

## Onegin's Journey: The Orient Revisited

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Scholars and readers have long been fascinated by the relationship between the excised or separately published portions of Pushkin's works and the works themselves, whose interplay forms a fascinating part of Pushkin's *oeuvre*. The openness created by the elisions and cuttings, and the readers' interweaving of their knowledge of Pushkin's biography into their understanding of his texts, consistently invite interpretation of missing, appended, separately published, or otherwise "exiled" sections of his works. In *Eugene Onegin*, for example, "Pushkin cut away at what he wrote in the novel, replacing text with ellipses, burning dangerous portions, drafting introductions and conclusions ... that were published elsewhere, or not at all."<sup>1</sup>

One of those intriguing "exiled" portions is "Otryvki iz puteshestviia Onegina" ("Fragments of Onegin's Journey") that so tantalizingly invites the reader back into Onegin's world, as if to mock the recent conclusion of *Eugene Onegin* in chapter 8. Is it true that, following Tynianov, the novel actually ends on the line, "I tak ia zhil togda v Odesse," because "Onegin's Journey" is located at the end of the text, as Pushkin printed it?<sup>2</sup> Or should one agree with Leslie O'Bell that the reader "does not actually arrive at the Journey last; he mentally inserts it where the footnote falls within chapter 8, a position which reflects Pushkin's decision to telescope the journey into a background element for the final chapter?"<sup>3</sup>

At a minimum, the placement of "Fragments of Onegin's Journey" forces a tension to arise between these two points of view: the action clearly takes place before the *dénouement* whether or not the "conscientious reader" mentally puts the events back into their proper order; and yet, according to the sequence of signifiers, "Onegin's Journey" is placed last. The positioning of "Onegin's Journey" creates a sort of palimpsest, leading the reader to think about what other parts of the text

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<sup>1</sup> Stephanie Sandler, *Distant Pleasures* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1989), 207.

<sup>2</sup> Yury Tynianov, "On the Composition of Eugene Onegin," in *Russian Views of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin*, trans. and ed. Sona Hoisington (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 78.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie O'Bell, "Through the Magic Crystal to Eugene Onegin," in *Pushkin Today*, ed. David Bethea (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 167.

are hidden, suppressed, or excised, and yet whose traces continue to bleed through or whose former inclusion has left its imprint on what remains.

Monika Greenleaf has noted that “Onegin’s Journey,” with its composite stanzas about Onegin’s journey to the south, so closely following Pushkin’s 1829 trip, and its stanzas about Odessa, written earlier during Pushkin’s exile in Mikhailovskoe, creates a tension between the poet’s elegiac enthusiasm for an absent south in 1825 and his disillusionment with its presence in 1829.<sup>4</sup> This alternation between points of view, she argues, recreates the original, highly successful open format of the early chapters of *Onegin* after the relatively disappointing reception of Pushkin’s Moscow chapter (Greenleaf, 214), leaving the reader to participate actively in forming an interpretation of the whole. The placement of the journey as a supplement that follows the eight chapters of *Eugene Onegin* also allows Pushkin to break out of the formal closure of the text, she argues, to form “a structural escape hatch” without altering the time-frame of the novel (Greenleaf, 211–12).

While this viewpoint has much to recommend it, closer examination seems to show, at least in terms of the “southern” portion of “Onegin’s Journey,” that the disillusionment is far more a projection of familiarity with *Journey to Arzrum* than what actually occurs in the account of Onegin’s travels. As Ian Helfant has demonstrated, even the diary which preceded *Journey to Arzrum* was far less a tale of disillusionment than was the final account itself. Pushkin altered the text in many cases to foreground and exploit notions of disillusionment and frustration.

In “Onegin’s Journey,” then, more so than an opposition between the fresh, heartfelt depiction of Pushkin’s first journey to the Caucasus and his later, world-weary and disillusioned sojourn to that region, there appears to be a blurring of boundaries, with Onegin’s experiences blending into Pushkin’s, and Pushkin’s experiences of 1829 blurring into those of 1820, forming stanzas which are syncretic versions of the literary production resulting from each trip.<sup>5</sup> While the Odessa stanzas remain somewhat separate within the Journey as a whole, much of the remainder cannot be clearly categorized into distinct periods nor can the author/ narrator be separated off from Onegin.

Interestingly, when Pushkin chose to eliminate “Onegin’s Journey” as the original chapter 8 of *Eugene Onegin*, it was Onegin’s travels, i.e., those of the title character, rather than the author/narrator’s, that were given the shortest shrift. The beginning of the final version of chapter 8 de-

<sup>4</sup> Monika Greenleaf, *Pushkin and Romantic Fashion: Fragment, Elegy, Orient, Irony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). See especially chap. 5, “The Sense of Not Ending: Romantic Irony in Eugene Onegin.”

