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Orest Kiprensky, 'Portrait of the Poet Alexander Pushkin,' 1827.

An Efflorescence of Russian Classical Painting

Contemporary with the Classical literary movement sparked by the genius of Alexander Pushkin, there arose an efflorescence of Russian painting in the early Nineteenth century, modelled on the Classical idea, that the true subject of art is the portrayal

of the creative motion of the individual human mind. The paintings of Orest Kiprensky are exemplary of this artistic attitude, and those of Vasili Tropinin show its influence.

Kiprensky's 1827 portrait of Alexander Pushkin is one of the rare examples, where one great artist has been captured by the hand of another. The figure appears frozen in mid-motion, the eyes gazing off along a line equidistant from the graceful statuary at the rear, and the tartan draped over the poet's right. There is a paradox in these objects. The statue—of the Greek Muse Terpsichore, patroness of lyric poetry and the dance—gives notice of Pushkin's commitment to elevate the Russian language into a lawful vehicle for the Greek-based cultural heritage of European civilization. But, the coarse Highland tartan?

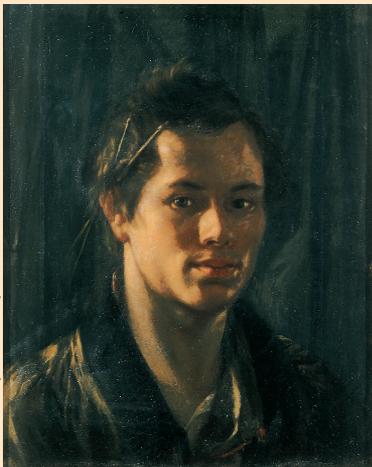
Pushkin loved to incorporate foreign elements into his attire, as

reported in this issue in 'Pushkin Was a Live Volcano': 'an American cape, a Spanish scarf, a Moldavian red cape, a broad Bolivar, a shaggy mountaineer's hat, a Turkish fez, the hat of an Italian carbonari.' These were moments of ironical juxtaposition, interventions from outside the usual—moments of the unexpected, of the creative which can only be individual.

If the portrait appears thoughtful, of passionate conviction, perhaps a trifle melancholy as it gazes over the past and future, there is, also, just the hint of a smile about to break over the poet's lips. Which presages, perhaps, a hearty laugh.

Kiprensky lived much of his life in Italy. Vasili Tropinin was born into serfdom, and in mid-life rose to prominence as an artist in Moscow. His own portrait of Pushkin, also done in 1827, appears in the inside text of this issue.

—Ken Kronberg



Orest Kiprensky, 'Self-portrait with Brushes behind the Ear,' 1806/09.

[SEE Symposium: Alexander Pushkin, Russia's Poet of Universal Genius]

Vasili Tropinin, 'Lacemaker,' 1823.



FIDELIO

"It is through beauty that one proceeds to freedom."
—Friedrich Schiller

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Fidelio is dedicated to the promotion of a new Golden Renaissance based upon the concept of *agapē* or charity, as that is reflected in the creation of artistic beauty, the scientific mastery of the laws of the physical universe, and the practice of republican statecraft for the benefit of our fellow men.

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On the Cover

Hugo van der Goes, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (c. 1480) (detail). A divine spark of goodness. (Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie. Photo: Jörg P. Anders)

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Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

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SYMPOSIUM

Alexander Pushkin, Russia's Poet of Universal Genius

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Music, Judaism, and Hitler

The following statement was issued personally by Presidential candidate Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., on Sept. 3, 1999, through his campaign committee, LaRouche's Committee for a New Bretton Woods.

* * *

On the account of what is commonly called today, the Nazi regime's Holocaust against the Jews of Germany, Poland, and elsewhere, there is an overdue debt to be paid. I submit herewith the bill demanding the payment of that debt.

The greatest contributions of the Jew to European civilization, was the movement generated by the work of one of the greatest individual geniuses of modern (extended) European civilization as a whole, Moses Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn was not merely a Jew who contributed to modern civilization; he was a leading, integral part of the late-Eighteenth-century revolution, without which there would have been no modern European science, no modern Classical musical or other artistic composition, and without which freedom and the Federal Constitution would not have been possible.

Not only did Moses Mendelssohn, as a German, play a leading role in creating modern Germany and modern European civilization of the Eighteenth century onward; as a German of Orthodox Jewish faith, he, like Martin Luther King in our own time, freed the Jew by freeing the German to become part of an ecumenical system of justice under the supreme rule of nothing but reason itself. In that process, he mobilized from among German Jews, and, by implication, the Yiddish Renaissance of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia, to make a contribution to modern civilization way beyond all proportion to their relative numbers among the populations within which they lived as part.

