him acc  
religious train

<sup>1</sup>Charles A  
of the 1860's (



## CHAPTER ONE

### The Precursors of Leskov's Righteous Man

Leskov's first literary period, from the early 1860's to the middle 70's was the period in which he was most closely identified with conservative politics. It was an unsettled period for him. As a new writer he needed time to test his untried literary wings--to gain confidence and perspective. Yet, he came on to the literary scene at precisely the wrong moment to allow such a luxury. Since 1859 writers were beginning to group, and the leading journals began to associate themselves with a distinct political position.<sup>1</sup> Ironically, it was Leskov's opposition to the formulation of distinct political categories which ultimately determined his own categorization as a reactionary in the extremist atmosphere of the day. The difficulties for a new writer emerging at this time are shown by the fact that no new significant prose writer appeared on the literary scene during the entire extent of Leskov's first period.

Leskov's background prepared him well for his entry into literature. From childhood his mother's noble birth had allowed him access to Orel high society, while his father's religious training gained him entry into ecclesiastical circles.

<sup>1</sup>Charles A. Moser, Antinihilism in the Russian Novel of the 1860's (The Hague, 1964), p. 186.

At a young age  
attitudes of t  
the estates ma  
his father lat  
supplemented by  
Russia, partic  
principal Russi

Leskov was  
from these expe

Мне н  
готовые по  
его на мес  
но коренни  
ни к одной  
на барках

Later he stated

Я не изучал  
извозчиками  
выгоне, с н  
траве ночью  
за кругами  
поднимать н  
под ноги.<sup>3</sup>

When dealing  
Leskov's confide  
sharply with his  
issues for which

<sup>2</sup>Faresov, F

<sup>3</sup>povesti, с  
1867), I, 320; а

<sup>4</sup>See Drugov  
Leskov's literar  
Leskov (Petersbu  
his habit of exp

At a young age he also learned the habits, customs and attitudes of the peasants with whom he associated both on the estates managed by his grandfather and on the small farm his father later purchased. These impressions were greatly supplemented by the experience he gained traveling throughout Russia, participating in peasant resettlement programs as the principal Russian agent for his Uncle Scott.

Leskov was extremely proud of the knowledge he garnered from these experiences. On one occasion he remarked:

Мне не приходилось пробиваться сквозь книги и готовые понятия к народу и его быту. Я изучал его на месте. Книги были добрыми мне помощниками, но коренником был я. По этой причине я не пристал ни к одной школе, потому что учился не в школе, а на барках у Шкотта.<sup>2</sup>

Later he stated:

Я не изучал народ по разговорам с петербургскими извозчиками, а я вырос в народе, на гостомельском выгоне, с казанком в руке, я спал с ним на росистой траве ночного... да на запашной панинской толчее за кругами пыльных замашек, так мне непристойно ни поднимать народ на ходули, ни класть его себе под ноги.<sup>3</sup>

When dealing with questions involving the peasantry, Leskov's confidence was at its highest peak, contrasting sharply with his tendency to tip toe through controversial issues for which he lacked experience.<sup>4</sup> When challenged in

<sup>2</sup>Faresov, pp. 20-21.

<sup>3</sup>Povesti, očerki i rasskazy M. Stebnickogo (Petersburg, 1867), I, 320; as quoted in Drugov, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>See Drugov, p. 17 where he speaks of the "duality" of Leskov's literary-political position and Volynskij, N. S. Leskov (Petersburg, 1923), p. 32 where Leskov is chided for his habit of expressing both sides of an issue.

areas in which he considered himself knowledgeable, such as on questions of the peasantry or the radical movement,<sup>5</sup> he became greatly offended and tended to be vengeful.<sup>6</sup> His vindictiveness to a large part accounts for his poor treatment at the hands of the radicals and his categorization as an antinihilist despite certain common attitudes and goals. Like the young generation, Leskov accepted Černyševskij's new man as a positive model. He differed with them by finding no such men in contemporary society, only imitators and hypocrites akin to the idealists of the 40's.<sup>7</sup>

The gap separating Leskov from the radicals soon widened. Though frequently sympathizing with their basic concern for an improvement of human conditions, he did not approve of the compulsory means they advocated to achieve their ends. As times became more tense in Petersburg in 1862 with the outbreak of numerous fires,<sup>8</sup> society became more and more politically polarized. Leskov's practical solutions to societal difficulties placed him at variance with the radicals and he came under increasing attack by

<sup>5</sup>Leskov's acquaintance with dissident thought can be traced all the way back to his association with exiled Polish intellectuals during his Orel school days. He was also known both in Kiev and Petersburg radical circles.

<sup>6</sup>For discussions on this aspect of Leskov's personality see Lottridge, p. 15, and Volynskij, pp. 195, 213.

<sup>7</sup>See "Nikolaj Gavrilovič Černyševskij v ego romane Čto delat'?" in N. S. Leskov, Sobranie, X, 13-14.

<sup>8</sup>For a description of Leskov's role in the polemic which arose as a result of the fires see Edgerton, pp. 171-76.

them because  
departed Peter  
his first liter  
short story Ov  
vindictive nat  
showing genuin  
Vasilij Petrov  
alien to the r

Ovcebyk a  
Leskov's best  
and could easi  
that same year  
abroad. Any h  
of enmity betw  
soon dashed wi  
in 1863. This  
and concern fo  
novel Nekuda,  
the nihilists  
in leading role  
undisguised pre  
figures in an u  
this novel was  
continuation at  
appearing, he r  
increasing his  
imitators. The

them because of his articles. Confused and frustrated, he departed Petersburg for Western Europe, and in Paris he filed his first literary response to the nihilist question--the short story Ovcebyk (The Musk ox). Judging from Leskov's vindictive nature, this tale appears only mildly critical, showing genuine concern and sympathy for the nihilist hero Vasilij Petrovič Bogoslovskij, but rejecting his cause as alien to the realities of the time.

Ovcebyk anticipated by one year the appearance of Leskov's best known anti-nihilist novel Nekuda (Nowhere to Go) and could easily have been given the same title. Earlier that same year, in 1863, Leskov returned from his journey abroad. Any hopes he may have entertained for a lessening of enmity between the political poles upon his return were soon dashed with the outbreak of the new Polish insurrection in 1863. This new uprising caused an even greater awareness and concern for radical-reactionary groupings. Leskov's novel Nekuda, therefore, despite its positive depiction of the nihilists William Rajner (Artur Benni) and Liza Baxareva in leading roles, came under increasing attack for its undisguised presentation of a number of well-known nihilist figures in an unflattering light. Since the publication of this novel was serialized and Leskov was writing the continuation at the same time earlier portions were already appearing, he responded to the criticism revengefully by increasing his attack, not on the true nihilists, but on their imitators. The outcome of this episode was the fiery article

of Dmitrij

Paul Fortres

меня оч  
ли тепер  
журнал,  
страница  
[Лесков]  
России х  
неосторож  
работать  
г. Стебни

This was the j  
his lifetime,  
dictate the pol  
to publish, he  
journals, the f  
vestnik.

Following C  
discussion in th  
illustrates the  
result of Pisare  
to this study be  
bearing a decide

<sup>9</sup>Dmitrij Pi  
slovesnosti," Ru

<sup>10</sup>The produ  
of Leskov's lite  
March 29, 1867 i  
Čajuscie dviženi  
after three inst  
between Leskov a  
unauthorized del  
chapters, reappea  
title Bozedomy.  
there also, but  
was not until Ar  
resumed in Russ

of Dmitrij Pisarev, written from his cell in the Peter and Paul Fortress, "Progulka po sadam rossijskoj slovesnosti."

Меня очень интересуют следующие два вопроса: 1. Найдется ли теперь в России--кроме Русского вестника--хоть один журнал, который осмелился бы напечатать на своих страницах что-нибудь выходящее из-под пера г. Стебницкого [Лесков] и подписанное его фамилией? 2. Найдется ли в России хоть один честный писатель, который будет настолько неосторожен и равнодушен к своей репутации, что согласится работать в журнале, украшающем себя повестями и романами г. Стебницкого?<sup>9</sup>

This was the judgement which was to haunt Leskov throughout his lifetime, taint critical appraisal of his works and dictate the political position he was to project. In order to publish, he had to turn to insignificant or reactionary journals, the foremost of which was Mixail Katkov's Russkij vestnik.

Following Ovcebyk, the second work I have selected for discussion in this chapter, Soborjane (The Cathedral Folk), illustrates the publishing problems faced by Leskov as a result of Pisarev's decree.<sup>10</sup> It is especially important to this study because of its three positive heroes, each bearing a decided resemblance to Leskov's later positive

<sup>9</sup>Dmitrij Pisarev, "Progulka po sadam rossijskoj slovesnosti," Russkoe slovo (March, 1865). p. 15.

<sup>10</sup>The production of Soborjane encompasses six full years of Leskov's literary activity. It appeared originally in the March 29, 1867 issue of Otečestvennye zapiski under the title Čajuščie dviženie vody, but the publication was suspended after three installments because of a difference of opinion between Leskov and the editor Kraevskij involving unauthorized deletions. In February, 1868 the first four chapters reappeared in Literaturnaja biblioteka with the title Božedomu. The following month Chapters 5-8 appeared there also, but then publication was once again ceased. It was not until April, 1872 that publication of the work was resumed in Russkij vestnik, this time entitled Soborjane.



heroes. There  
humble figure  
even forgotten  
the enormous,  
who could not  
Finally, there  
Savelij Tuberc  
true to himsel  
over and over :

The third  
Ocarovannyj str  
was refused by  
early part of 1  
Cernozemnyj Tel  
the story suppo  
anything in rea  
moreover, is th  
philosophical d  
Katkov. This d  
years later in

Я ценю мно  
благодарен  
он действо  
просто ужа  
считал его  
художестве

11 Andrej L

12 Letter t  
X, 396.

heroes. There is Father Zaxarija Benefaktov, the small, humble figure who seems so insignificant that he is sometimes even forgotten. There is his counterpart, Axilla Desnicyn, the enormous, flamboyant but none too intelligent Don Quixote who could not be missed at even the largest gathering. Finally, there is the synthesis of the two, Archpriest Savelij Tuberozov, an intelligent, action-oriented individual, true to himself and his principles. These figures reoccur over and over again throughout Leskov's quest for an ideal.

The third story I shall discuss in this chapter is Očarovannyj strannik (The Enchanted Wanderer). This story was refused by Katkov for his journal Russkij vestnik in the early part of 1873 when it was submitted under the title of Černozemnyj Telemak (A Black-Soil Télémaque). Katkov rejected the story supposedly because of its lack of resemblance to anything in real life.<sup>11</sup> The significance of the rejection, moreover, is that it is the first overt indication of philosophical disagreement between Leskov and the conservative Katkov. This disagreement led to the point where, just two years later in a letter to Ivan Aksakov, Leskov wrote:

Я ценю многие заслуги Каткова и за многое ему благодарен, но лично на меня как на писателя он действовал не всегда благотворно, а иногда просто ужасно, до того ужасно, что я мысленно считал его человеком вредным для нашей художественной литературы.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Andrej Leskov, p. 296.

<sup>12</sup>Letter to Aksakov, April 23, 1875 in Sobranie, X, 396.

Leskov, forced  
attempting to  
with Katkov and  
first literary

Leskov felt  
1875 he again f  
a long time fri  
from Marienbad:

Вообще сде.  
многим стар  
церковности  
начитался в

At this sam

Na kraju sveta (  
story of a Jaros  
was called Temni

in so far as it  
Kiriak, the princ

He is Leskov's ow  
a positive hero t

to the opinions o  
influence him to

role to be that c  
analysis of this

has already shape

<sup>13</sup>Grossman,

<sup>14</sup>Letter to

<sup>15</sup>L. V. Domal

Leskov, forced into Katkov's camp by Pisarev, was now attempting to egress. Grossman notes Leskov's dissatisfaction with Katkov and marks this point as the end of Leskov's first literary period.<sup>13</sup>

Leskov felt the strain of his split with Katkov and in 1875 he again fled abroad. In a letter to P. K. Ščebal'skij, a long time friend and political conservative, he wrote from Marienbad:

Вообще сделался "перевертнем" и не жгу фимиама многим старым богам. Более всего разладил с церковностью, по вопросам которой всласть начитался вещей, в Россию не допускаемых.<sup>14</sup>

At this same critical time Leskov published the story Na kraju sveta (On the Edge of the World). It is the true story of a Jaroslav archpriest,<sup>15</sup> and in its original form was called Temnjak. Temnjak differs from Na kraju sveta in so far as it has no hero whose role parallels that of Kiriak, the principal positive hero of the later version. He is Leskov's own fictional creation. The addition of a positive hero to react to and to suggest alternatives to the opinions of the archpriest, and to eventually influence him to his way of thinking, strongly suggests his role to be that of a reasoner for Leskov himself. An analysis of this hero will show the extent to which Leskov has already shaped the Righteous Man of the 80's.

<sup>13</sup>Grossman, p. 104.

<sup>14</sup>Letter to Ščebal'skij, July 29, 1875 in Sobranie, X, 411.

<sup>15</sup>L. V. Domanovskij, "Primečanija," in Sobranie, V, 618.

These four stories form the basis for our study of the hero during Leskov's earliest period of literary activity. The six positive heroes--Ovcebyk, from Ovcebyk; Tuberozov, Axilla and Benefaktov, from Soborjane; Fljagin, from Očarovannyj strannik; and Kiriak, from Na kraju sveta--accurately reflect Leskov's development in time and attitude, setting the stage for the appearance of his functional ideal, the Righteous Man.

The first story, Ovcebyk, like so many of Leskov's stories, uses the nickname of the hero for its title. In the first few lines of the story the derivation of Ovcebyk's nickname is explained.

Кличку эту ему дали потому, что его наружность напоминала овцебыка, которого можно видеть в иллюстрированном руководстве к зоологии Юлиана Симашки.<sup>16</sup>

Leskov often employs the technique of creating a hero who stands out in a crowd. In this case, before the reader has even met the hero, Leskov has attributed to him an idiosyncratic feature which creates an unforgettable image. Leskov then adds:

Это был не атлет, не богатырь, но человек очень сильный и здоровый, небольшого роста, коренастый и широкоплечий.  
(XIV, 3)

<sup>16</sup>Leskov, Polnoe, XIV, 3. This and all subsequent citations from the stories themselves are drawn from the 1902-1903 36 volume Polnoe sobranie sočinenij. Hereafter their locations will be noted in parentheses within the text itself. A number of non-textual citations, including those from Leskov's letters or important notes pertaining to the stories which are not included in Polnoe will be taken from the 1956-58 Sobranie sočinenij. These will continue to be noted in footnotes.

This description, while creating an overall positive effect, is essentially a neutral statement. During the course of this study we shall find that as a rule Leskov's descriptions of people follow a very rigid pattern. If a person is physically large, it means that he is employed in or will be employed in some occupation which will utilize the strength Leskov has given him. That same person will seldom be endowed with corresponding mental strength. The heroes with special mental abilities are normally small of stature and are employed in occupations which require little physical exertion. In the case of Ovcebyk, strength clearly dominates but is not skewed to an extreme. The relative balance of the description thus suggest that not only will his physical strength be utilized, but that his reasoning ability will also be called into play.

As if to establish Ovcebyk's credibility lest the reader be drawn into the error of making a false assumption from the animal metaphor, the author quickly adds:

В фигуре Василия Петровича, однако, не было ничего смешного. (XIV, 4)

Now the reader can be certain that he is dealing with a serious hero and not with just a freak of nature.

Continuing with the description, Leskov bluntly states what at a later stage will only be implied in the hero's portrait.

...а взглядевшись в его карие, широко расставленные глаза, нельзя было не видеть в них здорового ума, воли и решительности. (XIV, 4)

The reference to "widely positioned eyes" as a phrenological indicator of mental faculty is also a feature that will be repeated in future descriptions.

Ovcebyk was a poor man whose father had died when he was very young. His most outstanding character features were his generosity to those in need and his expectation of assistance for himself whenever it was needed. In practical terms this was manifested by Ovcebyk literally giving the shirt off his back to a person who needed it and in like manner taking another's extra pair of boots without asking when his own had worn out. He never considered the possibility that the owner might not be willing to part with them.

Ovcebyk's approach amounts to a personal application of the golden rule with the additional requirement that all others practice it as well. In his interpretation of the rule he plainly exceeds the limits of its intent. He adds an element of self interest which is completely foreign to the altruistic sense of the scriptural rule. Were the second party as selfless as Ovcebyk, of course, his philosophy would cause no problems. Nonetheless, while being idealistically sound, his approach reflects an insensitivity uncharacteristic of Leskov's later positive heroes.

A word of caution must be interjected here regarding the status of the heroes of this period as models of behaviour. Whereas Leskov's later Righteous Man was set up as an ideal, Ovcebyk is not. Both types are, however, positive heroes

and are symp  
Righteous Ma  
goodness. T  
This humanit  
the case wit  
the nihilist  
Leonid Gross  
Leskov's ant  
Leskovian sch  
story was dir  
finds in Ovce  
caricatures o  
ironic refere  
his appearance

While con  
Grossman's and  
They summon a  
The emphasis s  
since he is by  
treated. Unque  
were not yet re  
were not ready  
mild statement  
after being se

17 Grossman

18 A. S. G  
pp. 22-23.



and are sympathetically treated by the author. The Righteous Man was described specifically because of his goodness. The focus of attention is on his good deeds. This humanitarian manner is his raison d'etre. This is not the case with Ovcebyk. The center of attention is Ovcebyk the nihilist, the man of action, and the future of such a man. Leonid Grossman notes that already at this early date, Leskov's antinihilistic tendencies are clear.<sup>17</sup> Another Leskovian scholar, M. S. Gorjackina, agreeing that this story was directed against the revolutionary democrats, finds in Ovcebyk none of the exaggeration of Leskov's later caricatures of the nihilists. Nonetheless, she does find ironic references to the hero and even overt mockery of his appearance.<sup>18</sup>

While containing nothing inherently false, both Grossman's and Gorjackina's observations are misleading. They summon a far too negative image of the primary hero. The emphasis should be on the positive aspects of Ovcebyk, since he is by Gorjackina's own admission sympathetically treated. Unquestionably, Leskov concluded that the Ovcebyks were not yet ready to lead a revolution, or that the people were not ready for a revolution. Nonetheless, this is a very mild statement considering the fact that it was made so soon after being severely attacked by those same nihilists. He

<sup>17</sup>Grossman, p. 127.

<sup>18</sup>A. S. Gorjackina, Satira Leskova (Moscow, 1963), pp. 22-23.

was in compl  
cause, and th  
this charact  
He does not,  
calls Leskov  
term which ap  
nihilists in  
could be symp  
and still all  
tactics. Ove  
hero of the t  
indeed egocen  
plight of a nu  
mothers and re  
is to do good  
narrow, topica  
death indicate  
later stories c  
may be, is inte  
expression of t  
understands it,

Ovcebyk is  
oppose those of  
depict him comi  
Ovcebyk is acti  
mistakes, and c

was in complete accord with the humanitarian nature of their cause, and throughout his literary career repeatedly placed this characteristic as foremost in his positive heroes. He does not, however, agree with them on tactics. Grossman calls Leskov's philosophy one of "legal liberalism,"<sup>19</sup> a term which aptly describes Leskov's statement about the nihilists in the tale Ovcebyk. With this philosophy, he could be sympathetic to his hero on the basis of his cause, and still allow him to perish in the end because of his tactics. Ovcebyk is no career-minded, hypocritical nihilist hero of the type depicted later on in Soborjane. He is indeed egocentric, but he still shows sincere concern for the plight of a number of unfortunate Jewish boys, torn from their mothers and recruited into the army. His purpose in life is to do good as he sees it. His perspective, however, is narrow, topical and non-universal. His eventual early death indicates that there is a weakness somewhere. In later stories death or a break in life style, as the case may be, is interpreted as a strength. It is the ultimate expression of the hero's willingness to do good as he understands it, at any cost.

Ovcebyk is indeed a complex hero. When his actions oppose those of his creator, Leskov does not hesitate to depict him comically. What is important, however, is that Ovcebyk is active. Like Don Quixote, he flails about, makes mistakes, and often appears foolish. Nonetheless, he is

<sup>19</sup>Grossman, p. 51.

making an honest  
wrong.

I. V. S.

to have a clear  
Ovcebyk. Finally  
with Turgenev  
In another article  
a Don Quixote  
early in the  
reader.

Ком  
в связи  
Петрович  
компроме  
интригуе  
желание  
внешней

This interpretation  
cited above and

Leskov explains  
two ways. The  
his plan of action  
through the narrative  
out the scheme  
once symbolical

20 I. V. St  
Leskova na reč  
1958), III, 120

21 I. V. St  
N. S. Leskova,  
zapiski lening  
335 (1971), p.

making an honest effort to improve a situation he sees as wrong.

I. V. Stoljarova, a foremost Soviet Leskovist, seems to have a clear understanding of Leskov's attitude toward Ovcebyk. First of all she notes Leskov's general accord with Turgenev in his exaltation of the Don Quixotic types.<sup>20</sup> In another article she develops the theme of Ovcebyk as a Don Quixotic figure, noting also that his comic description early in the story was merely a device used to lure the reader.

Комизм, который возникает в начале рассказа в связи с описанием экзотической внешности Василия Петровича, вовсе не содержит в себе какого-либо компрометирующего героя смысла; автор только интригует своего читателя, вызывает у него обостренное желание "разгадать" притягательную при всей своей внешней звероподобности личность Овцебыка.<sup>21</sup>

This interpretation goes quite contrary to that of Gorjačkina cited above and, in my view, comes closer to the truth.

Leskov expressed weaknesses he regarded in Ovcebyk in two ways. The first way was to depict Ovcebyk's intention, his plan of action, and then add to this his own disapproval through the narrator or through Ovcebyk's failure to carry out the scheme in question. Leskov did this three times, once symbolically and twice by means of actual test runs by

<sup>20</sup>I. V. Stoljarova, "Gamlet i Don Kixot: ob otklike N. S. Leskova na reč' Turgeneva," Turgenevskij sbornik (Leningrad, 1958), III, 120.

<sup>21</sup>I. V. Stoljarova, "Russkie Donkixoty v tvorčestve N. S. Leskova," Russkaja literatura XIX-XX vekov, Učenyje zapiski leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, No. 355 (1971), p. 79.

Ovcebyk. In the symbolic incident Leskov used a thunderstorm to stand for a revolution. While visiting a monastery, the narrator unexpectedly came upon Ovcebyk. They spent a night together in a cottage on a lake which had been a favorite spot for the narrator in his youth. The cottage was inhabited by two old priests. During the night a violent thunderstorm arose. Fearing that one of the old priests would be caught outside in the storm, Ovcebyk went out to look for him. The storm hit in a fury of thunder, lightning and wind, but with no rain. During this time the priest returned, but Ovcebyk did not. As the storm began to abate, the narrator caught sight of a pine tree across the lake burning from being struck by lightning. In the light of the burning pine Ovcebyk could be seen just standing and watching the fire burn. Leskov's attitude is then inserted through the narrator.

Стоя рыцарем печального образа перед горящею сосною,  
он мне казался шутом. (XIV, 47)

The next morning Ovcebyk and the narrator took a walk and the subject of the storm came up. Ovcebyk expressed his delight with storms, but the narrator was less sure.

Да что ж хорошего-то? вертит, ломит все. (XIV, 48)

Ovcebyk then expressed a view with which Leskov as a legal libertarian could never agree.

Гм! вот то-то и хорошо, что все ломит. (XIV, 48)

The second time Ovcebyk's method was depicted was at this same monastery just a few days after the narrator's departure. This time he attempted to organize a few of the

lower ranking men  
in agitating and  
to this is again  
monastery.

The final  
implementation  
of Aleksandr Iv  
Ovcebyk was abl  
These people ha  
work had manage  
worked for them  
wrote the narra  
for all the Ale  
money doing thi  
grown for the s  
against them an  
this time, howe  
Aleksandr Ivanc  
on Ovcebyk. He  
his philosophy  
enslavement of  
to another logg  
among the work  
by the camp, th  
been saying. I  
out by the very  
additionally b

lower ranking members of the monastery personnel to aid him in agitating amongst the pilgrims. The author's response to this is again clear. Ovcebyk is thrown out of the monastery.

The final incident showing Ovcebyk's attempt at implementation of his plan was amongst the peasant workers of Aleksandr Ivanovič Sviridov. Through the narrator, Ovcebyk was able to secure work with the Sviridov family. These people had once been poor peasants but, through hard work had managed to accumulate considerable wealth. Ovcebyk worked for them for several months, but in the meantime he wrote the narrator a letter in which he expressed his dislike for all the Aleksandr Ivanovič's of the world who were making money doing things like cutting down the forests which had grown for the sake of all mankind. He also began to agitate against them and their system amongst the workers. During this time, however, unbeknownst to her, Nastas'ja Petrovna, Aleksandr Ivanovič's wife, was making an immense impression on Ovcebyk. Her kindness and tender concern were challenging his philosophy of hatred for women and freedom from the enslavement of passion. He requested that he be transferred to another logging camp and there he continued to agitate among the working force. When Aleksandr Ivanovič later stopped by the camp, the workers told him everything that Ovcebyk had been saying. Frustrated by the fact that he had been sold out by the very ones he was attempting to help, and additionally by the fact that his feelings for Nastas'ja



Petrovna were  
hung himself.  
found a blood  
to wrap a wound  
with several  
of his inability  
failure and socialist  
activism.

Ovcebyk's  
incidents which  
within himself  
occasions. The  
rejection of work  
passion. Ovcebyk  
Believers in the  
he was questioned  
related that when  
took off without  
no feelings of  
He then repeated

что мне за  
жена; завтра  
спать пойд  
любви! что

His stand was  
a letter to the  
time he was already  
of the letter

Petrovna were seriously threatening his own views, Ovcebyk hung himself. In his chest of personal belongings were found a bloody handkerchief which Nast'ja Petrovna had used to wrap a wound he had earlier incurred and a book by Plato with several passages underlined. These were stark reminders of his inability to reconcile theory with reality. His failure and suicide reflect Leskov's attitude toward such activism.

Ovcebyk's weaknesses are also shown by a series of incidents which display doubt surfacing about his philosophy within himself. This was expressed on three different occasions. The first two incidents involve Ovcebyk's rejection of women and the freedom from the enslavement from passion. Ovcebyk once left Kursk to join a colony of Old-Believers in the North, and while there he married. When he was questioned about this later on by the narrator, he related that when the time came for him to leave, he simply took off without a second thought for his wife. He experienced no feelings of conscience over having done something wrong. He then repeated his hard line on women.

Что еще за любовь: нынче уставщик почитал--мне жена; завтра "благословится"--с другим в чулан спать пойдет. Да и что мне до бабы, что мне до любви! что мне до всех баб на свете"! (XIV, 51)

His stand was subtly softened a few months later when he sent a letter to the narrator requesting assistance. At this time he was already working for the Sviridovs. The essence of the letter is as follows:

Десять ц  
прилагае  
крестьян  
в деревн  
чтоб не  
моя: так

The letter's  
that he was r  
indicate a po  
against women

The next  
been cited in  
relationship  
culminated in  
he kept with  
this represen  
the validity

The fina  
which appear  
Plato book.

Васька  
крылья  
шут, се  
что дал

This is his  
error and we  
lack of succ  
that Leskov  
even Ovcebyk  
for him as a  
political na

Десять целковых себе оставил, а пятьдесят, при сем прилагаемых, тотчас, без всякого письма, отошлите крестьянской девице Глафире Анфиногеновой Мухиной в деревню Дубы, -ской губернии, -ского уезда. Да чтоб не знали от кого. Это та, которая будто жена моя: так это ей на случай, если дитя родилось. (XIV, 58)

The letter's tone as well as Ovcebyk's reluctance to admit that he was responding in a humanitarian way to a woman indicate a possible weakening of his old hard line stand against women.

The next indication of his weakening position has already been cited in another context. This was the entire relationship between Ovcebyk and Nast'ja Petrovna which culminated in the discovery of her handkerchief in the chest he kept with his belongings. There can be no question that this represents a very serious doubt in his mind about the validity of his views concerning women.

The final indicator was a note in Ovcebyk's handwriting which appeared in the margin on one of the pages of his Plato book.

Васька глупец! Зачем ты не поп? Зачем ты обрезал крылья у слова своего? Не в ризе учитель--народу шут, себе поношение, идее--пагубник. Я тать, и что дальше пойду, то больше сворую. (XIV, 68)

This is his final confession and his only admission of error and weakness. These are the manifestations of Ovcebyk's lack of success. Surely these indications suffice to show that Leskov could not accept his hero's philosophy. But even Ovcebyk's final statement serves to create sympathy for him as a person. In this sense Leskov removes the political name tag and sees only a basically good man. The

seed of Lesko  
here, in the  
As we shall n

The seco  
is the chroni  
positive hero  
men are by no  
of them are s  
third is meek  
are Father Sa  
Desnycyn, a d  
many respects  
Zaxarija Bene  
he is best de  
ground furnis  
curious figur  
independence  
ion of Leskov

As we ha  
again later,  
utmost import  
character of  
upcoming stor  
Father Tubero

Отец Тубе  
бодр и п  
силы: пр  
весь пел  
отлично  
мужестве

seed of Leskov's future direction has been planted already here, in the soil of his first serious venture into literature. As we shall now see, that seed has not fallen on barren earth.

The second story chosen for discussion in this chapter is the chronicle Soborjane. Soborjane centers around three positive heroes, members of the Staryj Gorod clergy. These men are by no means of equal importance in the story. Two of them are strong, with completely opposing styles; the third is meek and dependent. The colorful dominant heroes are Father Savelij Tuberozov, an archpriest, and Axilla Desnycyn, a deacon. The less significant of the three in many respects, as we shall soon see, is the priest, Father Zaxarija Benefaktov. Because of the pale image he projects, he is best described using the contrast of the bright background furnished by Axilla or Tuberozov. Zaxarija is a curious figure whose dependent meekness is elevated to independence in later heroes, thus providing a clear indication of Leskov's increasing regard for soft-spoken humility.

As we have noted in the case of Ovcebyk and will see again later, the initial description of the hero is of utmost importance in gaining an insight into both the character of the hero and the role he will play in the upcoming story. The first person to be described here is Father Tuberozov.

Отец Туберозов высок ростом и тучен, но еще очень бодр и подвижен. В таком же состоянии и душевные его силы: при первом на него взгляде видно, что он сохранил весь пыл сердца и всю энергию молодости. Голова его отлично красива: ее даже позволительно считать образцом мужественной красоты. Волосы Туберозова густы, как

грива м  
Они худ  
высоким  
не дост  
протопо  
бородой  
волос, п  
Брови же  
заломанн  
его дово  
Глаза у  
Они всю  
присутств  
и блеск р  
умиления;  
и они бро  
сварливог  
В эти гла  
Савелия, н  
верил быт

This descri  
of Father Benef  
Gorod clergy.

Вся его ли  
Соответств  
кроткий ду  
крошечное  
землю. Он  
букольки с  
только над  
ее остатки  
мизерная,  
мышинный хв  
приклеен к  
их постоян  
подрясника  
называется  
из соломки  
быстро, но  
идут места  
взора. По  
Туберозова  
же как и п  
посещающих  
душу и тел

Physically Bene  
For that matter

грива матерого льва, и белы, как кудри Фидиева Зевса. Они художественно поднимаются могучим чубом над его высоким лбом и тремя крупными волнами падают назад, не достигая плеч. В длинной раздвоенной бороде отца протопоба и в его небольших усах, соединяющихся с бородой у углов рта, мелькает еще несколько черных волос, придающих ей вид серебра, отделанного чернью. Брови же отца протопоба совсем черны и круто заломанными латинскими S-ами сдвигаются у основания его довольно большого и довольно толстого носа. Глаза у него коричневые, большие, смелые и ясные. Они всю жизнь свою не теряли способности освещаться присутствием разума; в них же близкие люди видали и блеск радостного восторга, и туманы скорби, и слезы умиления; в них же сверкал порою и огонь негодования, и они бросали искры гнева--гнева не суетного, не сварливого, не мелкого, а гнева большого человека. В эти глаза глядела прямая и честная душа протопоба Савелия, которую он, в своем христианском уповании, верил быть бессмертною. (I, 69-70)

This description is then contrasted by the portrait of Father Benefaktov, the second in rank in the Staryj Gorod clergy.

Вся его личность есть воплощенная кротость и смирение. Соответственно тому, сколь мало желает заявлять себя кроткий дух его, столь же мало занимает места и его крошечное тело и как бы старается не отяготить собою землю. Он мал, худ, тщедушен и лыс. Две маленькие буколки серо-желтеньких волосинок у него развеваются только над ушами. Косы у него нет никакой. Последние ее остатки исчезли уже давно, да и то была коса столь мизерная, что дьякон Ахилла иначе его не называл, как мышинный хвостик. Вместо бороды у отца Захарии точно приклеен кусочек губочки. Ручки у него детские, и он их постоянно скрывает и прячет в кармашки его подрясника. Ножки у него слабые, тоненькие, что называется соломенные, и сам он весь точно сплетен из соломки. Добрейшие серенькие глазки его смотрят быстро, но поднимаются вверх очень редко и сейчас же ищут места, куда бы им спрятаться от нескромного взора. По летам отец Захария немножко старше отца Туберозова и значительно неможнее его, но и он, так же как и протопоб, привык держаться бодро и при всех посещающих его недугах и немощах сохранил и живую душу и телесную подвижность. (I, 70)

Physically Benefaktov can not compare to Father Tuberozov. For that matter, he doesn't compare physically to any hero



we shall see  
physical size  
however, in r  
physically we  
humility almo  
to suggest ag  
inability to  
Axilla. Afte  
to Axilla to  
imposed isola  
Tuberozov's d  
his previous  
he didn't wan  
Benefaktov sto  
restrain Axill  
totally unaffe

...но как  
характера  
Сергий гр

Benefaktov, of  
the story he co  
is always felt  
example of a g  
his physical c  
Deacon Ax  
appropriate ac  
His portrait i  
with Benefakto  
of his impuls

we shall see again. On occasion Leskov will withhold physical size in a manner corresponding to brain power; however, in no case will a central hero be described as physically weak. Here Leskov describes his meekness and humility almost to the point of affliction. There is nothing to suggest aggressiveness. Benefaktov's weakness and his inability to challenge evil are even expressed by Deacon Axilla. After Father Tuberozov's death, Benefaktov came to Axilla to try to persuade him to renounce the self-imposed isolation into which he had placed himself upon Tuberozov's death. Benefaktov suggested that Axilla ponder his previous violent outbreaks when forced to do something he didn't want to do. In one of his most courageous moments Benefaktov stood firm, exclaiming that he himself would restrain Axilla in the event that he became violent. Axilla, totally unaffected, replied:

...но как вы можете меня воздержать, когда вы характера столь слабого, что вам даже дьячок Сергей грубит. (II, 177)

Benefaktov, of course, is unable to restrain Axilla. Throughout the story he continues to restrain no one. Yet, his presence is always felt off to the side as a sincere and honest, steady example of a good person. In the end it is he who, despite his physical condition, outlives both Tuberozov and Axilla.