<sup>5</sup> Ian Helfant, “Sculpting a Persona: The Path from Pushkin’s Caucasian Journal to ‘Puteshestvie v Arzrum,’” *The Russian Review* 56 (July 1997), 366–82.

scribes how the Pushkinian narrator has traveled about with his muse, following the path of Pushkin's travels and alluding to his early southern narrative poems:

Но я отстал от их союза  
 И вдаль бежал... Она за мной.  
 Как часто ласковая муза  
 Мне услаждала путь немой  
 Волшебством тайного рассказа!  
 Как часто по скалам Кавказа  
 Она Ленорой, при луне,  
 Со мной скакала на коне!  
 Как часто по берегам Тавриды  
 Она меня во мгле ночной  
 Водила слушать шум морской,  
 Немолчный шепот Нереиды,  
 Глубокий, вечный хор валов,  
 Хвалебный гимн отцу миров.

И, забыв столицы дальней  
 И блеск и шумные пиры,  
 В глуши Молдавии печальной  
 Она смиренные шатры  
 Племен бродящих посещала,  
 И между ими одичала,  
 И позабыла речь богов  
 Для скудных, странных языков,  
 Для песен степи, ей любезной.  
 Вдруг изменилось все кругом,  
 И вот она в саду моем  
 Явилась барышней уездной,  
 С печальной думою в очах,  
 С французской книжкой в руках. (8: 4, 5)

Here Pushkin's muse accompanies him through his real-life as well as literary adventures, and then "shades into the novel's heroine, Tatiana"—or at least a maid very like Tatiana.<sup>6</sup> As Nabokov notes, "the general shape of Pushkin's six years in exile is clearly rendered in these lines."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> William Mills Todd III, *Fiction and Society in the Age of Pushkin* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986), 110.

<sup>7</sup> Sandler, *Distant Pleasures*, 209. Vladimir Nabokov also provides biographical commentary on these stanzas in *Eugene Onegin: A Novel in Verse by Aleksandr Pushkin*, translated from the Russian, with a commentary, in four volumes (New York: Bollingen, 1964), vol. 3, 150–58.

The original trajectory of Onegin's journey, as it appeared in Pushkin's draft in 1829, was extensive. The first five stanzas were finished in October 1829 (three of these were transposed to the final chapter 8). They express a half-mocking, half-serious regret that the speaker did not follow an ordinary trajectory in life, did not take the well-beaten, yet comfortably familiar, path from cradle to grave, the "great road with mileposts" that allow one to measure one's progress in life. Instead, the speaker has followed a more eccentric plan, but fears that he has made the wrong choice; for while a young eccentric is interesting, an old one is more likely foolish and absurd. To the narrator, time seems out of joint; Onegin, too, is at loose ends. One draft stanza for "Onegin's Journey" reads:

Дожив без цели и трудов  
 До 26 годов —  
 Томясь в объятиях досуга  
 Без службы, без жены, без дел  
 Быть чем-нибудь давно хотел —<sup>8</sup>

In a fit of inspiration as well as desperation, Onegin decides to become a patriot and raves about his love of his native country, which leads to his setting off to see Russia. Pushkin includes in Onegin's itinerary mention of Novgorod and its long-ago quelled attempt at independence, as well as Stenka Razin, a rebel against law and convention, if not the government. After the mosquitoes of Astrakhan drive him away, he continues on to the Caucasus. After the Caucasus, he visits the Crimea. In the course of admiring the Tauride beauties of nature, the narration shifts to the author/narrator's point of view. The narrator declares that Russia is now more charming to him, and begins to sing, not terribly seriously, the praises of Russian provincial life, which he then interrupts with the phrase "Tfu! Prozaicheskie bredni / Flamandskoi shkoly pestryi sor! / Takov li byl ia, rastsvetaia? / Skazhi, fontan Bakhchisaraia!"<sup>9</sup> Then come the stanzas about Odessa, during which he meets up with Onegin, and then follow lines about their parting, after which Onegin goes to St. Petersburg, while the narrator goes to Trigorsk, where he hangs up his lyre.

Pushkin curtails the travels of both the narrator and Onegin in his final chapter 8, but provides several stanzas devoted to a synopsis of the narrator's youthful wanderings with his muse. Onegin's travels, on the other hand, are restricted to only one stanza in the final chapter 8, the

<sup>8</sup> A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow: Akademiia nauk, 1937–48), 6: 495.