Thus, that German Jew, complemented by the forces of the Yiddish Renaissance, is an expression of the soul of the Jew: In the simultaneity of eternity, the Yiddish Renaissance of Germany and Eastern Europe bequeathed to posterity great gifts to which posterity must turn fond attention whenever the name of "Jew" is spoken. With that, every Christian bearing the legacy of Augustine must concur. To deny the Jews hated by Adolf Hitler their claim to that honor, is to subject those who suffered to a virtual second Holocaust, a holocaust of deadly silence, a virtual denial that those millions of victims ever existed except as a mass of nameless dead.

The factual point to be made on this account, is illustrated with the greatest force by one of the most characteristic features of the musical work of Moses Mendelssohn and members of his extended family in Germany and Austria. All that we have today of Johann Sebastian Bach and such direct followers of Bach's as Wolfgang Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms, and others, was the direct result of the active role of the extended Mendelssohn family in that family's rescue of Bach's work from virtual oblivion, and that family's direct collaboration with the greatest musical composers of the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries.

For example, when Felix Mendelssohn's friend Robert Schumann visited the home of Franz Schubert's brother, the brother gave Schumann the manuscript of Schubert's great symphony, the C Major Ninth. Schumann delivered this to Felix Mendelssohn, the grandson of Moses Mendelssohn, who gave the work its first performance. Schubert, like Beethoven, was a follower of Friedrich Schiller in the matter of the philosophy of poetry and musical composition, which both explicitly preferred to Goethe. Schubert, like Mozart, was a collaborator of the extended family of Moses Mendelssohn in musical and other matters. Schubert contributed a key part in the development of the musical Jewish liturgy. Earlier, Mozart had been a protégé of the Austrian Emperor Joseph II, who pioneered in establishing Jewish political citizenship rights in Europe. There is no part of the leading Classical literary and musical culture of the German-speaking world without the leading role contributed by Moses Mendelssohn and his extended family.

Look to the rosters of not only the leading performing musicians of Nineteenth- and early-Twentieth-century Germany, for example, and note the disproportionately large representation of outstanding German Jewish professionals, for example. Look at the tradition, among violinists, and others of the legacy of Beethoven's collaborator, Boehm, and the legacy of the Boehm-Joachim-Flesch tradition and its impact upon musical excellence over nearly two centuries to date. Accept with silence, Hitler's intent to wipe the contributions of these Jews to Europe from memory, and you have killed the victims in a second holocaust, a holocaust of silence, to make it appear that they had never lived.

A related point must be made for the case of German-speaking contributions to modern science. Look among the roster of pre-Hitler German scientists of note. It was the legacy of Gotthold Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn, who defended not only the musical compositional principles of J.S. Bach, but also the principle of reason in science itself, from the sterility of the Eighteenth-century Enlightenment. This made possible the science of Gauss, Riemann, and others. Look at key figures such as AEG industrialists Emil and Walter Rathenau.

Even the German General Staff's existence was greatly indebted to the Moses Mendelssohn, who advised Count Wilhelm Schaumburg-Lippe on the design of educational program which produced the great Gerhard Scharnhorst. It was the counsel of Mendelssohn which led to the development of the policy of *Auftragstaktik*, which supplied the German military its man-for-man superiority continued through World War II. Yes, the German military of that period failed to stop Hitler while they still could, during the crucial period of 1932-1933, but in that they failed to meet the standard set by Scharnhorst and the other great reformers of the 1806-1813 period, who acted according to precisely that moral standard which the German military leaders of 1932-1933 failed to meet.

Look similarly to the legacy of the Yiddish Renaissance in Eastern Europe.

We can not allow 2,000 years of Jewish survival in Europe to be buried under the faceless stone epitaph which speaks only of a bare 12-odd years of Hitler's Holocaust. Shall we remember the honorable living, or shall we think only of the ogre who tormented and murdered them, instead? What sort of justice for martyrs, is that?

Indeed, when all leading factors are taken into account, a free and unified Germany could never have been brought into being but for the crucial role of those German Jews who followed in the footsteps of Moses Mendelssohn.

In the case of our ally Germany today, we see that Germany can never be truly freed from the legacy of Hitler's crimes, until the contributions of German Jews, in particular, are celebrated as an integral part of the honorable history of Germany. Otherwise, how could a Germany claim its own true identity in history? Is it not time that Germany be allowed to do just that? How long shall we, in the U.S.A., pretend that the European Jews of Germany and elsewhere, did not actually exist as anything but the virtually nameless, faceless victims of an Adolf Hitler?

Yes, Hitler killed millions of Jews (among his numerous other victims), but how many today, in the name of the Holocaust, subject those victims to a second holocaust, by implicitly effacing the faces of the victims even from their

own tombstones? The only remedy for that orgy of hatred, is to supplant it with loving regard for the honorable preciousness of those victims' lives for the nation of which they had been a part, and which they had served so well. To give justice, is to give justice to the victim, to honor the victim of injustice for his or her contributions to society, to mankind, and even to honor what they might have accomplished had they not been ground into ashes by injustice. Unless we remove the fishbone of blind hatred from our gullets, and celebrate the honor of the victims instead, the possibility of justice anywhere on this planet remains in jeopardy.