Deacon Axilla Desnicyn's description is given last, as is appropriate according to his lowest ecclesiastical rank. His portrait is not drawn immediately as had been the case with Benefaktov and Tuberozov. First there is a description of his impulsive nature, his lack of control, his limited

intellect and  
incidents whi  
is pictured i  
for his colle  
embellish the  
Tuberozov.

В сравне  
Бенефакт  
человеко  
и по смо  
просесть.  
манерах  
приятен;  
происходи  
и в самом  
и храбро

Despite the br  
the most color  
this is that b  
he often finds  
beyond his cap  
instinctual, a  
an animal in h  
are much more  
An example of  
was outmaneuver  
concede his po  
himself defend  
who was denyin  
superiority, A  
a cupboard and  
decided that t

intellect and his gigantic physical size as seen through incidents which occurred during his school days. Then he is pictured in a briefer, more factual manner than was done for his colleagues. There is no attempt made to romantically embellish the description as had been done particularly with Tuberozov.

В сравнении с протоиереем Туберозовым и отцом Бенефактовым Ахилла Десницын может назваться человеком молодым, но и ему уже далеко за сорок, и по смоляным черным кудрям его пробежала сильная просесть. Роста Ахилла огромного, силы страшной, в манерах угловат и резок, но при всем этом весьма приятен; тип лица имеет южный и говорит, что происходит из малороссийских казаков, от коих он и в самом деле как будто унаследовал беспечность и храбрость и многие другие казачьи добродетели. (I, 73)

Despite the brevity of his introduction, Axilla emerges as the most colorful of the three churchmen. The reason for this is that because of his excessive nature and limited wit, he often finds himself in situations requiring ability beyond his capacity. His reactions at such times are purely instinctual, and humorous. At times he appears to resemble an animal in his behaviour. At other times his actions are much more like those of a small child, simple and direct. An example of Axilla's reaction to a situation in which he was outmaneuvered intellectually but steadfastly refused to concede his point can be seen in the scene in which he found himself defending Father Tuberozov's wisdom to the town doctor who was denying it. Being forced to his only sure point of superiority, Axilla bodily lifted the doctor to the top of a cupboard and refused to let him come down until he decided that the doctor had been sufficiently punished for his

false views.  
under water  
word "astrag  
Axilla the us  
the user was  
was only late  
term for ankle

Some of A  
it became almo  
In one such in  
wicked Termose  
denounced. In  
the capital wh  
was no God. A  
Staryj Gorod a  
manner that th  
his view to Tu  
do little more  
absolutely no  
use.

With inci  
the chronicle,  
can accept the  
Tuberozov's de  
on a measure o  
by his speech  
of two Biblica

false views. In another incident Axilla held the doctor under water until he nearly drowned because he used the word "astragalus," a term Axilla did not understand. To Axilla the usage of any such term was an indication that the user was a free-thinker and surely untrustworthy. It was only later that he learned that astragalus was a medical term for anklebone.

Some of Axilla's actions were so obviously naive that it became almost painful to see him acting like a buffoon. In one such incident Axilla was made drunk and used by the wicked Termosesov in an attempt to have Father Tuberozov denounced. In another he returned from an assignment in the capital where he overheard an explanation of why there was no God. Armed with these arguments, he returned to Staryj Gorod and announced to Tuberozov in a most innocent manner that there was no God. In his attempt to explain his view to Tuberozov, it is painfully obvious that he could do little more than ape that which he had heard. He had absolutely no comprehension of the words he was trying to use.

With incidents such as these being commonplace throughout the chronicle, it is with great difficulty that the reader can accept the transformation Axilla underwent after Tuberozov's death. At this time Axilla supposedly took on a measure of Tuberozov's wisdom. This is first evidenced by his speech at the burial ceremony. The speech consisted of two Biblical quotations which Axilla had come across

while read

В мир  
нань

Axilla's s

the thought

really happy

new hero.

become inte

true that A

on occasion

money he ha

memory of Fa

not necessar

of intelligence

thinking Axil

a later hero

Leskov's Righ

nicknamed Odn

mind. There

acting in the

painted fence

That scene is

the "new" Axil

and eagerly aw

the clumsiness

see that reall

lacking in Axil

while reading over Tuberozov's coffin.

В мире бе и мир его не позна... ..но возрят  
нань его же прободоша... (II, 174)

Axilla's sudden expression of wisdom supposedly sustains the thought that Savelij's spirit had passed into him. What really happens here, I believe, is that Leskov creates a new hero. A person who is unintelligent cannot simply become intelligent through a traumatic experience. It is true that Axilla still managed to make a mess of things on occasion, such as the time that he accidentally ate the money he had put together to purchase a monument to the memory of Father Tuberozov. This accident, however, does not necessarily indicate either the existence of or lack of intelligence. It is merely the act of a bungler. A thinking Axilla is an apt description for Aleksandr Ryžov, a later hero more fully described below in the discussion of Leskov's Righteous Man. It is at this point that Ryžov, nicknamed Odnodum, is created as a character in Leskov's mind. There is an incident in Odnodum in which Ryžov, acting in the capacity of mayor, leans against a freshly painted fence while awaiting the arrival of the new governor. That scene is very similar to the money eating scene involving the "new" Axilla just described. In both cases an important and eagerly awaited event is thrown into comic relief by the clumsiness of the hero. If we look closely, we can see that really the only ingredient possessed by Ryžov but lacking in Axilla was reasonable judgement stemming from



adequate mental facilities. Physically the two men could have been identical twins. Both held the Bible in high esteem. Both greatly respected honesty and demanded it in those they knew. Both were in similar positions of authority, Axilla being in a position of moderate authority within the church, and Ryžov in a similar position in secular life. Both were extremely independent. Axilla knew only one person with any real authority over him.

Ведь это, ведь я знаю, что все-таки один он, один отец Савелий еще меня и содержит в субординации.... (I, 86)

Ryžov did recognize both secular and religious authorities, but, as we shall point out, he did not relate to them from a position of subordination. He cut off the former mayor's illegal source of gain by practicing honesty, and he refused the formalities of the church in deference to true Christianity. Even when talking to the governor of the province, Ryžov spoke as if speaking to an equal. If he saw something he considered to be dishonest or unjust, he immediately brought the matter out into the open.

Another similarity between the two men is the way they are defended by the wives of their close associates. Ryžov was a favorite of both the wife of the bishop and the wife of the mayor. Axilla was often defended by the wife of Tuberozov as well as by the mother of his chief antagonist, the Nihilist, Varnavka.

Yet, all these similarities are of minimal importance until the time of Axilla's transformation. It is at that

adequate mental  
have been identified  
esteem. Both  
those they knew  
authority, Axi  
within the church  
life. Both were  
one person with

Ведь это,  
Савелий е

Ryžov did recognize  
but, as we shall  
from a position  
mayor's illegal  
refused the for  
Christianity.  
province, Ryžov  
saw something h  
immediately bro

Another sin  
are defended by  
was a favorite  
of the mayor.  
Tuberozov as we  
the Nihilist, V  
Yet, all t  
until the time

adequate mental facilities. Physically the two men could have been identical twins. Both held the Bible in high esteem. Both greatly respected honesty and demanded it in those they knew. Both were in similar positions of authority, Axilla being in a position of moderate authority within the church, and Ryžov in a similar position in secular life. Both were extremely independent. Axilla knew only one person with any real authority over him.

Ведь это, ведь я знаю, что все-таки один он, один отец Савелий еще меня и содержит в субординации.... (I, 86)

Ryžov did recognize both secular and religious authorities, but, as we shall point out, he did not relate to them from a position of subordination. He cut off the former mayor's illegal source of gain by practicing honesty, and he refused the formalities of the church in deference to true Christianity. Even when talking to the governor of the province, Ryžov spoke as if speaking to an equal. If he saw something he considered to be dishonest or unjust, he immediately brought the matter out into the open.

Another similarity between the two men is the way they are defended by the wives of their close associates. Ryžov was a favorite of both the wife of the bishop and the wife of the mayor. Axilla was often defended by the wife of Tuberozov as well as by the mother of his chief antagonist, the Nihilist, Varnavka.

Yet, all these similarities are of minimal importance until the time of Axilla's transformation. It is at that

point that  
Until then  
the ideas w  
rational.  
described a  
transformat  
up like a d  
plundered th  
hold of him  
Axilla was d  
they remaine  
were rescued  
luckless per  
discovered th  
freedom immed  
was strong.

...ВЫ СО

Axilla's meta

Ну, какой  
вам, про  
разумеет  
знаете, а  
сами съед  
Христа ра

The compariso  
desecrated th  
and the viole  
word Axilla d  
the reader mu

point that philosophical considerations can be discussed. Until then it did not matter what Axilla thought, because the ideas were not his anyway. Now his actions are rational. Compare the two incidents involving the doctor described above with an incident which occurred shortly after transformation. Someone was running around town dressed up like a devil robbing people and on one occasion had plundered the sacred monument of Tuberozov. Axilla caught hold of him and together they fell into some icy water. Axilla was determined that the devil would not escape, so they remained in the icy water all night. Eventually they were rescued and the devil turned out to be Danilka, a luckless person simply trying to get food. When Axilla discovered this, he suggested that Danilka be given his freedom immediately. The reaction against his suggestion was strong.

...вы социалист, что ли? (II, 199)

Axilla's metaphoric response was astute and to the point.

Ну, какой там социалист! Святые апостолы, говорю вам, проходя полем, класы исторгали и ели. Вы, разумеется, городские иерейские дети, этого не знаете, а мы, дети дьячковские, в училище, бывало, сами съестное часто воровали. Нет, отпустите его, Христа ради... (II, 199)

The comparison between this calm reaction to a man who had desecrated the monument of the person Axilla most admired, and the violent reaction against a man who simply used a word Axilla did not understand indicates the extent to which the reader must strain in order to believe that the two

characters at

It is in  
of socialist  
expressed to  
those who have

Я только  
давать л

Tuberozo  
positive here  
Axilla, but h  
outstanding c  
refusal to co  
latter charac  
character tra  
merely asserte  
which, if poss  
frequently se

In the ca  
required two  
asked to give  
resolutely ref  
church authori  
This added to  
Tuberozov and  
soon died.

This sto  
juxtapose a p

characters are the same mature adult.

It is interesting to note that in Ryžov the suggestion of socialistic leanings is also present. His philosophy as expressed to Lanskoj, the provincial governor, was that those who have much should share with those who have little.

Я только чтобы всем тепло было в стужу. Не надо  
давать лесов тем, кому и без того тепло. (III, 105)

Tuberozov is a more balanced example of an ecclesiastical positive hero. He is a very strong willed person as was Axilla, but he lacks the excessiveness of Axilla. His most outstanding characteristics are his devoutness and his refusal to compromise that which he believed. It is this latter characteristic which will emerge as a repeated character trait in many heroes. It is not a trait which is merely asserted as important to a hero. It is something which, if possessed, must be put to the test. This test frequently serves as the climax of the story.

In the case of Father Tuberozov, the test ultimately required two lives. First of all Tuberozov's wife was asked to give selflessly of herself while her husband resolutely refused to submit to the dictates of the higher church authorities. She succumbed to the sacrifice. This added to the heavy burden already borne by Father Tuberozov and, although outliving his confinement, he too soon died.

This story provides an excellent opportunity to juxtapose a positive hero to a strong negative character.

In many of Le  
never evident

Leskov's

ally of two t

blossoming Ni

dangerous neg

threaten Tube

At times it a

story is to a

illuminating A

situations. S

skeleton. In

the body of an

skeleton was t

convinced that

Prepotenskij's

man. In a scen

Soročinskaja ja

snatched by one

hot pursuit.

At times P

and treated qui

when Prepotens

of the other ne

of the negativ

second type of

longer just a



In many of Leskov's stories a strong negative figure is never evident.

Leskov's negative heroes in the chronicle are basically of two types. His most visible negative hero is the blossoming Nihilist, Prepotenskij. Prepotenskij is not a dangerous negative hero. He is too immature to seriously threaten Tuberozov. His foe more frequently is Axilla. At times it appears that Prepotenskij's chief role in the story is to antagonize Axilla, both for the sake of illuminating Axilla's character, and to create humorous situations. Such was the incident with Prepotenskij's skeleton. In order to get the skeleton, Prepotenskij boiled the body of an unknown man who had been found dead. The skeleton was then assembled as a teaching aid. Axilla was convinced that the skeleton would be buried, and that Prepotenskij's actions comprised a grave injustice to the dead man. In a scene reminiscent of the chase in Gogol's Soročinskaja jarmarka (The Soročincy Fair), the bones are snatched by one, then retaken by the other with the first in hot pursuit.

At times Prepotenskij is simply described as a buffoon and treated quite shabbily by Leskov. This is usually done when Prepotenskij is placed in direct association with one of the other negative heroes, particularly with the strongest of the negative heroes, Termosesov, who represents the second type of Leskovian negative hero. This type is no longer just a nuisance, but a bona fide threat to all elements

of society.

elements as

hero, capable

them wherever

is emotional

to the weaker

by the descr

Те

При огр

здорово

тазу не

колени м

шея длин

рослых л

гивой в

длинным,

верхнюю

глаза у

черными

и смелые

As is the cas

of a person o

in this descr

instead of at

heroes had don

picture with w

Tuberozov and

sized body pa

itself, but w

like image.

In a manner s

senses the we

that weakness

of society. He is as much a threat to the progressive elements as he is to the conservatives. He is a strong hero, capable of devouring weaker people, and he attacks them wherever they may be. Because of his strength, he is emotionally more akin to the strong positive heroes than to the weaker negative heroes. This fact is substantiated by the description Leskov gives of Termosesov.

Термосесов же был нечто напоминающее кентавра. При огромном мужском росте у него было сложение здоровое, но чисто женское: в плечах он узок, в тазу непомерно широк; ляжки как лошадиные окорока, колени мясистые и круглые; руки сухие и жилистые; шея длинная, но не с кадыком, как у большинства рослых людей, а лошадиная--с зарезом; голова с гривой вразмет на все стороны; лицом смугл, с длинным, будто армянским носом и с непомерною верхнею губой, которая тяжело садилась на нижнюю; глаза у Термосесова коричневого цвета, с резкими черными пятнами в зрачке; взгляд его пристален и смущлен. (II, 41)

As is the case of all strong heroes, the description is that of a person out of the ordinary. There is, however, something in this description which immediately repulses the reader instead of attracting him as the descriptions of the positive heroes had done. Instead of the well proportioned, handsome picture with which we were presented upon introduction to Tuberozov and Axilla, we are faced with a collage of assorted-sized body parts, none of which is especially unusual in itself, but which collectively comprise a grotesque animal-like image. The animal metaphor can be pursued even further. In a manner similar to a wild animal, Termosesov instinctively senses the weaknesses of his adversaries. He then attacks that weakness mercilessly until he has destroyed his victim.

In the short  
to conquer h  
pseudo-Nihil  
postmaster's  
seriously th  
Axilla. In  
attack was s  
Leskov does  
eventually d  
stronger per  
his advantage  
without any  
himself--name  
barred", appro  
nature, and p

Another  
in which they  
spoken, patie  
discussed, he  
he knew that  
nothing about  
his faults to  
There is noth  
negative char  
exist. He wa  
in those with  
himself, when

In the short time Termosesov is in Staryj Gorod, he manages to conquer his supposed superior Bornovolokov, the two pseudo-Nihilists Prepotenskiy and Madame Bizjukina, and the postmaster's wife. Besides these, he managed to wound seriously the two principle positive heroes, Tuberozov and Axilla. In return for all these offenses, not a single attack was successfully launched against Termosesov, although Leskov does make sure that the reader knows that he did eventually do himself in. This is an extremely strong person, stronger perhaps even than Tuberozov. The only reason for his advantage over Tuberozov, however, is that he operated without any limitations such as Tuberozov had placed upon himself--namely a code of ethics. Termosesov's "no holds barred" approach contrasts sharply to Tuberozov's compassionate nature, and puts him at a decided advantage in battle.

Another contrasting feature in the two men is the manner in which they relate to other people. Tuberozov is a soft-spoken, patient man. Unlike some of the heroes soon to be discussed, he is not totally without vice. For instance, he knew that he should not smoke, but for a long time he did nothing about it. Yet, his goodness predominates and reduces his faults to mere trifles. Termosesov is quite the opposite. There is nothing quiet about him. He is a shouter. The negative characteristics subdue anything positive that may exist. He was impatient. His quick wit tolerated no less in those with whom he was dealing. He was attuned to only himself, whereas Tuberozov was equally as concerned with

those around  
not totally  
Leskov's lat  
his fellow m  
his own need

A preli  
of the heroes  
dealing with  
good men, Ov  
possess dist  
lacking in L  
life is to h  
goal is const  
end of his li  
these heroes  
goals is that  
institution.  
and concentra

Negative  
dependent upo  
Never again u  
Leskov allow  
Termosesov in  
their existen  
in the capaci  
The foll  
deals with ti

those around him. It should be noted that Tuberozov was not totally altruistic as may be the case with some of Leskov's later positive heroes. Although his concern for his fellow man is unquestioned, he continues to be aware of his own needs and desires.

A preliminary overview of the primary characteristics of the heroes seen thus far indicates that we are indeed dealing with multifaceted heroes. Although predominately good men, Ovcebyk, Tuberozov, Axilla, and even Zaxarija possess distinct human shortcomings, a feature frequently lacking in Leskov's later heroes. Their primary aim in life is to help their fellow man and improve his lot. This goal is constant in all Leskov's positive heroes to the very end of his life. The difference between the approaches of these heroes and Leskov's later heroes in accomplishing their goals is that these attempt to help others by changing an institution. Leskov's Righteous Men ignore the institution and concentrate on the individual.

Negative heroes in the stories to follow are clearly dependent upon and subservient to the primary positive hero. Never again until possibly at the very end of his life does Leskov allow the negative hero as much power as he does Termosesov in Soborjane. Henceforth the negative heroes owe their existence to the principal positive personage and serve in the capacity of embellishing his virtues.

The following story to be discussed, Očarovannyj strannik, deals with the life of Ivan Sever'janovič Fljagin. Fljagin was

a w

car

to

in

sola

gent

basi

invo

He t

verg

He b

wife

beca

right

puni

spen

who

even

is t

actua

of Le

in Ch

which

Fljag

posit



a wanderer in the Čičikovian tradition. His wanderings carried him into a variety of situations, from one trial to the next. He rises from the peasantry to the nobility in the course of the story, but finally retreats to the solace of the monastery.

It would be difficult to accept Ivan Fljagin as a genuine precursor of Leskov's Righteous Man purely on the basis of the plot of his story. He is involved in an accident involving the death of a monk, for which he is responsible. He tortured his mistress's cat, was flogged and was on the verge of suicide before being dissuaded by a passing gypsy. He betrayed a man's trust by turning over his child to his wife who had earlier left him for an army officer. He became involved in a flogging match with a Tartar over the rights to a horse, and later fled to Asia to escape judicial punishment for his involvement in the match. Finally, he spent 5,000 roubles of his employer's money on a gypsy woman who had enchanted him in a tavern.

On the basis of these events, it would be difficult even to recommend Fljagin as a positive hero. He, nonetheless, is treated sympathetically by Leskov and his goodness is actually revealed in a manner which resembles the pattern of Leskov's Righteous Man in a Tolstovka, discussed below in Chapter 3. His entire life involves aimless wandering which includes much physical pain--a type of catharsis which Fljagin must undergo before being transformed into his final positive form. While the final transformed product in Fljagin

is  
and  
dif:  
tran  
It l  
was  
Oyce  
of t  
it w  
In t  
when  
cont  
Lesk

sugg  
disc  
have  
abou  
Flja  
appe

Desn  
as a  
the r  
Flja

is much different from that of the Righteous Man in a Tolstovka, and Fljagin's catharsis and transformation are motivated by different factors, the primitive pattern of raw material transforming into the finished product is already present. It has evolved substantially from Ovcebyk in which the pattern was raw material--transformation--self destruction. Both Ovcebyk and Očarovannyj strannik are ex post facto descriptions of the transformation of the hero. In the case of Ovcebyk it was a narrator who related his story from his recollections. In the case of Fljagin it was his own tale, told at a time when he was already wearing the cassock of a novice. This contrasts to the transformations in the later stories of Leskov when the transformation is experienced as it occurs.

There are a series of purely external factors which suggest a connection between Fljagin and other heroes discussed or soon to be discussed. The feature to which we have most frequently alluded in beginning discussions about a particular hero has been his physical composition. Fljagin too is described at the point of his initial appearance.

Это был человек огромного роста, с смуглым открытым  
лицом и густыми волнистыми волосами свинцового цвета.  
(V, 4)

The physical similarity between Fljagin and Axilla Desnicyn is unmistakable. Fljagin was big and strong, since as a wanderer physical attributes were more necessary than the mind. Some scholars have observed that Leskov created Fljagin in the image of Il'ja Muromec, the powerful hero of

old.

are

exis

with

poor

havin

in ea

In ac

when

These

that

the c

the p

Asia.

did n

This

in an

it de

Golov

Golov

only

in N.

old.<sup>22</sup>

While physical similarities between Fljagin and Axilla are readily apparent, a number of biographical similarities exist between him and later positive heroes, in particular with Alexandr Ryžov, the hero of Odnodum. Both men were poor and grew up in serfdom. Neither had the advantage of having two parents during their formative years, since in each case one parent died when the hero was very small. In addition both began to work at an early age, Fljagin when he was only eleven and Ryžov when he was fourteen. These facts, while being mere details, suggest, nonetheless, that a stronger connection might exist between Fljagin and the other bogatyr' types.

A very fitting description of Fljagin is given by the prince for whom he went to work upon his return from Asia. The prince was recommending him to someone who did not know him.

Иван... очень не умен, а золотой мужик--честный  
и рачитель (V, 108)

This description might have been included without change in any one of three later stories. Besides Fljagin himself, it describes both Ryžov and Golovan of Nesmertel'nyj Golovan (Deathless Golovan). In the case of both Ryžov and Golovan, however, the positive nature of the hero was not only evident from the very beginning, but would be obvious

<sup>22</sup>p. P. Gromov, and B. M. Ejxenbaum, "N. S. Leskov" in N. S. Leskov, Sobranie, I, XLI.

in any recounting of the story. We noted that for both Fljagin and Ovcebyk, merely relating their narrative did not bring out their basic goodness. This seems to indicate a basic difference of approach by Leskov to his heroes in the two different periods. In Odnodum, Ryžov is described from childhood to old age chronologically. The narration is done by a sane and sober narrator who has no doubts about the facts or his interpretation of the facts. Golovan's youth is not described. The first description of him is made by an adult narrator who is relying on impressions made on him when he was less than two years old. The objectivity of this description is much more in question. The story then follows chronologically, with the enigmatic issues left for a final explanation by the narrator's grandmother. Like Golovan, Fljagin too is introduced as an adult, but the story is told by him from his own perspective. He flashes back to his youth, and then proceeds chronologically to the present. In narrating his own story, Fljagin, likewise, has sacrificed objectivity. This is brought more clearly to the attention of the reader in his description of the incident in which he tossed aside 5,000 roubles for the gypsy girl Gruša. In a masterful description Leskov describes the incident through the eyes of his drunken hero, portraying grotesque, distorted images as they appear to him. Although the reader believes the basic honesty of the hero, the incident has cast a shadow over the objectivity of his judgements. Then too, the high quality of the narration

itself keeps the reader's attention on the events described and not on the characteristics of the primary hero. Mixajlovskij justly noted that "in terms of richness of plot, this perhaps is Leskov's most remarkable work."<sup>23</sup> In both Odnodum and Nesmertel'nyj Golovan the plot itself was merely an explication of the hero's goodness.

There is one other factor which is employed by Leskov to force the reader to look subconsciously for the good in Ryžov and Golovan. Leskov announces these heroes in advance as noteworthy for their positive qualities. Nesmertel'nyj Golovan begins as follows:

Он сам почти миф, а история его--легенда. Чтобы повествовать о нем--надо быть французом, потому что одним людям этой нации удастся объяснить другим то, чего они сами не понимают. Я говорю все это с той целью, чтобы вперед испросить себе у моего читателя снисхождения ко всестороннему несовершенству моего рассказа о лице, воспроизведение которого стоило бы трудов гораздо лучшего мастера, чем я. (IV, 3)

In Odnodum Ryžov is depicted from the very beginning as a poor fatherless child, hardly a situation creating an objective attitude. In both Očarovannyj strannik and Ovcebyk, no such attempt to prearrange the reader's sympathy is made.

Throughout Fljagin's wanderings there are numerous examples of how positive features are interwoven with or shaded by something negative. He was an excellent outrider as a lad, but it was in performance of this duty that he

<sup>23</sup>N. K. Mixajlovskij, "Literatura i žizn'," Russkoe bogatstvo, No. 6 (1897), p. 104.

52



killed a man. He was a good nurse, but he betrayed his employer's trust and gave the child to its mother. He won a flogging match, thus physically out-dueling his opponent. Yet he had to flee Russia because the match was illegal in the first place. He developed a model friendship with the gypsy Gruša, but finally he killed her. He performed a very courageous deed while in the army, but he was in the army under someone else's name, and the deed was performed as an act of restitution for killing Gruša. Unconditional goodness is absolutely impossible in Fljagin. His very existence is subject to conditions. These conditions were expressed in a visitation from the monk he had killed.

...будешь ты много раз погибать и ни разу не  
погибнешь, пока придет твоя настоящая гибель, и  
ты тогда вспомнишь материно обещание за тебя и  
пойдешь в чернецы. (V, 18)

Fljagin's ultimate salvation is assured as well as are difficulties along the entire route to his salvation. Paradoxically, wandering suggests freedom, not confinement, and Fljagin did have total freedom to choose his own route. His predetermined end even encouraged a broader expression of freedom and a more reckless approach. The story then takes on the appearance of an ancient religious tale based on the prodigal son theme, such as the seventeenth century Povest' o gore i zločastii.<sup>24</sup> The hero of that tale leaves home and

<sup>24</sup>The similarity between the two stories was also noted by Hugh McLean. See "Leskov and the Russian Superman," Midway (Spring, 1968), p. 117.

5

d  
t  
m  
T  
i  
t  
d  
o  
f  
i  
i  
tl  
b  
p  
p  
de  
fo  
co  
st  
of  
to  
ma  
gr  
st

during his wanderings is beset by numerous temptations and tribulations. He gains final solace from the devil in the monastery, a place into which the devil cannot pursue. The similarity is further enhanced by Leskov's use of devils in his story. They are first suggested in the scene with the dead monk. Then they are perceived by Fljagin in a drunken state. Once the idea of devils has become a part of his imagination, alcohol is no longer necessary to foster the illusion. As a novice in the monastery, he is endlessly besieged by them, although in each case there is a rational explanation for what Fljagin interprets as the work of devils.

Once in the monastery, Fljagin's ordeal is over. By being there he has fulfilled his mother's vow and the prophesy of the monk. He has undergone the purification process and can emerge in a state of righteousness. A description of that state is left to Leskov's later heroes for expression.

The tale Na kraju sveta will be the final story to be considered in this section. It was written in 1875 and stands on the threshold of a new stage in the development of Leskov's positive heroes. It is of utmost importance to this study because Leskov here deals thematically with a matter that concerned him throughout his lifetime and greatly affected the way he depicted his heroes. In this story he clearly establishes the superiority of example over

ministry as the means to encourage righteousness on earth. Leskov remains firm in this conviction throughout his entire second literary period to be discussed in Chapter Two. When during the last years of his life he begins to question the ability of society to understand the example and reverts to ministry as a means of raising the moral level of society to a point where they can comprehend, we can perceive Leskov's final period. This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The setting for Leskov's message in Na kraju sveta is established in the very first paragraph of the story.

В числе собеседников находился нечто флота капитан Б., очень добрый человек, но большой нападчик на русское духовенство. Он твердил, что наши миссионеры совершенно неспособны к своему делу...  
(VII, 105)

Since one of the conversationalists is an archpriest, it would appear that the story would attempt to disprove the naval captain's assertions. On the contrary it is the archpriest himself whose story clarifies and to a large extent substantiates the truth of the captain's contention. The tale is brief in terms of plot but is filled with dialogue and monologue illuminating primarily the characters of three men; the archpriest himself, a Siberian priest Kiriak and a heathen sled driver for whom no name is supplied. In addition, the results of improper missionary activity are depicted through a comparison of the behaviour of a second sled driver, a so-called Christian, with the heathen.

The story actually took place when the archbishop was a bishop in his first diocese in Siberia. At that time he

was quite stern and quickly set things in order. Having completed his housecleaning effort, he moved toward improving the missionary program which had been gradually deteriorating. In order to do this, he desired the assistance of Kiriak, the only priest in the area who spoke the language of the natives. Kiriak refused to do any more mission work. While attempting to discover the reason for his refusal and to put pressure on him to return to mission work, the bishop came to recognize Kiriak as a sincere and honest Christian. Kiriak opposed doing mission work by preaching and baptizing but believed instead that it should be done by living an exemplary life. He was far less concerned that a person be called a Christian than that he act like one.

It is clear to see that all the action of this story centers around Kiriak as the primary positive hero. As mentioned earlier, Kiriak is Leskov's addition to an otherwise true story and therefore invites special attention. He is talked about by other characters in the story before he is actually introduced himself. According to the priest who is briefing the bishop about Kiriak, he is very independent, having refused all requests of the bishop's predecessors to return to mission work. The bishop, who had made considerable progress in his diocese by adopting a stern attitude with those around him, suggested that Kiriak be commanded to go out and baptize. When he tried that approach on Kiriak, the reply he received was equally as definite:

Душу за моего Христа положить рад, а крестить там  
(то есть в пустынях) не стану. (VII, 114-15)

25

In the same paragraph Kiriak's attitude toward people in general is given in terms of their attitudes toward him.

И всеми любим: и братией, и мирянами, и даже язычниками. (VII, 115)

When Kiriak is finally introduced, he is described vividly:

Но пришел к моим очам монашек такой маленький, такой тихий, что не на кого и взоров метать; одет в облинялой коленкоровой ряске, клобук толстым сукном покрыт, собой черненький, востролиценький, а входит бодро, без всякого подобострастия... (VII, 116)

This description, filled with diminutives, differs somewhat from those we have seen previously. It most closely resembles the description of Father Zaxarija in Soborjane. Both were depicted as being small, almost insignificant in size. This contrasts sharply with the descriptions of all the other heroes already discussed. Ovcebyk, Tuberozov, Axilla, and Fljagin were all above average in stature and physically strong. Significantly, however, there is also a difference in the intensity of the descriptions of Father Zaxarija and Kiriak. Kiriak's description emphasizes his self confidence while noting his humility and supplementary small stature. Benefaktov's description on the other hand dwells on the old and feeble aspects of his composition. His weakness and smallness contrast to Axilla's strength and size. Kiriak has no such counterpart. His small size has nothing to do with weakness. It denotes rather his meekness. Leskov does not allow the reader to infer physical weakness in Kiriak. His very presence in Siberia along with his former calling as a missionary in the most

rem

acc

liv

for

his

cre

Men

As v

stal

as p

very

dete

by t

sol

his

agai

what

info

Kiri

The

Kiri

disc

had



remote part of the country attest to physical strength according to the stereotype which has evolved of people living in Siberia. This is brought to the present tense for Kiriak by his willingness to accompany the bishop on his trip into the field.

By eliminating physical weakness in Kiriak, Leskov creates a hero who much more closely resembles the Righteous Men serving in similar capacities as teachers or preachers. As we shall see as we proceed steadily through Leskov's stable of positive heroes, no one is ever again described as physically weak, regardless of a small physical stature.

The bishop's first conversations with Kiriak give a very true reading of his subordinate's character. His determination and confidence in his convictions alluded to by the priest who had earlier briefed the bishop are solidly reinforced. The bishop, slightly frustrated by his inability to discover the reason why Kiriak is so against returning to the mission field, asked him in somewhat condescending tones if he had received some special information pertaining to mission work directly from God. Kiriak chided the bishop for his improper remark:

Не смейся, владыко; я не Моисей, божий избранник  
чтобы мне с богом беседовать; тебе грех так думать. (VII, 116)

The list of both external and internal similarities between Kiriak and other heroes already discussed or soon to be discussed grows long as his life history is related. He had only one parent from early youth as had both Ryžov and

Iv  
ha  
ag  
wh  
in  
be  
be  
Br  
to  
of  
to  
sel  
for  
exa

sid  
cha  
was  
dep  
inc  
to  
mis  
not  
outs

Ivan Fljagin. He entered the monastery to seek solace after having killed a man in the line of duty. This is a situation again similar to that of Fljagin who also killed a man while carrying out his work and was as a result brought into the monastery. While in the monastery, Kiriak's good behaviour was noted, a situation later repeated in Inženery-bessrebrebniki (The Unselfish Engineers) in the person of Brjančaninov when in school. In another situation parallel to that of Brjančaninov, Kiriak was selected on the basis of his special talent--knowledge of language and religiosity--to go out as a missionary. Brjančaninov for his part was selected by the Emperor to be his pensioner. Kiriak was forced to withdraw from school in Russia right before his exams when his father moved to Siberia, but:

Я не боялся, потому что первым учеником был и меня бы без экзамена в семинарию приняли; (VII, 120)

Despite these similarities with Leskov's later one-sided heroes, however, Kiriak retained a round quality characteristic of all the heroes of this early period. He was not devoid of all negative traits, even though those depicted are relatively minor. For example, Kiriak, in an incident described because he considered its conclusion to demonstrate the occurrence of a miracle, tells how he misbehaved in school as a youngster. When his teacher would not grant him permission to take off from school, he went outside and shouted:

...отпустил, отпустил! (VII, 119)

As a result, everyone went home and he got his day off. Although by no means would this youthful prank adversely affect anyone's judgement of Kiriak's basic character, it does serve to redden his cheeks in comparison to the puritan Brjančaninov and make him a more lively character.

While the basic character of Kiriak is important as a model, it is not the central issue in this story. We have seen in the first paragraph already how Leskov introduced a specific issue--the success or lack thereof of missionaries. The bishop maintained during his early stay in Siberia that mission work should be actively carried on amongst the heathen. In Temnjak, the earlier version of this story, there was no spokesman for the opposition. Although the bishop's conclusions were the same in that version, he was forced to come to them on his own after witnessing the behaviour of the heathen sled driver during the storm. His partner on the trip in Temnjak was Peter, the missionary who had secured a large number of "converts." By adding Kiriak as a hero, contrasting means to the same end are offered. Kiriak suggests example as the best way to teach Christianity.