<sup>9</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 503, stanza 19.

thirteenth. In it, Onegin departs from the “bloody shade” of Lenskii that appeared to him every day, travels about aimlessly, then becomes bored and returns to the capital:

Оставил он свое селенье  
 Лесов и нив уединенье  
 Где окрававленная тень  
 Ему являлась каждый день,  
 И начал странствия без цели,  
 Доступный чувству одному;  
 И путешествия ему,  
 Как все на свете, надоели;  
 Он возвратился и попал,  
 Как Чатский, с корабля на бал. (8: 13)<sup>10</sup>

This “summary,” if one can call it that, is all that remains of an account of Onegin’s journey in the final published eight chapters of *Eugene Onegin*. The original eighth chapter, describing Onegin’s (and the narrator’s) travels, with many elisions, was relegated to a separate publication and titled “Otryvki iz Puteshestviia Onegina.” The reference to Chatskii in the thirteenth stanza seems both to evoke and conceal much—hinting at a lack of success in love, lengthy travels, and writers who write about Russia from beyond its southern borders. Griboedov wrote parts of *Gore ot uma* (*Woe From Wit*) while he was a diplomat serving in Georgia and Persia, and Chatskii, his main character, fails at love and flees Moscow and perhaps Russia at the end of the play. No doubt for the contemporaneous reader, the reference to Chatskii also provided a reminder of Pushkin’s own “puteshestviia,” as well as his frequent status as writer in exile, whether in Russia or in the south.

The frequent elisions in the published version of “Fragments of Onegin’s Journey” invite the reader to journey ever outward from the published text to variants and from there to speculations about stanzas written and then destroyed. Many signs point to Pushkin’s preoccupation in the closing of *Eugene Onegin* with themes and issues of his early years that were once again evoked by his 1829 journey. The summarization of Pushkin’s life at the beginning of the eighth chapter, as well as the quotation from Sadi at the end (both a reference to Pushkin’s exiled Decembrist friends whom he had visited in the Caucasus, as well as an echo of the epigraph to “Bakhchisaraiskii fontan”) are in concert with the reevaluation of Pushkin’s life and work that seems to be such a preoccupation in the later *Puteshestvie v Arzrum* (*Journey to Arzrum*).

<sup>10</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 171.

Ian Helfant argues that the prose and lyrics that were written as a result of the 1829 journey south can be thought of as representing three Pushkinian personae: “his self-representation in the journal, the more developed persona of his parodic *Journey [to Arzrum]*, and a third persona rooted in a lyric vision.”<sup>11</sup> Helfant shows that Pushkin significantly altered the journal of the trip he published in 1830 in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, there entitled “Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga,” when he later reworked it as *Journey to Arzrum*, personalizing many of the more generalized remarks, adding detail, and following more closely the convention of letters written to (mostly male) friends with concomitant assumptions of easy familiarity and shared values.<sup>12</sup>

Yet there is also at least a fourth version of that persona, which echoes through “Onegin’s Journey” and the eighth chapter of *Eugene Onegin*. In particular, three variant stanzas that were written about the Caucasus during Pushkin’s composition of the original chapter 8, “Onegin’s Journey,” tell a kind of mini-narrative of Pushkin’s journey in 1829, but a narrative which is not exclusively confined to the events of 1829 but rather coalesces with Pushkin’s earlier experience of the south, in the form of both autobiography and poetic production.

Before turning to a discussion of the variant stanzas, however, let us look at the twelfth stanza of “Fragments of Onegin’s Journey,” which appeared in Pushkin’s original chapter 8 and is the only “Caucasian” stanza which ultimately remained after a number of other variations and reworkings of it were discarded and relegated to the status of palimpsests. The reworkings of the twelfth stanza of “Onegin’s Journey” were by far the most numerous of Pushkin’s revisions and variations on any stanza in the chapter. The final version of the twelfth stanza reads:

Он видит, Терек своенравный  
 Крутые роет берега;  
 Пред ним парит орел державный,  
 Стоит олень, слкониw рога;  
 Верблюды лежат в тени утеса,  
 В лугах несется конь черкеса,  
 И вокруг кочующих шатров  
 Пасутся овцы калмыков,  
 Вдали кавказские громады:  
 К ним путь открыт. Пробылась брань  
 За их естественную грань,

<sup>11</sup> Helfant, “Sculpting a Persona,” 369.

<sup>12</sup> For a fascinating study of these conventions, see William Mills Todd III, *The Familiar Letter as a Literary Genre in the Age of Pushkin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Через их опасные преграды;  
 Брега Арагвы и Куры  
 Узрели русские шатры.<sup>13</sup>

Pushkin cites the poetic motifs of the Caucasus already familiar to his readers—its eagles, deer and other animals, the cliffs, the Terek, Aragva, and Kura rivers. He explicitly refers to his first *poëma* about the Caucasus, “Kavkazskii plennik,” which had brought him such fame, by including the Circassian and his horse, as well as the distant “kavkazskie gromady” and the path leading to them. The stanza also contains paraphrases of poetic evocations of the Caucasus by Pushkin’s predecessors, Derzhavin and Zhukovskii, whose lines he had both alluded to and footnoted in his early narrative poem. Pushkin manages to fit all these allusions into one stanza, as if in shorthand, creating a kind of compressed chain of references. He even uses the adjective “derzhavnyi,” as if to make sure the reference to Derzhavin would not be overlooked.