For example, with the establishment of a new Ehud Barak government in Israel, we have again the possibility of a just solution for the prolonged Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East. Prime Minister Barak carries the legacy of Moses Mendelssohn from Europe to the Middle East. His enterprise is threatened both from within the region, and by diabolical meddlers from outside it. His effort is besieged by the apostles of hatred within Israel, and by the fires of hatred stoked among Palestinians and other Arabs over the entirety of the existence of modern Israel, and even earlier.

In this situation, nothing is more specifically appropriate to the Middle East situation than the memory of the wisdom of the great Moses Mendelssohn, who remained always an Orthodox Jew, but whose ecumenical doctrine of reason, is the only formula for securing a durable peace among those who have been embittered combatants for these many decades.

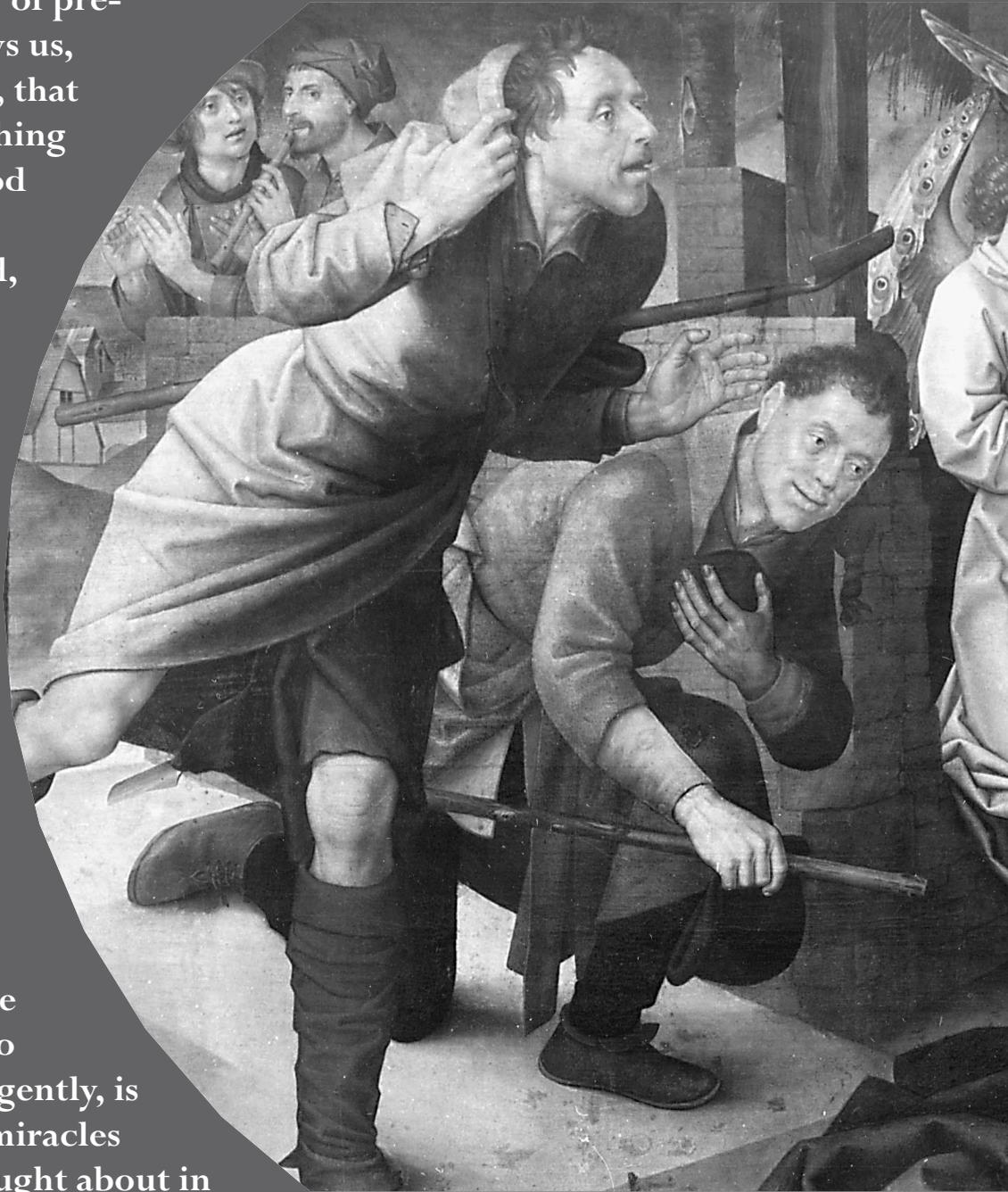
The danger is, that looking back to the period from the Versailles Treaty to Hitler's accession to power, we must recognize that, today, once again, we have come into a period of such widespread, almost global cultural pessimism as we have not seen since that epidemic of cultural pessimism which produced the Hitler movement. Today, looking at each of the nations around the world, we find, in most cases, that each population has lately descended to a moral condition worse than at any time since the close of World War II.