Да просветится свет твой пред человеки, когда  
увидят добрых твоих дела. (VII, 124)

He later repeats the same idea again.

А учить надо, владыко, учить, да от доброго  
жизня пример им показать. (VII, 124)

He does not see baptism as the only means of attaining eternal life.

It is

man's

action

is r

another

(The

lead

operation

than

inside

on t

since

very

Kir

lat

acc  
Ed

Ну, вот мы с тобою крещены, --ну, это и хорошо; нам этим как билет дан на пир; мы и идем и знаем что мы званы, потому что у нас и билет есть. ...Ну а теперь видим, что рядом с нами туда же бредет человечек без билета. Мы думаем: "Вот дурачек! напрасно он идет: не пустят его! придет, а его привратники вон выгонят". А приедем и увидим: привратники-то его погонят, что билета нет, а хозяин увидит, да, может быть, и пустить велит, --скажет: "Ничего, что билета нет, --я его и так знаю: пожалуй, входи", да и введет, да еще, гляди, лучше иного, который с билетом пришел, станет чествовать. (VII, 127)

It is not the mind, according to Kiriak, which dictates a man's worth. It is his heart. If his heart is good, his actions will be good, and eternal life will be his. This is reminiscent of, and an extension of a character from another story, Zelenskij's philosophy in Kadetskij monastyr' (The Cadet Monastery). According to Zelenskij, good feelings lead to good moods, which lead to good behaviour. Kiriak, operating within the spiritual sphere, takes one more step than does Zelenskij in his secular capacity.

Kiriak considers it shameful that there are so many insincere baptized "Christians." Their negative example on the newly baptized constitutes, in his words, "a terrible sin." But a question remains. How does one reply to the very legitimate query on the part of the newly baptized:

...можно ли это сделать во славу Христову? (VII, 127)

Kiriak's whispered response seems to anticipate Leskov's later accord with Tolstoj's position on non-violence.<sup>25</sup>

Ничего не говорю, а плачу только. (VII, 127)

<sup>25</sup>For a revealing discussion on the nature of Leskov's accord with Tolstoj on the subject of non-violence, see Edgerton, pp. 400-404.

each  
alre  
very  
thei

He d  
was  
was  
As  
tru  
in  
who  
sle  
bi  
ma  
re  
re  
an  
bi  
an  
p  
i  
b  
b  
I

Upon completion of the discussion, the veracity of each view is submitted to an actual test. Kiriak had already made a positive impression upon the bishop using the very means he was advocating, namely that of example. As their conversation ended, the bishop thought to himself:

Я по правде сказать, внутренно во многом с ним соглашался... (VII, 136)

He did not, however, give Kiriak any indication that he was beginning to change his view. Nonetheless, the test was still necessary in order that conclusive proof be shown. As far as Kiriak was concerned, he had already perceived truth, so he set himself up as the victim by seating himself in the sled with the "converted" sled driver. The bishop, who was as yet unable to distinguish truth, sat in the heathen's sled. During the trip they talked and the futility of the bishop's reasoning became obvious. The heathen was a simple man. He did not understand abstract reasoning. He could relate only to that which he could see or feel. Yet the result of his simple reasoning was a clearer concept of God and a more sincere faith than could ever be taught by the bishop's sermons. The heathen believed that if he was happy and healthy, he must be doing good, for he was obviously pleasing his god. Baptism into the Christian faith was impossible, for it was displeasing to his god. This could be proven by the fact that if he were baptized, he would be beaten. Furthermore, a baptized person could not be trusted. If he steals, all he need do is tell the priest and he will



be fo  
perso  
Chris  
salva  
he ha  
clear  
unabl

of Si  
actio  
where  
death  
Men.

posit  
Ovceb  
conti  
tradi  
what  
repre  
Kiria

heroe  
at le  
howev

be forgiven. The one who should grant forgiveness is the person from whom he had stolen. The heathen understood Christ as a good man, but could not accept the concept of salvation. If, after all, Christ could save him, why would he have to undergo a beating for being baptized. It was clear to him that Christ was powerless. The bishop was unable to counter the simple logic of his sled driver.

The final chapter is told out in the snowy wastelands of Siberia. The "heathen's" goodness was proven by his actions, remaining loyal to the bishop during the blizzard, whereas the "Christian's" conduct was responsible for the death of Kiriak. True to the tradition of the Righteous Men. Kiriak sacrificed his life for his beliefs.

The heroes who were discussed in this section as positive heroes together constitute strange bedfellows. Ovcebyk is a representative of the "new people," a continuation of Turgenev's Rudin, Insarov and Bazarov tradition. Axilla and Tuberozov are clerics, representing what is good in Orthodoxy. Ivan Fljagin is a folk hero type, representing "the Russian national character."<sup>26</sup> Finally, Kiriak represents the Christian example.

The problem of comparing inherently different types of heroes is compounded by the fact that they are not all ideals, at least not as far as Leskov is concerned. They are, however, all motivated by a similar desire to see an ideal

<sup>26</sup>McLean, "Leskov and the Russian Superman," p. 118.

situa

possib

their

why s

unrea

satis

equat

direct

simpl

alta

We s

so w

othe

ness

We s

sinc

were

view

The

eg

situation, from their perspective, achieved. It is therefore possible to examine the approaches and manners of each in their efforts to reach their goal, and seek clues as to why success could be realized in some cases and remain unrealized in others. It becomes necessary, then, to be satisfied with a narrower base of comparison; one which will equate factors relating to each hero regardless of the direction his pursuit takes.

Ovcebyk, first of all, was not an ideal hero. Leskov simply does not lay his ideal heroes on the sacrificial altar without affirmative results from his positive action. We shall see how a number of heroes do perish or nearly so when the jeopardy into which they place themselves for others is portrayed as the ultimate expression of selflessness. Ovcebyk's death, however, does not fit that pattern. We shall further pursue the death theme at a later point since the actual deaths of four of five heroes selected were described.

In an article published in 1863, Leskov expressed his view of the hero Bazarov.

Тип Базарова многим нравится, многим не нравится, но я бы позволил себе пожелать ему быть несколько мягче, не мусолить собою без нужды непривычного глаза, не раздражать без дела чужой барабанной перепонки и даже, пожалуй, не замыкать сердца для чувств самых нежных, ибо они не мешают героизму.<sup>27</sup>

The article was written only a few months after Leskov had

<sup>27</sup>N. S. Leskov, "Nikolaj Gavrilovič Černyševskij v ego romane Čto delat'," in Sobranie, X, 16.

fin  
The  
tal  
thi  
The  
pre  
fo  
as  
re  
  
the  
pe  
wh  
re  
up  
ch  
he  
up  
in  
a  
th  
he  
be  
ap  
se  
ch  
re

finished Ovcebyk, December, 1862, according to the postscript. There is no reason to believe that a major change had taken place in Leskov over those few short months, and this is borne out in the characteristics of his hero, Ovcebyk. The qualities Leskov found lacking in Bazarov are either present in Ovcebyk or are shown to be part of the reason for his failures. Those qualities characterized by Leskov as irritating in Bazarov are absent in Ovcebyk or else are recognized as impeding his cause.

The characteristics in Ovcebyk which stand out are those things we noted earlier as evolving changes originally perceived by Ovcebyk as strengths, but later recognized for what they really were, weaknesses. The changes in attitude revealed in Ovcebyk will still be dependent for their success upon his approach to people. This had to be the first change. He could not assume, as he was doing, that since he knew all the answers, he could impose his way of thinking upon others. Ovcebyk was clearly out of bounds in his interpretation of the golden rule. Once having developed a new approach, a low key approach, an approach akin to that expressed in Kiriak and in all the other successful heroes as we have seen them to this point, further changes become possible and even develop naturally. The necessary approach demands tolerance, a trait sorely lacking in the self-assured Ovcebyk. Tolerance is the basis for effecting change in others. Tolerance allows the development of a relationship suitable for acceptance of new ideas. Tolerance

show  
by c  
mem  
her  
the  
lac  
neg  
acc  
  
uni  
Axi  
hav  
goo  
of  
str  
pos  
per  
ide  
The  
hi  
He  
qu  
Th  
fa  
Ba  
tha  
des

shows a respect for the importance of one's fellow beings; by definition it disallows an involvement with only selected members of society. In Ovcebyk this was manifested in the hero's exclusion of women from any role which would shape the destiny of mankind. They were not only excluded for lack of a positive contribution, but were rejected as negative influences. The nežnoe čuvstvo of love was perfectly acceptable in Leskov's view of the heroic.

In Soborjane the same point is made. Tuberozov functions unimpaired, and even assisted by the presence of a wife. Axilla, however, has no wife and no indication is given that having a wife would alter his life at all, either for the good or for the bad. The use of two religious heroes instead of a single political hero does not alter the fact that Leskov stresses essentially the same qualities. Here, however, positive hero is juxtaposed to positive hero. Whereas Ovcebyk perceived his shortcomings and in so doing approached the ideal state, Axilla is transformed by the death of Tuberozov. The qualities of patience and understanding which had escaped him previously were now an integral part of his composition. He reached an ideal state by taking on the necessary qualities released by Tuberozov at the time of his death. The implausibility of transferring wisdom does not change the fact that a measure of wisdom is an essential characteristic. Based on the fact that most of the positive heroes have more than just a measure of wisdom, perhaps that is a more desirable, though certainly nonessential, condition. Wisdom



for A  
often  
great  
of ap  
zeal  
formi

legen  
with

There  
desc  
him.  
of tl  
rear  
comm  
they  
bein  
true  
a gr  
expr  
he k  
even  
Mixa

No.

for Axilla was necessary to temper his excess--a condition often brought on by his inability to reason. It leads to greater affirmative possibilities just as Ovcebyk's change of approach allowed further developments. It channels his zeal and combines with his basic goodness to create a very formidable hero.

Ivan Fljagin, too, was a formidable hero. His legendary status dictated such a type, but, as was the case with the three heroes already discussed:

Лесков не идеализирует героя, не находит в нем "народной мудрости".<sup>28</sup>

There is in Fljagin, however, no transformation actually described--no before and after comparison by which to judge him. In order to compare his characteristics with those of the other heroes, it is necessary to approach from the rear, i.e., to select those characteristics which were common to Axilla, Tuberozov and Ovcebyk, in order to see if they are reflected in Fljagin as well. We saw patience as being fundamental to our other heroes, and this is also true of Fljagin. Throughout his many ordeals, he underwent a great deal of suffering. Despite his suffering, his only expression of impatience was the incident in his youth when he killed the monk, and this too must be qualified. This event touched off the series of small plots to which Mixajlovskij refers as a "string of beads."<sup>29</sup> If any

<sup>28</sup>Drugov, p. 72

<sup>29</sup>Mixajlovskij, "Literatura i žizn'," Russkoe bogatstvo, No. 6 (1897), p. 105.

deve  
at t  
is w  
pati  
he h  
capt  
have  
Flja  
igno

resp  
seen  
dev  
wit  
did  
dev  
by

The  
chi

Thi  
thi

development in the hero occurs at all in the story, it is at this point. This is where Ivan becomes a man. This is where he is first faced with the necessity of recognizing patience. In one of the best expressions of the patience he had developed, Ivan, after having spent some ten years in captivity with the Tartars, is told that Russian missionaries have arrived. Anxious for the opportunity to be freed, Fljagin tells them his story. The missionaries totally ignore him. His initial thought after the insult was:

Ну, что же на это роптать: они люди должностные. (V, 58)

In his relationships to people, Fljagin is in some respects in a position similar to that of Ovcebyk. We have seen how with Gruša, the exotic gypsy girl, he eventually developed an excellent rapport. However, when he lived with the Tartars, he was given a number of wives, and never did he develop a relationship any deeper than Ovcebyk had developed with his Old-Believer wife. When Fljagin was asked by his listeners if he loved his wives, he replied:

Любить? ...Да, то есть вы про это? ничего, одна, что я от Агашимолы принял, была до меня услужлива, так я ее ничего...сожалел. (V, 53)

The reason he could be so apathetic toward his wives and children was simple:

Кабы их крестить и причащать было кому, другое еще бы дело, а что же: сколько я их ни умножу, все они ваши же будут, а не православные, да еще и обманывать мужиков станут, как вырастут. (V, 53)

This attitude remained unchallenged in Fljagin, and in this respect his depiction contrasts to that of Ovcebyk,

7

wh

K.

er

te

d

a

te

a

K

o

h

h

T

H

l

i

P

S

a

r

H

s

whose view was challenged and found wanting.

Standing on the threshold of Leskov's new period, Kiriak presents the only picture of an actual ideal. His entire religious philosophy is based on the principle of tolerance and patience. His truly Christian attitude is directed toward everyone around, Christian and non-Christian alike. As Kiriak lies close to death, he still finds time to ask the bishop a favor on behalf of the driver who had abandoned him.

Христа ради прости и... как придешь домой, гляди,  
вражкам ничего о нем не сказывай, а то они, лукавые  
пожалуй, над бедняком-то свою ревность покажут.  
Пожалуйста, не сказывай. (VII, 166-67)

Kiriak serves as a fitting link between the representatives of the flat heroes of Leskov's second period and the rounder heroes of this period. We saw how he was, unlike any of the heroes of this period with the possible exception of Tuberozov, the most unafflicted with negative characteristics. He did, nonetheless, exhibit some evidence of a normal, fun-loving nature in childhood. As a raisonneur for a specific issue, however, he does not emphasize the universally positive character traits expressed by the later heroes. Some or all of these traits might still be present, but they are secondary in importance to a specific Russian Orthodox religious question.

Fljagin, too, is tied down. He is a Russian bogatyr'. He is unable to transcend national boundaries. Axilla, while sharing many of Fljagin's bogatyr' features, together with

Tu  
ar  
Or  
a  
la  
is  
ch  
se  
ou  
hi  
  
o  
d  
h  
r  
h  
h  
e  
i

Tuberozov embodies many affirmative human qualities. They are, however, also tied specifically to the Russian Orthodox church and to local problems. Ovecbyk is bound to a very specific political group. Leskov did not tie his later heroes, Golovan or Brjančaninov, to any such group or issue. He loaded them with universally acceptable human characteristics such as honesty and incorruptibility, and sent them out into the world. These were people operating out in the open, possessing childlike naivete without any hint of self-delusion.

As if sensing the dawning of a new hero and the demise of the old, Leskov addressed himself to the subject of delusion in Na kraju sveta. As the bishop and Kiriak headed north, the middle portion of their journey was by reindeer. Surrounded by unspoiled nature, the bishop related his impressions and former expectations based on a picture he had once seen of an event similar to the one he was now experiencing. It is quite a length quote but expresses an important thought.

Погода стояла чудесная, и езда на оленях очень меня занимала, хотя она, однако, не совсем отвечала моим о ней представлениям. В детстве моем я очень любил смотреть на картинку, где был представлен лапландец на оленях. Но те олени, на картинке, были легкие, быстроногие, как вихри степные неслись, закинув назад головы с ветвистыми рогами, и я, бывало, все думал: Эх, кабы хоть раз так прокатиться! Какая это должно быть, приятная быстрота при такой скачке! А на деле же оно выходило не так: передо мною были совсем не те уносистые рогатые вихри, а комолые, тяжеловатые увальни с понурыми головами и мясистыми, разлатыми лапами. Бежали они побегом нетвердую и неровную, склонив головы, и с такою задышкой, что инда с непривычки



9

Les  
be:  
and  
ha  
a  
th  
ch  
wi  
wr  
de  
er  
b  
i  
t  
p  
c  
t  
t  
t  
f

жалость брала на них смотреть, особенно как у них ноздри замерзли и они рты поразинули. Так тяжело дышат, что это густое дыхание их собирается облаком и так и стоит в морозном воздухе полосой. И эта езда и грустное однообразие пустынных картин, которые при ней открываются, производят такое скучное впечатление, что даже говорить не хочется, и мы с Кириаком, едучи два дня на оленях, почти ни о чем и не беседовали. (VII, 136-37)

Leskov was now in the process of reevaluating his former beliefs.<sup>30</sup> He himself had been living under an illusion, and he had depicted his heroes in the same way. Ovcebyk had deluded himself into believing that he could bring about a revolution. Tuberozov had deluded himself into believing that by remaining steadfast he would be able to influence change in the church and government officialdom. Both his wife and he himself gave their lives as proof that he was wrong. Ivan Fljagin lived in a world of illusion. He deceived himself throughout his entire life by refusing to enter the monastery. His perception of the world was distorted by his drinking, creating a dark and chaotic, swirling shadow inhabited by devils. The illusion is then carried over into the cosmic world represented by the monastery. Natural phenomena are interpreted as demoniac, even Fljagin's own clumsiness. In Na kraju sveta, however, the illusion is transferred to the negative characteristics of the bishop and the church. It is they who are functioning under the illusion that statistics are an indicator of success on the mission field. It is left to Kiriak to dispel the illusion and

<sup>30</sup>See citation above, Chapter One, p. 21.

ac

o

f

m

i

t

e

H

t

I

E

c

V

S

.

advocate truth. In so doing, his life is given.

Death, we have said, deserves special attention because of the fact that it is so frequently described during this first period. At one extreme is Kiriak's death, a death much like those suffered by the later positive heroes. It is a magnanimous external gesture of conviction, representing the testing of the outer limits of goodness. At the other extreme is Ovcebyk, whose death is not selfless but selfish. His death, from his own perspective, achieved nothing more than to get him out of a situation disagreeable to himself. It was brought on by himself and carried out by himself. Between these two poles lie Tuberozov and Axilla. Tuberozov's death actually combines both selfish and selfless elements. Withholding forgiveness, even though for a purpose is selfish according to the standards set by the later heroes. Dying that Axilla may live, however, is an act worthy of highest esteem. The actual "life" imparted to Axilla by this noble gesture was of short duration, but it afforded him an opportunity otherwise impossible to perceive truth. Having once performed a positive action based on his newly acquired knowledge, Axilla too expires. His life was complete.

To contrive a composite from this array of heroes would be a meaningless task. Each hero is representative of a different non-universal situation, and the differences are countless. Nonetheless, it is hoped that not only have some of the differences been pointed out, but that some similarities have been illustrated. The catharsis to which Leskov has

submitted himself has also taken place in his hero, and the evolution during this period to a purer hero is apparent.

7

Nil  
an  
la  
pr  
II  
en  
18  
ra  
a  
t  
w  
s  
c  
t  
r

## CHAPTER TWO

### Leskov's Righteous Man

The year 1879 is a significant year in the life of Nikolaj Leskov, for it marks the initiation of a quest for an ideal which was to continue unabated until the very last years of his life. For nine years, until 1887, Leskov provided examples of Righteous Men as he found them. Volumes III and IV of the Marks edition of Leskov's works are devoted entirely to a depiction of these Righteous Men. The year 1887 is designated by Buxštab as the beginning of Leskov's rapprochement with the moral philosophy of Lev Tolstoj, when a distinct shift in focus can be observed in Leskov's treatment of his positive heroes.<sup>1</sup> That new shift in focus will be the subject of part three of this study. The cycle of stories under consideration in this chapter, i.e., the cycle of Righteous Men, provides a perfect chronological fit between Leskov's "turnabout" as reported above, and his moral accord with Tolstoj.

After a comment on the term itself, I shall introduce and discuss the Leskovian Righteous Men. The discussion will consider their adherence to one of two groups, stressing

<sup>1</sup>B. Buxštab, N. S. Leskov (Moscow, 1948), p. 14.

either  
shall  
thei  
of t

ove  
bet  
the  
ape  
son  
Imp  
bu  
re  
"P

a  
l  
t  
:



either their humanitarian or their ascetic tendencies. They shall then be compared in the more specific terms of their religious attitudes, external appearance, the nature of their work, their values, and their outlook on life.

The term "Righteous Man" is imbued with religious overtones. Even in Leskov's explication of the difference between the terms "hero" and "Righteous Man" as cited in the introduction, the term "Righteous Man" was used as an appellation for holy men or saints. Leskov then listed some of the required characteristics of Righteous Men. Implying religiousness by requiring religious principles but avoiding direct reference to either Christianity or religion in general, indicates that perhaps the term "Righteous Man" is itself an autonomous entity.

Leskov made his own religious position quite clear in an autobiographical note written sometime between 1882 and 1885. He related both his father's and mother's attitudes toward religion, indicating his own inclination toward his father's position.

Религиозность во мне была с детства, и притом довольно счастливая, то есть такая, какая рано начала во мне мирить веру с рассудком. Я думаю, что и тут многим обязан отцу. Матушка была тоже религиозна, но чисто церковным образом, --она читала дома акафисты и каждое первое число служила молебны и наблюдала, какие это имеет последствия в обстоятельствах жизни. Отец ей не мешал верить, как она хочет, но сам ездил в церковь редко и не исполнял никаких обрядов, кроме исповеди и святого причастия, о котором я, однако, знал, что он думал. Кажется, что он "творил сие в его (Христа) воспоминание". Ко всем прочим обрядам он относился с нетерпеливостью и, умирая, завещал "не служить по нему панихид". Вообще он не верил в адвокатуру ни живых, не умерших и при желании матери



is

no

Ad

For

al

Or

in

th

an

sl

d

t

a

o

s

t

w

S

ездить на поклонение чудотворным иконам и мощам относился ко всему этому пренебрежительно. Чудес не любил и разговоры о них считал пустыми и вредными, но подолгу маливался ночью перед греческого письма иконою Спаса Нерукотворенного и, гуляя, любил петь: "Помощник и покровитель" и "Волною морскою". Он несомненно был верующий и христианин, но если бы его взять поэкзаменовывать по катехизису Филарета, то едва ли можно было его признать православным, и он, я думаю, этого бы не испугался и не стал бы оспаривать.<sup>2</sup>

One of the key issues raised by Leskov in this citation is the necessity of equating faith and reason. Leskov has no quarrel with the basic content of Christianity. Adherence to Christian principles is reasonable to him. Form, on the other hand, is less rational. Form includes all ritual as well as actual church attendance. Since to Orthodox church authorities form was considered to be an integral part of Christianity, Leskov neatly circumvented the actual term "Christian" as a designation for his ideals and substituted in its stead the term "Righteous Man."

The men who play the leading roles in the stories I shall discuss here are all Righteous Men according to that definition. They are Leskovian Christians. They adhere to the Christian principles but reject the alleged hypocrisy and pretension included in form. They emulate the beliefs of Leskov who in turn emulated those of his father. The satire which is present in the stories is frequently directed toward those aspects of his mother's Christianity which were rejected by his father. It is not his mother, however,

<sup>2</sup>N. S. Leskov, "Avtobiografičeskaja zametka," in Sobranie, XI, 11.

27

or such devout types who are attacked for their blind faith. These people are being taken in by the church leaders who bear the ultimate responsibility for the corruption in the church. In the meantime, however, Leskov does not idealize the person who is being duped. He too bears some of the responsibility for having accepted everything on faith alone. He will often be made to appear comical because of this blindness, but he is shown no sympathy by Leskov. Such a man is not cast as a Righteous Man in this cycle. His role is secondary to that of the Righteous Man, a man who has already overcome that shortcoming. At this stage in Leskov's literary activity, he is not interested in depicting the Righteous Man in development, i.e., how he achieves a state of righteousness. Rather, he depicts him in static form as he is. Only later in his career as we shall see below does Leskov actually depict the transformation of his primary heroes from one state to another.

There are thirteen Righteous Men depicted in the eight stories of the cycle which will be the subject of the present discussion. Despite the fact that they all fulfill the requirements of Leskov's conception of a Righteous Man, they present a very diverse appearance. Some of them are educated while others come from simple beginnings with almost no formal education. We have military men, policemen, churchmen, men in government service, teachers, and pupils. Because of the difficulties of dealing with such a magnitude of variables

in a comprehensible manner, I have sought to introduce the heroes of these eight stories in two reduced groups of four stories each.

Leskov's entire stable of Righteous Men shares two predominant characteristics--humanitarianism and a sense of self denial. In the heroes of four of these stories, Nesmertel'nyj Golovan (Deathless Golovan), Pigmej (Pigmy), Russkij demokrat v Pol'she (Russian Democrat in Poland), and Čelovek na Časax (The Sentry), humanitarianism dominates the hero's tendency toward self denial. His motivational thrust to do good is pointed outward, away from himself and in the direction of his fellow man. I have termed these Righteous Men "Ascetic-Humanitarians" and shall introduce them as one group.

In the other four stories, Odnodum (Singlethought), Kadetskij monastyr' (The Cadet Monastery), Inženery-bessrebre-  
reniki (The Unselfish Engineers), and to a certain extent Levša (Lefty), the heroes direct their humanitarian acts or their results in toward themselves, despite the personal hardship that act causes. These heroes reverse the previous order of emphasis and are therefore called "Humanitarian-Ascetics." These two groups are variants of a single theme and therefore share numerous characteristics. They are complimentary and not opposing groups and it should be remembered that this preliminary categorization is done primarily for purposes of an orderly introduction of an unmanageably large group of heroes.

The Ascetic-Humanitarian Righteous Men are:

1. The hero of Pigmej--a small-time nobleman known only as "S" whose job it was to arrange the public execution of physical punishment to wrongdoers before the law in St. Petersburg.

2. Ivan Fomič Samburskij, the "Russian democrat in Poland. He was the director of a civilian office responsible for organizing the administrative chaos following the Russian conquest of Warsaw in 1831.

3. Golovan, from Nesmertel'nyj Golovan. He had a small farm on which he raised cattle, supporting his family with the sale of dairy products.

4. Private Postnikov, fated to have guard duty outside the Winter Palace on the night someone was to fall helplessly through the ice into the Neva directly opposite his post.

Each of these heroes goes out of his way to render a humanitarian deed. This humanitarian act serves as the basis upon which the entire story is constructed. At considerable risk and great trepidation, Mr S diverges from his long-standing routine of wordlessly meting out punishment as ordered by the judge. Listening to the pleas of a Frenchman wrongly convicted (in his opinion) of offending a young lady, Mr. S circumvented legal punishment by personally requesting French diplomatic officials to appeal the case to the Russian authorities.

Samburskij's humanitarian deed in Russkij demokrat v Pol'se was carried out on a much broader scale. Appalled

by the large quantity of money and lives lost in the perpetual Polish conflicts, he proposed a plan which would both shore up the Western front as well as provide land and income for many retired military men who were being neglected after retirement. Bloodshed would cease because of the stability of the area and both the Polish and the Russians would benefit. When the plan was rejected, he quit his job.

Golovan distinguished himself during the Prokopev plague which hit the Orel district. Circulating amongst hovels in which entire families were afflicted with cholera, he distributed milk and water to the needy. He even gave his life later during the Orel fires while trying to save someone.

Finally Postnikov, torn between his sworn duty not to abandon his post and his humanitarian responsibility to help a person in need, left his sentry post, made his way out onto the treacherous ice of the thawing Neva and rescued a drowning man.

In each of these cases the Ascetic-Humanitarian was in a position where he could have rejected his humanitarian inclinations and avoided a considerable hassle. Certainly Mr. S, Pigmej, would not have been judged critically by any earthly being for having carried out his duty before the law. In making a plea on behalf of the Frenchman, he was exceeding his own authority, arrogating judicial responsibilities and committing what could have been interpreted to be a treasonous act due to the poor state of relations



between Russia and France at that time. Samburskij's convictions required that he quit his job rather than acquiesce to the system of primogeniture which dictated the rejection of his plan. Golovan was no more responsible for the cholera victims of Orel than any other inhabitant of the region, and as sole support for his own family, it seems equally important that he would protect their interests by avoiding direct contact with the dread disease. Had Postnikov adhered to military law, not only would he have escaped a beating, but would have avoided the uncomfortable dilemma into which he placed his superiors. He might well have been verbally commended for that.

Thus, reduced to their lowest common denominators, the plots of all four stories read: Man, faced with the option of continuing the status quo at no personal risk or of easing his fellow man's suffering at considerable risk, and by open defiance of a principle or rule, chooses to help his fellow man. By repeating the theme four times, Leskov has multiplied its impact on the reader and indicated that these qualities are indisputably basic to his concept of the ideal at this time in his life.

Looking more closely at the stories, we see that they all use the name of the hero in the title. This is somewhat disguised, but only thinly, by the fact that a nickname appears in the place of the hero's real name. This nickname is then explained in the body of the story itself. Using a nickname makes the use of a given name less significant

and the character becomes known as "X" the humanitarian, instead of Ivan Ivanyč, the man with "X" characteristics. It is a form of depersonalization and a first step toward creating a universal hero.

Not only does the hero of this group remain nameless, he also remains essentially faceless. In only one of these stories does Leskov draw a detailed portrait of his hero. In the others, Samburskij, Pigmej and Postnikov all summon a mental image, but it is a purely subjective picture based upon the reader's own experience. Golovan, the exception to the rule, is drawn very carefully:

В нем было, как в Петре Великом, пятнадцать вершков; сложение имел широкое, сухое и мускулистое; он был смугл, круглолиц, с голубыми глазами, очень крупным носом и толстыми губами. Волосы на голове и подстриженной бороде Голована были очень густые, цвета соли с перцем. Голова была всегда коротко стрижена, борода и усы тоже стриженные. Спокойная и счастливая улыбка не оставляла лица Голована ни на минуту: она светилась в каждой черте, но преимущественно играла на устах и в глазах, умных и добрых, но как будто немножко насмешливых. Другого выражения у Голована как будто не было, по крайней мере я иного не помню. (IV, 5-6)

Leskov goes on to describe Golovan's clothing.

Одевался Голован мужиком--всегда, летом и зимою, в пеклые жары и в сорокаградусные морозы, он носил длинный, нагольный овчинный тулуп, весь промасленный и почерневший. Я никогда не видал его в другой одежде, и отец мой, помню, частенько шутил над этим тулупом, называя его "вековым." (IV, 6)

The significance of this portrait lies not only in its novelty within the four humanitarian stories, but also in its permanence within the story. Not only does Golovan act and react the same from beginning to end, but he also looks the same throughout. This subtle use of detail causes the

7

illusion of timelessness. The illusion is reinforced each time we hear the nickname "Nesmertel'nyj," or "Deathless." In the quote above, Leskov says that his father used to refer to Golovan's coat as "vekovečnyj," or "eternal." These things too contribute to the notion of universality intended by the author.

Use of detail extends also into a description of Golovan's living quarters. Leskov pointed out that Golovan's house was located on a piece of land which seems to have slipped part way down a steep bank and inexplicably stopped half way down. This location further isolates Golovan, not only historically in time, but geographically in place. He is a part of society, but not totally. He is physically removed from it. Occupying the entire land area of Golovan's parcel is his house. The house too is divided, the animals living on one side and the people on the other. Golovan lived with the animals, setting himself even farther apart from humanity. His domicile is his own kingdom, isolated from the world but close enough to allow for human interaction.

Golovan is not the only hero in the cycle to be isolated. Each of the other heroes is also isolated, but each has his own peculiar form of isolationism. Pigmej is isolated in two ways. Although he appears to have a normal family life, he still stands apart because of the nature of his work. As the man who arranges public floggings, he is probably held in about as much esteem as the hangman.

Samburskij, too, is a person who, while fitting well

into his situation, was physically outside Russian society; His work, for which he had displayed extraordinary talent, required that he live in Poland. Postnikov was isolated by his job as well. In general, of course, there is only a limited amount of isolationism associated with military life. Postnikov's situation, however, at the time of the action of the story was as a guard, and in this sense he was on his own, by himself. And, like his humanitarian colleagues, he too was operating successfully within the system, performing a necessary function within his society. The paradox, then, of being both an integral part of society while at the same time being apart from it appears to be the standard position in which the humanitarian operates.

Just as there were four stories dealing with Ascetic-Humanitarians, so also are there four dealing with Humanitarian-Ascetics. There are, however, considerably more than four Righteous Men depicted, since on two occasions Leskov chose to depict several heroes in one story. The heroes of these four stories are:

1. Aleksandr Afanas'evič Ryžov, called Aleksaška and nicknamed Odnodum. He was a single-minded, small time Don Quixote whose complexity far belies his simple exterior.

2. The staff of the First Petersburg Cadet Corps, the kadetskij monastyr'. There are four members of the staff described, but although each has his own area of responsibility and his own idiosyncracies, they fail to emerge as distinct individuals. Perskij, the director of

7

1

1

the corps was meticulous in all he did and devoted his entire life to the cadets. Bobrov, the person in charge of the economic affairs of the corps, was equally as devoted to the cadets. He spent his entire 40 years of service with the cadets, never once deeming it necessary to leave the corps grounds. He died penniless, having spent his entire salary on the cadets throughout the years. Zelenskij was the corps doctor. Sharing the devotion of the other staff members, he too had spent his whole life in the service of the cadets. The lone occasion upon which he had left the corps area occurred when he was required to treat a patient outside the confines of the corps. The final hero in this story is an unnamed archimandrite in charge of spiritual matters at the Cadet Corps.

3. Three students from a school like the Cadet Corps mentioned above, the Inženery-bessrebreniki. Two of these heroes, Dmitrij Brjančaninov and his friend Mixail Čixačev whom he overshadows, can almost be taken together as a single hero, whereas the third, Nikolaj Fermor, is a very strong hero in his own right. Brjančaninov and Čixačev leave the military engineering field upon graduation from school and distinguish themselves rather in religious work. Nikolaj Fermor, who was less inclined toward religion, went to work in the field as an engineer, was repulsed by the graft he found there, and eventually committed suicide from the frustration of being unable to either affect change in others or even live an honest life himself.

7



4. Levša, or "Lefty," the talented Tula craftsman, whose loyalty to his motherland prevented him from accepting a comfortable position in England and indirectly caused him to lose his life.

All the heroes of these stories intentionally lived lives of self denial for others when a more comfortable alternative existed. Odnodum lived on ten roubles a month with a wife and child. He ate bread and drank water. Vegetables from his own garden provided additional sustenance. Meat was served only on high holidays.

The heroes of Kadetskij monastyr' denied themselves any life of their own outside of their work. All four even remained celibate.

In Inženery-bessrebreniki both Brjančaninov and Čixačev devoted themselves very early in their lives to that which they felt to be right.

Оба молодые человека рано стали вести самую воздержную жизнь, разумея воздержность не в одной пище, но главным образом в недопущении себя до гнева, лжи, раздражительности, мщения и лести. (IV, 56)

After completing school:

Они повели образ жизни самый строгий--чисто монашеский, --соблюдали постные дни; не посещали никаких увеселений и гульбищ; избегали всяких легкомысленных знакомств и ежедневно посещали церковь. (IV, 57)

Nikolaj Fermor was from the same mold as Brjančaninov and Čixačev. The only notable difference is that he was not a religious ascetic. Leskov says simply:

...он не имел такой решимости, как Чихачев или Брянчанинов, чтобы бежать от службы и скрыться под рясу монаха. (IV, 72)

1

Yet, he proved decisive in other respects which required equally as much courage. For example, after graduation Fermor was sent out into the field on his first assignment as an engineer. It had become common practice for engineers in the field to receive a substantial amount of graft money in addition to their regular government salaries. Although the Emperor had attempted to weed out the officials responsible for the graft, their replacements soon succumbed to the same temptations and the practice was perpetuated. Fermor staunchly refused his share of the unlawful gain and steadfastly attempted to put an end to the corruption manifested by the extra payment on each payday. He attacked evil with the same religious fervor as had his two predecessors in the story, Brjanč<sup>ˇ</sup>aninov and Čixač<sup>ˇ</sup>ev. The difference between them is no greater than the difference between a minister preaching inside a church and a moralist lecturing outside on the church steps.