In “Kavkazskii plennik,” Pushkin had quoted in his footnotes stanzas by Derzhavin and Zhukovskii depicting the Caucasus that he found particularly beautiful and influential, and upon which he based, in part, his own poetic imagery.<sup>14</sup> Derzhavin’s “Ode to Count Zubov” and Zhukovskii’s “Poslanie k Voeikovu” were situated by Pushkin as literary precursors to “Kavkazskii plennik,” and he used many details, ideas, images, and terminology from the two poems in his *poëma*.<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, in the stanza from “Onegin’s Journey,” written in 1829, Pushkin paraphrased Derzhavin’s and Zhukovskii’s lines much more closely than he did in “Kavkazskii plennik,” written in 1821. Pushkin paraphrases Derzhavin’s line

Как серны, вниз склонив рога

in his own line:

Стоит олень, склонив рога...

<sup>13</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 481–82.

<sup>14</sup> See also the discussion of these citations in the second chapter of Oleg Proskurin’s recent book, *Poeziia Pushkin, ili podvizhnyi palimpsest* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 1999), 108–22.

<sup>15</sup> See Susan Layton, “The Creation of an Imaginative Caucasian Geography,” *Slavic Review* 45 (Fall 1986), 470–85, as well as her *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). See also Katya Hokanson, “Literary Imperialism, Narodnost’, and Pushkin’s Invention of the Caucasus,” *The Russian Review* 53 (July 1994), 334–35.

And Zhukovskii's

Ты зрел, как Терек в быстром беге

is closely mirrored in Pushkin's line:

Он видит: Терек своенравный...<sup>16</sup>

Hence the notion that Pushkin was revisiting his earlier work, going back over it in great detail, seems to find very strong evidence in the text, for Pushkin does not repeat the earlier allusions, but paraphrases more closely, more tightly, again as if compressing and condensing his famous *poëma*.

Furthermore, in an operation similar to that used in *Journey to Arzrum* and its predecessor, "Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga," there is an acknowledgement of changes which have altered a landscape at first glance eternal and inalterable: this landscape is now marked by the Russian military presence in a way in which it was not at the time of "Kavkazskii plennik."<sup>17</sup> I speak here not of a historical marking but of a poetic marking: while Pushkin wrote at length about Ermolov and his predecessors in the epilogue of "Kavkazskii plennik," the captive's own experience appeared relatively unmediated by such considerations.<sup>18</sup> But Onegin's introduction to the mountainous scenery is marked by Russia's military presence from the beginning. Along with the Kalmyk tents, there are Russian military tents. Natan Eidel'man has argued that Pushkin originally included in "Onegin's Journey" stanzas about Arakcheev's military settlements, which he then destroyed, since the combination of such subject matter along with the apparent time-frame of the travels, set just before 1825, was simply too explosive.<sup>19</sup> The Decembrists had hoped to foment rebellion in the settlements, which were created by Alexander I in an attempt to organize and make orderly the Russian countryside by using troops as settlers and farmers.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Pushkin's notes to "Kavkazskii plennik," *PSS* 4: 115–17.

<sup>17</sup> See Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, especially the chapters entitled "Imaginative Geography" and "The National Stake in Asia."

<sup>18</sup> For an enlightening discussion of the status of the epilogue to "Kavkazskii plennik" and an excellent summary of scholarship on the issue, see Adrian Wanner's article "The Prisoner of the Caucasus' and its Epilogue: Pushkin's Endorsement of Russian Imperialism?" in the present volume (133–50).

<sup>19</sup> Notes to "Puteshestvie Onegina" by Natan Eidel'man in *Boldino: Osen' 1830* (Moscow, 1989), 125–29.

<sup>20</sup> See Richard Pipes, "The Russian Military Colonies, 1810–1831," in *The Journal of Modern History* 22, no. 3 (Sept. 1950), 205–19.

This is not to say that all of Pushkin's writings about the Caucasus in this period were created from a politically charged viewpoint. A number of the lyric poems of 1829, such as "Na kholmakh Gruzii," "Kavkaz," "Obval," and "Monastyr' na Kazbeke," tended to paint a view of the Caucasian landscape which is untouched by human hands, in which the viewer is alone with the awesome power of natural forces.<sup>21</sup> Even if human or animal figures are present, they are tiny, powerless compared to the titanic natural forces. While the very presence of the Russian speaker, as well as his commanding placement above or in front of the object laid out for his view (for example, in the lines "Kavkaz podo mnoiu" and "Shumit Aragva predo mnoiu") surely still partakes of what Mary Pratt calls "standard elements of the imperial trope [...]: the mastery of the landscape, the estheticizing adjectives, the broad panorama anchored in the seer," there is not the overt politicization and militarization that figures in "Onegin's Journey."<sup>22</sup>