There can be no remedy for such a state of affairs, but to bury a sea of hatred under an ocean of love. The place from which such a needed initiative must come, is the United States, especially from the President of these United States which were created to provide the spark for a community of principle among all mankind.

The Summer 1999 issue of Fidelio features an extensive report on the life and work of the German-Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn.

EDITORIAL

We have come into a time when the only basis for an optimistic outlook, is the fact, that history—and what we know of pre-history—shows us, beyond doubt, that there is something essentially good within human nature. Indeed, this is rightly recognized as *a divine spark of goodness.*



What you, the citizen, need to know, most urgently, is how seeming miracles have been brought about in past times, and such might occur, again, now. You must know how most among your neighbors, each as an individual, must each change his, or her own presently foolish opinions, and that radically, in order to help you make the much needed miracle possible now.

How To Save a Dying U.S.A.

by Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.

June 24, 1999



Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz—Gemäldegalerie. Photo: Jörg P. Anders

Hugo van der Goes, “The Adoration of the Shepherds,” c. 1480 (detail).

Nearly 2,400 years ago, history’s greatest philosopher, Plato, premised his optimistic outlook for the future of civilization, on a rigorous scrutiny of those principles, by means of which mankind had risen out of even the most awesome among the types of natural and other catastrophes it had suffered during earlier ages.¹ Today’s new threat of apocalyptic times, should impel us to examine, and to revive, once again, that lately neglected capability and wont of the human mind, by means of which the level of the human condition had been moved upward and forward, despite even the darkest among intervening periods of calamity.

Admittedly, this recently accelerated pattern of catastrophes around most of the planet, presents us with an increasingly desperate condition of the world at large. Presently, for all who understand the present situation, the world lurches toward the brink of a threatened, planetary new dark age; but, as Plato, among others, had assured us, this appearance should not be mistaken for self-evident proof that the situation is already a hopeless one.

Thus, we have come now, to such a perilous time for this planet as a whole, that hope of a future for our posterity must impel us to reflect on possible “last chances.” We must weigh not only the currently accelerating, global succession of new disasters. We must also

1. Plato, *Timaeus* and other dialogues. Among English translations are those in the Loeb Classical Library series (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), which include the Greek text on the facing page. For *Timaeus*, see also the I.C.L.C. translators’ version in *Campaigner*, February 1980 (Vol. 13, No. 1).

This article was originally published in Executive Intelligence Review, July 16, 1999 (Vol. 26, No. 28).

consider that **contrasting** progress, during the same time-spans, which had uplifted the human condition, despite often deep and prolonged, intervening periods of retrogressions, from Plato's time, up to the time of the globally catastrophic, 1901 assassination of U.S. President McKinley.

We have come into a time when the only basis for an optimistic outlook, is the fact, that history—and what we know of pre-history—shows us, beyond doubt, that there is something essentially good within human nature. Indeed, this is rightly recognized as *a divine spark of goodness*. As I shall present that case here, it is this spark of goodness, which has brought about the great steps of progress in the human condition, even despite the relatively “dark” ages, which have struck all or large areas of this planet at one or another past time. Among the relatively dark periods, we should include the two so-called “world wars” of our present, post-McKinley century.

If we understand that essential side of real, rather than schoolbook history, there is reason for optimism about the future of mankind, even under today's increasingly catastrophic world conditions. A bright future could be within reach for coming generations, even despite the mass insanity which presently seems to grip, routinely, most among the leading powers and looted populations of this world, alike.

Recovery, or doom? The U.S. citizenry has no moral right to complain about the presently worsening situation. It is precisely they who had largely wasted, but still possess enough of that waning legacy of the Franklin Roosevelt Presidency, our residual military and political power, to be in a position to choose the brighter future for all mankind. We must use that remaining power, to change what has become very bad, for the better. We could succeed in that effort, only if you ceased encouraging your neighbor to continue his, or her presently ongoing descent into that apocalyptic nightmare of lunatic, hedonist's fantasy, the widespread orgy of banal pleasures and greed which is the principal cause for the world's suffering today.