This leaves perhaps the most difficult of the characters in the entire cycle to categorize. One must wonder if it is purely coincidental that this is also one of the best known stories of the cycle. I have placed Levša into the group of ascetics primarily by default. He bears little resemblance to the humanitarians. He does bear some resemblance to the ascetics. His specific form of self denial, although closely paralleling that of the other ascetics, is novel. Brjanč<sup>ˇ</sup>aninov, Čixač<sup>ˇ</sup>ev and Fermor, like so many of their colleagues, each had the option of ignoring that which they

considered wrong and live peacefully and prosperously for the rest of their lives. Odnodum could have supplemented his meagre wages with bribery as did his predecessors in the job. No one would have thought less of him. The entire cadet corps staff could have devoted more time to their own interests without jeopardizing their positions at all. Each of the ascetics clearly had an option within immediate reach which would have brought him physical comfort. Each rejected that option because his conscience would not allow him to accept that which was unethical. Levša did not have that option within his own society. He was a craftsman. He lived in the society of craftsmen. There were few moral decisions to be made. Leskov, however, lifted him out of that environment and placed him in a spot where an option did exist. He was seduced by the English craftsman's utopia. He could choose between modern technology and available equipment, or the technological wasteland of his native Tula. His conscience dictated the only possible answer. He would return to Russia. Like the other ascetics, he rejected the comfortable choice.

E. M. Forster in his Aspects of the Novel divides the different types of characters in literature into two groups.<sup>3</sup> The first group of characters he denotes as being "flat" heroes and the second group as being "round" heroes. "In their purest form," notes Forster. "they [flat heroes] are

<sup>3</sup>E. M. Forster, Aspects of the Novel (New York, 1927). p. 67.

constructed round a single idea or quality: When there is more than one factor in them, we get the beginning of the curve towards the round."<sup>4</sup> He adds later on that flat heroes "...are best when they are comic. A serious or tragic flat character is apt to be a bore."<sup>5</sup> The pertinency of the description of the flat hero in the first quote and the truth of the second citation are very obvious in this cycle of eight stories by Leskov. It is the story Levša which, with its contrast to the other seven stories, really brings this fact to light. Levša has begun the "curve towards the round." Unlike the other characters who are depicted in their local environments, Levša is pictured at home, abroad, at sea, in prison, and before the Emperor. He embodies a variety of themes, such as patriotism, the Russian Church, Russian women, the downtrodden man, and the fate of talented men--a theme further pursued by Leskov in Štopal'sčik (The Darner) and Tupejnyj xudožnik (The Toupee Artist). This stands in marked contrast to the one-sided nature of the previously mentioned stories, symbolized in the title Odnodum or Singlethought. If success were marked by popularity, a very tenuous criterion at best, but with certain merit in this instance, then Levša is easily the most successful story in the cycle. One of the reasons for this is the balance which Leskov has achieved between the

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

5

1

comic and tragic aspects of the hero. We smile as we read of the choking stench caused by the close proximity of the craftsmen working incessantly over a long period of time. We cringe as Levša's reward for his tireless effort is a jerk of the hair by Platov as he is carried back to the Emperor to answer for his crime. We smile at Levša's inept manner in a foreign situation, and later on at his drinking bout at sea. We pity the man who is mercilessly thrown about upon his return to the land he has defended abroad, because he did not have the necessary papers.

The extraordinary balance of this story is in marked contrast to Inženery-bessrebniki and Kadetskij monastyr'; the imaginative plot which carried Levša about Russia is almost completely lacking. These two stories are almost completely descriptive, concentrating primarily on the hero himself and his work.

The hero's work has special significance in all the stories of this group; it gives the reader an opportunity to judge the hero on the basis of a comparison between the reader's concept of how a person would perform in such a job and the hero's actual performance. Invariably the reader will set a standard which falls below that of the hero. Then, when the hero far surpasses the expectations of the reader, he becomes a bona fide ideal, a model for emulation. In Kadetskij monastyr' the three primary characters devote themselves to their work every hour of every day and have done so for years. They are so virtuous and so conscientious

that they become incredible and boring. They are positive heroes in the classical sense, representing only good. Brjančaninov, Čixačev and Fermor are the same in Inženery-bessrebreniki, but there is more of an effort at plot, which allows the hero's qualities to be deduced by the reader to a small extent instead of merely being listed. The plots are even more developed in the other stories. As we follow Odnodum and Pigmej through the various situations presented, the reader reacts to a stimulus applied through that situation. In each case the reader's standard falls short of the standard portrayed by the hero.

In only one instance does Leskov choose to describe an ideal hero whose work is religious in nature. It is true that Brjančaninov and Čixačev do turn to the monastic life, but we first meet them as students planning a life in civil service. The one ideal churchman is the archimandrite in Kadetskij monastyr'. He is by far the least important of the characters in this story, and is the only hero in the whole cycle whose name the narrator can no longer remember. This may seem somewhat unusual coming from a writer whose family has carried on the clerical tradition and from a man whose name in Russian literature is almost synonymous with priestly types. It should be remembered, however, that these stories were written at a time when Leskov was challenging his former views, including his views on religion. He was very disillusioned with the official church, and nowhere is this more obvious than in his treatment of the



bishop in Čelovek na časax. Leskov's tale was already complete when he tacked on the episode in which the bishop appeared. Postnikov had already been punished for his disobedience and normalcy was returning. Then distorted rumors concerning the incident began circulating throughout Petersburg. The bishop appeared as a character and questioned Svin'in, Postnikov's battalion commander, about the affair. Svin'in told the bishop the story as it really happened, and a very interesting exchange between the two men followed. Svin'in noted that it was too bad that he had had to punish Postnikov for doing a good thing. Surely Svin'in expected the bishop to commend Postnikov for his actions and perhaps even chide him for having punished Postnikov. Instead, the bishop in effect rationalized Svin'in's actions. He said that a serviceman should be punished if he neglects his duty. Besides, a little physical punishment does not hurt the simple man [prostoljudin] anyway. The bishop then went on to say that had Postnikov opted not to save the drowning man, then, too, he should have been punished. In other words, according to the bishop's way of thinking, Postnikov had no chance of avoiding punishment. At no time did he suggest that Christian duty take precedence over duty imposed by man.

The addition of this scene with the bishop is totally unrelated to any exposition of Postnikov's character. That had already been completed. Instead, it contrasts Postnikov's Christian act and the subsequent treatment of the matter by

military officials to the very unchristian attitude of the bishop, representing the official church. The result of the contrast is very unflattering to the church.

Not only is there a lack of religious types depicted in the stories discussed here, but organized religion as a theme or as a motivational factor is largely absent. Levša is basically a secular story with mere mention made of the fact that the craftsmen of Tula were also known for their religion. The other stories dealing with the ascetics are more religious in nature, but it should be noted that they do not deal specifically with religious asceticism. The asceticism is secular although based on religious principles. Brjančaninov and Čixačev practiced asceticism in school before escaping to the monasteries. Odnodum busied himself throughout his entire life with secular matters. Religion to him was something he had learned as a boy by himself and practiced throughout his life in the same simple and sincere manner in which he had learned it. Contrasted to the religion of the organized church, his religion was certainly more appealing.

Interestingly enough, the stories dealing with the humanitarians, while being in effect dramatizations of the biblical golden rule, make scant mention of religion. We have already mentioned how religion was treated in Čelovek na Časax, almost as an afterthought. Pigmej and Russkij demokrat v Pol'se contain no churchmen, and Nesmertel'nyj Golovan has only two very neutral appearances by churchmen.

In these stories the hero is responsible for his own interpretation and practice of the biblical truths. The "middle man" and the organization which supports him have become corrupted and are therefore corrupting. The basic truths are there for even the simplest of minds to recognize.

We have examined the image projected by the heroes in the eight stories. We have also examined the means through which that image is projected and the motivation for projecting it. We have seen how the receipt of that image summons a comparison between the reader and the hero. We have not, however, looked at how the hero perceives himself, although this can be largely deduced from what has already been mentioned. None of the characters in any of the stories see themselves as especially heroic. Odnodum, perhaps, comes the closest to expressing cynicism in his conversation with the new governor, Lanskoj. In the other cases, the characters remain humble, but very self-assured. The reason they are so confident in their approach is that they themselves have their ideal clearly in mind. That ideal, if not Jesus Christ himself, is a being forged from his image. With this as the ideal of people of strong character, as each of these Righteous Men has, in any given situation where the hero must make a "choice," the choice is merely a fantasy of the reader. That is to say, the hero has no real option. He is guiding his actions according to the model of absolute good. In such a situation he can never surpass the level of goodness of his ideal and can, therefore, never reach the

point where he could perceive himself as an ideal. Taken in small doses, such stories, especially those which achieve the balance of which Forster speaks, can be not only tolerable, but even enjoyable. Taken together, however, one after another, their effect is as a sedative. Their soothing predictability lulls the reader into disjointed apathy.

We are ready then to recreate the ideal hero according to Leskov from among the candidates he proposes as Righteous Men. First of all, the external appearance is noteworthy. Some of the heroes, such as Samburskij in Russkij demokrat v Pol'še, are not described. These, however, are distinctly in the minority. What is most obvious of all the others is that each has some feature that immediately sets him apart from the others in society. Odnodum was both a physical giant and handsome. Golovan was large and very strong. Pigmej was small. Brjančaninov was both physically and mentally superior. Samburskij was known for his outstanding ability to assimilate, the knowledge of which preceded him via legend wherever he went. Levša was grotesque. He was one-eyed and part of his hair was missing from where it had been pulled out.

Where no physical distinction existed, such as in the members of the Cadet Corps staff, Leskov devised another means of distinction. He set the heroes apart by the clothing that they wore. Perskij dressed immaculately.

Не знаю, было ли это щегольство у него в натуре или он считал обязанностью служить им для нас примером опрятности и военной аккуратности.... Он всегда

был одет самым форменным, но самым изящным образом:  
 всегда носил тогдашнюю треугольную шляпу "по форме".  
 (III, 125)

Bobrov and Zelenskij, on the other hand, were opposite extremes. Bobrov owned only one coat and he wore it everywhere. Zelenskij went around in a frockcoat which was sometimes clean and sometimes not, but was always wrinkled. Even Odnodum who had stood out so much physically, has the added distinction of having only one set of clothing to wear for all occasions. For him, however, clothing has a special significance. Although originally he had but a single set simply because of his sorry financial state, ultimately his one set developed into a symbol of incorruptability. While this may not be the case with Bobrov or Zelenskij, still, the stories of this cycle are similar enough to encourage the proliferation of any symbol through repetition from story to story. The effect of the symbol on the reader's perception of Bobrov and Zelenskij is not lost.

In connection with the heroes' physical attributes, a look at the type of work each does reveals that there is a link between the two. The heroes who are distinguished by their size and strength are both involved in types of work which utilize their strength. Golovan is a dairy farmer. His work is hard physical labor, a far too demanding job for a person less physically qualified. Odnodum is also involved in physical labor. His first job was to carry the mail between two towns. Here his physical strength was required

to combat the forces of nature. His second job, as policeman, also makes use of this strength. As a matter of fact, Odnodum's physical size was one of the factors considered when he was hired for the job.

Amongst the educated heroes, intelligence plays a more important role. Samburskij, Brjančaninov, Čixačev, Fermor, Perskij, Bobrov, and Zelenskij are all somewhat nondescript physically, but they do stand out intellectually. They are all involved in work which requires that they use that intelligence. The degree of success achieved by each hero underlines the intelligence he possesses. An interesting description of Brjančaninov illustrates this connection between work and physique.

... Если верить френологическим системам Галя и Лафатера, то череп Брянцининова являл признаки "возвышенного богопонимания". (IV, 51)

Phrenological indicators of intelligence had previously been utilized in Leskov's description of Ovcebyk as well.

The three remaining heroes, Postnikov, Levša and Pigmej are all in positions requiring neither physical size nor special intelligence. In a manner characteristic of the entire cycle, Leskov conserves those attributes for those who need them and bestows neither in this case.

Now a more specific description of the physical composition of the ideal hero is possible. It is obvious from the broad range of work situations depicted that Leskov deems no one particular occupation more suitable to an ideal than any other. He does, however, see to it that his hero

has the finest physical or mental qualities demanded by the job into which he is placed. The physical composition of Leskov's ideal is always commensurate with his position.

All Leskov's heroes appear to have reached the same point in their moral development at the time they are described and then develop no farther. Odnodum is really the only character whose story is described throughout his formational years, and in his case the description is from without, from the narrator's point of view. He tells how young Aleksaška sat under a tree reading his Bible, but he does not give us any indication of opposition views or questions which may have arisen. For all practical purposes, then, we know only his mature attitudes. On a small scale this involves the righting of wrongs which he perceives within his reach. In this sense his scope, like that of all the Righteous Men, is very narrow, encompassing only those who live in or come into his world. In few cases are the heroes involved in anything large in scope unless the nature of their work provides a larger territory. Such is the case of Brjančaninov who ultimately achieved a rather lofty position encompassing more than one monastery. Otherwise Levša is the only one whose work in Tula somewhat incredulously led him to England where his exposure was greatly broadened.

There is, however, a definite symbolism associated with Odnodum; this involves the scope of the work with which he was associated. As a policeman he is in charge of setting

7



straight those who do wrong. The first indication that this has some special significance as a symbol is the way Odnodum enforced not only illegal actions, but extended his authority into the moral sphere as well. At first this was only slightly apparent from his action of patrolling the streets at night and bending the ears of drunks, or rearranging spots at the market so that his own mother received a worse place. But later on it became much more apparent when, as acting mayor, he chided the governor for failing to show the necessary reverence upon entering God's house. Here he was clearly outside his official jurisdiction but acting in a manner analagous to pulling the ear of a drunk in an official capacity. This suggests the broader possible implications of the character in a symbolic sense. The thought is further supported by Leskov's reply to the critic from the reactionary newspaper Novoe vremja (The New Time) who had suggested that in the place of "Levša" one should read "russkij narod."<sup>6</sup> Leskov replied:

Я не стану оспаривать, что такая обобщающая мысль действительно не чужда моему вымыслу....<sup>7</sup>

Levša was published only two years after the appearance of Odnodum and his idea for the story seems to have preceded the appearance of Odnodum.<sup>8</sup> There are, therefore, real

<sup>6</sup>B. Buxstab, "Primečanija," in Sobranie, VII, 502.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 503 as quoted from Novoe vremja, No. 2224 (May 30, 1882).

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 500.

grounds for such an opinion. This does not affect the literal interpretation of Odnodum's reach. He still operates exclusively within the town of Soligalič<sup>✓</sup>, but his symbolic reach extends to the ends of the earth.

Within their own worlds, the primary values reflected by the heroes were unrepachable honesty and fairness. Odnodum showed these characteristics by the manner in which he carried out his job. In Kadetskij monastyr' Perskij is regarded by the cadets in the following manner:

Он и жил и умер честным человеком, без пятна и упрёка; но этого мало: Это все еще идет под чертою простой, хотя, правда, весьма высокой честности, которой достигают немногие.... (III, 128)

Since the cadets were mere extensions of Perskij's attitudes, it is not surprising that when Demidov tried to encourage their favor with candy, they reflected his traits:

Нас нельзя было подкупить и заласкать никакими лакомствами: мы так были преданы начальству, но не за ласки и подарки, а за его справедливость и честность, которые видели в таких людях, как Михаил Степанович Перский.... (III, 135)

Bobrov is simply equated to Perskij:

...по достоинствам души, сердца и характера этот Андрей Петрович был такой же высоко замечательный человек, как сам Перский. (III, 136)

Samburskij in Russkij demokrat v Pol'se<sup>✓</sup> is described in much the same way.

Самбурский был малоросс и имел репутацию человека необыкновенного ума и способности, и также отличался честностью и непреклонностью убеждений. (III, 158)

Essentially the same qualities are expressed in Brjančaninov<sup>✓</sup> in religious terms:

Набожность и благочестие были, кажется, врожденною чертою Брянчанинова. (IV, 51)

A little later Cixačev too is included into the description. Referring to his and Brjančaninov's ascetic attempts to purge themselves of all evil characteristics, it is noted that:

Это дало их характерам не только отпечаток благородства, но и благочестия, которое вскоре же было замечено сначала товарищами, а потом начальством. (IV, 56)

Nikolaj Fermor is the last of the engineer group to be depicted. The group that he now leads since Brjančaninov and Cixačev have finished school has taken a turn away from religious involvement although the basic qualities of honesty and nobility are as important as they ever were. Upon completion of school, Fermor was sent out into the field to Warsaw and there the corruption so disillusioned him that he bemoaned the fate of an honest man.

Я догадываюсь, что у нас честно жить очень трудно и даже невозможно. Напрасно нам в таком случае представляют примеры из жизни чужих народов. У других выгодно быть честным, а у нас нет. У нас с умом и с честностью обходятся несравненно суровее и беспощаднее, чем с бездарностью и с искательством. У нас с честностью можно только страдать и пресмыкаться. Я все изжил, еще почти не начиная жить. Если бы у меня был сын, я бы теперь уже не знал, как его воспитать. Чтобы он был несчастлив, надо, чтобы он не был очень честен и на все был сговорчив. От этого я никогда не буду иметь своей семьи. На честных людей хорошо любоваться со стороны, но мучительно заставлять человека переносить все в его собственной коже. Задумываюсь даже, стоит ли жить и самому. (IV, 79-80)

Being unable to answer that question positively, Fermor, ironically, became the tragic victim of his own strength of character.

The remaining three heroes, Levša, Golovan and Postnikov lack direct references to these qualities. It is

clear from their actions, however, that they do indeed manifest them.

It is honesty, then, that is the predominant characteristic emanating from the soul of the hero. Honesty, especially honesty to oneself, dictates truth; and those truths comprise the network of associated values held most dear to each hero.

The outlook of the heroes in these eight stories is almost exclusively optimistic. The notable exception is Nikolaj Fermor whose experience with honesty included only pain and led to suicide. The inevitable question arising from this tragic ending is, why in this one instance was Leskov pessimistic.

Stoljarova, in an effort to maintain consistency, sees no evidence of pessimism in any of Leskov's stories of Righteous Men, including this one.<sup>9</sup> She lumps it with all the other stories having sad endings and uses that as evidence that Leskov does not overrate the strength of his heroes.<sup>10</sup> In another article she interprets the sad endings as representing a "sober note of skepticism" on Leskov's part.<sup>11</sup> Although Leskov was not creating any omnipotent beings at this time, it would seem the sad endings serve an additional function; they reflect the heroes willingness to "cast

<sup>9</sup>I. V. Stoljarova, "Russkie donkixoty v tvorčestve N. S. Leskova," p. 94.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>I. V. Stoljarova, "N. S. Leskov i G. I. Uspenskij," Russkaja literatura, No. 3 (1974), p. 90.

himself into the abyss."<sup>12</sup> Nothing is so sacred to Leskov's Righteous Men to be withheld from sacrifice--not jobs, not happiness nor even one's own life. The sad ending of Nikolaj Fermor's tale is not at all consistent with that pattern. His death is brought about by his own hand. It serves no purpose toward the furtherance of the ideal Leskov was depicting. It is totally devoid of the nobility of Golovan's life sacrifice or even Samburskij's career sacrifice. Fermor is unlike the others in that he cannot bear the tittering asides of those around him and just go on living a righteous life for its own intrinsic value. He must change others in order to make the world tolerable for himself. Lacking the finesse of an Odnodum, the innate sense of when to see and when to avoid confrontation, he is doomed to failure.

Stoljarova's use of the term "skepticism" if properly applied to Fermor alone, coincides with my own use of the stronger term "pessimism" in describing Leskov's attitude in this one story. We both seem to sense his disillusionment with his method of merely providing static examples of Righteous Men. Inženery-bessrebreniki first appeared in 1887, when Leskov was already being deeply influenced by Tolstoj's religious views. In the early 1890's he made a statement to Faresov indicating that he recognized a deterioration of contemporary society, that it was losing touch

<sup>12</sup>See Introduction, p. 10.

with the Christian ideal.<sup>13</sup> Tolstoj maintained that moral perfection was a prerequisite to the comprehension of an ideal. In the context of a discussion about the accord between Leskov's views and his own, Tolstoj remarked shortly after Leskov's death:

Без морального совершенствования людей трудно рекомендовать им новые идеалы.<sup>14</sup>

Leskov's tactics did begin to change at about this time. He seems to realize that Tolstoj is correct. He must first of all seek to transform society by moralistic teaching and preaching before the ideals he has been recommending can be effective.

The pessimism expressed by Nikolaj Fermor's death could well be an indication of the shock Leskov felt when he realized the extent to which society had strayed.

The last major point to discuss in reconstructing the hero is to establish his position in his society and his method of interaction with other members of that society, be they in a position of either inferior or superior authority.

Odnodum, as a policeman, was in an excellent position to relate socially both with his superiors and with those over whom he held authority. The full potential of this situation was not, however, realized. Externally he displayed a silent, sober respect for those authorities with

<sup>13</sup>Faresov, p. 379.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

whom he dealt from day to day, namely the mayor in matters of secular concern and the priest in spiritual matters. He could do so because he was never issued an order directly challenging his principles. For example, the mayor was gravely distressed over the fact that his extra income was cut off when Odnodum failed to collect bribes. Nonetheless, he never once went to Odnodum to tell him that he must collect them. The situation with the priest was much the same. When the priest told Odnodum to do something, he obeyed. It seems that if a person obeyed his priest on every occasion, he would certainly be judged a model Christian. This was not the case with Odnodum. His faith was still considered suspect. He accomplished this feat by intentionally avoiding situations in which he would have to defy the priest. When his mother died, he cut out all the frills which would have been both beyond his means and hypocritical. Had Odnodum first asked the priest what he thought should be done, he would certainly have been told that tradition must be upheld. That would have resulted in a confrontation. By acting on his own he avoided the showdown. And after the fact denouncement by the priest would have put him in a bad light. Thus Odnodum triumphs in the game of political strategy. Without having sacrificed his principles in the least, he has outmaneuvered the professionals, and in so doing he shows the real contempt which underlies the illusion of respect.

With Lanskoj, the governor, Odnodum is forced into a

different strategy. He can no longer avoid a confrontation. Here he is interrogated directly and, as an honest man, he responds openly. When asked whether he respected authorities, he responded:

Не уважаю... за то, что они ленивы, алчны и пред престолом криводушны.... (III, 105)

He went on to offer Lanskoj a direct challenge:

...а вы на десять рублей в месяц жить поучитесь....  
(III, 106)

Despite the challenge which would have been interpreted by the priest or the mayor as a personal affront, Lanskoj still saw fit to award Odnodum the Cross of St. Vladimir. The difference in approach as well as the difference in interpretation lies in the quality of the authority with whom he is associating. The corrupt and career centered priest and mayor were left unchallenged by Odnodum because he intuitively sensed that by so doing he could neither win nor even retain the status quo. Their perception of the world was completely opposed to his. Lanskoj, however, basically shared the outlook of Odnodum within tolerable limits.

Odnodum's association with those under his authority was similar to that of a child and an authoritarian father.

А Рыжов сам ходит по городу днем, ходит один ночью и мало-помалу везде стал чувствовать его добрый хозяйский досмотр. (III, 84)

Furthermore, Leskov needed to maintain the comic aspects of Odnodum in order to retain a successful flat hero. The idiosyncracies of his character which caused that humorous



effect were mostly manifested in his relationships with those below him. A clear example of this is the entire scene of the preparation for Lanskoj's visit. The result is a strained association with the Soligalič townspeople. When Lanskoj asked them about Odnodum, they responded with positive comments, but they indicate that they still do not understand him.

...просто всегда "такой". (III, 102)

This lack of understanding does not foster an efficient ideal relationship with the result that Odnodum's effectiveness as a model is directed toward the reader and not his own people. This, of course, is yet another example of Leskov's universal intention of which we have seen numerous examples during this study.

Most of the other heroes in this group are not in such direct contact with both those in positions of greater authority and those in a position of subordinate. In Pigmej the story centers around the hero and the Frenchman with no other significant interaction. Yet it can be seen from Pigmej's reactions to his situation that he has always unquestioningly obeyed the orders of those in authority over him. This is shown by his pangs of conscience after becoming enmeshed in the affair with the Frenchman.

Тут я братец, во всем виноват, потому, что я изменник: я в такое время вмешиваюсь в дело куда мне совсем и носа совать не следует;... И, вообразите себе, я, действительно, в то время так чувствовал, что это богу угодно совершить то, что я делаю. (III, 114)

All four of the heroes in Kadetskij monastyr' refused

57

to be intimidated by authority when it was contrary to their beliefs. When Nikolaj Pavlovič appeared at the corps to reprimand Perskij for allowing the cadets to feed the rioters who had made their way across the ice on the Neva to the corps area, Perskij calmly retorted:

Они так воспитаны, ваше величество, драться с неприятелем, но после победы призывать раненых как своих. (III, 132)

And one year later, immediately after Demidov's installation as director of all cadet corps, Perskij lectured him because of his random and unjust plan to punish certain cadets as examples to the others.

Нам вверили их родители с четырехлетнего возраста, как вам известно. Следовательно, если они дурны, то в этом мы виноваты. Что же мы скажем родителям. То, что мы довоспитывали их детей до того, что их пришлось слать в полки нижними чинами? Не лучше ли предупредить родителей, чтобы они взяли их без вины в унтер-офицеры? (III, 132)

But when the cause is obviously lost and Demidov announces that the plan will be carried out, Perskij recognizes his authority and acquiesces:

А! в таком случае не для чего было собирать совет.... Вы бы извоили так сказать сначала, и что приказано, то должно быть исполнено. (III, 132)

The sarcasm of this remark is even less thinly veiled than those made by Odnodum to the mayor and the priest.

Both Bobrov and Zelenskij willingly broke rules for the cause of the students. Bobrov felt sorry for those who were being punished and were on a bread and water diet. He would see to it that they got one good meal a day. Zelenskij, after Demidov's reforms had essentially curtailed learning,

countered the trend by falsely signing in students as sick in order that he could personally see to it that they learned a few things. Finally, the archimandrite bluntly reprimanded the students for having responded to Demidov's greeting in church, and in so doing was also reprimanding Demidov for having initiated the greeting. This cost the archimandrite his position.

With those for whom they were responsible, the cadets, the four teachers maintained the highest respect. The lofty esteem in which Perskij was held by the cadets has already been cited. Their love for Bobrov was exemplified in the way they returned to see him whenever they were near. Both Zelenskij and the archimandrite were shown similar loyalties.

The case of Samburskij in Russkij demokrat v Pol'se is only slightly different. He showed no evidence of open animosity with his superiors, but on the contrary related very well with them. However, when his plan for achieving a permanent peace was rejected on the grounds of economic considerations, he could not accept the decision and left the service. His lead was followed by the entire trio from Inženery-bessrebreniki. Brjančaninov and Čixačev escaped into the monastery despite enjoying an exceptionally good relationship with the Emperor. The third member, Nikolaj Fermor, sought temporary respite outside of civil service only to find the same lack of concern for honesty there. With the exception of his excellent rapport with the Emperor, his relationship to his superiors was poor. The reason for

this is that he did not passively allow dishonesty in his superiors as did Odnodum. Odnodum let his feelings be known in his notebook. That provided him with an outlet. Furthermore, he was not as impulsive as Fermor and derived his satisfaction from the knowledge that the ultimate victory would be his. Fermor wore his feelings on the outside. He attacked his adversaries in their own camp, thus assuring failure. Had Odnodum openly challenged his adversaries, he too would probably have met with a similar fate. Instead he used a finesse which, combined with its measure of success, allowed him to retain his equilibrium.

Golovan was really the only one of the ideal heroes of this period to have had almost no relationship with an authority. He was self employed and self sufficient. He did, however, have the most extensive association with peers and had an understood relationship with church authorities in a manner paralleling that of Odnodum. Just as Odnodum's faith was suspect because of the things which he did on his own, so too was Golovan's. He spent time with Anton the Coppersmith looking at the stars. He was also observed giving milk to a Jewish family. Both of these actions were considered ungodly by the townspeople. Just as had been the case with Odnodum, Golovan in so doing was following the dictates of his own conscience. There was no need for him to first consult with a religious authority. Thus, he also avoided the conflict which might have arisen.

Golovan's relationship with his peers is best shown

by his actions during the plague and, on a more personal level, within his own family. He made the rounds of the sick when none would undertake the chore because of the danger of being infected. Although the reader is not allowed to witness direct intercourse between Golovan and the sick, the effect of this good deed was presented. Golovan was placed on a pedestal above normal beings and rumors about him spread amongst the people. He was even accorded supernatural powers. Yet, never once was there any indication given by Golovan that he recognized himself to be superior to the others, or even an indication that he acknowledged that they had placed him in a superior position. His relationship with them was that of one concerned individual interacting with another, giving totally of himself and asking nothing in return. This contrasts markedly with Ovcebyk's approach of requiring gifts from others if they are needed. To Ovcebyk all things were communal. Golovan asked for nothing from others but was not prevented by pride from accepting, for example, a dinner when offered.

The same applied in his family situation. Golovan had worked hard for the freedom that each of the members of his family enjoyed. He also worked hard for the food which they ate each day. Still, however, he readily accepted the effort which the whole family put into helping him with his chores and in weaving pieces of thread into warm blankets to sell. The fifth woman in the family, "Golovan's sin," too was shown respect and worked equally as hard as the others. The

entire situation was unique, though, in so far as nothing was required of anyone; mutual respect and responsibility were spontaneous. This is the same unspoken feeling which seemed to underlie all Golovan's other associations as well.

The remaining two heroes, Levša and Postnikov, while sharing some of the general characteristics of the other heroes, have a much less developed pattern of relationships. In Postnikov's case, he even retreats to the background while his fate is decided by the more important officials. Levša, however, did meet the Emperor through the urging of Platov, and his manner was simple and direct. He had no fear, because, like all the heroes in this group, he had done nothing to warrant fear. When sent to England, this same directness was also evident.

In general, we see two possible relationships between the positive hero and authority. If the symbol of authority is positive, the relationship is open and direct. If he has predominantly negative characteristics, the relationship is passive in that respect. The hero does not usually challenge evil in discussion. He opposes it by example. Where there is discussion of evil, it is not that of one particular individual, but is broader, encompassing many people. Then too, such a discussion could only occur between two men depicted as good persons. Pairs meeting this criterion are Odnodum and Lanskoj or Nikolaj Fermor and the Emperor. If a situation is presented in which a hero has an association with a person who has an equal

amount of authority, the relationship is one of mutual give and take. Both willingly give and neither would ever take advantage of the other's goodness. Finally, if the hero represents more authority than those with whom he is relating, as in the cases of the Cadet Corps staff and its students, there is a genuine concern for the well-being of the subordinate. Every attempt is made to show by example, if not through direct teaching, how a person should conduct himself.

There remain only points of detail regarding recurrent characteristics of the heroes here depicted or the stories in which they are depicted. One of these is the role of women in the stories. It is obvious that no women were selected to fill the lead role in any of these stories. As a matter of fact, there are very few women depicted even in secondary roles. The narrator alludes to the existence of a wife in Pigmej, but she plays no role at all. In Odnodum there are two women, his mother and his wife. Both of these women are paragons of virtue, totally devoted to Odnodum. His mother, widowed at a relatively young age, gives up all prospects for future happiness in order to ensure a good upbringing for young Aleksaška. She works for as long as the need exists and then, when she becomes a burden she simply dies. Odnodum's wife has the same virtues as his mother and owes her inclusion into the story to the mayor and the priest who insist that Odnodum take a wife in order to make things a little more difficult for him financially.



None of the other positive heroes are married and in only one other story do women play any role at all, that being Nesmertel'nyj Golovan. The women in this story, three sisters, a mother and Pavla are very similar to the women in Odnodum. They function as family and wife, sharing and mirroring the positive qualities of the primary hero. Women in general are clearly subservient to men in Leskov's works although equally or even more virtuous. One of the most important criteria for judging the level of their virtue is their ability to bear pain without complaint, a trait particularly characteristic of Russian women.<sup>15</sup>

In summary, we have seen that most of the tales of Leskov's Righteous Men are mere dramatizations of the biblical Golden Rule. In each case the author's method is to describe the ideal in such familiar terms that the reader unconsciously compares himself to the ideal and loses. The description is normally static developmentally since the Righteous Man has already attained moral perfection.

Membership into the family of Righteous Men is available to all from all backgrounds and social levels if only he fulfill a few basic requirements: He must be honest, direct, just, and unassuming; he must be willing to sacrifice his entire existence to principle, not selfishly, even should his purpose be to attain eternal life, but selflessly, to the exclusive benefit of his fellow man; he must practice

<sup>15</sup>See citation in Introduction, p. 10 in which Leskov makes particular note of Hercen's reference to Russian women.

humility and adhere to Christian principles. The dogmas of Orthodoxy or, for that matter, of any other sect will not help since an honest milkman is far superior to a dishonest bishop; he must be obedient to authority, but not be intimidated by it; and he must oppose evil by example rather than confrontation.

Repetition of the theme, combined with Leskov's unique use of isolationism brings about an effect of depersonalization and lends an import far exceeding the narrow bounds of the story itself. This peculiar form of stenciling extends even to the physical attributes of the hero and his attire.

As time goes on and new influences intervene, these requirements are transformed into a new shape and take on new substance. This new substance will be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### The Righteous Man in a Tolstovka

Сейчас заходил ко мне Павел Ив. Бируков и известил меня, что Вы на сих днях будете в Москве. Он и Вл. Гр. Чертков очень желают, чтобы могло осуществиться мое давнее, горячее желание видеться с Вами в этом существовании.<sup>1</sup>

This note is the very first direct communication between Leskov and Lev Nikolaeviĉ Tolstoj, the man who occupied a central position as Leskov's moral teacher until the day of his death. The meeting between the two men took place on April 20, 1887, two days after this letter was written. Because of their physical get together, the date April, 1887 is conveniently utilized to mark the beginning of the accord between Leskov and Tolstoj.<sup>2</sup>

At about this time Leskov began to turn out the bulk of his moralistic legends and tales based on old Prologue themes. It was also at about this time that he published the first of a number of "Holiday Tales" displaying Tolstojesque moralistic features. Tolstoj's influence on Leskov's works after this time is unmistakable. However, no precise date can be set without allowing for a transitional period. William Edgerton marks the turning point in Leskov's

<sup>1</sup>Letter to Tolstoj, April 18, 1887 in Sobranie, XI, 344.