Pushkin very clearly emphasized the history of wars in the Caucasus in his depiction of Onegin. One variant of the twelfth stanza, in fact, presents the mountain chain as the Slavs' natural border, through which the Russians had nevertheless broken, as war penetrated all natural barriers in Russia's quest for imperial glory:

Он видит горные громады  
Славян естественную грань,  
Но уж давно пробилась брань  
Через их упорные преграды  
Чтоб на брега седой Куры  
Раскинуть русские шатры.<sup>23</sup>

Another possible line that Pushkin considered in this stanza was:

Поправ естественную грань<sup>24</sup>

a far stronger statement of the matter: the "natural" border was in need of human and governmental "correction." Another variant line went so far as to name an enemy:

<sup>21</sup> Layton argues that the anthropomorphic treatment of Kazbek in the poem cannot be divorced from similar characterizations which make the mountains function as the head of a body politic (*Russian Literature and Empire*, 49).

<sup>22</sup> Mary Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 1992), 209.

<sup>23</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 482.

<sup>24</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 482.

Враждебной Грузии места.<sup>25</sup>

As Georgia had been annexed by 1802, this would have made the breaching of the border relatively old news. Nonetheless the terminology highlights the political terms under which the natural mountain border was understood.

There was also a variant stanza describing a more up-to-date military experience: Onegin is accompanied into the mountains by a cannon, an experience which Pushkin, who traveled in this manner in 1829, described in both “Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga” and *Journey to Arzrum*. The partial stanza reads as follows:

Вдали Кавказские громады  
 К ним путь открыт чрез их преграды  
 За их естественную грань  
 ... с копьём промчалась брань  
 Авось их дикою красою  
 Случайно тронут будет он  
 И вот конвоем окружен  
 Во след за пушкой степною  
 —ступил Онегин вдруг  
 В предверье гор, в их мрачный круг.<sup>26</sup>

This stanza makes explicit reference to Russian convoys traveling through the mountains, characterizing Onegin’s entry into the forbidding beauty of the mountains as an incursion into enemy territory. Onegin hopes to be touched not only by the beauty of the Caucasus but by the excitement lent to the scene by military activity and potential danger. As Pushkin describes his own trip in both “Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga” and “Puteshestvie v Arzrum,” *Journey to Arzrum*, traveling amidst the 500 or so people who are accompanied by the cannon, with different groups taking different roles and traveling in particular formations, but the slow pace of the undertaking gradually leaves him bored. Nonetheless, soon after being “received into the sanctuary”<sup>27</sup> of the mountains, Pushkin is warned by a soldier that he must not wander off because travelers are often shot at.

These variant stanzas, following as they do in the wake of Derzhavin, Zhukovskii, and Pushkin’s earlier work, give rise to the question of whether the Caucasus and its beauty could even be perceived by Russian readers separately from the Russian military presence in the area. In

<sup>25</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 482.

<sup>26</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 482–83.

<sup>27</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 8.1: 450.

both the poems by Derzhavin and Zhukovskii, the region is explicitly linked with war.

Derzhavin's "Na vozvrashchenie Grafa Zubova iz Persii" (1797) emphasizes the military connection to the Caucasus region and its propensity to be wild, stormy and untameable:

О юный вождь! сверша походы,  
 Прошел ты с воинством Кавказ,  
 Зрел ужасы, красы природы:  
 Как, с ребр там страшных гор лиясь,  
 Ревут в мрак бездн сердиты реки;  
 Как с чел их с грохотом снега  
 Падут, лежавши целы веки;  
 Как серны, вниз склонив рога,  
 Зрят в мгле спокойно под собою  
 Рожденье молний и громов.<sup>28</sup>

Zhukovskii's "К Voeikovu" (1814) depended heavily on Derzhavin's ode for its imagery of the Caucasus.<sup>29</sup> After the opening salutation to the returning Voeikov, the poem reads:

Ты был под знаменами славы;  
 Ты видел, друг, следы кровавы  
 На Русь нахлынувших врагов,  
 Их казнь и ужас их побега;<sup>30</sup>

These lines may refer to the War of 1812, but they blend seamlessly into the lines describing the Caucasus, which, like Derzhavin's ode, frequently begin "ty zrel" or "ty videl," a hallmark which Pushkin echoed. The investment of the Caucasus with military significance is thus part and parcel of its poetic constitution, the rule rather than the exception. And indeed, we know from the 1830 Boldino manuscript that Onegin's journey was precipitated by the fact that he "awoke a Patriot" ("prosnulsia raz on Patriotom"<sup>31</sup>)—even if patriot was only one of Onegin's many roles and masks.

It is striking how often the same words and phrases are used in the Caucasian stanza and its variants in "Onegin's Journey," written in 1830, and in "Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga," written in 1829. Consider, for example, this excerpt from the latter:

<sup>28</sup> G. R. Derzhavin, *Stikhotvoreniia* (Leningrad, 1981), 127.