We have reached such a level of general moral, intellectual, and economic decline, that civilization could not now survive the threat of doom gripping the world as a whole, unless, as in past recoveries from analogous situations, new leaders of exceptional qualities are chosen. These must be leaders of the type which, as history shows us, may be summoned only from among the greatest poets and thinkers. Leaders of this type are now most urgently needed, to supersede the kind of overtly malicious, or simply pragmatic political leadership which the recent, misguided majority of public opinion has custom-

arily preferred. *The nature, selection, and role of such a needed change in quality of leadership for these times, is therefore among the most compelling topics of strategic studies today.*

To illustrate this point, I shall pivot your attention on a typical case chosen from the history of Europe's Eighteenth century. This is the case reported in the current edition of the Schiller Institute's *Fidelio* quarterly.*

It is the inspiring story of two young friends, persons whose names today's putatively educated and other political illiterates rarely even recognize, Gotthold Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn. This pair had come together in an effort whose outcome was to lead much of mankind into a great late-Eighteenth century renaissance. That was the Classical Greek-based renaissance, premised chiefly on lessons from Plato, which gave the entire world the greatest political, scientific and artistic achievements of Europe's late Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. This benefit of the work of Lessing and Mendelssohn, included a vital, decisive contribution to the founding and further development of the U.S.A. as a constitutional republic.

The relevant *Fidelio* authors, Helga Zepp LaRouche, David Shavin, and Steven Meyer, have combined efforts, to show: At a time when the heritage of the greatest of the early Eighteenth century's revolutionary scientific and artistic minds, Gottfried Leibniz and Johann Sebastian Bach, were intended to be consigned to oblivion, it was the collaboration of Lessing and Mendelssohn which saved civilization. This pair of collaborators unmasked the fraudulent, dilettantish claims of that so-called “Enlightenment” faction associated with the hoaxsters Maupertuis, Euler, Algarotti, Lagrange, Kant, and Voltaire.² This defense of the work of Leibniz and Bach, by Lessing, Mendelssohn, and their associates, contributed the most to making possible, all of the most important among the scientific, artistic, and political achievements of European civilization during the late Eighteenth and the Nineteenth centuries.³

If you and your children, and their children, are fortunate

* Summer 1999 (Vol. VIII, No. 2).

2. Examples of dilettantish swill of that sort are such coquettish texts as Algarotti's *Newton for Ladies* and Leonhard Euler's fraudulent *Letters to a German Princess*. In content, Kant's *Critiques*, his *Critique of Judgment* most blatantly, are of the same quality as the silliness of fellow-hoaxsters and Newton fanatics Maupertuis, Euler, Algarotti, and Voltaire. On the evil role of Euler follower Lagrange, see discussion of France's radical formalists, below. See David Shavin, “Philosophical Vignettes from the Political Life of Moses Mendelssohn,” *Fidelio*, Summer 1999 (Vol. VIII, No. 2).

nate, such rare individual leaders of the type of Lessing, Mendelssohn, and their immediate followers, will be sought out, fostered in their development, and accepted as leaders by much of today's, and tomorrow's population. Such is the quality of those leaders who may then lead you and your posterity, like the more fortunate populations of history past, upward and away from the doom which today's so-called popular opinion would otherwise bestow upon us all.

There is nothing magical about the apparently miraculous way in which such relatively rare individuals, such exceptional leaders, then or now, might rally a people to save itself from its own such folly. I mean such terrible folly as that intellectual and moral decadence which prompts today's public opinion to adopt its customary, mind-crippling choices in popular entertainment. If you are willing to think about the matter I set before you, and that with appropriate concentration, the secret of the seeming great miracles of past history can be recognized, mastered, and, hopefully, repeated.

The Present Crisis

For example, if it were possible, that either of two among Wall Street's currently leading political dummies, George W. "Tweedledum" Bush, and Al "Tweedledee" Gore, could be elected President, it were then virtually certain, that the United States, as you have known it, would not outlive the first several years of the coming century.

The election of either of those candidates as President at this time of crisis, could occur only as the result of a decadent state of mind of the majority of the U.S. citizen-

ry, and of their institutions. The triumph of such a state of mind in those elections, would ensure not only the presently onrushing collapse of the world's rotting financial system, but also the collapse of that already teetering physical economy, on which the perpetuation of existing populations depends. Such a collapse would propel the entire planet into a global "new dark age," a dark age comparable both to that which Europe experienced during the Fourteenth century, and the earlier collapse of the evil Roman Empire. "That," as the fellow said, "is the bad news."

At the beginning of Summer 1999, that news is very bad. Under the present world financial system, you have either run out of, or nearly exhausted, all of your old options for personal and family security, financial or other. If you imagine this could not happen, soon, you merely delude yourself, as do most of those people who, as President Lincoln warned, are fooled most of the time. We have come to that threshold of decision, at which most of you must either radically change the way you think about politics and culture, or you might as well kiss your future goodbye now, while you have still the opportunity to choose.

How bad is the situation? Review a few of the leading, undeniable facts which oblige all sane and intelligent U.S. citizens to accept my seemingly ominous conclusion.