<sup>2</sup>B. Buxštab, N. S. Leskov, p. 14.

relations to Tolstoj as being the year 1886, when Leskov wrote several articles on Tolstoj.<sup>3</sup> A. I. Faresov prefers the year 1887, the time of the appearance of Skomorox Pamfalon (Pamfalon the Clown), when Tolstoj and Leskov merged "on questions of righteous men and Christian understanding."<sup>4</sup>

Unquestionably Leskov recognized even earlier the intention of Tolstoj and sympathized with his direction. In a letter to Suvorin in 1883 he states:

...точку он видит верную: христианство есть учение жизненное, а не отвлеченное.... У нас византизм, а не христианство, а Толстой против этого бьется с достоинством, желая указать в евангелии не столько "путь к небу", сколько "смысл жизни".<sup>5</sup>

In an undated letter from the end of 1884 Leskov comments even more emphatically:

Я люблю и почитаю этого писателя и слежу за его делом страстно.<sup>6</sup>

Andrej Leskov notes that one of the indications of his father's respect for Tolstoj appeared already in 1869 when he wrote both an article and a feuilleton on him.<sup>7</sup>

In a conversation with Faresov in his later years, Leskov remembered the words of those who had accused him of mere imitation of his teacher. His remarks attest to his earlier interest:

<sup>3</sup>Edgerton, p. 400.

<sup>4</sup>Faresov, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup>Letter to Suvorin, October 9, 1883 in Sobranie, XI, 287.

<sup>6</sup>Letter to Suvorin, 1884 in Sobranie, XI, 301.

<sup>7</sup>Andrej Leskov, p. 595.

Говорят, я ему подражаю. Нисколько! Когда писал Толстой "Анну Каренину", я уже был близок к тому, что теперь говорю. Я уже копал ту кучу, которую стал и Лев Николаевич копать. Но только у него свет ярче, и я пошел за ним со своей плошкой.<sup>8</sup>

Tolstoj himself commented on the similarities between their directions in a conversation after Leskov's death.

Его привязанность ко мне была трогательна и выражалась она во всем, что до меня касалось. Но когда говорят, что Лесков слепой мой последователь, то это неверно: он последователь, но не слепой.... Лесков мой последователь, но не из подражания. Он давно шел в том же направлении в каком теперь и я иду. Мы встретились и меня трогает его согласие со всеми моими взглядами.<sup>9</sup>

In this dissertation as well we observe Tolstojesque characteristics as far back as 1875 in Na kraju sveta.

The significance of all this evidence is twofold. First of all, it shows that the 1887 date of accord between Tolstoj and Leskov does not denote a distinct change of direction. It is not plausible to view the final eight years of Leskov's life as an independent period, even though they contain some altogether unique elements. Secondly, it justifies an overlapping period when there were stories written for the cycle of the Righteous Man and stories written for the purposes discussed in this final chapter.

These latter stories belong primarily to the two aforementioned cycles, Legends and Holiday Tales. Leskov himself characterized his Holiday Tales.

От святочного рассказа непременно требуется, чтобы

<sup>8</sup>Faresov, pp. 307-308.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-71.

он был приурочен к событиям святочного вечера--от рождества до крещения, чтобы он был сколько-нибудь фантастичен, имел какую-нибудь мораль, хоть вроде опровержения вредного предрассудка и, наконец, --чтобы он оканчивается непременно весело.<sup>10</sup>

The stories I have selected for discussion from this group are Zver' (The Beast), Pugalo (The Scarecrow), Figura (Figura) and Pustopljasy (The People of Pustopljasov). The first two stories were written before the time of Leskov's first meeting with Tolstoj and the last two were written after the meeting.

Constancy of example as the sole means to heighten a person's moral consciousness as illustrated in the stories of the Righteous Men and their precursors, begins to break down during Leskov's final period. The shift is toward a combination of example and ministration, and represents a significant change in Leskov's approach. Amongst the Precursors of the Righteous Men example became an increasingly important factor, culminating in Na kraju sveta which employed example directly as part of the theme. The cathedral folk while involved with the ministry by profession, were nonetheless primarily concerned with the example they projected. Ovcebyk stands as the lone example of a positive hero in Leskov's first period who attempted to mould others' attitudes by direct ministry. His miserable failure ended with suicide. Preaching was unsuccessful.

In like manner Samburskij, a successful example to

<sup>10</sup>Grossman, p. 191.

his colleagues, was unsuccessful when he tried to sell his ideas to the Emperor. Brjančaninov and Čixačev were successful in their church affairs as long as they operated within the spiritual world. In secular matters their missionary zeal was ineffective. Levša likewise shared the same fate. He received loud acclaim as an example of a talented and good man. However, when he returned to Russia to pass on the advice he considered so crucial, his head was broken and he died. Nikolaj Fermor's fate is a repeat of Ovcebyk's. He could not escape into church work as had Brjančaninov and Čixačev. He continued his efforts at reform in his secular capacity. He drowned himself.

All in all, the acceptance of preaching as a method of influencing people to do or to be good represents an important change in Leskov's strategy. His movement away from static descriptions in his later writings brings him more in line with the method employed by Dostoevskij in his depiction of righteous men. In light of the common interests in depicting righteous men shared by Dostoevskij, Turgenev and Leskov, I shall digress here briefly to discuss Leskov's relationship to each.

The complex relationship between Leskov and Dostoevskij has not been adequately treated by scholars to the present day. Seldom did one of these writers say a good word about the other. Vinogradov suggests that Leskov's difficulties in receiving payment for his story Ledi Makbet mcenskogo uezda (Lady Macbeth of the Mcensk District) which was

published by Dostoevskij in Эпоха (The Epoch) may have precipitated the ill feelings between them.<sup>11</sup> Judging from Leskov's inability to forget the occasions upon which he was wronged, Vinogradov is probably correct in his assessment.

There was far more common ground between Dostoevskij and Leskov than either man would ever admit. Both were religious men interested in presenting a positive hero who embodied religious principles as he understood them. Dostoevskij's religion, however, was inextricably bound to the tenets of Russian Orthodoxy while Leskov's in characteristic fashion opposed the dogmatism of any one given sect. Leskov would not even accept Dostoevskij's knowledge of religious matters as thorough. Recounting the discussions between Dostoevskij and Julia Denisovna Zaseckaja, a convert from Orthodoxy to Lutheranism, Leskov wrote the following:

Споры у них бывали жаркие и ожесточенные, Достоевский ни разу не выходил победителем. В его боевом арсенале немножко недоставало оружия. Засецкая превосходно знала библию, и ей были знакомы многие лучшие библейские исследования английских и немецких теологов. Достоевский же знал священное писание далеко не в такой степени, а исследованиями его пренебрегал и в религиозных беседах обнаруживал более страстности, чем сведущности.<sup>12</sup>

Just as Dostoevskij's religion was centered in dogma, so also were his heroes drawn from a theoretical position instead of a life situation as were Leskov's. He dealt in

<sup>11</sup>V. Vinogradov, "Dostoevskij i Leskov," Russkaja literatura, No. 1 (1961), p. 64.

<sup>12</sup>N. S. Leskov, "O kufel'nom mužike i proč.," Novosti i birzevaja gazeta, No. 161 (June 24, 1886) as reprinted in Sobranie, XI, 148.



abstractions on a plane Leskov refused to recognize as valid. For Leskov nothing could substitute for living experience and its expression.

... нет ... терпения сносить в молчании то, что подчас городят пишущие люди, оглядывающие Русь не с извозничьего "передка"... а "летком летя", из вагона экстренного поезда.<sup>13</sup>

It is curious that Leskov would not even grant Dostoevskij the right to depict his personages based on his own personal preference or natural ability when he, himself, recognized that his own inability to fantasize was the reason he drew his figures from life.

У меня есть наблюдательность и, может быть, есть некоторая способность анализировать чувства и побуждения, но у меня мало фантазии. Я выдумываю тяжело и трудно, и потому я всегда нуждался в живых лицах, которые могли меня заинтересовать своим духовным содержанием.<sup>14</sup>

Vinogradov sees Dostoevskij and Leskov as approaching reality on two different levels.<sup>15</sup> Leskov's realism is bytovoj, i.e., the ground level reality of everyday life. Dostoevskij on the other hand is a realist in the higher sense of the word. His realism is ideological and psychological. This opinion is shared by Professor Stoljarova who sees Leskov's heroes representing feelings rather than ideas.<sup>16</sup> She adds

<sup>13</sup>Letter to Suvorin, September 29, 1886 in Sobranie, XI, 320.

<sup>14</sup>Leskov, "Avtorskoe priznanie," Varšavskij dnevnik, No. 226 (1884) as reprinted in Russkie pisateli o literaturnom trude, ed. B. Mejlaх (Leningrad, 1955), III, 208.

<sup>15</sup>Vinogradov, p. 67.

<sup>16</sup>I. V. Stoljarova, "Neizvestnoe literaturnoe obozrenie N. S. Leskova," Učenie zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, No. 339 (1968), p. 229.

the important distinction between Leskov's optimistic conception of the hero and Dostoevskij's pessimistic view of him.<sup>17</sup> This ties in directly with Leskov's view that literature be "serviceable," i.e., that it emphasize the good which exists in a person, even if the person is predominantly evil.<sup>18</sup>

Dostoevskij's use of abstractions and generalities frequently led him into broad discrepancies between theory and practice. In particular one can point to the case of Aleša Karamazov. Dostoevskij's description of Aleša could almost be taken verbatim to apply to Leskov's Righteous Man as he was described in the preceding chapter. It is just one single phrase in Dostoevskij's description which differentiates the two.

...он был юноша отчасти уже нашего последнего времени, то есть, честно по природе своей, требующий правды, ищущий ее и верующий в нее, а уверовав, требующий немедленного участия в ней всею силою души своей, требующий скорого подвига, с неперменным желанием хотя бы всем пожертвовать для этого подвига, даже смертью.<sup>19</sup>

Aleša is described here as seeking to implement truth. Leskov's Righteous Men do not seek truth, for they have already found it at the time they are being described. The search is precisely the element which Leskov adds to his

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>See letter to Buslaev, June 1, 1877 in Sobranie, X, 451.

<sup>19</sup>F. M. Dostoevskij, Sobranie sočinenij v desjati tomach (Moscow, 1958), IX, 36.

stories during his final period when he fell under Tolstoj's moral influence and it is for this reason that so many similarities between Leskov and Dostoevskij can be perceived in Leskov's later works.

Despite the fact that Aleša's description as given above accurately describes Leskov's heroes, it is by no means similar to a description Leskov would give. Leskov's heroes' actions result in their being defined in such a manner. Here Dostoevskij states his heroes' philosophy and then goes on to depict his actions within that framework. Unfortunately, the hero's exposition does not always fulfill the promise of the original description. M. A. Antonovič finds that most of Aleša's efforts to help others seem to have centered on his scurrying about on missions to aid his brothers in their love affairs.<sup>20</sup> Antonovič has slightly exaggerated his point, of course, but it is true that the character and determination promised in theory by Dostoevskij are simply not fulfilled in practice. Aleša was never placed into a situation which would require the ultimate sacrifice--his life. Leskov's heroes as we have seen were frequently placed in that position, and they were always prepared to make the sacrifice.

We can also observe that Aleša's purpose for existing is different from that of the Righteous Men. At one point

<sup>20</sup>M. A. Antonovič, "Mistiko-asketičeskij roman," Novoe obozrenie, No. 3 (1881) as reprinted in Literaturno-kritičeskie stat'i, ed. G. E. Tamarcenko (Moscow, 1963), p. 407.

he states:

Хочу жить для бессмертия, а половинного компромисса не принимаю.<sup>21</sup>

Such a purpose would be construed by Leskov's positive heroes from all periods as self centered and wrong. Their purpose is to serve others. As can be seen by Ovcebyk, self concern is wholly unacceptable.

Father Zosima reflects the difference between Leskov's concept of the ideal and Dostoevskij's even more lucidly. Zosima spent his life sheltered from society and real life in a monastery. In order for him to be successful as a righteous man, he had to remain within his own pure environment. Antonovič astutely notes:

Вообще благотворения великого старца, равно как и его поучения, имели чисто духовный, теоретический, так сказать платонический характер; старец был, что называется, созерцательный мистический аскет. О деятельном же, практическом аскетизме ни о. Зосима, ни его автор не имеют малейшего понятия.<sup>22</sup>

Zosima's isolation from reality is paralleled by Prince Myškin's inability to operate within society in Idiot (The Idiot). Like Aleša, Myškin also follows Zosima's advice to "seek happiness in woe." Although Leskov like Dostoevskij required a great deal of suffering from his Righteous Man, it was never a prerequisite for salvation. The pain experienced by Leskov's heroes was rather an illustration of their determination to do good and a living example of their willingness to make the sacrifice which

<sup>21</sup>Dostoevskij, Sobranie sočinenij, IX, 36.

<sup>22</sup>Antonovič, "Mistiko-asketičeskij roman," p. 409.

9

Dostoevskij only required in principle.

In summary, the primary difference between Dostoevskij's righteous man and Leskov's is the fact that Leskov's heroes live and breathe, are subject to human limitations and operate within rational limits of credibility. They are soft-spoken and not susceptible to long introspective monologues. Leskov does not relate to his Righteous Men "with the hysterical tears of Dostoevskij," as Gor'kij put it.<sup>23</sup> In contrast to Leskov's heroes, Dostoevskij's righteous men need only be theoretically credible. Once their theoretical position is established, they are allowed to stray beyond those bounds. Functioning from a given theoretical position, Dostoevskij's method of portrayal is deductive.<sup>24</sup> Leskov, working in the opposite direction employs the inductive method.

Leskov's relationship with Ivan Turgenev was not complicated by the personal ill feelings which interfered with his association with Dostoevskij. Turgenev had undergone a number of experiences which paralleled those of Leskov. His relationship with Dostoevskij was poor and was complicated by Dostoevskij's financial problems as was Leskov's.<sup>25</sup> In addition Turgenev's ideological position was

<sup>23</sup>M. Gor'kij, Istorija russskoj literatury (Moscow, 1939), p. 275.

<sup>24</sup>P. G. Pustovojt, "K voprosu o različnyx xudožestvennyx metodax Turgeneva i Dostoevskogo," Voprosy russskoj literatury, vyp. 1(23) (1973), p. 14.

<sup>25</sup>See Konstantin Mochulsky, Dostoevsky, trans. Michael A. Minihan (Princeton, 1961), pp. 326-29.

challenged by the radicals, in his case by Černyševskij. This led to his break with the radical journal Sovremennik (The Contemporary) and later association with Katkov.<sup>26</sup> Leskov could feel a sense of comradeship with a person sharing these experiences.

This by no means constituted the entire basis of Leskov's attraction to Turgenev. From the very beginning he was delighted by Turgenev's writings.

...когда мне привелось впервые прочесть Записки охотника И. С. Тургенева, я весь задрожал от правды представлений и сразу понял: что называется искусством.<sup>27</sup>

Setting off later on his own literary career, Leskov immediately placed himself on the side of Turgenev as a proponent of the Don Quixote types in the debate that arose from the appearance of Turgenev's Gamlet i Don-Kixot (Hamlet and Don Quixote). Stoljarova accurately notes that Ovcebyk was the first of an entire series of creations, including many of the tales of the Righteous Men, which to varying degrees reflected the characteristics of Cervantes' hero.<sup>28</sup> Stoljarova points out in another article that there is nonetheless an important difference in the thrust of the Don Quixote types as depicted by the two writers.<sup>29</sup> In the context of Turgenev's other works written at the time of the

<sup>26</sup>See S. M. Petrov, I. S. Turgenev (Moscow, 1961), p. 354.

<sup>27</sup>Andrej Leskov, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup>Stoljarova, "Russkie Donkixoty v tvorčestve N. S. Leskova," p. 78.

<sup>29</sup>Stoljarova, "Gamlet i Don Kixot," pp. 122-23.

appearance of Gamlet i Don Kixot, the strengths of Turgenev's heroes were directed toward the revolutionary struggle, whereas even Leskov's political heroes become involved to a much lesser degree. In contrast they register a mere social protest. It was Turgenev's Nakanune (On the Eve) which appeared at the same time as Gamlet i Don Kixot and Stoljarova's point is valid. Ovcebyk did little more than mouth the word "revolution." His campaign never reached the proportions of anything which vaguely resembled a serious social uprising. It is equally as significant that Leskov soon abandoned his political Don Quixote and moved instead in the direction of ascetic-humanitarianism. This was the aspect of Turgenev which he admired most. His one word post mortem descriptions of Dostoevskij and Turgenev clearly illustrate the essence of his differing attitudes toward the two men. "Dostoevskij," he wrote, "was an Orthodoxist; Turgenev a humanitarian."<sup>30</sup>

With Leskov's critical attitude toward institutions both secular and religious clearly in mind, it is not difficult to interpret his intent in calling Dostoevskij an Orthodoxist. On the other hand, his recollection of Turgenev as a humanitarian brings the gentleness of Turgenev's writings into focus. His Živye mošči (Living Relics) represent truth in action, not merely professed truths. But whereas Lukerija actually sought isolation from society in her altruistic

<sup>30</sup>N. S. Leskov, "O kufel'nom mužike i proč.," in Sobranie, XI, 156.



concern for others, Leskov's heroes operate within society. We have observed elements of isolationism in Leskov's heroes to be sure, but they are utilized in a peculiar way as a device of depersonalization to broaden the impact area of the story.

One final indication of the objectivity of Leskov's relationship to Turgenev appears in an article occasioned by the appearance of Turgenev's Strannaja istorija (A Strange Story) in German.<sup>31</sup> Whereas a number of people were bitterly critical of Turgenev for writing a story in a foreign language for a foreign journal, Leskov staunchly defended his right to do so. When it came to a discussion of the story itself, however, Leskov had nothing positive to say. He readily recognized that Turgenev's long lapses from his homeland were causing him insuperable difficulties in portraying contemporary realities.

Leskov's entire relationship with Turgenev is the most normal of any he had with the contemporary major writers. It falls midway between the extremes of his distrustful relationship with Dostoevskij and the fawning, almost worshipful nature of his relationship with Tolstoj. Still, no matter what the relationship, each man in his own way strongly influenced Leskov's concept of the ideal. Leskov's Righteous Men discussed in the preceding chapter reflect

<sup>31</sup>N. S. Leskov, "Russkie obščestvennye zametki," Birževye vedomosti, No. 340 (February 14, 1869) as reprinted in Sobranie, X, 85-92.

Turgenev's humanitarianism most clearly, while his Righteous Man in a Tolstovka discussed in this chapter bears the distinct imprint of Dostoevskij.

After the representatives of the Holiday Tales mentioned above, this chapter will discuss Leskov's Legends, based on the Prologue themes. Like the Holiday Tales, they were almost all written in the late 1880's and early 1890's. Leskov retained the tendentious nature of the original story, however he embellished the plots, changed them, combined two or more, and took other such liberties with them. On more than one occasion he was condemned because of his changes. In 1892 he wrote to Suvorin thanking him for his support against some of his critics. Paraphrasing Suvorin's argument on his behalf, Leskov states:

...тема Пролога не обязательна к точному ее воспроизведению. Тема как тема, а я могу из нее делать, что нахожу возможным. Иначе на что бы ее и переделывать, а надо бы брать ее просто и перепечатывать.... И вышло бы просто и глупо, как сам Пролог.<sup>32</sup>

The Legends I have chosen are Skomorox Pamfalon (Pamfalon the Clown), Prekrasnaja Aza (Fair Aza), Sovestnyj Danila (Conscientious Danila), and Askalonskij zlodej (The Villain of Askalon). I shall discuss them in the same manner as I have discussed the heroes of the preceding chapters, comparing them with each other while pointing out similarities and dissimilarities with the positive heroes mentioned earlier.

The heroes in these stories are consistent with the

<sup>32</sup>Letter to Suvorin, November 9, 1892 in Sobranie, XI, 517.

general shift in the last few years of Leskov's life to having his heroes somehow interact with or react to organized religion. In April, 1886 Leskov wrote an article defending Tolstoj against those who were attacking him "for the harmful direction observed in his simple folk tales."<sup>33</sup> The article, entitled Lučšij bogomolec, included a story of Leskov's own creation but on a Prologue theme. The story was called Povest' o bogougodnom drovokole. The story is about a simple woodcutter who spent his entire life scratching out a living by cutting brush and selling it in the market for only enough money to buy bread for the following day. Whenever he was ill or the weather was too bad for him to work, he would simply go hungry. Since he worked all the time, he had not time to engage in any external expressions of religious devotion. During that time the area suffered from a severe drought. Despite the prayers of the most devout bishop, no rains came. Finally, a voice from heaven was heard saying that the prayer of the first man who approached the city gate would be acceptable to God. That man happened to be the woodcutter.

This is Leskov's tale written in the moralistic vein of Tolstoj. In his remarks following the story, Leskov comments:

На мой вкус, он очень благочестив, грациозен, прост и удобен для передачи его в беллетристической форме. Притом он отвечает вкусам простонародного читателя и поучает его трудолюбию, терпению и безропотности--

<sup>33</sup>N. S. Leskov, "Lučšij bogomolec," in Sobranie, XI, 100.

все, что для бедного труженика нужно и полезно.<sup>34</sup>

He also enumerates the hero's basic traits:

...это, очевидно, был человек не гордого, а смиренного христианского духа, человек, который свою важность ставил ни во что, а искал только пользы народу и для того нимало не стеснялся всенародно поставить себя ниже дровокола. Такая искренность и простота всегда нравится людям христианского настроения...<sup>35</sup>

This description exemplifies the increasing value Leskov placed on the characterization of the heroes' internal virtues as opposed to the physical descriptions given before of earlier heroes. This trend is likewise evident in the first story I shall discuss in this chapter, Tomlenie duxa (The Anguish of Spirit). Tomlenie duxa belongs to neither the cycle of Holiday Tales nor Legends, but its similarity to both the stories of the Righteous Men discussed in the preceding chapter and the Holiday Tales which will be discussed directly, provides a smooth transition from one group to the next. The physical description of its hero, Ivan Jakovlevič, is given in two words--"long" and "lean." To this Leskov adds that he resembled a goat and was therefore called by that nickname, Koza (Goat).

The use of the term "Koza" as a nickname has much more significance than a nickname such as Odnodum (Singlethought) or Ovcebyk (Musk ox). Those nicknames are purely descriptive. While they project a somewhat grotesque image of the hero, it is that very feature which provides the means by which

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

the reader can remember the hero and the content of the tale. "I like a title that is lively and in itself suggests the content of the story," Leskov reported.<sup>36</sup>

In another context he discussed with Tolstoj the selection of the title for one of his stories.

Что же касается заглавия, то мы его обдумывали втроем и остановились на предложенном мною названии по имени, то есть, "Франсуаза". Это самое удобное, простое, краткое, скромное и "приличное." Кроме того, по этому имени легко будет и вспоминать произведение.<sup>37</sup>

Based on the brevity and simplicity of most of Leskov's titles, it is reasonable to assume that he used the same criteria in selecting them.

The term "Koza" is shrouded in symbolic suggestion. One need think only of the goat costumes worn by the skomoroxi or of the sacrifice of a goat and the goatskinned dancers at the Dionysiac festivals. It simply cannot be a neutral appellation for someone who is "long" and "lean."

As is suggested by the nickname, Koza is held in low esteem by those around him. One man when asked why he didn't like Koza responded, "Because he is a fool and a babbler (XVI, 150). Such strong evidence of negative feelings toward a positive hero are very rare in Leskov's works. Many of his heroes have been called foolish (Ovcebyk, Axilla, Odnodum etc.), but overtly or covertly they were still beloved by those with whom they dealt.

The reason for the negative attitude against Koza is

<sup>36</sup>Gebel', p. 101

<sup>37</sup>Letter to Tolstoj, January 12, 1891 in Sobranie, XI, 476.

because of his affliction with "fantasies." He took work teaching German to the children of a rich family. Since he had been previously involved with these as yet undefined fantasies, the condition under which he retained his position was that he cease fantisizing. This condition is very similar to the one under which Ovcebyk was operating when given work on the Sviridov estate. Koza was un updated Ovcebyk, removed from the political sphere. For three months he worked without incident. Then one day the wife of the governor and their son came to visit. The son picked the plums from a rare plum tree which, when discovered, caused the owner to go into a state of fury. The boys who had seen the incident took oaths that they would not divulge who had picked the plums. As a result, the gardener's son was accused and flogged. Two of the children then went to Koza, telling him what had happened and seeking his advice. Koza was stunned. First of all, he admonished the boys for having taken oaths. He explained to them that once having taken an oath, a person is no longer free to tell the truth. He then went directly to the governor's wife and told her what her son had done. Koza was immediately dismissed from his position on the grounds that he was a madman. As he prepared himself to leave, the children gathered to seek his forgiveness. Leskov used this opportunity to have Koza deliver a sermon. "Fear no one," preached Koza. "Do not lie to anyone.... Be righteous always, in all situations of life." (XVI, 152)

Koza then declared war on the elements of evil in the world: "...our battle is not with flesh and blood, but with the darkness of the age, --with the spirits of evil living on earth." (XVI, 152) The battleground extends over the entire planet wherever evil exists. It is not without design that Leskov has chosen Koza, a German, for his hero. Volynskij correctly points out that Leskov "gave his hero certain foreign qualities as if to make his verbal revolt a standard of beauty for all mankind."<sup>38</sup>

We have spent some time previously showing various ways in which Leskov would suggest the universality of his hero. There is an actual progression toward this unrestricted impact of his heroes. The first hero, Ovcebyk, was very restricted. His existence was due to a political issue of the day. In Kiriak of Na kraju sveta, however, Leskov moved more closely to human oriented questions of right and wrong. Kiriak did not believe it right that Christianity be forced upon someone who in the first place did not understand it, and in the second place for whom the title "Christian" would only cause anguish. Nonetheless, Leskov was dealing specifically with an actual situation which existed in Siberia, so the scope remained limited.

In the Righteous Men we observed Leskov's unique methods of achieving universality. However, it has never been suggested that in place of "Levš<sup>ŷ</sup>a" one should read "mankind,"

<sup>38</sup>Volynskij, p. 68.

only "ruskij narod."<sup>39</sup> Leskov had kept his heroes so much a part of the motherland that he was considered a Slavophile by some.<sup>40</sup> But here, finally, Koza's sermon clearly places him into the universal arena.

It is Koza's offensive which produces enemies within the forces of evil. Odnodum had avoided direct showdowns. Koza seeks them out. The immediate result of his attack is that he is expelled from his position. Whereas externally expulsion hardly appears to be a progressive indicator, Koza

<sup>39</sup>See above, Chapter Two, p. 96.

<sup>40</sup>On May 11, 1890, Leskov responding to a request from the poet Peter Vejnberg for material of a Slavophile nature, stated that he did not sympathize with their cause. This statement is misleading in that Leskov had shown an inclination toward the Slavophiles at one time and Vejnberg was approaching him with a knowledge of that fact. Vejnberg was one of the co-founders of the weekly Vek to which Leskov had contributed already in 1861. He was also acquainted with Sergej Jur'ev, the editor and publisher of the Slavophile journal Beseda, to whom Leskov had made overtures about publishing Božedomy. So anxious was Leskov to gain Jur'ev's favor, that he characterized himself as a lifelong Slavophile sympathizer. While there is an element of truth in the statement, it is grossly exaggerated and is more indicative of the extremes to which he would go in order to find a journal which would publish him after Pisarev's attack. In light of the circumstances, the exaggeration is understandable, if not a bit hypocritical. Since we have seen repeatedly how Leskov was unable to idealize any one group by his very nature, we can assume that it was in this context that he responded to Vejnberg's request.

Leskov also displayed strong Pan-Slavic tendencies early in his career. He was particularly attracted by Polish and Ukrainian literature and later by Czechoslovakian as well. His efforts to find some accord between his Slavic friends were frustrated because of distrust for and the strong nationalistic feelings of many Poles. This subject is treated at length by Edgerton, "Nikolaj Leskov: The Intellectual Development of a Literary Nonconformist," pp. 178-200; and "Leskov and Russia's Slavic Brethren," American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists (Moscow, 1958), pp. 51-74.



interprets it as evidence of success. To his way of thinking, the battle itself educates and strengthens the agitator. Furthermore, the lack of a reaction on the part of the forces of evil would indicate the failure of the pursuer.

Но когда они вас ласкают и хвалят...вот...тогда...  
ищите чтобы спас вас Отец ваш небесный. (XVI, 154)

In his prayer to God, the thought is again repeated.

Наш Отец! ... Благодарю Тебя, что Ты вновь дал мне  
радость быть изгнанным за исполнение святой воли  
твоей. (XVI, 155)

Then, having completed his sermon, Koza turned to leave. At this point Leskov uses the device of illusion to recreate the transfiguration of Christ and to merge his hero with Christ himself. The scene is related by the narrator who is one of the small children.

Он остановился и обернулся, и показалось нам, будто он вдруг сделался какой-то другой: вырос как-то и рассветился. Вероятно, это происходило оттого, что он теперь стоял на холме и его освещало солнце. Но однако и голос у него тоже изменился. Он как-то будто лил слова по воздуху. (XVI, 155)

Increasingly Leskov has been clothing his heroes in Christlike vestments. It is Koza the fool who seems actually to personify Christ. His words suddenly carry new meaning and new authority. His prayer, "Enlighten with reason and compassion the eyes of those who pursue us," brings to mind Christ's prayer on the cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." His counsel to the children is like Christ's to the disciples.

It is through the children that still one more difference between Tomlenie duxa and the preceding stories

appears, because the teaching and preaching of Koza achieve a visible positive effect on the children. In very few of the earlier stories, were there any immediate changes visible in the behaviour of those who associated with the positive hero. We do see in Na kraju sveta that Kiriak manages to bring about a change in the thinking of the bishop on one specific issue. But Koza, on the other hand, appears to have effected a complete takeover of the children's minds and souls. He has brought them from the fringes of the enemies' camp, the kingdom of darkness, into the kingdom of light. It was not example alone that carried off the coup. It was a strategically planned uprising engineered by Koza. The uprising was followed by ministrations not among the illiterate heathen in distant lands, but, once again in keeping with the gospel teachings, amongst the children. "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein." (Mark 10:15)

Sermonizing amongst children is a constituent element in Zver', the first of the Holiday Tales. Its significance in Zver', however, is considerably less than it was in Tomlenie duxa, even though the situations are somewhat parallel. One of the factors undoubtedly causing that difference is the fact that Zver' was written seven years earlier than Tomlenie duxa.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup>I am retreating here chronologically in order to treat all members of a particular genre in succession. In like manner, after completing the Holiday Tales, I shall

Zver' contains a combination of elements from stories and heroes previously discussed. Its plot contains more suspense than those of the Righteous Men. It is reminiscent of Na kraju sveta in that respect. The hero, Xrapoška, however, resembles the Righteous Men to a great degree. He is mild-mannered, obedient and talented. His physical description is given and it follows the patterns already established. This reminds us too that we are dealing not with a contemporary of Koza, but with a contemporary of the Righteous Men.

The setting is an estate resplendent with beautiful scenery, domestic animals and hunters. Turgenev and Zapiski oxotnika come immediately to mind. The story takes place at the estate of Leskov's uncle when Leskov is only five years old. It is described from his recollection of the events. The situation in which a child interprets the scene from his perspective is not new in Leskov. It was a child who described the "transfiguration" of Koza in the preceding story, and it was from a child's point of view that the legend of Nesmertel'nyj Golovan was related.

The story begins with Leskov's recollection of the apprehension which accompanied a trip to his uncle's estate. His uncle supported an inflexible interpretation of the term "masculinity." That interpretation disallowed any humane sensitivities. The uncle is described in the following way:

retreat to take up Leskov's Legends. In only the present case will it be apparent that we are dealing with an earlier hero.

Он был очень богат, стар и жесток. В характере у него преобладали злобность и неумолимость, и он об этом нимало не сожалел, а напротив, даже щеголял этими качествами, которые, по его мнению служили будто бы выражением мужественной силы и непреклонной твердости духа. (XVIII, 31)

When Leskov had been only three years old, his uncle had locked him out on a balcony during a thunder storm in order to rid him of the unmanly sense of fear. Compassion was considered to be a weakness by his uncle.

His favorite pastime was hunting. He had numerous hunting dogs and even had special dogs for hunting bear. If during a bear hunt a den of cubs was discovered, they were taken home and kept in a large brick shed. There they were tended by the young whipper-in, Ferapont, nicknamed Xrapoška. Xrapoška's role parallels that of Kiriak in that he is the force which precipitates change within a second person. The second person in this case is Leskov's uncle. Whereas no physical description of the uncle is given, Xrapoška is described:

Храпошка был среднего роста, очень ловкий, сильный и смелый парень лет двадцати пяти. Храпон считался красавцем--он был бел, румян, с черными кудрями и с черными же большими глазами навывкате. К тому же он был необычайно смел. (XVIII, 34)

This description is in complete accord with the pattern of physical characteristics previously encountered. His physical attributes match perfectly with the physical requirements for the job he must do. The very existence, however, of such a physical description is an indication that this story was written early in comparison to the other stories we shall

discuss here.

We have mentioned that one of the most characteristic features of this period is the new emphasis on moralizing. Moralizing is present already here in this story but in a very rudimentary form. Still present in a dominant role is the example set by the hero. Xrapoška loved the bear he was tending, Sganarel', very deeply. Despite his injured feelings, when the uncle demanded that Xrapoška actively participate in destroying the animal, he did as he was told. Just as Odnodum had discovered a loophole through which he need not disobey authority but would still remain loyal to his own principles, so too did Xrapoška, whose principles were partially personified by Sganarel'. When the bear unexpectedly crashed into the blind in which he was hidden, Xrapoška could easily have killed him with his hunting knife. However, he allowed the confusion of the moment to serve as justification for actually saving the bear's life. When a shot rang out from the second "executioner's" gun, it was Xrapoška's arm that was hit, not the bear.

That evening as all the children at the estate, accompanied by the priest, stood discussing the events of the day, the uncle entered the room. Trying to break the embarrassed silence caused by the uncle's entrance, the priest began to teach the children the meaning of the song "Christ is Born." He spoke of love, of forgiveness, and of one's duty to comfort both friend and foe alike. This sermon, although directed toward the children, had its effect on the uncle as

well. He called for Xrapoška to be called in. In a trembling voice he told him:

Ты любил зверя, как не всякий умеет любить человека. Ты меня этим тронул и превзошел меня в великодушии. (XVIII, 49)

Following this speech he offered Xrapoška his freedom to go wherever he pleased. Xrapoška accepted his freedom but insisted that he would like to continue serving in his same capacity. The epilogue recounts how eventually the uncle and Xrapoška grew to become fast friends.