<sup>29</sup> V. A. Zhukovskii, *Sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1959), 1: 437–38.

<sup>30</sup> Zhukovskii, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 1: 187.

<sup>31</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 476.

Пушка оставила нас, мы отправились с пехотой и казаками. Кавказ принял нас в свое святилище [variant: в свое широкое предверие]. Мы услышали глухой рев и скоро увидели Терек разливающийся в разных направлениях—мы поехали по его левому берегу—чем далее углублялись мы в горы, тем уже становилось ущелие. Стесненный Терек с ужасным ревом бросал свои аспидные волны через камни преграждающие ему путь и поминутно—погода была пасмурная, облако тянулось около черных вершин, туманное ущелие извивалось по течению Терека. Каменные подошвы гор обточены были его волнами—Я шел пешком и поминутно останавливался пораженный дикими красотами природы.<sup>32</sup>

The expression “shirokoe predverie,” for example, is also used in the final lines of the variant stanza about Onegin traveling with the cannon:

—ступил Онегин вдруг  
в предверье гор, в их мрачный круг

The expression “porazhennyi dikimi krasotami prirody” is very similar to the lines “avos’ ikh dikoiu krasoiu / sluchaino tronut budet on” in the same stanza. The blurring of Pushkin’s experiences with Onegin’s is quite evident.

The variant stanza describing Onegin with the cannon was originally followed by two others which seemed to continue Onegin’s journey into the Caucasus. They also were not included in Pushkin’s final draft in the fall of 1830. The first of these following stanzas, while similar to the ultimate twelfth stanza in some respects, can easily be interpreted as a sequel to Onegin’s entrance “v predver’e gor.” It also closely follows Pushkin’s 1829 diary:

Он видит: Терек разъяренный  
Трясет и точит берега,  
Над ним с чела скалы нагбенной  
Висит олень, склонив рога;  
Обвалы сыплются и блещут  
Вдоль скал прямых потоки хлещут.  
Меж гор, меж двух высоких стен  
Идет ущелие; стеснен  
Опасный путь все уже, уже;  
Вверху чуть видны небеса;  
Природы мрачная краса

<sup>32</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 8.2: 1038–39.

Везде являет дикость ту же.  
 Хвала тебе, седой Кавказ,  
 Онегин тронут в первый раз.<sup>33</sup>

The description of passing between narrow cliffs closely follows Pushkin's description quoted above, and has similarities as well to the 1829 poems "Obval" and "Kavkaz." As in the final version of the stanza which was published in "Onegin's Journey," the phrase "visit olen', skloniv roga" appears, evoking the lines in "Kavkazskii plennik" that also alluded to Derzhavin: "Uzhe priiuta mezhdu skal / Elen' ispugannii iskal."<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, Pushkin's paraphrase of Derzhavin's line "Kak serny, vniz skloniv roga" follows Derzhavin far more closely in the Onegin stanzas than in "Kavkazskii plennik" itself, suggesting that perhaps Pushkin was rereading or recalling Derzhavin's ode. This rereading or reconsidering of Derzhavin's ode may also have affected other parts of *Eugene Onegin*, including the beginning of the final chapter 8. I will come back to this possibility shortly.

This stanza in which Onegin is "touched for the first time," which is so closely intertwined with other Pushkinian texts of the same time period, seems to put an end to Onegin's *toska*: like Pushkin on his earlier trip to the Caucasus, he has been touched. The Pushkin of "Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga" has much the same reaction: "Ia shel peshkom i pomnutno ostanavlivalsia porazhennii dikimi krasotami prirody."<sup>35</sup> Pushkin altered the same section in *Journey to Arzrum* to show a far less impressed persona, in the operation Helfant so interestingly describes. In *Journey to Arzrum*, the same line reads instead: "Ia shel peshkom i pomnutno ostanavlivalsia porazhennii mrachnoi prelest'iu prirody."<sup>36</sup> The "wild beauties" of nature became the "gloomy charm" of nature—a rather more subdued emotional response. Both phrases belong to the terminology of "mountain gloom and mountain glory" which was so prevalent, but "gloomy charm" presents a more world-weary perspective.<sup>37</sup>

The variant stanza which followed the stanza about the cannon specifically addresses the author/narrator's youthful infatuation with the Caucasus, as if to continue the narrative begun by the final line in that stanza, "Onegin tronut v pervyi raz." Furthermore, the narration shifts to the first person, now describing the Pushkinian narrator:

<sup>33</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 483.

<sup>34</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 4: 99.

<sup>35</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 8.2: 1039.

<sup>36</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 8.1: 450.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959), and Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire*, the chapter entitled "Imaginative Geography."