1. Despite the present, wishful delusions of a rapidly diminishing, but still wide majority of U.S. citizens, nothing can save the present world financial system. *The fact is*, that with the world's financial bubble already estimated at more than \$300 trillions equivalent,⁴ more than ten times the entire world's annual

kers, to play the stock market. From the end of 1992 to the end of 1998, customer margin debt borrowing jumped from \$44 billion to \$141 billion, a compounded annualized growth rate of 21.4%. But from the end of 1998 to the end of May of this year, customer margin debt borrowing rose from \$141 billion to \$178 billion, an increase of \$37 billion. This is an annualized growth rate of margin debt for 1999 of 74.9%, unprecedented in U.S. history.

A second form of leverage underpinning the stock market is mergers and acquisitions, in which buy-out firms can borrow \$5 for each dollar of their own money that they employ when they take over a firm—that is debt leverage. A third form of leverage is stock-based derivatives—such as the Standard and Poor 500 index future—which are used to play and rig the stock market. The combined value of these stock-based derivatives is several trillions of dollars, out of approximately \$175 trillion in world derivatives overall.

When "reverse leverage" strikes, broker margin loans are called in, or investors have to dump stocks to meet margin calls; the derivatives bubble of options and futures collapses. De-leveraging in one sphere will trigger de-leveraging in another sphere, collapsing the system at lightning speed, since all these spheres are interconnected.

3. My collaborators and I, writing in numerous locations, have documented the relevant evidence for music, physical science, and the successful founding of the U.S. republic. For example: without the defense of Leibniz and Bach by Lessing and Mendelssohn, there would have been no Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Felix Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Brahms. Without the collaboration of Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn, the legacy of Leibniz and Bach would have been virtually wiped from the memory of Europe, done so by the circles represented by Abbot Antonio Conti and Voltaire. It is notable, and relevant to our principal argument here, that the fiercest hatred against the legacy of Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn, was focussed by the followers of arch-existentialist Friedrich Nietzsche and Adolf Hitler in their intended expulsion of the influence of the Jewish followers of Mendelssohn in Germany; but, the guilt also lies with the supporters of that hatred of the Mendelssohn Reform which his enemies directed against his Yiddish Renaissance followers more widely.

4. The world financial bubble is underpinned in part by multiply-connected, reinforcing levels of leverage—debt at high gearing ratios. There are three principal forms of this leverage: First, is margin debt, the debt borrowings by individuals and institutions from bro-

real trade turnover, the biggest financial “crash” in world history is now inevitable, unless my “New Bretton Woods” design is adopted, the only available, workable alternative, to replace the hopelessly worthless present system.⁵

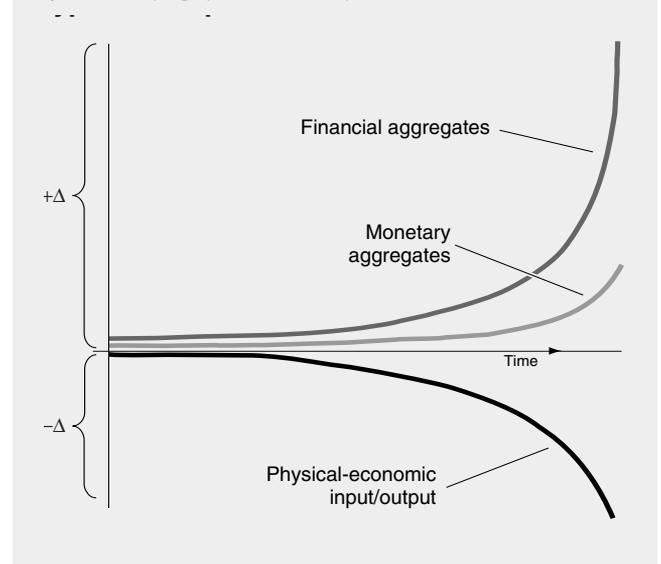
2. Fools think that if the financial crash could be postponed a bit longer, things could go along, perhaps with a bit of strain, but without a collapse of the system. *Such people are being very foolish. The fact is, that, already, the onrushing collapse of the world’s present financial system, has brought us into an era of an horrifying blend of spreading economic depression and political chaos, a condition now already spreading with growing force, into ever wider areas of the world.*

We see this pattern in the ongoing disintegration of the nations of South America, and in the continued U.S.A. toleration of the British monarchy’s and Vice-President Al Gore’s ongoing campaign of promoting AIDS and other modes of genocide against Africa. This deadly spread of economic collapse and chaos, is the direct result of such maddened fools’ hysterical efforts to postpone the inevitable, early collapse of the world’s present financial system.