Certainly the greatest impetus for the transformation of the uncle in this story came not from the brief sermon of the priest, but from the example of Xrapoška. Contrary to the pattern shown in the stories of the Righteous Men and consistent with that in Tomlenie duxa, we find that in addition to the example, the actual transformation or its result is depicted. This is a particularly characteristic feature of not only the Holiday Tales in which the moral is a prerequisite of the genre, but also of the Legends.

Xrapoška is not a colorful hero. The one incident which I have described provides the only information we have about him except for the brief epilogue. Dialogue is almost nonexistent. The only time he spoke was at the very end when he said that he would stay on at the uncle's estate. Otherwise, we have only a description of him as seen through the eyes of a narrator who at the time was only five years old. Although there is really no good reason to doubt Xrapoška's character, it is difficult to make a convincing

case for him based upon this story alone. A child's perspective is not always the same as an adult's. An adult is generally far more critical. An adult's recollection of a childhood incident is perhaps even more unreliable. That is the situation with which we are here faced. Either Leskov the author or Leskov the child narrator does pass off untenable observations in the plot. He seems to have extended the attributes of the positive heroes to even the animals, in particular to the bear Sganarel'. Sganarel' is far more noble of character than the uncle is originally shown to be. As a matter of fact, the description of Xrapoška cited above would almost as aptly suit Sganarel'. Even if we accepted all this as being credible, the limits cannot be strained further. The imaginative narrator, however, boldly continues. The bear becomes so gracious that even when he is frightened and enraged, in flight for his life, he pauses to lick the face of his master. This could be a little extreme. It could also threaten the credibility of the entire story. Perhaps the little boy's vision was not as it should have been. Perhaps he didn't see everything correctly. Could he also have interpreted the character of Xrapoška incorrectly?

On the basis of our examination of similar tales, we know that Leskov did not intend to cast aspersions upon his hero. Xrapoška is so flat that he requires amplification by analogy. Although other stories may gain through analogy, this is the only one which requires it.

The Holiday Tale written for the year 1885, Pugalo, originally bore the subtitle "Story for young people."<sup>42</sup> Children's stories, of course, frequently contain moral lessons. In a letter to Suvorin in 1887, however, Leskov noted that "the story has been read with pleasure by adults and children."<sup>43</sup> Leskov's increasingly moralistic tones suggest that he is indeed writing more and more for children, but not necessarily for just youngsters, but for all of God's "children." This fact is confirmed in a letter written to V. G. Čertkov, dated January 28, 1887.<sup>44</sup>

Дитя (народ--дитя, и злое дитя) надо учить многим полезным понятиям: кормилицу за грудь не кусать и пальца не жечь, а потом гнезда не разорять и молоденькую горничную за грудь не трогать. Все это разное, да в одном духе, и ведет к одной цели--к воспитанию души.<sup>45</sup>

As was the case with Zver', this story, too, is weighted heavily toward the predominance of a plot of suspense. The purpose of the plot is also parallel to that of Zver'. It creates a situation suitable for the impact of the moral. The substance of the plot of Pugalo is given by Leskov in one sentence. "He [Selivan] represents a kind, honest peasant from a 'wayside inn' who was considered to be a thief and a bandit for no other reason than that he was extreme and

<sup>42</sup>A. I. Batjuto, "Primečanija," in Sobranie, VIII, 567.

<sup>43</sup>Letter to Suvorin, Nov. 9, 1887, in Sobranie, XI, 358.

<sup>44</sup>Vladimir Grigor'evič Čertkov was a devoted disciple of Tolstoj. He was responsible for propogation of many of Tolstoj's ideas through his publication Posrednik.

<sup>45</sup>Letter to Čertkov, Jan. 28, 1887, in Sobranie, XI, 328.



unsociable, and also that he concealed his wife, the daughter of a retired executioner."<sup>46</sup> The details of the story involve members of the Leskov family plus others, and how they grew so suspicious of the "scarecrow" Selivan. It ends with a series of sermonettes by the narrator after the happy conclusion required by the genre.

There are numerous similarities between Pugalo and earlier stories. In structure it resembles Zver'; there are as well numerous similarities in detail. Both of the stories contain a scene in which the entire population of the estate is assembled where an intrigue of considerable suspense is to be played out. In Zver' it was the killing of Sganarel'. In Pugalo it is the scene in which the young narrator's friend led everyone out to the most horrible place he knew, Selivan's woods, in order to create the proper mood for the recitation of his poetry. In both cases the scene was interrupted by something unexpected and everyone ran back to the house. In Zver' the bear, entangled in a rope attached to a log, turned round and round threatening the lives of those looking on. In Pugalo the friend of the narrator screamed when he saw what he thought was a woman's body. The scream caused everyone to run home. In both cases, however, the incident resulted in positive action. In Zver' the uncle's conversion followed. In Pugalo Selivan saved the lives of the narrator and his brother while they were

<sup>46</sup>Letter to Suvorin, November 9, 1887, in Sobranie, XI, 357.

crossing a river. This was the first step in the breakdown of the illusion that Selivan was a dangerous person. Illusion has complicated many of Leskov's plots. We have commented upon it frequently. In this story it plays a basic role; the discovery of the woman's body which resulted in wholesale panic was no more than the product of an overimaginative mind. The humanitarian gesture of Selivan in saving the children from the river was likewise misinterpreted. It was thought to be an attempt to kidnap them.

The resolution of this story is very similar in form to that in Na kraju sveta. In that story the bishop, who played the role of doubter, was saved by the person he doubted. Here the same occurs. The narrator's aunt together with the governess and the children are returning home from Orel. The distance is usually covered in five to six hours. On this occasion, however, they were confronted with a severe snow-storm. Since it was the day before Christmas, they were anxious to make it home that day. Eventually, however, they became snowbound. They were near Selivan's woods, the source of many mysterious occurrences. Suddenly the feared Selivan himself appeared. He offered the shelter of his inn. The aunt was petrified. She was carrying a chest with 30,000 roubles from the recently transacted sale of her estate. Yet they had no choice but to accept Selivan's offer.

The night was restless, and at the first break of dawn the family fled the house. In her haste, confusion and fear the aunt forgot her chest and discovered her loss only upon

arriving home. Selivan was immediately suspected of wrongdoing. While the suspicions and accusations were at their peak, Selivan was seen trudging up the road with the chest on his shoulder. He had discovered it as soon as they had left and had made an unsuccessful attempt to overtake them. He then decided to walk the four versts with the chest in order to assure that it would be properly returned. The aunt offered him a reward for his honesty and effort, but Selivan steadfastly maintained that nothing was due him.

The news of Selivan's good deed quickly spread about town. From that time on the townspeople no longer feared him. They often went out to visit him and brought gifts for both him and his wife. The doubter had redeemed himself as in Na kraju sveta. In this variant he merely rescued some money instead of saving a life. The doubters were transformed. Honesty was discovered where dishonesty had been suspected. Trust replaced suspicion. Superstition gave way to truth, and this in turn led to Christian love. With the story already completed and the transformation already a fact, Leskov began his sermon.

Христос озарил для тебя тьму, которую окутывало твое воображение--пусторечие темных людей. Пугало было не Селиван, а вы сами--ваша к нему подозрительность, которая никому не позволяла видеть его добрую совесть. Лицо его казалось вам темным, потому, что око ваше было темно. Наблюдай это для того, чтобы в другой раз не быть таким слепым. (XIX, 76)

He then broadens the scope of his message by speaking in more general terms about good and evil.

Так всегда зло родит другое зло и побеждается

только добром, которое, по слову евангелия, делает око и сердце наше чистыми. (XIX, 77)

As has been indicated from the narration, these sermons are strictly after the fact. The transformation had already taken place in all the townspeople. They had been won over not by talk, but by the example of Selivan. As was the case with Xrapoška in Zver', the example really consisted of only the one incident. He had rescued the boys from the river and he had been introduced as a character near the beginning, but beyond that he did not even appear in the story until his final persuading coup de grâce. He is occasionally seen from others' perspectives, but again the most frequent perspective was that of the narrator who was eight years old at the time of the event.

Nowhere are his physical characteristics cited in detail. The one sentence description given by the young narrator at the time he was rescued by Selivan is the only description to be found.

Это был мужик плотный, коренастый, с проседью, в голове и в усах, --борода комком и тоже с проседью, глаза живые, быстрые и серьезные, но в устах что-то близкое к улыбке. (XIX, 56)

In the initial introduction to the reader, it is not his physical composition which is described, but his moral make up. The significance of the one physical indicator provided is that it is a false indicator of a moral weakness.

Мальчик он был хороший, добрый и послушный, но только калачнику всегда говорили, что с Селиваном требовалась осторожность, потому что у него на лице была красная метинка, как огонь, --а это никогда даром не ставится. (XIX, 33)

Moral features which are frequently implied in Leskov's earlier heroes are here enumerated in as much detail as are physical characteristics.

The third Holiday Tale I shall discuss is entitled Figura. It was written in 1889 and first appeared as an Easter tale. Its original subtitle, "From a recollection about the righteous men," suggests its close affinity to the stories of that cycle. The plot is replete with details used previously in other stories. Nonetheless, it is not just a repetition of the "righteous man" theme. In this story the hero not only teaches by example, but he himself undergoes a transformation. He changes from being a good person to being a better person. In both situations he is able to effect changes in others. However, here he is a reworked model; he is now made to fit into the mould of the Righteous Man in a Tolstovka. He undergoes changes which the master himself had undergone. In this story more than ever before Leskov seems to have evolved an additional requirement in the structure of the ideal. His previous ideals, including all the Righteous Men, were depicted as random examples of righteous men. In those stories Leskov required that his positive heroes have certain moral qualities before they could be considered for depiction as ideals. Now he seems to be saying that possession of high moral qualities is no longer sufficient. The hero must also be a common man. If he is not, he must undergo a simplification procedure.

Most of Leskov's preceding heroes have already been

simple men. All members of the Holiday Tales up to this point conformed to this pattern. Some heroes, however, such as Nikolaj Fermor, Samburskij, Pigmej etc., never found it necessary to live in complete simplicity. Their life styles were either immaterial or secondary to the quality of their moral composition. The added requirements thus represent a development, perhaps the final major development in the Leskovian positive hero. The simplified hero remains a constant throughout the Legends which follow. The change which continues to occur is toward a more issue-oriented hero. In the stories which follow, a hero will often represent a particular biblical precept such as "money is the root of all evil." Leskov readily recognized human limitations and was prepared to proceed gradually. "One should not hollow out the whole thing all at one time," he told Certkov. "Otherwise it becomes boring, and you will punch a hole in it."<sup>47</sup> Figura, the hero of the story which follows, turns the other cheek when struck, and this becomes the moral of the story.

In beginning the story of Figura, Leskov introduces his hero with a detailed portrait. This is the last story in which we shall see such a description.

Фигура...имел лет около шестидесяти, но обладал еще значительною силою и никогда не жаловался на нездоровье. Он имел огромный рост и атлетическое сложение: волосы у него были густые, коричневые, почти без проседи, но усы "севые". По собственному его выражению, он "сивив

<sup>47</sup>Letter to Certkov, April 28, 1887, in Sobranie, XI, 329.

2

э морды--як пес," то есть седел, начиная не с головы, а с усов--как седеют старые собаки. Борода у него тоже была бы седая, но он ее брил. Глаза у Фигуры были большие, серые с поволокою, губы румяные, цвет лица смуглый и загорелый. Взгляд его имел выражение смелое, умное и с оттенком затаенной малороссийской иронии. (XIX, 79-80)

This is the only physical description of Figura given in this story. The rest of the descriptions are devoted to the exposition of his moral qualities. Nonetheless, this physical description should not be disregarded. According to the formula developed throughout this study, this description would tie Figura very closely to the earth. It is the description of a Golovan, of an Odnodum and of a Fljagin. This would seem to belie Figura's noble birth and native intelligence. It must be remembered, however, that we are dealing with two variants of the same person in this story. In one case we are concerned with Figura the army officer and member of the nobility. In the other case we have a hero who has undergone the simplification process and is a simple vegetable farmer. It is during the time of his depiction as a farmer that the description above is cited. At no time during his depiction as an officer is a physical description of any sort given. It is entirely reasonable to assume that Leskov uses this description to indicate the success of Figura's simplification and his suitability to the new task.

The type of work Figura takes up as well as the quality of his production are both reminiscent of Golovan. Both Golovan and Figura lived apart on the edge of town and were renowned for their excellent dairy products. The difference



between the two is seen only when we examine the places where they marketed their goods. Golovan sold his goods to the Gentlemen's Club in Orel. He did this not because he preferred one class of people to the other. He sold to them because they needed dairy products and he had dairy products to sell. His selection of a market was not an issue in the story. In Figura, however, the market is an issue. Figura would not sell to someone who was going to resell his product. He sold his vegetables in the marketplace and preferred to sell directly to the people who were going to consume them. In other words, here Leskov made an issue where previously none had existed. He is now primarily concerned with the lot of the common man. To be sure, Leskov was never devoid of concern for any man. It is just that now he requires the simplification process of which we have already spoken.

The transformation took place as the result of an incident which occurred when Figura was serving as an officer in the forces of General Dmitrij Osten-Saken.<sup>48</sup> While standing guard one night, Figura was slapped by a drunken Cossack subordinate in front of witnesses. This created an agonizing situation for him. He truly believed that the man should be forgiven according to the precepts of Christianity. On the other hand, military tradition required that severe reprisal be taken for the insult to the honor of an officer.

<sup>48</sup>General Dmitrij Erofeevič Osten-Saken (1790-1881). He participated in Russian military campaigns until 1854 and was renowned for his religiosity.

Figura decided to forgive him and elicited a promise from all present that the matter be suppressed. Eventually, however, the story was leaked and Figura was called in to face General Osten-Saken himself. The General was a God fearing man and understood Figura's problem. He could not, however, let the matter pass without action being taken. Figura was discharged from the service and given a small pension. He settled down on his little farm where he could till the soil. When he found a woman and her small daughter in despair, he took them in. It was generally assumed that they were living in sin and the little girl was their daughter. This is, of course, borrowed directly from Nesmertel'nyj Golovan. Figura lived to the end in this simple peasant manner.

From the plot it would appear that this story differs very little from such stories as Čelovek na časax and Nesmertel'nyj Golovan. In these stories the Righteous Man served as an ideal hero, --a model for imitation. In Figura example is likewise important, but there is more. Leskov himself enters into this story as an advocate for a particular way of life. Throughout the years he had repeatedly advocated righteousness in general. However, he avoided discussing things which had no actual bearing on the quality of the person but were only matters of personal preference. In this story on three occasions Leskov brought up the question of vegetarianism. In the first instance it is merely mentioned without defense as part of the initial description

of Figura and his "family." In the second instance it is staunchly defended in an aside as Figura recalls his mother who was the first in the family to become a vegetarian. Her reasons are given. The final instance is in Figura's discussion with Osten-Saken just before leaving the army. Osten-Saken used it as evidence that Figura was more suitable than most for the life of a monk because he was already a vegetarian.

The use of redundancy by Leskov in this matter is didactic in purpose; he is attempting to make a case for vegetarianism. It should be observed that during the last years of his life Leskov himself was a vegetarian.<sup>49</sup>

Another way Leskov indicates his preference for the life style of the common man is by contrasting it directly with that of Figura in his role as officer. Since the common man bears his intolerable situation with such nobility of spirit, we perceive him more positively than we do Figura.

Я ведь жалованье за службу получаю и чинов заслуживаю, а вон солдат--он совсем безнадёжный человек, да еще бьют его без милосердия, --ему куда для сравнения тяжелее...а ведь живет же, терпит и не кукуется. (XIX, 85)

Figura himself is blameless. His behaviour is in every way exemplary. The single difference is in the fact that he has had to endure less. The requirement that the hero of the story experience more tribulation is reflected in all the remaining stories I have selected. Toward the end of his life, however, it may have become more of a theoretical requirement

<sup>49</sup> Andrej Leskov, p. 614.

9

than a practical demand, thus bringing him very close to the position previously embraced by Dostoevskij and condemned by Leskov.

In a conversation with Faresov recorded shortly before Leskov's death, he shows his penchant for strict asceticism to be considerably softened.

Шутник этот Лев Николаевич! Зачем действительно женщине не заботиться о красоте и изяществе; зачем ходить ко мне в гости без галош и топтать чистый пол грязью.<sup>50</sup>

Moralizing in Figura is less direct than in the preceding Holiday Tales. The transformation mentioned earlier is one expression of it--the insinuation being that one must undergo simplification in order to be fully acceptable to God. It is further accomplished through Figura's self defense before General Osten-Saken. In both Čelovek na Časax and Figura the primary heroes have broken the military code or tradition because they felt humanitarian considerations and biblical precepts outweighed military law. Both were punished for their actions. Postnikov did not attempt to justify his actions to his superiors. He took his punishment and was actually happy that it was so light. Then he returned to his former situation. Figura too was willing to take his punishment. He never expected to go unpunished. Nonetheless, he felt it necessary to stand up and justify what he had done as the sole course of action in consonance with biblical precepts. The defense itself is a didactic discussion firmly

<sup>50</sup>Faresov, p. 314.

establishing God's law as superior to military law. It also precipitates the simplification process discussed above; it recommends the perfection of the reader.

The last Holiday Tale with which I shall deal in this study is entitled Pustopljasy. This tale is written in the style of the Legends which will be discussed immediately following.

Pustopljasy is the story of the inhabitants of the town of Pustopljasov during a time of famine. It is told by an old man who had lived through those difficult times. His story is evidence of how sometimes even advance warning of an impending disaster is not sufficient to cause those hearing the warning to take the necessary steps to avoid it.

At the time of the famine, the town of Pustopljasov was for some reason spared. Although all neighboring towns suffered, Pustopljasov enjoyed a normal harvest. In all the town there was but one man, Fedos Ivanov, who recommended austerity in the use of the town's supplies.

Ах, по-Божьи-то надо бы нам жить теперь в строгости, чтобы себе как можно меньше извести, а больше дать бедственным. (XXXIII, 108)

His counsel was scorned even by his own granddaughter who lived with him. In order that his words be discounted, he was accused of trying to act like a priest when really he was only a simple peasant. Furthermore, the days of his youth were recalled, when he had performed many foolish acts. Nonetheless, Fedos steadfastly maintained that one need not be a special messenger sent from God in order to transmit his

will. He regretted the foolishness of his youth, but added that he had learned from this experience and now wanted to pass on the knowledge he had gained.

Eventually Pustopljasov was burned out, both the food and the houses being destroyed. Fedos Ivanov was unmoved. He considered the punishment deserved and looked forward to receiving God's blessing again in the future.

The tone of this story is almost parabolic. While this may have the interesting effect of elevating the status of Fedos Ivanov and thus creating for him a mythical hero role to contrast with his simple peasant stature, I do not believe it of primary importance here. More important is the way he fits into the scheme of things as they have been developing in previous heroes. First of all, Fedos has met the latest requirement; he has endured a great deal. He also is shown to have undergone a transformation from a foolish youth to a wise old man. The transformation has supplied him with sufficient credentials to enable him to act as God's messenger. He not only acts like a priest, but he acts to the exclusion of the priest. Since Fedos is the only one in town who is moralizing, either no priest is there or the priest's position as God's messenger has been usurped by Fedos. Certainly status as God's spokesman ranks higher in Leskov's eyes than the mythical hero status attained through use of the parable.

Fedos has no negative traits in the present. He has already overcome all that. His patience and Christlike

humility now serve as an example for others. The juxtaposition of Fedos to his granddaughter suggests perhaps a before and after picture of Fedos himself. It is a comparison of age and youth, maturity and immaturity, wisdom and foolishness, right and wrong. Repeatedly Fedos pleads: "It is now necessary, brothers, to suffer with those who are suffering, and not celebrate, --neither drinking wine nor eating cakes. (XXXIII, 109) The sermon as presented in the specific context within the parable suggests certain universal humanitarian truths. It shows concern for one's fellow man. The parable is itself once again the dramatization of the golden rule as we saw reflected earlier in some of the stories of the Righteous Men. Selflessness again reaches the point of altruism.

We spoke earlier of the Righteous Men as "flat" heroes. We noted how they evolved into a pure state with few or no negative characteristics. Have we now simply come back to the same point? Perhaps here at the end of the Holiday Tales is a proper point to recapitulate.

One of the primary differences between the Righteous Men and the Righteous Men in Tolstovkas appears to be centered in the missionary zeal of the two groups. It lies in their desire to bring about change in either their protagonists, themselves, or in some third party present in the story. Odnodum for example, lived an exemplary life and even influenced someone's way of life because of it. However, he never sought to put an end to the corruption around him by direct



confrontation with those guilty of the corruption. Golovan too lived as good a life as one could lead, but he made no demands that those living corrupt lives change their style. In Inženery-bessrebreniki the man most likely to challenge sin as he saw it, Brjančaninov, made no overt progress in stemming the graft within the system. Instead, he retreated from the conflict supposedly to wage a purification campaign within what should have been the cleanest place of all, the monasteries. Although we are given reports that the campaign was successful, it is conducted entirely behind the scenes, beyond the reach of the reader. Samburskij, in Russkij demokrat v Pol'se, also stepped down rather than wage open battle. The members of the Holiday Tales as well as Koza in Tomlenie duxa were, for the most part, not entirely satisfied just by living exemplary lives. In addition, they often went on to make demands for change in others. Koza went directly to the source of injustice as he saw it. He confronted the governor's wife with the way she had taught her son. Then, in order to help mould the children's developing minds, he lectured them about the proper way to live. Zver', while containing only a small amount of direct ministry is, nonetheless, didactic to the core. It involves the full character transformation, not of the central positive hero, but of one of the central figures through an impetus provided by the central positive hero. Pugalo parallels this in so much as there is little direct preaching, but the transformation of an entire town is brought about by

the positive hero. In Figura we observed the most subtle type of sermonizing. First of all, we were taught by the transformation of the positive hero himself. We were taught that one's degree of goodness is measured not only by the quality of his example, but by the amount that he was required to endure. Secondly, we learned in plot superficialities that certain life habits such as vegetarianism, while not necessarily essential, were, nonetheless, desirable. Finally, in Pustopljasy the story, a parable, is a sermon in itself. The purpose of the story is not to describe a good man, but to teach us how to live. Whereas the reader was never asked to emulate Golovan, he is asked to imitate Fedos. We have, in a sense, gone full circle in so far as the heroes are quite similar. However, it must be remembered that the Righteous Men were described as they were found to be, merely possessing a number of positive characteristics. Fedos Ivanov and the other positive heroes of the Holiday Tales were contrived heroes. The desirable characteristics were first assembled by the author and then ascribed to a hero. Since the positive hero, therefore, exists in order to prove that one or a combination of characteristics are good, he is tendentious from the very start. He amounts to little more than a visual aid for Leskov's lecture.

Leskov never denied his own tendentiousness, although he did originally oppose it in theory. A year before he died he said to V. Protopopov: "I don't understand the

principle 'art for art's sake' at all: no, art must serve a cause"<sup>51</sup> In a letter written to Šubinskij just two months before his death, he spelled out the cause more explicitly. "The only thing that merits praise is that which leads to betterment by promoting the cleansing of the conscience and the explanation of ideas which help society to free itself from practices created by ignorance and egoism."<sup>52</sup> We shall see this cause being promoted further in Leskov's Legends which follow.

In December, 1887 Leskov wrote to Suvorin thanking him for agreeing to make a statement about the completion of Leskov's survey of the Prologue as a narrative source. In the letter he says: "The Prologue is rubbish, but in it are pictures such as you cannot imagine."<sup>53</sup> Leskov himself used those pictures in a number of his Legends. The familiarity of the Prologue themes to the simple folk made them especially desirable in their morally didactic role.

The first story of this genre which I shall discuss is entitled Skomorox Pamfalon. In this story Leskov contrasts two Christians possessing numerous virtues with a third who in many respects appears to be less virtuous. It is this third Christian, however, named Pamfalon, who emerges

<sup>51</sup>V. Protopopov, "U N. S. Leskova," Peterburgskaja gazeta (November 27, 1894).

<sup>52</sup>Letter to Šubinskij, December 17, 1894, in Sobranie, XI, 602.

<sup>53</sup>Letter to Suvorin, December 26, 1887, in Sobranie, XI, 362.

as the positive ideal. With this in mind, we shall observe that quality existent in Pamfalon but lacking in the other two positive heroes, Magna and Ermij. Furthermore, since both Magna and Ermij undergo a transformation, we shall look at the changes which take place as a result of the transformation. This should give us a good idea of what Leskov feels are the requirements of his positive ideal at this time.

The story begins in Constantinople. It introduces a man who was well known in those parts, Ermij.

Он был богат, благороден и знатен; имел прямой и честный характер; любил правду и ненавидел притворство, а это совсем не шло под стать тому времени, в котором он жил. (XXIX, 108)

This description is totally positive and, with the notable exception of any reference to physical characteristics, is very similar to the earlier descriptions of the Righteous Men. Leskov then went on to describe Ermij's love for his fellow man. He felt that if one were to believe that the Gospels represent the proper way to live, it was surely necessary to practice those truths. Ermij's friends laughed at him because of his beliefs. Yet, the more he reflected on his own situation, the more he became convinced that Christianity and personal eminence were incompatible. For this reason he decided to go to the Emperor and request that he be allowed to remove himself from all situations of authority. He wanted to live the rest of his life as a simple person. The request was eventually granted. Then

Ermij's wife passed away leaving him completely without responsibility for anyone but himself. He interpreted this as a sign from above. He freed his slaves and divided his riches amongst the needy. Then he left the capital and went into the wilderness to seek solace. There he found a rocky column. He scaled it and lived there for the next thirty years. His food was brought to him by the inhabitants of a nearby town. During the thirty years, Ermij spoke with no one. He never regretted his decision to give up his riches.

Он размышлял о том: как за эти тридцать лет зло в свете должно было умножиться и как под покровом ханжества и пустосвятства, заменяющего настоящее учение своими выдумками, теперь наверно иссякла уже в людях всякая истинная добродетель и осталась одна форма без содержания. (XXIX, 113)

Ermij despaired in the thought that there seemed to be no one worthy of eternal life.

One day he heard a voice commanding him to come down from his nest and go to Damascus where he would find a real Christian example. That man was Pamfalon. Ermij went there but was greatly disappointed by what he found. Pamfalon was known by the inhabitants of Damascus not for the quality of his character, but for his ability as an entertainer. He was a skomorox, a clown. How could such a man be worthy of eternal life? When they met, Pamfalon's first description is given:

Вид его странен: он уже человек не молодой, а подстароват, имеет лицо смуглое, добродушное и веселое, с постоянным умеренным выражением и легком блеском глаз, но лицо это раскрашено, а полуседая

голова вся завита в мелкие кудри, и на них надет тонкий медный ободок, с которого вниз висят и бренчат блестящие кружочки и звездочки. (XXIX, 123)

The description is not nearly as appealing as the earlier description of Ermij had been.

Pamfalon's early conversation with Ermij consisted of simple everyday things. Ermij, however, wanted to move on to weightier subjects. He wanted to know what exactly Pamfalon did that made him so pleasing to God. To this question Pamfalon replied:

Что ты, что ты, старец! Какое от меня угождение богу! Да мне об этом даже и думать нельзя. (XXIX, 126)

This was incomprehensible to Ermij. Pleasing God was essential for salvation according to his beliefs. But for Pamfalon, matters of faith and salvation were of no consequence. Thinking about such things merely interfered with his work and was therefore of no value. The complexity of thought evidenced by Ermij's perpetual questioning contrasts sharply with the simplicity of Pamfalon's life and views.

Finally Pamfalon asked:

Так зачем же ты говоришь, что хочешь от меня бесед для своего научения? Какие научения могу дать я, дрянной скоморох, тебе, мужу, имевшему силу рассуждать о боге и о людях в святом безмолвии пустыни? (XXIX, 128)

"Poor Pamfalon," thought Ermij.

In rapid fire succession a number of issues are raised which exhibit contrasting views on differing approaches to Christianity. To the disdain of Ermij, Pamfalon expressed a taste for wine, seeing it essential to the situation in which

he worked. Then he went on to relate his past. He was the son of a well known person, but his mother died when he was young and his father did not want him. He was taken in by a skomorox who taught him the trade so he too would have a way to make a living. His work generally consisted of going to the homes of courtesans and entertaining their clientele. "Poor, poor Pamfalon," thought Ermij. He was sure that Pamfalon would perish together with the prostitutes. But Pamfalon quickly came to the defense of the prostitutes:

Верь мне почтенный старик, что живое всегда живым остается, и у гетер часто бьется в груди прекрасное сердце. А печально нам быть на пирах у богатых господ. Вот там часто встречаются скверные люди; они горды, надменны и веселья хотят, а свободного смеха и шуток не терпят. (XXIX, 130)

Ermij could not comprehend such an attitude:

О горе! о горе! ...вижу, что он даже совсем еще далек от того, чтобы понимать, в чем погряз, но его ум и его естество, может быть, добры...Потому я, верно, для того к нему и послан, чтобы вывести его одаренную душу на иную путину. (XXIX, 130)

Pamfalon readily accepted the position of low esteem to which he had been assigned by Ermij. He considered himself a sinner because, contrary to Christian teachings, he had once made a vow and had later been compelled to break it. This is the same thing that Koza had warned the children about in Tomlenie duxa. Ermij went on, drawing on concepts far too complex for the simple Pamfalon to comprehend. Finally, Pamfalon remarked:

Нет, я ничего не знаю об этом. Да и как я могу знать о жизни мертвых, когда я не знаю даже всего о живых? (XXIX, 131)

Later Pamfalon added that contrary to the way Ermij felt, he did not fear God but loved him. Ermij had not thought of it that way.

The issues raised in this conversation between Ermij and Pamfalon are all results of their differing perceptions of the same thing. Ermij viewed Christianity from an intellectual point of view. It was a result of his upbringing and his education. Pamfalon, on the other hand, perceived Christianity from a simple, practical point of view, devoid of the pride of intellectualism and pseudo-confidence in his ability to judge others' actions. Both men are sincere and devout. Neither is a negative hero. However, their juxtaposition certainly suggests an upcoming value judgement on the part of Leskov. This is accomplished through the narration of Pamfalon's story, a central part of which is concerned with the third principal personage, Magna.

Magna is the daughter of wealthy parents who forced her into marriage with a scoundrel. After he was thrown into debtor's prison, Magna was forced into slavery, serving as a prostitute. Her suffering of which she never complained, is consistent with the hardships undergone by all other Righteous Men in Tolstovkas. Magna was eventually rescued from her situation by her true love and aided financially both by a courtesan whom she had previously scorned because of her occupation and by Pamfalon. The money was used to buy her scoundrel husband out of prison and reunite the family.



7

Ermij was visibly moved by the tale Pamfalon presented. He returned to the wilderness and found his spot on the rocky column occupied by birds. The inhabitants of the nearby town offered to clear them out but Ermij replied:

Не мешайте им вить свои гнезда. Птицы должны жить в скале, а человек должен служить человеку. (XXIX, 164)

He spent the rest of his life working as a goat herder amongst the townfolk.

It is plain to see that both Ermij and Magna have undergone a transformation influenced by the skomorox Pamfalon. In Magna's case, the transformation consisted of the recognition that a person should not be judged on the basis of the situation in which he finds himself. This lesson applied both in her former attitude towards fallen women and in her original impression of Pamfalon. Her opinions were fostered by her parents who in many respects were excellent people, but who suffered two glaring weaknesses. First of all they were wealthy: "It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." (Matthew 19:24) Secondly, they suffered a sense of pride and exclusiveness unbefitting a bona fide Leskovian positive hero from this cycle. "And whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled; and whosoever shall humble himself shall be exalted." (Matthew 23:12) Both of these negative features are expressed in one sentence. "At home she [Magna] couldn't admit to her proud parents that she was talking with a man of my contemptible calling." (XXIX, 148) The way for

Magna to be purged from those faults was for her to become poor and for her herself to become a fallen woman. Having accomplished these things, she is ready to take her place beside Pamfalon.

Ermij was in much the same situation as Magna. He too was a wealthy educated man with a high regard for himself. He did give away his money to the poor in accord with one Biblical precept: "If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell that which thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." (Matthew 19:21) However, his motivation in doing so was not as it should have been. By giving away his money and releasing his slaves, he seemed to be showing others how good he was. The gesture was not altruistic but was to set himself above those who had not done the same. It therefore clashed with another biblical warning: "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them: else ye have no reward with your Father who is in heaven." (Matthew 6:1)

Ermij then went off by himself to the wilderness where he completely lost touch with the other humans of the world. His actions were spurred on not by the heart alone, by an irresistible urge to do good, but rather by the mind. He reasoned that he must give away his possessions and live away from sin, and in so doing Ermij erred. Leskov's heroes do not reason out goodness. They act from instinctive goodness.

Ermij's transformation, even more than Magna's, was the result of Pamfalon's influence. Whereas Magna to a large

extent learned by her own experiences, Ermij was unable to change at all until he had heard Pamfalon's story. Even after he had first met Pamfalon he was still thinking of him as being unworthy of salvation. "Judge not that ye be not judged." (Matthew 7:1) However, after hearing Pamfalon's story, he realized as had Magna the necessity of withholding judgement. From both Magna and Pamfalon, he learned that it is necessary to retain contact with people in order to be of service to them. Magna underwent endless torture in order to help her husband. Never did she utter a single word of condemnation about him despite the suffering she was required to endure. She in turn was assisted by Pamfalon, who, significantly, was further aided by the courtesan Azella after being refused by Magna's wealthy friends. Leskov does not go into much detail in his treatment of Azella, but he does treat her very sympathetically. He endows her with one essential ingredient of a positive hero, the desire to serve a person in need. He avoids any discussion of the reason she is a prostitute lest he fall into the same pitfall into which Ermij had fallen, --judging others. In the story which follows, Leskov goes even further; he depicts a fallen woman as his central positive hero.

In this story, then, the essential ingredients, besides the desire to aid one's fellow man, are humility and simplicity. Simplicity must be evidenced in intellectual as well as economic matters. Possession of these traits can more than compensate for certain other shortcomings. Moreover

the absence of any of these traits cannot be offset by the presence of additional positive characteristics. All other characteristics, including physical indicators, are clearly secondary.