Во время оное бывшее!...  
 В те дни ты знал меня, Кавказ,  
 В свое святилище глухое,  
 Ты призывал меня не раз.  
 В тебя влюблен я был безумно.  
 Меня приветствовал ты шумно  
 Могучим гласом бурь своих,  
 Я слышал рев ручьев твоих,  
 И снеговых обвалов грохот,  
 И клик орлов, и пенье дев,  
 И Терека свирепый рев,  
 И эха дальнозвучный хохот,  
 И зрел я, слабый твой певец,<sup>38</sup>  
 Казбека царственный венец.

Here Pushkin again combines the imagery and terminology of “Kavkazskii plennik” (the storms, the singing of the girls, the imagery of the mountains as tsars) and the motifs of the 1829 trip: the avalanche, the emphasis on the Terek, the retrospective look backward.

What ultimately remained of this three-stanza mini-narrative in “Fragments of Onegin’s Journey” was only the middle section, in a version that betrayed no particular inspiration on the part of Onegin, but retained the syncretism of features from “Kavkazskii plennik” and “Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga.” The three stanzas together, however, weave an interesting tale: Onegin travels into the mountains much as Pushkin did in 1829, and is affected by them in the manner of the youthful Pushkin, as well as in his style. The narrator then announces his own past infatuation, with the “ne raz” referring to his 1829 journey as well as his 1820 one.<sup>39</sup> The final couplet, “I zrel ia, slabyi tvoi pevets / Kazbeka tsarstvennyi venets,” obviously evokes “Kavkazskii plennik,” but avers as well that the narrator’s poetic talents have matured, that he is now known for many more works than his early poem with which he created such a sensation. But the author/narrator has not given up his desire to create poetic works about the Caucasus, which continues to stand as a benchmark of the poet’s own personal development and of the ultimate goal of poets: the creation of art which rivals nature in its claim on the human imagination. Pushkin underscores the stationary quality of the mountains, against which he measures his own life and work, in “Voennaia Gruzinskaia doroga” :

<sup>38</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 6: 484–85.

<sup>39</sup> Nabokov, *Eugene Onegin: A Novel in Verse by Aleksandr Pushkin*, vol. 3, 283.

В Ставрополе увидел я на краю неба белую недвижную массу облаков поразившую мне взоры тому ровно 9 лет—Они всё те же, всё на том же месте—Это были снежные вершины Кавказа—<sup>40</sup>

Though he himself points to the cultural constructedness of the mountains as changeless objects, and shows in his own works how human events such as wars are entangled in their representation, the mountains nonetheless comprise a focal point for Pushkin's work. From his trip south in 1820 to "Kavkazskii plennik," from the 1829 lyrics and prose and "Puteshestvie Onegina" to the 1836 publication of *Journey to Arzrum*, Pushkin revisits the Caucasus again and again. Situated far from Petersburg, the Caucasus was the "new Parnassus" for young Pushkin, as well as the meeting place for old friends and the locus of both the power and limitations of the Russian imperial agenda. Attempting to cross a border that continually recedes from him, Pushkin remains within the Russian Empire, even while enumerating the landmarks of a territory that only yesterday was foreign.<sup>41</sup>

The variant stanzas I have discussed show that Pushkin toyed with the possibility of breaking down the constant refrain of "toska, toska" ("ennui, ennui") upon Onegin's entry into the mountains, that he considered bestowing upon Onegin a similar rapturous appreciation for the Caucasus that was so evident in "Kavkazskii plennik," and which clearly remained in the 1829 lyrics, the 1829 diary, and the "expunged stanzas" (as Nabokov calls them) of "Onegin's Journey." That Pushkin ultimately chose to leave Onegin untouched by his sojourn in the mountains points to his decision to characterize Onegin as a persona separate from Pushkin, a character who, as many critics have pointed out, was left behind while the narrator and Tatiana continued to evolve.<sup>42</sup> When the characterization of Onegin came uncomfortably close to Pushkin himself in these variant stanzas, Pushkin relegated him to arm's length—Onegin partakes of a trip through the Caucasus, but is not destined to so closely share his creator's biography and interior development.

Nonetheless, the omitted stanzas may help explain why some scholars have held that view that Onegin, upon his return to Moscow, was now receptive to love. Caryl Emerson has argued, for example, that "there has been this genuine, inexplicable change in him brought about by—who

<sup>40</sup> Pushkin, *PSS*, 8.2: 1029.

<sup>41</sup> See remarks pertaining to this issue by Andreas Schönle in *Authenticity and Fiction in the Russian Literary Journey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 200, 182–84.