Therefore, that pattern of increasing rate of demographic collapse, combined with cut-backs in real incomes, productive forms of employment, essential services, and production, already seen in Africa, South America, and elsewhere, is now being spread, at accelerating rates, within Europe and the U.S.A. itself. The driving force spreading doom is chiefly the successive waves of draconian austerity measures, like those of Germany’s pre-Hitler Bruening government, the attempt to eat the inedible, actions which, as I have repeatedly forewarned you, accelerate the collapse of the political and economic system by the very means forced

5. One of the measures which must be taken, if global chaos is to be avoided, would be a joint emergency declaration by a group of avowedly perfectly sovereign nation-states, to order the immediate nullification of all gambling debts, including those gambling debts typified by “derivatives” and kindred elements of a speculative financial bubble currently estimated as not less than approximately \$300 trillions equivalent (and still growing, that at a geometrically accelerating rate). That action would take more than \$300 trillions-equivalent of worthless debts—instantly—out of the world system, and permit an orderly, governments-directed reorganization-in-financial-bankruptcy of the remaining accounts of the global system. Without that specific form of action, and others in the same spirit, a descent into a global “new dark age,” resembling that of the Fourteenth century, would be *physically* impossible to prevent.

FIGURE 1. *A Typical Collapse Function. Hyperbolic expansion of the financial system results in an accelerating collapse of the society’s physical economy*



through in the hope of prolonging the *financial system*. [SEE Figure 1]

The Gingrich-Gore “welfare reform” of 1996, and the mass-murderous policies of Wall Street’s “managed health care” doctrines, both of which stampeded U.S. politicians have defended, are already typical of the way austerity- and free-trade-motivated genocide against black Africa is being brought home to senior citizens, AIDS victims, and others, inside the U.S.A.⁶ Under the present world financial system, and present U.S. law, these cut-backs will bring conditions like those now seen in South America, into the U.S.A. and throughout Europe—soon, and rapidly.

3. *Consider the current upsurge of a greatly worsening financial crisis, in Europe, Japan, Brazil, and the U.S.A. itself. I forewarned you all, last Autumn, that this would be the case; but, from late Autumn, until now, except for some tens of thousands of citizens who have conducted*

6. Richard Freeman, “If You Get Sick, Will You Have a Hospital?,” *Executive Intelligence Review (EIR)*, June 18, 1999 (Vol. 26, No. 25); Linda Everett, “‘Managed Care’ and Nursing: Back to the 19th century,” *EIR*, June 18, 1999 (Vol. 26, No. 25); Michele Steinberg, “America’s Missing in Action: Al Gore’s Genocide vs. the Poor,” *EIR*, June 25, 1999 (Vol. 26, No. 26); Marcia Merry Baker, “California Destitution Rises as Welfare Ends,” *EIR*, June 25, 1999 (Vol. 26, No. 26); Marianna Wertz, “How a Crime against Humanity Worked in Philadelphia” and “Mississippi: ‘Reform’ Where There’s No Work,” *EIR*, June 25, 1999 (Vol. 26, No. 26).

themselves more wisely and responsibly in their support of my own and their common efforts, most U.S. citizens wishfully, foolishly rejected my warning. As if they were passengers clinging desperately to the sinking Titanic, most Americans, against all fact and reason, wishfully clasped themselves to the delusion, that the Federal Reserve's Alan Greenspan had miraculously saved the system.

This already ongoing process of threatened disintegration of civilization as a whole, has been accelerated by the refusal of the U.S. government to face the ugly reality which continues, still, to underlie the August-September 1998 collapse of Wall Street's Long Term Capital Management (LTCM) syndicate. The renewed war against Iraq and the new Balkans war, were direct results of the follies adopted by the G-7 nations during the October 1998 meetings in Washington, D.C. We are presently headed in the direction of actually nuclear warfare in the not far-distant future—possibly with Russia, for example, unless U.S. public opinion, on many subjects, suddenly changes its ways in the meantime.

Therefore, under those conditions, conditions in which a duped U.S. electorate might take seriously the candidacy of pathetic creatures such as Bush or Gore, the worst features of the recent downward trends in the global economic and strategic situation would be controlling. The nation's choice of that type of candidate, would show itself to have been a folly which had shaped the destiny of our society as a comet's destiny is determined by its orbit. Once you choose to lie in that orbit, "free fall" does the rest: your fate is chosen for you. The results of lying within such an orbit now, would then be early and hellish.

These and related trends, show, that the election of either of those two political dummies, Bush or Gore, would be a terrible tragedy for our nation and its posterity. Such an election would signify that the overwhelming majority of the U.S. population had lost what China's tradition terms "the Mandate of Heaven," or, in the language of the European Christian tradition, "the moral fitness to survive." In that case, most U.S. citizens—most of whom still have the power to vote—would have no reason to complain against anyone as much as their own foolish selves.

To see the causes for the threatened doom of our nation, look at yourselves in the "fun house" mirrors of the present Bush and Gore candidacies.