Prekrasnaja Aza is an example of a story in which Leskov presented one of his purest examples of Christian love and selflessness. He took a woman who had virtually everything necessary to be happy for her whole life. She had beauty, riches and friends. She was humble, pure and independent of spirit. It was actually a positive characteristic which resulted in her loss of wealth and social position and her fall to the lowly occupation of prostitute on the banks of the Nile. As a gesture of empathy toward a stranger, a foreigner and a man of another faith, Aza turned over an equivalent of the value of all her earthly possessions. She gave him everything so he could pay off his debts and his daughter Io would not have to give herself over to the debt holder. Selflessness is so abundant in this story that everyone seems to be ready to sacrifice himself for others. Io, a beautiful and pure woman like Aza, volunteered to sacrifice her happiness and her life for her family. As her father pondered his difficult situation, she said:

Любовь к тебе и к матери, которая не снесет твоего унижения, во мне теперь говорит сильнее любви к моему жениху: он молод, ...он полюбит другую и с ней пусть узнает счастье супружеской жизни, а я ... я твоя дочь ... я дочь моей матери ... вы меня воспитали ... вы стары.... Не говори мне больше ни слова, отец, потому что я твердо решилась. (XXIX, 99)

Her father's response was to go to Aza's estate. He

would commit suicide by hanging himself in the crook of a tree. After being discovered by Aza as he was preparing to carry it out, he explained his rationale.

Когда я не буду в живых, Ио не станет бояться колодки которую могут набить на шею ее отцу, и она выйдет замуж за своего жениха, а не продаст себя ради отца богачу на бесчестное ложе. (XXIX, 100)

The biggest sacrifice is left for Aza to make. She saw the threat of unhappiness and pain to an entire family more serious than unhappiness and pain to herself, an orphan virtually alone. She went ahead and gave all her possessions to the man. Her selfless act was not recognized as such by her deceased parents' former acquaintances. They condemned her for her actions, particularly as they were directed toward a person of another faith. Her own friends also turned away from her in her time of need. Being unable to support herself in any other way, she took to prostitution. In so doing she lost the last remnant of her former good life, her beauty. Although never ever regretting her decision to help the needy family, she eventually fell into despair about her present lot. Finally, she contemplated suicide. At the point of carrying it out, she was approached by a foreigner. He gave her food and drink but most of all he gave her spiritual food and drink. He made her aware of God and of his love in a way she had never before known. He then sent her to the religious men of Alexandria for further help. When she arrived there in her weakened state, they tried to feed her dogma. Despite her pleas that she was too

near death for there to be adequate time for such training, the training continued. It appeared that her desire to be baptized would not be realized. Finally, on her deathbed a miracle took place which fulfilled her wish. She was dressed in the baptismal vestments by two brightly shining men and then her soul departed her body. At this point the story ends. Leskov quite obviously sees salvation possible without all the dogmatic preliminaries of the official church. It is not difficult to see why at one time Tolstoj thought this Leskov's best work.<sup>54</sup>

It can be seen that thematically Prekrasnaja Aza closely parallels Skomorox Pamfalon, although the exposition of the two stories is quite different. The qualities of the two central positive heroes are very similar. Both are simple people with only modest aspirations in life. This is true of both heroes not only when they are poverty stricken, but when they have money. When in possession of money, both sought no more than physical comfort. However, both voluntarily placed themselves in positions of poverty for the sake of someone they felt needed the money more. In both cases their selflessness forced them into what are traditionally interpreted to be unchristian occupations. Neither would remain in his position given the opportunity to do

<sup>54</sup>In a letter to Suvorin dated April 19, 1888 Leskov writes: "He [Tolstoj] writes that he places Aza higher than anything else, and other praises about which there is no reason to speak." Sobranie, XI, 380.

something else, but neither was suited to any other type of work. Furthermore, neither interpreted his position as necessarily condemning nor does either regret the decision he made which forced him into that position. In neither story are detailed physical descriptions given. Aza's beauty is, of course, mentioned and is even stressed in the title, but it has a functional importance here as opposed to its symbolic use in some of the earlier stories. Beauty here is a device used to add an additional artificial feature to make the status quo appear to be more desirable for Aza. It is artificial in the sense that it is only described in order that it can be sacrificed later on in the story. The more Aza has, the more she can lose. The more she loses, the more dramatic the story. The sacrifice that Aza so willingly makes, as well as the sacrifice made by all three positive heroes in Skomorox Pamfalon point directly to the primary lesson Leskov intends in these stories. He is very concerned with the purpose of life. Ermij expressed that purpose directly when he said that man must serve mankind. The other positive heroes have illustrated the very same thing. No sacrifice is too great to give, even if it is one's own life, if it is given in service to mankind. This is also the message central to Sovestnyj Danila, the story which follows, and it is the message which shines through in Askalonskij zlodej, the final story we shall discuss.

As we have seen on so many occasions, in Sovestnyj Danila the hero's name appears in the title of the story. The



7

pattern emerging in this cycle, being in no way unique to the cycle, is to list the hero's name together with a qualifying idiosyncratic feature. Pamfalon was not called by a nickname as he probably would have been had he appeared in the cycle of the Righteous Men. He is called by his own name, Pamfalon. Still, Leskov makes him stand out in some way. He accomplishes this by focusing upon a feature which both sets him apart and is an important issue in the story. In Pamfalon's case this was the fact that he was a skomorox. In the case of Aza it was her beauty, both physical and moral. In the present case it is Danila's conscience which sets him apart from all others. As a matter of fact, it even sets him apart from a number of church leaders in whom a conscience should be highly developed. This represents another broadside aimed at the official church by Leskov.

Danila's conscience first began to bother him the moment he killed a "barbarian," a non-Christian, in an act which could only have been interpreted as justifiable homicide according to contemporary judicial standards. Nonetheless, Danila began going to all the patriarchs in turn in an effort to be purged of the guilt of his disobedience of the biblical command: "Thou shalt not kill." Each in his turn refused to condemn Danila's action as sinful since the deceased was a non-Christian anyway. Danila's conscience continued to bother him and he continued his search for a release from its hold. Finally, after wasting much of his life seeking purification through suffering, he realized that possession

of a conscience is a positive thing. One should not attempt to drive it out. His conscience then showed him to what end his efforts should be directed in life. Nearby was a leper, sorely in need of help. Danila went to him and spent day after day providing him with all the assistance he could. Eventually his activities were discovered by the townspeople and he was totally rejected. Undaunted, he continued to offer help until the leper finally died. As Danila stood there bemoaning the fact that he had wasted so much of his life in search, a young man approached him seeking to be his disciple. Danila's words to him conclude the story.

Оставайся при одном учении Христа и иди служить  
людям. (XXX, 20)

This is exactly the same conclusion reached by Ermij after his association with Pamfalon. It is exactly the same philosophy as espoused by Aza in giving away all she owned. And once again the danger into which Danila placed himself in his effort to serve people was strictly voluntary. In all three of the central heroes seen here there has been a preoccupation with not only good, but with service to others. This preoccupation takes over their lives so totally, that negative actions are precluded. They belong to the same family of ascetics as Nikolaj Fermor, Brjančaninov, Perskij, etc. They differ from them in the same way that the heroes of this period generally differ from the Righteous Men. These positive heroes are preaching whereas the Righteous Men were simply described as examples. We shall take up this point

in more depth in our concluding remarks following the discussion of the final story, Askalonskij zlodej.

This story begins with a description of the lives of a seemingly ideal family in an almost perfect life situation. The description of them is reminiscent of the description given of Aza in her initial introduction. This family is successful, well-liked and morally good. The head of the family, Falolej, was a rich merchant. He had heard of the teachings of Christ while abroad. Although he didn't understand everything, he was trying to follow those teachings as best he could. His beautiful wife, Tenija, was the daughter of a well-known heathen sacrificial priest. She was educated and kind. They had two small children. The final member of the family was Falolej's widowed mother, Puplija. Materially, the family wanted for nothing.

Despite his riches, Falolej still thirsted for more. This trait disturbed Tenija greatly. She asked him if his desire for money was not contrary to his Christian religion. He replied:

В нашей вере есть то, что тебе непонятно: чтобы быть добрым, надо иметь чем людям помогать: ... Я богатею с тем, чтобы, собрав много в своих руках, потом излить это на всех и начать благотворить своим по вере.

(XXX, 32)

The situation as presented at this point is very similar to that of Ermij. We have a nominal Christian who really is a good man. However, he simply does not understand that one cannot be selective in abiding by the teachings of Christ. It was written: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon

earth, where moth and rust consume, and where thieves break through and steal: ... for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also." (Matthew 6:19-21) Furthermore, the first commandment expressly states: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." (Exodus 20:3)

Tenija, on the other hand, is not even a Christian. Yet she seems to understand the principles of Christianity better than her husband. For this reason it seems highly predictable that Tenija will emerge as the most positive member of the family despite her heathen upbringing. What is not clear at this point is how this will take place and what will be the role of the heretofore unmentioned villain of Askalon.

Falolej quickly lost everything he had on the high seas. In addition he was thrown into prison as a debtor since it was generally believed that his ships had not been wrecked, but that he had sold the wares he was carrying and had hidden the money. His house was sold and he was liable to the collector of arrears, Tivurtij. Tivurtij's description is given.

...лицо имел дряблѡе и скверное, цвета вареного гороха, и совсем безволосное, глаза черные, веки валиками, все тело мягкое и напряженное, а ходил тихо, как котъ. (XXX, 35)

Compare this description of Tivurtij with the initial description of Anastas, the villian of Askalon, given in the same paragraph.

Он был известный разбойник. Он грабил и лишил жизни много людей. Всех убитых им на суше и на море считалось сорок душ. Он давно вооружил против себя всех людей в Аскалоне и все аскалонцы радовались, что Анастас,

наконец, пойман и ожидали его казни. (XXX, 38)

This is a purely factual description. It is, of course, negative, but it is not emotionally charged and teeming with epithets denoting universally repulsive characteristics. It is worthy of note also that Tivurtij's description as soft and flabby does not make him appear as much of a threat in comparison to the strong, powerful, albeit grotesque description of the negative hero Termosesov in Soborjane.

The story of Tenija in a role similar to that of Aza follows. Instead of becoming a prostitute, however, she plays the harp in order to earn enough money to feed her family. She deems her purity to be of utmost importance and steadfastly refuses all offers to blemish it. Her most severe test came from Milij, the official who has come to town to prosecute Anastas. He is so enchanted by Tenija's beauty that in a move reminiscent of the enchanted wanderer's tavern scene in which he threw his money to the gypsy beauty, Milij offered to pay Falolej's entire debt for but one night with her. He constantly exerted pressure. In order to cut off her only means of support, he imported several beautiful girls who not only could play the harp as well as Tenija, but would bestow favors upon the men as well. Milij also persuaded Puplija, Falolej's mother, to try to dissuade Tenija. Finally, he worsened prison conditions so the other prisoners would pressure Tenija to change her mind. The pressure began to take its toll on Tenija's beauty. Like Aza, she was undergoing a transformation which would make her undesirable, not

only materially, but physically.

As soon as the evil character of Milij is fully established, Leskov reintroduces Anastas for comparative purposes. When they first meet face to face, Anastas suggests the truth that Leskov will develop. "I am repulsive to you, but maybe you yourself are even worse than I." (XXX, 42) In truth, he was. Milij's efforts were directed towards making things as difficult for Tenija and her children as he possibly could. He was rich. He was successful. He had almost everything a person could desire physically. Yet here he was, literally taking the bread from the mouths of starving children. The feared Anastas, on the other hand, being safely put away in the filthy prison, had lost all human rights. He was given a small crust of bread to eat and no more. Nonetheless, when he heard Tenija speak of her plight to Falolej, he threw her his bread for the children. It was a rare expression of humanitarianism on his part, and he downplayed it as much as possible.

Не вспоминай моего имени богу,... Я не верю никаким  
детским сказкам, но ты надорвала мне сердце своим  
горем--в том только и дело! (XXX, 63)

Whatever the cause of the gift, the fact remains that when a person was in need, Anastas gave.

This gift can be compared to another incident involving Milij. When Milij first arrived in town, he approached the prison where he first noticed Tenija. He assumed that she was a poor Christian prisoner and he offered her assistance. When she replied that she was not a Christian but the daughter

of a heathen sacrificial priest, Milij retorted: "Now I cannot offer you the help I had desired to give." (XXX, 43) Tenija did not comprehend the connection between religious preference and compassion. "Really, for the sake of Feodora and your compassion, is it not all the same to offer assistance to whomever needs it?" she asks. "No," answered Milij. "We must first of all lend assistance to those of our own faith, and then to those of other faiths." (XXX, 43) This is the very same attitude that was expressed by Falolej at the beginning of the story. In Falolej's case it led to a loss of his entire fortune. In Milij's case it leads ultimately to his death.

The story is brought to a climax when a decision is reached to burn the prison, conveniently forgetting that Falolej and Anastas were still inside. That decision was made when it was discovered that Anastas's bandit friends were tunneling into the prison in an attempt to free him. As preparations were being made for the fire, Anastas told Tenija where he had buried his bounty and told her she could have it to buy out Falolej. She hurried to the spot, took the money and returned just in time. Anastas's conversation with Tenija prior to her going after the money indicates the success of Tenija's example. "You are so good and faithful that I became sorry for you. But I had never known before how to feel sorry. I didn't know how comforting it is to take pity on a man." (XXX, 80-81) Even though he was a Christian in name, Milij never reached the point where he



too could know that comfort. As he stood directing the prison burning, Anastas managed to reach the window and spit on him, saying: "You are the greatest villain of Askalov." (XXX, 85) At almost the same time members of Anastas's gang appeared and killed Milij.

The town's attitude toward Anastas became more and more favorable as they realized his basic goodness. Tenija noted:

Он сделал много зла, но не угасил в сердце своем сожаления; а кто умеет жалеть, тот еще не мертв для доброй жизни и сам сожаления достоин. (XXX, 86)

She added that the only ones who had given her good advice during her tribulations were those who were totally unconcerned with life. Falolej remembered a sermon he had once heard in Damascus.

...кто сильно любит жизнь, тот ее потеряет, а кто не дорожит ею, тот ее не только найдет для себя, но и может дать силу жизни другому. (XXX, 86)

Falolej also recognized the error of his own earlier attitudes. He now realized that by desiring riches, it is impossible not to forget about true goodness. When he asked Tenija what was the source of her early knowledge of these facts, she took one of his hands and placed it on her heart. With the other she pointed to the heavens.

The predominance of the Christian ideal must certainly stand as the single most significant characteristic of both the Holiday Tales and the Legends. The positive heroes who are depicted in these cycles are perhaps the least complex of any of the Leskovian heroes. They are even less complex than some of the Righteous Men from the standpoint that the

Righteous Men in Tolstovkas are in their final form stripped of everything except their goodness. They are left in a most simplified state. Certainly Odnodum, Levša, Pigmej, Brjančaninov, Golovan and most of the others must be considered more complex. They are busy considering some form of socialistic Christianity or are engaged in the complex task of reforming monasteries or whatever. Each has his own thing. This does not mean that the Righteous Men in Tolstovkas are less active than the Righteous Men. Not at all! However, their work is more individual-oriented. Danila is insignificant in many respects, and far more so than Odnodum, for example, who is performing a service for the town of Soligalič. Nonetheless, Danila is an ideal just the same. His contribution in life consisted of helping one leper who was going to die soon anyway and then giving advice to one young man. That is it. Falolej, in Askalonskij zlodej did even less. He did suffer a great deal and he did talk about what he was going to do, but he didn't actually do anything. Anastas the criminal did almost nothing in concrete terms. He gave Tenija two old crusts of bread and told her where to find the money he would never be able to use anyway. Aza did something very nice for someone. She even suffered greatly for it. But that gift was necessary. It was like Ermij's gift. Neither could ever have become ideals as long as they were in their original situations. What did they do after they were simplified? Ermij was a goat herder. Aza was a prostitute. Fedos Ivanov stood around lecturing people about

their sinful ways. Figura sold a few vegetables in the market place after his simplification. What it all seems to indicate is this: Leskov had somehow shifted his stress--his search for Righteous Men in Russia really had not gone as well as he had hoped. After all, is it not true that he had found the majority of them in the 1820's and 1830's? Where were his heroes of contemporary life?

Leskov was a practical man. He did not like people who theorized but could not themselves practice what they preached. Nowhere is this made plainer than in a statement attributed to him by Faresov toward the end of the 1880's.

Ах, какая это пророческая книга Некуда! Ведь вот второй раз, в своей жизни, я вижу перед собой тех же легких людей, увлеченных теорией, но на которых нельзя положиться. Здесь не виноваты учителя: прежде Герцен и Чернышевский, а теперь Л. Толстой.... Толстовцы--немножко чище нигилистов, но характер тот же.<sup>55</sup>

It was not the Nihilists to whom he was opposed. It was the "mad dogs" whose appearance was the same as the Nihilists, as he pointed out in his article "Nikolaj Gavrilovič Černyševskij v ego romane Čto delat'."<sup>56</sup> T. S. Sal'nikova correctly pointed out that the problem is merely one of terminology.<sup>57</sup> If one is to lump the chaff as well as the grain in a general term "Nihilist," then Leskov would have to be considered an Antinihilist. If, however, we are speaking

<sup>55</sup>Faresov, 316.

<sup>56</sup>Leskov, Sobranie, X, 21.

<sup>57</sup>T. S. Sal'nikova, "Stat'ja N. S. Leskova o N. G. Černyševskom," Voprosy russkoj literatury, No. 3 (1970), p. 74.

only of Černyševskij's Raxmetov-ideal, or even his "ordinary representatives of the new generation,"--Vera Pavlovna, Kirsanov and Lopuxov,--Leskov was very sympathetic.

Между тем, еще во времена Чернышевского я симпатизировал печатно его героям но всегда ненавидел этих-же самых героев, когда приходило к ним "испытание" и они компрометировали собою исповедуемые ими идеи.<sup>58</sup>

Leskov's attitude toward Tolstoj and his followers follows a similar pattern. Leskov sympathized with Tolstoj until the end of his life, but as time went by he did grow increasingly disillusioned with Tolstoj's followers.<sup>59</sup> During his last years Leskov made two revealing statements regarding his tendency to oppose issues he had earlier defended as soon as they become popular. The first statement refers not only to himself, but to the purpose of all writers.

Писатель должен всегда идти против господствующих течений, имея лучший и более критический взгляд на положения.<sup>60</sup>

The other was more specific to his own experience.

Я знаю, что очень немногие поймут во мне соединение двух противоположных начал: творческого идеализма и сурового критицизма--служивших источником всяких

<sup>58</sup>Faresov, pp. 406-407.

<sup>59</sup>See Edgerton, "Nikolaj Leskov: The Intellectual Development of a Literary Nonconformist," p. 398. Edgerton cites the misinterpretations of Leonid Grossman (pp. 113-14) and Pierre Kovalevsky (*N. S. Leskov: peintre m connu de la vie nationale russe* (Paris, 1925), p. 84) of Leskov's *Zimnij den'* as being critical of Tolstoj and documents Leskov's accord with Tolstoj's views to within two days of his death. This conclusion is borne out by Faresov as well in his discussions on Leskov's relationship to Tolstoj and his followers (pp. 98-121 and 307-24).

<sup>60</sup>Faresov, p. 398.

недоразумений обо мне. Пленяясь идеальной стороной какой-либо партии, я скоро открывал ее слабые стороны и шел против них.... Всю жизнь приходилось идти "против течений".<sup>61</sup>

The source of the title of Faresov's study is readily apparent as is its significance. Leskov was not bound by loyalty to his teachers to accept their movements and followers in toto. The original fascination with the movement soon gave way to its more sober and less idealistic realities.

Leskov's eventual disillusionment with the contemporary moral situation during his search for Righteous Men is not surprising when viewed in the light of these statements. After coming to the realization that the situation was worsening, the aim of his works became different and his heroes became more moralistic and concerned with the meaning of life. It is possible that the chest pains he was to suffer for the last five years of his life may also have contributed to an increased concern with his purpose. On April 8, 1894 Leskov wrote letters to both Tolstoj and to his friend Mixail Osipovič Men'sikov. The letters were similar. In both Leskov defined his goal in literature in terms of a negative societal situation. There is not trace of his search for Righteous Men.

Я смерял мои силы и окинул глазом работу, и увидел как раз то, что видел Каульбах: "Вижу, что в храме торгуют и что торговля мешает быть в храме тому, что должно быть там". И понял я, что прежде всего надо выгнать торгующих в храме и вымести за ними их мусор, и тогда, когда

<sup>61</sup>Faresov, p. 408.

горница будет подметена и постлана, --придет в нее тот, кому довлеет чистота, и нет ему общения с продающими и покупающими. И я взял метлу и все выметаю мусор и гоню к выходу торговцев, и почитаю это за мое дело, которое я умею и могу делать, тогда как другого, большего, я не умею делать и если бы взялся за него, то сделал бы его худо и не принес бы даже и той пользы, которую, может быть, принес, поталкивая торговцев и выбрасывая их пометы за церковный порог. О деятельности своей я думал так и так ее и веду, и ничего более крупного и полезного я делать не умею и не могу.<sup>62</sup>

There are many factors at work on Leskov's psyche at this time. Leskov is speaking here of his efforts to blow the chaff out of another organization, the official Russian Orthodox Church. We saw evidence of this primarily in the stories included in the Holiday Tales and the Legends. It can be seen also in some of his other comparatively late stories such as Polunošćniki. In more isolated instances the trend can be traced back even further to such stories as Soborjane. What Leskov suggests in his statement of purpose, however, is that his goal has been the improvement of a situation through criticism of the evil he sees. The purpose of the cycle of the Righteous Men was expressed in terms diametrically opposed to this. He was not criticising anything. He was, instead, extolling the virtues of a particular group of men.

In the Holiday Tales and Legends Leskov was criticising. He was not just criticising the official church, but contemporary morality. Faresov provides the link between an expressed purpose of cleansing the temple and an implied

<sup>62</sup>Letter to Men'šikov, April 8, 1894 in Sobranie, XI, 581.

purpose of cleansing the contemporary scene.

Не без интересно также вспомнить, что литература выдвигает идеал, как судью над современностью и указывает на противоположность между великими целями этого идеала и жизнью. Почувствовать дисгармонию в жизни и воплотить ее в художественные образы невозможно без страданий. А между тем потребность гармонической жизни является преобладающей чертой крупного таланта и ею одной писатель могуч.<sup>63</sup>

Further evidence that Leskov was actually criticising the contemporary scene and thereby attempting to educate his readers can be seen from the following incident: As a twelve volume edition of Leskov's works was being published from 1889 on, Leskov was pleased with the success it enjoyed based upon sales. However, when the eleventh volume came out, it simply did not move. Leskov was very troubled by this fact. This volume contained some of his Legends as well as Pustopljasy from the Holiday Tales.

Точно не знают, что есть такой одиннадцатый том. А ведь, этот том совсем оригинальный, совсем не похож на другие.... [Эти произведения] выношены мною за последние годы, когда я сам значительно изменился и мой взгляд на жизнь стал возвышеннее и ближе к христианскому идеалу.<sup>64</sup>

When Faresov suggested that the lag in sales was probably due to the fact that the volume was ignored by the critics, Leskov agreed, adding that just as they had ignored his prediction that "the Nihilists would disintegrate into apostates, so now my indication of the deviation of our life from the Christian ideal receives no sympathy."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup>Faresov, p. 400.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 378

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 379

As the little insignificant heroes of the Holiday Tales and Legends set about doing their little insignificant tasks, Leskov is showing his contemporaries how little is really necessary to be pleasing to God. He goes so far as to create a generation of these "humanized" people. Here are the heroes he thought would bring him immortality. Here are the ideas that would live on forever, despite the lack of artistry in their presentations.<sup>66</sup> The small insignificant people are not intended to be nearly as insignificant as they appear. Taken in this light, it is possible to agree with Edgerton's contention that "Leskov anticipated Tolstoj's belief that men who had been transformed individually by the teachings of Jesus could and should set about to transform society."<sup>67</sup>

The fact remains, however, that even if the ultimate goal is the transformation of society, it will take an entire army of Danilas to accomplish that feat. I seriously doubt that Leskov in all his practicality ever expected such an overwhelming transformation to take place. We must keep in mind that Leskov, who in all sincerity advocated the superiority of practice over theory, was sometimes forced by that very same practicality to accept a modified version of his own theories or those in which he believed. Thus, he could

<sup>66</sup>See citation in Introduction, p. 13.

<sup>67</sup>Edgerton, "Leskov and Tolstoy: Two Literary Heretics," American Slavic and East European Review, XII, No. 4 (1953), 528.



identify with Tolstoj's primitivism until his floors were tracked up once too often.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, he could advocate the essential nature of the simplification process throughout his latter works as we have seen, and still say in a conversation:

Какой ужас...если бы вся власть из рук интеллигенции перешла к статским советникам г. Щедрина, а интеллигентные люди принялись бы пахать землю у Энгельгардта или Толстого.<sup>69</sup>

In rational moments such as these, I am quite sure that Leskov would be able to assess his impact correctly.

Finally, a word about the last days of Leskov's life seems relevant. Since there was no significant change in the positive heroes of the works he completed just before his death, there was no need to bring them into this study. Leskov himself became gloomier in his outlook on life as a result of his sickly condition. This can be seen in the story Zimnij den', one of his last works. The title itself suggests the gloom of the work, but that mood is contrasted by the uncompromising natures of the two positive heroes, Lidija Pavlovna and the servant girl, Fedora. They embody the high principles of the Righteous Men in Tolstovkas. Matters of the soul always take precedence over matters of the flesh. Responding to the question of her mistress as to what is more important than one's stomach or head, Fedora

<sup>68</sup>See above, p. 152.

<sup>69</sup>Faresov, p. 313.

replies:

Душа человека. Я желаю иметь мою совесть всегда в порядке. (XXVIII, 125)

Suffering is not only intrinsically good, but extrinsically so:

Однако так сказано: надо радоваться, когда терпим гонение за правду, и в самом деле, это очень помогает распоряжению идей. (XXVIII, 134)

One's purpose in life remains the same: to serve others' needs. After being ridiculed for kneading a peasants posterior to relieve an affliction of the sciatic nerve, Lidiya retorts:

Руки даны не для того, чтобы их поцеловать, а для того, чтоб они служили людям на пользу. (XXVIII, 145)

This was the philosophy that Leskov took to the grave. Just two days before his death he was interviewed for a literary series, "Kak rabotajut naši pisateli" (How do our Writers Work"). He remarked on the lack of humility expressed by a number of contemporary writers and added his final words:

Я впрочем, сужу по себе, что если бы при тех неудобствах, среди которых я прожил мою литературную жизнь, я позволил бы себе жить пошире, то мне пришлось бы очень худо. А так как я этому обычаю не следовал, а жил скромно, то я не заметил своих нужд и ради их ни в чем и ни перед кем не поступался. Желаю так и уйти отсюда.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup>I. Ём, "Kak rabotajut naši pisateli," Novosti i birževaja gazeta, No. 49 (1895) as reprinted in Russkie pisateli o literaturnom trude, III, 205.

## CONCLUSION

The twenty one stories examined in this study represent about one fifth of Leskov's published works. They provide a fair representation of Leskov's family of positive heroes, drawing examples from each of his literary phases, but do not pretend to include all of Leskov's positive heroes. The list of positive heroes in his works is endless, attesting to the significance of the theme to Leskov himself.

The prime purpose of the study was to describe the positive heroes of each of Leskov's literary periods and trace their metamorphosis throughout his literary career. In doing so, we have centered on the intricacies of detail through which Leskov's attitudes toward his heroes are expressed, and the evolution of his utilization of details as his views of the purpose of literature, the responsibility of the writer and the moral status of society changed. It was found that his personal view of the ideal did not change significantly in his last years, while his faith in the success of a descriptive ideal to a society he viewed as being in a state of moral deterioration did wane, and his methods of portraying the ideal changed markedly.

Leskov's literary life can be divided into three segments. The first period, lasting from the time of his entry into literature in 1861 until about 1875, was a period

of difficulty for Leskov. He felt wronged by the publishing difficulties he faced as a result of Dmitrij Pisarev's pronouncement that no journal should print his works. His search for self at a time when extreme views dominated the political and literary scenes was complicated by a self-defeating sense of pride and prevented a crystallization of his views. Perceiving the role of literature as accusatory of social ills during this time, Leskov created heroes who interact on given societal issues, evoking a positive-negative judgement on the issue more so than on the hero.

During the middle years of the 1870's Leskov settled on a literary direction which he was to pursue for the remainder of his life. He conceived an ideal based on Christian principles and proceeded to describe it to the reading public in the form of a description of various Righteous Men. The basic character of this ideal remained the same until Leskov's death in 1895.

During the 1880's Leskov became greatly involved with the moral teachings of Lev Tolstoj. As Lottridge concludes, this experience does not represent a digression from, but a culmination of the natural development of Leskov's own moral vision.<sup>71</sup> However, Leskov's writings from this time on do display a number of features unique to the final years of his life and should be viewed as a separate phase of his second literary period. One of the contributions of this

<sup>71</sup>Stephen Lottridge, "Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov's Prolog Tales," pp. 185-186.

study is to pinpoint the distinctions between Leskov's Righteous Man as described in Chapter Two and his Righteous Man in a Tolstovka as described in Chapter Three.

In his dictionary Dal' defines a righteous man as one who is without sin--one who acts in accordance with the precepts of God's law. Leskov uses Christ's Sermon on the Mount as recorded in Matthew 5-7 to be the essence of God's law and the ultimate measure of righteousness. A summary of Christ's teachings as expressed on the mount provides the behavioural motivation for Leskov's Righteous Men. They all are meek (Matthew 5:5); hunger and thirst after righteousness (5:6); are merciful (5:7); are pure of heart (5:8); are peacemakers (5:9); are persecuted for righteousness' sake (5:10); and let their lights shine before men (5:16). None of the Righteous Men become angry with their brothers (5:22); lust after women (5:28); take oaths (5:34); or resist evil (5:39). They do not do their righteousness before men to be seen of them (6:1); give alms, pray or fast in public (6:4, 6:6, 6:16). They do not lay up treasures for themselves on earth (6:19). Neither are they anxious for their lives or for what they shall eat, drink or put on (6:25). They do not judge others (7:1); they do unto others as they would have others do unto them (7:12); and finally, as exemplified by Kiriak who accurately perceived the sorry results of previous missionary work, they recognize the quality of a tree by the fruits it bears (7:20).

Since this characterization fits both the Righteous Man

and the Righteous Man in a Tolstovka, the organic link between the two variants is affirmed. As indicated by the discussion in Chapter Three, however, a number of additional requirements were demanded of the Righteous Man in a Tolstovka which had not previously been deemed necessary for the earlier Righteous Man. Foremost amongst the new requirements was the need for the Righteous Man in a Tolstovka to endure more physical pain and suffering than had his predecessor. Frequently the discomfort he was forced to bear was depicted as part of his complex transformation to a state of righteousness.

Transformation itself was a new requirement which Leskov imposed for the first time on his Righteous Man in a Tolstovka. It seems to have come into effect as a requirement at about the time of the appearance of Leskov's article Lučšij bogomolec in 1886. It was a definite part of Skomorox Pamfalon which appeared later that same year and of all subsequent Holiday Tales and Legends. In its earliest form the transformation of a secondary positive hero was precipitated by the example of the primary positive hero. Thus Pamfalon's example was the factor most responsible for the final transformation of both Ermij and Magna in Skomorox Pamfalon. Even prior to Lučšij bogomolec the transformation of Leskov's uncle by Xrapoška in the Holiday Tale Zver' and the attitude changes of the townspeople toward Selivan in Pugalo anticipate the requirement as it later developed.

Transformation as required by Leskov in his Righteous

Man in a Tolstovka was not, in its mature form, a mere betterment of the hero's attitude or behaviour. From Figura on, the demand was for a hero's transformation through a process of simplification. He was required to give up all earthly pleasures including riches and rank and in a most simplified state devote himself exclusively to the service of mankind. The transformation either of self or of secondary heroes involved a specific Christian principle or series of principles which served as the text of the sermon or moral of the story. A recapitulation of the moral themes of each of the final stories indicates the predominance of themes taken directly from Christ's teachings: Through Koza, the author cautioned against lying, stealing, taking oaths; Leskov further advocated combatting the forces of evil and issued the general command to be righteous. Xrapoška taught Christian love, compassion and obedience. Selivan's honesty and patience in enduring the evil rumors which were spread about him were sufficient to overcome the forces of evil. This story also showed that superstition was only a stumbling block to Christian love, and it must be overcome.

Figura embodied the Golden Rule. He showed true Christian compassion by literally turning the other cheek. Fedos Ivanov underwent a great amount of persecution for his ministry of Christian love and sharing. Both Ermij and Magna rose to the status of ideals from antithetical positions through association with Pamfalon. Together they touch on

perhaps the greatest number of Christian teachings in any single story from either of the two cycles. Pamfalon's honesty and his ability to conduct himself from the heart, that is, with a pure, functioning conscience is regarded as desirable. His readiness to give with no strings attached to whomever has a need, contrasts to Ermij's gift given in the manner of the Pharisees, for all to see. Magna and Ermij as well as Pamfalon illustrate the danger of laying up treasures on earth, and all three are subjected to untold persecution, making them blessed in the eyes of the Lord. Finally, both Ermij and Magna learn the truth of the command to judge not their fellow man.

Some of the same teachings are mirrored by Aza. The importance of Christian giving and the danger of both judging others and of possessing riches is supplemented by an attempt to cleanse the temple of some of its traders and their garbage. A further attempt is made through Danila who also embodies Christian service and a pure conscience. Then, in the last Legend, the heathen Tenija serves as the thesis, actually outdoing the Christians themselves. Together with Falolej and Anastas they express the value of compassion, conscience, selflessness, readiness to help those in need, honesty and faithfulness. The danger of riches too is again reiterated.

The predominance of the biblical themes enshrouds the stories of the Righteous Men in Tolstovkas with religious overtones almost completely lacking in both the earlier tales



of the Righteous Men and in the stories of their precursors. The most religious of the Righteous Men were Brjanč<sup>č</sup>aninov and Čixač<sup>č</sup>ev, contemporaries of the Righteous Men in Tolstovkas. Religion as it existed in the positive heroes of Leskov's first literary period was never an all-consuming force. Even the Cathedral Folk, intimately connected with religion by profession, are not fully devoured by it. They are more complex and complete as literary figures and can sometimes be seen doing such marginally Christian things as sneaking a smoke, chasing a Nihilist, attending parties, or swimming nude in the river. What started out to be a panoramic view of religion in context by Leskov in his first literary period, focused down more and more closely as he next examined selected virtuous people and finally concentrated on the virtues themselves.

Leskov's shift in emphasis from the recommendation of an actual person embodying a number of ideal qualities to recommending certain qualities as desirable for any person is a subtle but noteworthy evolution of his approach. The decrease in the hero's intrinsic value as an identity is evidenced by the decreasing need Leskov felt to supply his positive heroes with distinct physical characteristics. We have observed throughout the study from the very beginning that Leskov developed a system of type casting his heroes. He used phrenological indicators of mental ability as well as the well-known stereotype of equating great physical size with limited mental powers and vice versa. This trend

finally broke down during this final phase as he de-emphasized and depersonalized the hero in favor of the ideas his existence expressed.