<sup>42</sup> See in particular Monika Greenleaf, *Pushkin and Romantic Fashion*, and William Mills Todd III, *Fiction and Society in the Age of Pushkin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

knows?—the passage of time, or love.”<sup>43</sup> Although the stanza in which Onegin was “tronut v pervyi raz” was no longer a part of the final narrative, either in the first draft or in the published “Fragments of Onegin’s Journey,” the residue of this change still seems to subtly resonate in Onegin’s character upon his return to Moscow. Leslie O’Bell notes:

The commonplace has been that Pushkin does not sufficiently prepare the reader for Tatiana’s transformation from provincial girl to mistress of Petersburg salon, although he does motivate her changed view of Onegin through the library episode. Yet, without the *Journey*, we realize that Onegin’s life from the duel to the moment when he amazedly recognizes Tatiana is a total blank. His transformation in Chapter VIII is equally abrupt. But we must admit that whatever Pushkin sacrificed in the *Journey*, its remaining drafts and fragments do not serve to advance the plot. The *Journey*, punctuated by the refrain “toska, toska,” simply returns Onegin to his point of departure.<sup>44</sup>

Pushkin was, however, considering giving Onegin a “breakthrough,” a moment in which he would be touched for the first time, a moment which might make him one of those travelers whose view and understanding of “home” is put into perspective by a journey, and whose understanding of the world is colored by his experience of the spectacular and politically charged Caucasus mountains. The original draft of “Onegin’s Journey” ended with an encomium to home, friends, one’s native surroundings. Thus Onegin might logically also have come to an understanding of Tatiana’s “mature” appreciation for the Russian countryside, and therefore be in a position to appreciate her on two levels: her original status as a country girl and her new status as mistress of societal construction and convention. In fact, Pushkin’s rereading or reconsideration of Derzhavin’s “Ode to Count Zubov,” which seems apparent in his close paraphrase of Derzhavin’s line and in his use of the adjective “derzhavnyi,” may shed some light on this issue. In the ode, there is much attention given to the matter of how one should live one’s life:

Но тот блажен, кто не боится

<sup>43</sup> Caryl Emerson, “Tatiana,” in *A Plot of Her Own: The Female Protagonist in Russian Literature*, ed. Sona Hoisington (Evanston: Northwestern, 1995), 17. Thanks to Caryl Emerson and to an anonymous reviewer for helping me to develop this point. Prof. Emerson made several illuminating remarks after hearing this paper at the “Pushkin Beyond Europe” conference, held at Penn State in October 1999. My thanks also to several other participants, including Roman Timenchik and Vadim Skuratovsky, who also made helpful editorial comments.

<sup>44</sup> Leslie O’Bell, “Through the Magic Crystal to Eugene Onegin,” 168.

Фортуны потерять своей,  
 За ней на высоту не мчится,  
 Идет среднею стезей  
 И след во всяком состояньи  
 Цветами усыпает свой.

Кто при конце своих ристаний  
 Вдали зреть может за собой  
 Аллею подвигов прекрасных;  
 Дав совести своей отчет  
 В минутах светлых и ненастных  
 С улыбкою часы же чтет,  
 Как сам благими наслаждался,  
 Как спас других от бед, от нужд,  
 Как быть всем добрым торопился,  
 Раскаянья и вздохов чужд.<sup>45</sup>

Certainly Pushkin's lines on a similar subject are not foreign to Derzhavin's:

Блажен, кто смолоду был молод,  
 Блажен, кто вовремя созрел,  
 Кто постепенно жизни холод  
 С летами вытерпеть умел;  
 Кто странным снам не предавался,  
 Кто черни светской не чуждался. (8: 10)

Pushkin, of course, gives the remainder of his stanza a mocking twist which is quite absent in Derzhavin:

Кто двадцать лет был франт иль хват,  
 А в тридцать выгодно женат;  
 Кто в пятьдесят освободился  
 От частных и других долгов,  
 Кто славы, денег, и чинов  
 Спокойно в очередь добился  
 О ком твердили целый век:  
 N. N. прекрасный человек.

<sup>45</sup> Derzhavin, *Stikhotvoreniia*, 126–27.

Nevertheless, as many critics have noted, the theme of poor timing and missed opportunities is frequently raised in *Eugene Onegin*, and the original version of chapter 8, "Onegin's Journey," began with this same stanza and Pushkin elaborated further on the issue.<sup>46</sup>

It seems clear that Pushkin, in his works pertaining to the Caucasus, at first situated his work vis-à-vis that of others—Byron, Moore, Sadi, Derzhavin, Zhukovskii. Later, it was Pushkin's own Caucasus with which he contended—the models, references and allusions increasingly refer not to the work of others but to his own poetic construction of the Caucasus. Allusions to and paraphrases of Derzhavin and Zhukovskii appear not "independently," but through the filter of "Kavkazskii plennik." Old models have been used, assimilated, made Pushkin's own, and the most challenging model that remains is Pushkin himself. Literature and biography mix together, with Onegin, the captive, the Pushkin of the early trip to the Caucaus and the Pushkin of the later trip blurring together into one. A similar operation, then, may also account for the differences between the early, Byronic version of Onegin and the later, more Pushkinian Onegin. The "expunged stanzas" of "Onegin's Journey," I believe, provide important insight into Pushkin's and Onegin's multiple, shifting personas.

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<sup>46</sup> See, for example, Emerson, "Tatiana," 14.