Closely connected with the de-emphasis of the hero is Leskov's evolution toward a universality of impact throughout his literary career. The positive heroes of his first literary period, while operating seemingly in more space than any of his later heroes, are curiously the most topical. Ovcebyk, Tuberozov, Axilla, Fljagin, and Kiriak roamed miles and miles about Russia. As a group they covered almost the entire length and breadth of the country, experiencing a wide variety of incidents. Their scope, however, was narrow--limited to an issue.

Their successors, the Righteous Men, were on the one hand more restricted to a given town or geographical area, but embodied principles of good recognizable to all of humanity. As we saw particularly in Odnodum, Leskov utilized even the isolation and one-sidedness of his hero to create the illusion of timelessness and placelessness for its universal impact.

Finally, he stripped the Righteous Man in a Tolstovka bare and let the principles stand for themselves, thus removing all obstacles to a universal comprehension of his stories. Even the events which filled the lives of the early positive heroes are withheld from the later stories as superfluous and hinderances to a firm understanding of the moral lesson being presented.

The transformation undergone by the positive heroes through which the moral lesson was presented in Leskov's final literary phase was totally lacking in the Righteous Men. These men were depicted by Leskov as ready-made models, examples of people who lived good lives as Leskov understood the meaning of good. A transformation of sorts, or a development, was a constituent part of Leskov's early stories from his first period. A critical point to remember in this regard is that they did not develop to an ideal simplified state as had the Righteous Men in Tolstovkas. Ovcebyk's development, on the contrary, was away from an ideal state, and when he realized his error he committed suicide. There was no evidence of simplification in his story. Axilla's transformation, while progressing toward a more positive state according to Leskov's values at the time, proceeded from a point of simplicity to complexity, thus again running contrary to the direction of the Righteous Man in a Tolstovka. Ivan Fljagin also underwent a transformation in accordance with Christ's teachings and certainly did not involve the simplification process. Finally Kiriak, though issue oriented, did himself undergo a transformation. That transformation, though not depicted, was mentioned. It involved his decision to cease doing mission work amongst the heathen. This transformation is the closest of any of Leskov's early positive heroes to that of the moral teachers who appeared ten years hence.

The lack of transformation or even the requirement for

it in the Righteous Men illustrates their role as ready-made models. Golovan best shows how these heroes go through life unobstructed, confronting no one on anything. Their purpose is not to challenge by confrontation. It is to show what a person who is good actually looks like.

The Righteous Men were flanked on both sides by figures who confront evil as they perceive it. In some cases they are wrong as in the case of Ovcebyk. Nonetheless, he was aggressive and had at least tried. Axilla was the same. Until his transformation, he made little positive impact, but no one tried harder than he. Tuberozov, Fljagin and Kiriak also moved forward boldly in an attempt to challenge evil as they saw it.

The Righteous Men in Tolstovkas did the same. Koza is the leader of the group. He unhesitatingly approached the wife of the governor to tell her she had made a mistake. Throughout both the Holiday Tales and the Legends, similar accounts can be cited. Fedos lectured the town of Pustopljasov. Figura defended his actions to the General. Danila challenged all the patriarchs.

The fact that the Righteous Men avoid confrontation does not indicate that they were not active or aggressive. The picture that so often comes to mind when one thinks of Leskov's mild-mannered, meek Christian heroes is that they would probably run from their own shadows. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Without exception each one of Leskov's heroes would approach the Emperor himself

and lecture him on whatever subject. They relate to no authority whatsoever, neither church nor secular, from a point of subordination. This is true throughout each of the three phases of Leskov's literary career, and in each cycle of stories. They are confident that what they are doing is right. Only Ovcebyk was shown that perhaps there had been an error in his thinking. His aggressiveness was excessive and led to his downfall. He was the only Leskovian hero to resolutely demand things from others. The incident in which Ovcebyk boldly seized his friend's boots without asking illustrates his style. Leskov's heroes frequently accept gifts when they are offered and can be put to use, and they typically aid any person they find in need, but no other positive hero approaches the impertinence of Ovcebyk.

Another weakness which appeared in Ovcebyk and contributed to his suicide was his attitude toward women. In theory he downgraded the role of women. He found them to be weak and therefore unable to function as revolutionary leaders. Since a revolution was the only thing of importance, there was no place for them. In this story Leskov depicted a good, kind and active woman in order to counteract that view. As a result, Ovcebyk began to question his former attitudes.

Although there have been few women in the stories we have used, when they do appear, they are treated with great sympathy. Besides Nastas'ja Petrovna Sviridova, described as uncommonly gracious and helpful to Ovcebyk, Tuberozov's

wife appears with similar positive characteristics in Soborjane. The gypsy maiden Gruša in Očarovannyj strannik is also depicted as morally and intellectually superior to the prince she marries.

In the tales of the Righteous Men, the only women depicted are Odnodum's wife and his mother. There is some mention of other women, but none are described. Both women in Odnodum's life are paragons of virtue, surpassing in quality all other figures including perhaps the central hero.

Finally, in the last series of stories, we see a woman in the central role for the first time. No male hero is ever made to endure as much as is she, and yet she does it nobly. This is true also of all the other heroines from the Legends. Magna, Azella and Tenija were all equally as sympathetically treated by the author. Faresov is correct in contending that Leskov's treatment of women places them superior in all ways to their male counterparts.<sup>72</sup>

Leskov, like Dostoevskij and Tolstoj, would make an interesting subject for Freudian analysis. His works contain numerous cryptic examples of unconscious and conscious sexual conflicts and narcissistic battles between the ego ideal and self. The respected German literary critic Walter Benjamin regards the continence of Leskov's Righteous Men as becoming "... the elemental counterpoise to uncontrolled lust ... personified in Lady Macbeth of

<sup>72</sup>Faresov, p. 313.

Mzensk."<sup>73</sup> Such a study could cast meaningful light on the asexual and possibly even antisexual nature of Leskov's positive heroes from Ovcebyk, whose infatuation with the wife of another man was a definite factor in his suicide, right through Leskov's latest heroes such as Lidiya Pavlovna in Zimnij den', whose satisfaction with single life contrasted sharply with the depraved sexual attitudes of most of the other characters in the story. Although the scope of such an inquiry is far too broad to be encompassed in this study, it is a worthy subject for further investigation.

A final summation of Leskov's literary life shows his early search for positive heroes within the bounds of specific political and religious issues and dictated by forces outside himself giving way to a confident depiction of an ideal that fulfilled his own concept of righteousness. Throughout his second literary period, his focus was on a positive presentation of the ideal. Interaction with negative phenomena in society was non-accusatory in nature and both subordinate and augmentative to the description of the Leskovian Christian, the Righteous Man in his purest form.

Finally, Leskov determined descriptive ideals to be inadequate to fulfill the needs of society and he returned to accusatory literature as a means of developing the qualities necessary for righteousness. Direct ministry

<sup>73</sup>Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller," Illuminations, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1968), p. 104.

expressed in religious terms through meticulously developed transformations contrasting sharply with the descriptive ideals embodied in his earlier Righteous Men in no way implies a change in Leskov's own concept of the ideal. In both of his final two phases the concept remains the same. At the time he depicted the Righteous Men, he believed that the example they presented was sufficient to bring about moral change in society. When that proved ineffective, he led the reader through the process of Leskovian Christianization, until he saw even that as fruitless.

Within a few months of his death, Leskov expressed his despair in a statement replete with the tone of a frustrated parent who has gone to great lengths to bring up his child right, only to discover in old age that a lifetime of effort had borne no fruit.

Мои последние произведения о русском обществе весьма жестоки... Эти вещи не нравятся публике за цинизм и прямоту. Да я и не хочу нравиться публике. Пусть она хоть давится моими рассказами да читает. Я знаю чем нравиться ей, но я больше не хочу нравиться. Я хочу бичевать ее и мучить. Роман становится винительным актом над жизнью.<sup>74</sup>

Leskov's cycle came to a natural conclusion. His predilection for practical solutions to societal difficulties would have prevented him from indulging in the extraterrestrial escape of the upcoming generation of mystics and "decadents." His death early in 1895 was fitting in its timeliness.

<sup>74</sup>Faresov, p. 382.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I. Primary Sources

- Leskov, N. S. Sobranie sočinenij. 12 Vols. Petersburg, 1889-1896.
- Leskov, N. S. Polnoe sobranie sočinenij. 3rd ed., 36 Vols. Petersburg, 1902-1903.
- Leskov, N. S. Sobranie sočinenij. 11 Vols. Moscow, 1956-1958.
- Leskov, N. S. "O gerojax i pravednikax." Cerkovno-obščestvennyj vestnik. No. 129, October 28, 1881, p. 5.

### II. Secondary Sources

- Abramovič, D. I., ed. Pis'ma russkix pisatelej k A. S. Suvorinu. Leningrad, 1928, pp. 57-86.
- Abramovič, N. Ja. "Misticism v tvorčestve Leskova." Literaturno-kritičeskie očerki. Kn. 1. Petersburg, 1909, pp. 227-37.
- Afonin, L. N. "Zabytaja stat'ja N. S. Leskova of Turgeneve." Turgenevskij sbornik. III. Leningrad, 1968, pp. 188-96.
- Al'tman, M. S. "Russkie istoriki--prototipy literaturnyx geroev." Istorija SSSR. No. 3 (1971), pp. 139-47.
- Aman, Thomas Lee. "Structural Features of Leskov's Soborjane and his Stories of the 1860's." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968.
- Amfiteatrov, A. V. "N. S. Leskov," Sobranie sočinenij. XXII. Petersburg, 1914, 327-44.
- Antonovič, M. A. "Asmodej našego vremeni." Literaturno-kritičeskie stat'i. Ed. G. E. Tamarčenko. Moscow, 1963, pp. 35-93.

- Antonovič, M. A. "Mistiko-asketičeskij roman." Literaturno-kritičeskie stat'i. Ed. G. E. Tamarčenko. Moscow, 1963, pp. 396-448.
- Apostolov, N. N. "L. N. Tolstoj i N. S. Leskov." Lev Tolstoj i ego sputniki. Moscow, 1928, pp. 218-25.
- Azbukin, V. N. "K voprosu o stanovlenii anticerkovnoj temy v tvorčestve N. S. Leskova 70-x, načala 80-x godov." Učenyje zapiski tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni V. V. Kujbyseva. No. 153 (1960), pp. 27-38.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kritika duxovenstva i pravoslavnoj cerkvi v očerkax N. S. Leskova Meloči arxierejskoj žizni." Učenyje zapiski tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni V. V. Kujbyseva. No. 35 (1960), pp. 134-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Meloči arxierejskoj žizni N. S. Leskova." Učenyje zapiski tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni V. V. Kujbyseva. No. 42 (1962), pp. 35-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Cerkov' i duxovenstvo v izobraženii N. S. Leskova." Ežegodnik muzeja istorii religii i ateizma. VI. Moscow, 1962, 305-19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Obščestvenno-literaturnaja bor'ba vokrug Meločej arxierejskoj žizni N. S. Leskova." Učenyje zapiski tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni V. V. Kujbyseva. No. 48 (1964), pp. 95-105.
- Baboreko, A. "Rukopis' Soborjan N. S. Leskova." Voprosy literatury. No. 9 (1959). pp. 254-56.
- Baluxatyj, S. D., ed. Russkie pisateli o literature. II. Leningrad, 1939, 290-320.
- Barsom, Valentina. "The Misunderstood and Misinterpreted Leskov: Leskov in Pre-Revolutionary Radical and Soviet Literary Criticism." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969.
- Batjuto, A. I. "Primečanija." in N. S. Leskov's Sobranie sočinenij. VIII. Moscow, 1958, 567-633.
- Bazanov, V. "N. S. Leskov i literaturnaja polemika 60-x godov." Iz literaturnoj polemiki 60-x godov. Petrozavodsk, 1941, pp. 99-171.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Storyteller." Illuminations. Ed. Hannah Arendt. Tr. Harry Zohn. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968, 83-109.

- Bertenson, L. B. "K vospominanijam o Nikolae Semenoviče Leskove." Russkaja mysl'. XXXVI (October, 1915). 89-95.
- Biedermann, M. "Russischer Klerus: Eine Studie zu N. S. Lesskow, Die Klerisei, eine Kleinstadtchronik." Ostkirchliche Studien. II (1953), 253-69.
- Bogaevskaja, K. "O sobranii sočinenij N. S. Leskova." Russkaja literatura. No. 3 (1959), pp. 215-21.
- Bogdanovič, A. I. "Leskov-anekdotist." Gody pereloma 1895-1906. Petersburg, 1908, pp. 76-84.
- Bowman, Herbert E. Vissarion Belinski 1811-1848: A Study in the Origins of Social Criticism in Russia. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.
- Braun, M. Der Kampf um die Wirklichkeit in der russischen Literatur. Göttingen, 1958, pp. 39-43.
- Bridgman, Richard. "Leskov Under the Bushel of Translation." Texas Quarterly. IX. No. 3 (Autumn, 1966), 80-88.
- Brombert, Victor, ed. The Hero in Literature. New York: Fawcett World Library, 1969.
- Buxštab, B. Ja. Rasskazy Leskova." in: N. S. Leskov. Rasskazy. Leningrad, 1973, pp. 3-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "N. S. Leskov." in: N. S. Leskov. Sobranie sočinenij v šesti tomach. I. Moscow, 1973, 3-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ob istočnikax Levši N. S. Leskova." Russkaja literatura. No. 1 (1964), pp. 49-64.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Primečanija." in: N. S. Leskov. Sobranie sočinenij. VII. Moscow, 1958, 493-568.
- \_\_\_\_\_. N. S. Leskov: Ukazatel' osnovnoj literatury. Leningrad, 1948.
- Bykov, P. V. "Bibliografija sočinenij N. S. Leskova: Za tridcat' let (1860-1889)." in: N. S. Leskov. Sobranie sočinenij. X. Petersburg, 1890, i-xxv.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Siluëty dalekogo prošlogo. Ed. B. P. Koz'min. Moscow, 1930.
- Cejtlin, A. G. "Sjužetika antinigilističeskogo romana." Literatura i marksizm. Kn. II (1929), pp. 33-74.

Cejtlin, M. A. "Analiz xudožestvennyx osobennostej romana Leskova Soborjane." Učenyje zapiski moskovskogo oblastnogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni N. K. Krupskoj. LXVI (1958), 269-90.

Čerednikova, M. P. "O sjužetnyx motivirovkax v povesti N. S. Leskova Očarovannyj strannik." Russkaja literatura. No. 3 (1971), pp. 113-27.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ob istočnikax legendy N. S. Leskova Skomorox Pamfalon." Russkaja narodnaja proza. XIII. Leningrad, 1972, 119-23.

Čudnova, L. "Satira N. S. Leskova 1890-x godov: Polunoščniki." Učenyje zapiski leningradskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni A. I. Gercena. No. 273 (1965), pp. 119-38.

Čyževskij, D. "Besprechungen von Marie Luise Rössler, Nikolaj Leskov und seine Darstellung des religiösen Menschen." Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie. XVII. No. 2 (1941), 458-62.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov," in his Russische Literaturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Der Realismus. Munich, 1967, pp. 93-105.

Danilov, V. V. "K biografii N. S. Leskova." Istoričeskij vestnik. CXIV (October, 1908), 162-72.

Desnickij, V. A. "O knige A. Leskova." Literaturnyj sovremennik. No. 3 (1937), pp. 153-55.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Krest'janskije rasskazy N. S. Leskova." Učenyje zapiski leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni A. I. Gercena. No. 14 (1938), pp. 179-94.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Predislovie." in: Andrej Leskov. Žizn' Nikolaja Leskova. Moscow, 1954, pp. iii-vii.

Domanovskij, L. V. "Primečanija." in: N. S. Leskov. Sobranie sočinenij. V. Moscow, 1957, 577-635.

Dostoevskij, F. M. Sobranie sočinenij v desjati tomach. IX. Moscow, 1958.

Drugov, B. M. N. S. Leskov: Očerki tvorčestva. 2nd. ed. Moscow, 1961.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Posleslovija." in: N. S. Leskov. Železnaja volja. Moscow, 1946, pp. 189-98.

Drugov, B. M. "Leskov--master slova i sjužeta." Literaturnaja učeba. No. 11 (1936), pp. 74-92.

\_\_\_\_\_. "N. S. Leskov." in: N. S. Leskov. Izbrannye sočinenija v trex tomax. I. Petrozavodsk, 1952, v-xxix.

\_\_\_\_\_. "N. S. Leskov." in: N. S. Leskov, Izbrannye sočinenija. Moscow, 1937, v-xxvi.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A. M. Gor'kij o Leskove." Literaturnaja učeba. No. 6 (1941), pp. 21-43.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Geroika russskoj žizni v tvorčestve Leskova." in: N. S. Leskov. Povesti i rasskazy. Moscow, 1943, pp. 3-16.

Durylin, S. "O religioznom tvorčestve N. S. Leskova." Xristianskaja mysl'. No. 11 (1916), 73-86.

Edgerton, William B. "Missing Letters to Leskov: An Unsolved Puzzle." Slavic Review. XXV. No. 1 (March, 1966), 121-32.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov on Quakers in Russia." Bulletin of Friends Historical Association. XL. No. 1 (1951), 3-15.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov and Tolstoy: Two Literary Heretics." American Slavic and East European Review. XII. No. 4 (1953), 524-34.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Nikolai Leskov: The Intellectual Development of a Literary Nonconformist." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1954.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov and Russia's Slavic Brethern." American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists: Moscow, September, 1958. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton and Co., 1958, pp. 51-74.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov's Trip Abroad in 1875: Four Unpublished Letters to I. S. Gagarin." Indiana Slavic Studies IV. Bloomington: Indiana University Publications 1967, 88-99.

Eekman, Thomas A. "The Genesis of Leskov's Soborjane." California Slavic Studies. II (1963), 121-46.

Ėjxenbaum, B. M. "N. S. Leskov." O proze. Leningrad, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_. "K 100-letiju roždenija N. S. Leskova." in: N. S. Leskov. Izbrannye sočinenija. Moscow, 1931, pp. xlv-lxii.

- Ėjxenbaum, B. M. "Leskov i literaturnoe narodničestvo." Moj vremennik. Slovesnost'. Nauka. Kritika. Smes'. Leningrad, 1929, pp. 105-108.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Review of N. S. Leskov: očerk tvorčestva, by A. L. Volynskij, Kniga i revoljucija. No. 2 (1923), pp. 56-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov i sovremennaja proza." Literatura. Teorija. Kritika. Polemika. Leningrad, 1927, pp. 210-25.
- Evnin, F. I. N. S. Leskov. Moscow, 1945.
- Faresov, A. I. "Umstvennyye perelomy v dejatel'nosti N. S. Leskova." Istoričeskij vestnik. CXLIII, No. 3 (1916), 792-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Protiv tečenij: N. S. Leskov. Ego žizn', sočinenija, polemika i vospominanija o nem. Petersburg, 1904.
- Fidler, F. F. "Literaturnye siluěty, VII: N. S. Leskov." Novoe slovo. No. 8 (1914), pp. 33-36.
- Forster, E. M. Aspects of the Novel, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1927.
- Lo Gatto, E. "Leskov e l'ultimo Tolstoj," in his Storia della litteratura russa contemporanea. Rome, 1958, pp. 23-25.
- Gebel', V. A. "N. S. Leskov: k 125-letiju so dnja roždenija." Literatura v škole. XVII. No. 1 (1956), 79-82.
- \_\_\_\_\_. N. S. Leskov: V tvorčeskoj laboratorii. Moscow, 1945.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jazyk N. S. Leskova." Učenyje zapiski moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni V. I. Lenina. Vyp. 2, pp. 193-218.
- German, I. Z. "Protopop Avvakum v tvorčestve N. S. Leskova." Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury instituta russkoj literatury. XIV. Moscow, 1958, 404-407.
- Gifford, H. The Hero of His Time: A Theme in Russian Literature. London: Edward Arnold, 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov and the Righteous Man." The Novel in Russia: From Pushkin to Pasternak. New York: Harper and Row, pp. 73-82.
- Gol'cev, V. A. "N. S. Leskov (Iz vospominanij i perepiski)." Itogi. Moscow, 1903, pp. 44-46.

- Gollert, Ingeborg, "N. S. Leskovs Romanchronik Die Klerisei." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Free University of Berlin, 1969.
- Gorelov, A. A. "Počerk mastera." in: N. S. Leskov. Levša--Rasskazy. Moscow, 1965, pp. 5-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Tatarskie ěpizody Očarovannogo strannika N. S. Leskova i Istorija rossijskaja V. Tatiščeva." Učenyje zapiski leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni A. A. Zdanova. No. 355 (1971), pp. 193-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Put' Nikolaja Leskova." in: N. S. Leskov. Povesti i rasskazy. Moscow, 1966, pp. 5-24.
- Gorjačkina, M. S. Satira Leskova. Moscow, 1963.
- Gor'kij, Maksim. "N. S. Leskov." Sobranie sočinenija v tridcati tomax. XXIV. Moscow, 1953, 228-37.
- Gromov, P. P., and B. M. Ėjxenbaum. "N. S. Leskov (Očerk tvorčestva)." in: N. S. Leskov. Sobranie sočinenij. I. Moscow, 1956, v-lx.
- Grossman, L. "Leskov." Bor'ba za stil'. Moscow, 1927, pp. 203-26.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov--pisatel'." in: N. S. Leskov. Izbrannye rasskazy. Moscow, 1926, pp. 5-25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. N. S. Leskov: Žizn'. Tvorčestvo. Poëtika. Moscow, 1945.
- Gudzij, N. K. "Tolstoj is Leskov." Iskusstvo. IV. Kn. 1-2 (1928), 95-128.
- Gurevič, L. Ja. "Iz vospominanij o N. S. Leskove." Literatura i ěstetika. Moscow, 1912, pp. 295-301.
- Gusev, S. S. "Moe znakomstvo s N. A. [sic] Leskovym." Istoričeskij vestnik. CXVII (September, 1909), 933-38.
- Hofmiller, J. "Lesskow." Letzte Versuche. Munich, 1952, pp. 80-106.
- Ioffe, F. M. "Zametki M. Gor'kogo o tvorčestve N. S. Leskova." Russkaja literatura. No. 2 (1968), pp. 22-35.
- Kaleckij, P. I. "Leskov, Nikolaj Semenovič." in: Literaturnaja ěnciklopedija. VI. Moscow, 1932, 312-19.



Kapustin, V. A. "Položitel'nyj obraz v rasskazax N. S. Leskova 70-80 gg." Naučnye zapiski kievskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni T. G. Ševčenko. XVIII, No. 12 (1959), 29-46.

\_\_\_\_\_. "N. S. Leskov i problema položitel'nogo obraza v rusškoj literature vtoroj poloviny XIX veka." Unpublished Candidate Dissertation, Kiev University, 1950.

Koehler, L. "Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Russian Literary Tradition." Russian Review. II (1967), 176-84.

Kudjurov, A. P. "K voprosu o narodno-poëticeskix istokax Levši N. S. Leskova." Vopros istorii i teorii literatury. No. 4 (1968), pp. 102-12.

Ladyženskij, B. "N. S. Leskov (K 30-letiju ego končiny)." Večernoe vremja (Paris), May 14, 1925.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Neskol'ko čertoček v rusškoj literature." Večernoe vremja (Paris), August 14, 1924.

Lavreckij, A. "Leskov kak satirik." Voprosy literatury. No. 11 (1963), pp. 236-38.

\_\_\_\_\_. Belinskij, Černyševskij, Dobroljubov v bor'be za realizm. Moscow, 1941.

Lebedev, V. A. "Xronikal'nyj žanr v tvorčestve N. S. Leskova." Učenyje zapiski tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni V. V. Kužbyseva. No. 67 (1967), pp. 134-46.

Lerner, N. O. "Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov." Istorija rusškoj literatury XIX v. Ed. D. N. Ovsjaniko-Kulikovskij. IV. Petersburg, 1910. 207-29.

Leskov, A. N. "N. S. Leskov." Literaturnyj sovremennik. No. 3 (1937), pp. 156-93.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov o duxovenstve." Antireligioznik. No. 6 (1939), pp. 33-34.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Posleslovie." to "Na smert' Katkova." Zven'ja. III-IV (1924), 894-99.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Žizn' Nikolaja Leskova." in: N. S. Leskov. Izbrannye sočinenija. Moscow, 1945, pp. xvii-xl.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Posleslovie." to "Zametki neizvestnogo." Zvezda. No. 7 (1935), pp. 224-26.

\_\_\_\_\_. Žizn' Nikolaja Leskova: Po ego ličnym, semejnym i nesemejnym zapisjam i pamjatjam. Moscow, 1954.

- Levandovskij, L. "N. S. Leskov v Kieve." Russkaja literatura. No. 3 (1963), pp. 104-109.
- Litvin, E. S. "Fol'klornye istočniki Skaza o tul'skom kosom levše i o stal'noj bloxe N. S. Leskova." Russkij fol'klor. I. Moscow, 1956, 125-34.
- Lottridge, Stephen S. "Solženicyn and Leskov." Russian Language Triquarterly. No. 6 (Spring, 1973), pp. 478-89.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov's Prologue Tales." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1970.
- Lužanovskij, A. V. "O vide i žanre proizvedenij N. S. Leskova o narode." Učenyje zapiski ivanovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta. XXXVIII (1966), 167-86.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Neopublikovannaja stat'ja N. S. Leskova o tolstovskom učenii." Russkaja literatura. No. 1 (1965), pp. 162-67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sjužet i fabula rasskazov Leskova vtoroj poloviny 70-80 godov." Učenyje zapiski ivanovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta. XXXVIII (1967), 57-79.
- Makedonov, A. "Problema geroja v estetike Belinskogo." Literaturnyj kritik. No. 6 (1936), pp. 107-37.
- Makšeeva, N. A. "N. S. Leskov v poslednie gody svoej žizni." Russkaja mysl'. No. 10 (1908), pp. 172-86.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Pamjati N. S. Leskova." Moskovskij eženedel'nik. No. 42 (1908), pp. 43-54.
- Mathewson, Rufus W. Jr. The Positive Hero in Russian Literature. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Soviet Hero and the Literary Heritage." American Slavic and East European Journal. XII No. 4 (1953), 506-23.
- McLean, Hugh. "Leskov and the Russian Superman." Midway (Spring, 1968), 105-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Contribution to the Revival of Leskov." Slavic Review. XXII (December, 1963), 745-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Leskov and His Enigmatic Man." Russian Thought and Politics. Vol. IV of Harvard Slavic Studies. Ed. H. McLean. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957, 297-322.

- McLean, Hugh. "Studies in the Life and Art of Leskov." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1956.
- Mejlax, B., ed. Russkie pisateli o literaturnom trude. III Leningrad, 1955, 193-229.
- Men'sikov, M. "Xudožestvennaja propoved'." Knižki nedeli. No. 8 (February, 1894), pp. 160-83.
- Mixajlova, N. G. "Tvorčestvo Leskova v svjazi s nekotorymi obrazami narodnogo eposa." Vestnik moskovskogo universiteta. No. 3 (1966), pp. 49-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Narodnyj rasskazčik i literaturnyj povestvovatel' v proze N. S. Leskova." Russkaja reč'. No. 5 (1969), pp. 20-26.
- Mixajlovskij, N. K. "Literatura i žizn'." Russkoe bogatstvo. No. 6, part 2 (1897), pp. 97-126.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Literatura i žizn'." Russkoe bogatstvo. No. 10, part 2 (1897), pp. 161-95.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Literatura i žizn'." Russkoe bogatstvo. No. 1 (1904), pp. 88-105.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Poslednie sočinenija. II. Petersburg, 1905, 462-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "G. Sementkovskij o Leskove." Otkliki. II. Petersburg, 1904, 100-20.
- Mochulsky, Konstantin. Dostoevsky: His Life and Work. Tr. Michael A. Minihan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Moser, Charles A. Antinihilism in the Russian Novel of the 1860's. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964.
- Müller, Erich. "Nilolaj Semjonowitsch Lesskow: Sein Leben und Wirken." in N. S. Lesskov. Am Ende der Welt--Gesammelte Werke. IX. Munich, 1927, 227-344.
- Muratova, K. D. "Gor'kij i Leskov." Voprosy izučenija russkoj literatury XIX-XX vv. Moscow, 1958, pp. 253-59.
- Petrov, S. M. "N. S. Leskov." in: N. S. Leskov. Izbrannye sočinenija. Moscow, 1949, pp. 3-16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. I. S. Turgenev: tvorčeskij put'. Moscow, 1961.

- Pustovojt, P. G. "K voprosu o različijax xudožestvennyx metodov Turgeneva i Dostoevskogo." Voprosy russoj literatury. Vyp. 1 (1973), pp. 11-18.
- Raevskij, S. "Publicistika N. S. Leskova načala 60-x godov." Učenyje zapiski leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni A. I. Gercena. No. 32 (1958), pp. 137-63.
- Rössler, M. L. Nikolaj Leskov und seine Darstellung der religiösen Menschen. Weimar, 1936.
- Russell, J. G. K. "Leskov and His Quarrel with the Men of the Sixties." Canadian Slavonic Papers. XII. No. 2 (1970), 108-27.
- . "Leskov and Folklore." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1971.
- Sal'nikova, T. S. "O formirovanii metoda v rannem tvorčestve N. S. Leskova (1860-1865)." Unpublished Candidate Dissertation, L'vovskoe vysšee voenno-političeskoe učilišče, 1972.
- . "Stat'ja N. S. Leskova o N. G. Černyševskom." Voprosy russoj literatury. Vyp. 3 (1970), pp. 67-75.
- . "Nekotorye problemy izučeniya tvorčestva N. S. Leskova." Voprosy russoj literatury. Vyp. 3 (1967), pp. 64-70.
- Saltykov-Ščedrin, M. E. "Povesti, očerki i rasskazy M. Stebnickogo." Polnoe sobranie sočinenij. VII. Moscow, 1937, 364-72.
- Sementkovskij, R. I. "Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov: Kritiko-biografičeskij očerk." in: N. S. Leskov. Polnoe sobranie sočinenij. I. Petersburg, 1902, 5-66.
- Sergeenko, P. A. "Tolstoj i Leskov." Tolstoj i ego sovremenniki. Moscow, 1911, pp. 213-22.
- Serman, I. Z. "Primečaniya." in: N. S. Leskov. Sobranie sočinenij. IV. Moscow, 1957, 515-57.
- Šesterikov, S. P. "K bibliografii sočinenij N. S. Leskova." Izvestija otdeleniya russskogo jazyka i slovesnosti Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk. XXX. Leningrad, 1925, 268-310.
- Setschkareff, V. N. S. Leskov: Sein Leben und sein Werk. Wiesbaden, 1959.

- Šljapkin, I. A. "K biografii N. S. Leskova." Russkaja starina. LXXXIV. No. 12 (1895), 205-15.
- Sofronov, N. "Kto podkoval bloxu." Moskva. No. 1 (1967), pp. 213-14.
- Sokolov, N. "Neizvestnaja stat'ja N. Leskova o M. Katkove." Russkaja literatura. No. 3 (1960), pp. 161-65.
- Stoljarova, I. V. "Roman-xronika Leskova." Istorija russkogo romana v dvux tomax. Ed. A. S. Bušmin et al. II. Moscow, 1964, 416-38.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "N. S. Leskov i Zapiski oxotnika I. S. Turgeveva." Naučnye doklady vyššej školy. No. 2 (1968), pp. 16-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Neizvestnoe literaturnoe obozrenie N. S. Leskova," Učenyje zapiski leningradškogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni A. A. Zdanova. No. 339 (1968), pp. 224-29.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "N. S. Leskov v Birževyx vedomostjax i Večernej gazete (1869-1871)." Učenyje zapiski leningradškogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni A. A. Zdanova. No. 295 (1960), pp. 87-119.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "N. S. Leskov v Russkom mire." Učenyje zapiski omskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo. Vyp. 17 (1962), pp. 97-122.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Obščestvenno-literaturnaja pozicija N. S. Leskova v konce 1860-x godov." Vestnik leningradškogo universiteta. No. 2 (1961), pp. 112-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Povest' N. S. Leskova, Očarovannyj strannik." Učenyje zapiski omskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo. Vyp. 21 (1963), pp. 64-102.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Russkie donkixoty v tvorčestve N. S. Leskova." Russkaja literatura XIX-XX vekov. Učenyje zapiski leningradškogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni A. A. Zdanova. No. 355 (1971), pp. 77-95.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Povest' N. S. Leskova Žitie odnoj baby." in: Russkaja i zarubežnaja literatura. Ed. I. V. Stoljarova. Omsk, 1965, pp. 50-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gamlet i Don Kixot, ob otklike N. S. Leskova na reč' Turgenjeva." Turgenevskij sbornik. III. Leningrad, 1968, 120-23.

- Stoljarova, I. V. "N. S. Leskov i G. I. Uspenskij." Russkaja literatura. No. 3 (1974), pp. 76-94.
- Tamarčenko, G. E. "Čto delat' Černyševskogo i Nekuda Leskova." Voprosy literatury. No. 9 (1972), pp. 93-110.
- Troickij, V. Ju. "O xudožestvennom svoeobrazii legend N. S. Leskova, napisannyx po materialam prologa." Učenyje zapiski moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta imeni V. I. Lenina. Vyp. 213. (1962), pp. 302-24.
- Vengerov, S. A. "Geroičeskij xarakter russoj literatury." Sobranie sočinienij. III. Petersburg, 1911, 99-205.
- Vidueckaja, I. P. "Leskov o Gercene." Problemy izučenija Gercena. Moscow, 1963, pp. 300-20.
- Vinogradov, V. V. "Dostoevskij i Leskov." Russkaja literatura. No. 1 (1961), pp. 63-84; No. 2 (1961), pp. 65-97.
- Volynskij, A. L. [Akim Flekser]. N. S. Leskov: Kritičeskij očerk. Petersburg, 1898; reprinted as Carstvo Karamazovyx: N. S. Leskov. Zametki. Petersburg, 1901; reprinted again as N. S. Leskov. Petrograd, 1923.
- Vvedenskij, A. I. "Sovremennye literaturnye dejateli, II. Nikolaj Semenovič Leskov." Istoričeskij vestnik. XL (May, 1890), 393-406.
- Xmelnickij, T. "Konec lišnego čeloveka." Literaturnyj sovremennik. No. 3 (1937), pp. 251-62.
- Yarmolinsky, Avrahm. Turgenev: The Man, his Art and his Age. New York: Collier Books, 1961.
- Zajcev, Boris. "N. S. Leškov (K 100-letiju roždenija. Zametki)." Vozroždenie (Paris), No. 2347, November 5, 1931; No. 2352, November 10, 1931.
- Zajcev, K. "Problema i zagadka Leskova." Vozroždenie (Paris), No. 251, February 11, 1926.
- Zelinskij, B. "Leskovs Legenden: Eine interpretierende Einführung." Die Welt der Slaven. XVI. No. 3 (1971), 301-19.

1

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03062 0623