Admittedly, in both of those "Third Way" types of candidacies, there is a pervasive stench of a quality of intellectual and moral mediocrity, which seems to reach

to down, like the legendary woodbine, into satanic roots.⁷ Such is the character, or lack thereof, in both the "wise guy" style of these "classy" candidates themselves, and of the circles immediately behind them. The fact that any among you, who should have recognized that stench in those candidacies, could consider supporting either of those two specimens of our national self-disgrace, ought to be taken as a warning of your own complicity in the onrushing doom of our financially bankrupt nation, and of its collapsing real economy.

Nonetheless, although those are typical of the true facts about our present situation, I remain an optimist. I am neither predicting the Apocalypse, nor suggesting that an admittedly, seemingly miraculous change for the better in the morals of our population might not save us, even at this late date. Think about the good news, such as it is.

For example: I remember vividly that Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, when a great shock awakened the U.S. population to reality. This shock, combined with the assuring leadership of President Franklin Roosevelt, brought about a sudden change for the better among most of the population of our nation. This change saved the United States then. If—but, only if—the right leadership were chosen by you, the citizens, the inevitable new great shock now awaiting you, could bring this nation out of the pit, once again.

I also remember, with still vivid memory of my profound sadness and bitter disgust at that time, how our nation, and most of its people, retrogressed, repeatedly, as I watched the majority among my fellow-veterans degrade themselves, after the untimely death of President Franklin Roosevelt. I have seen our nation degrade itself still further, now with potentially fatal results, in the aftermath of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

We have been through such apparent cycles of doom and renewal several times in our nation's history. So far, we have been relatively fortunate over the longer run. During the past, we have, from time to time, chosen from among us the kinds of exceptional leaders who would rally us to overcome the popular follies of an earlier decade; thus, we survived until now. At other times, unfortunately, as President Lincoln said, most of our citizens have been fooled most of the time, especially by the mass media, notably during the recent Presidential elections of 1968, 1976, and 1988, and the Congressional elections of 1994 and 1996.

7. There is no difference, in content, among the "Third Way" of Al Gore and Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich's and Alvin Toffler's "Third Wave," and the "compassionate conservatism" of Mortimer Snerd look-alike George W. Bush.

The U.S. was ruined, economically and morally, by the influence of British agent of influence Albert Gallatin's "free trade" policies, under Presidents Jefferson and Madison.⁸ We were rescued from that threatened doom, by Presidents Monroe and John Quincy Adams; but, we degenerated under Wall Street-controlled Presidents such as van Buren's stooge, Andrew Jackson, and the catastrophic Presidencies of van Buren himself, Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan. We were saved, once again, to emerge to great power in the world at large, under President Lincoln and such leading figures as Garfield, Blaine, and McKinley, who continued the Lincoln legacy.

Then, the assassination of McKinley brought down upon us the catastrophic era of Presidents enflamed by their love for the tradition of the Confederacy, such as Teddy Roosevelt, Ku Klux Klan enthusiast Woodrow Wilson, and Coolidge, too; but, once again, our nation was rescued from that by the leadership of President Franklin Roosevelt.

The only predictions I am making, are two. First, I warn you, that conditions have become so bad, so perilous, and most public opinion so foolish, that only a seeming miracle might occur in time to save us. Second, I assure you that such a seeming miracle is still possible, but the fact which makes such a rescue seem miraculous, is, that there is not much time now remaining for your neighbor to choose to come to his, or her senses—at long last.

What you, the citizen, need to know, most urgently, is how such seeming miracles have been brought about in past times, and such might occur, again, now. You must know how most among your neighbors, each as an individual, must each change his, or her own presently foolish opinions, and that radically, in order to help you make the much needed miracle possible now.

First, now, examine the principled issues involved in saving this nation. Then, this strategic study will turn your attention to the method by which those principles are to be applied.

1. The Goodness Within You

After all else is said and done, the best of the good news remains, as the prophet Moses taught this, that there is an essential, divine spark of goodness, an image of the Creator of the universe, embedded, as

like a spark of life, within each newborn child.

This is not an arbitrary doctrine of blind religious faith. The truth of Moses' teaching, is supported by the most rigorous, most unique of all physical-scientific evidence. This evidence is, that that quality of cognition called *Reason*, which is unique to the member of the human species, is the means by which mankind, and mankind alone, is able to secure increasing dominion, willfully, within the universe.

On that account, as Gottfried Leibniz insisted, this Creation is the best of all possible universes. You might wish to congratulate yourself: your soul has chosen the right universe to inhabit, rather than one among the awful alternatives proposed by Leibniz's adversaries. That, in itself, is already very good news.

Yet, in practice, society has always fallen far short of that unique standard of goodness which is innate in each human individual. *There's the rub!* That paradox defines the underlying principle on which our hope of a seemingly miraculous rescue of this civilization must be premised now.

The paradox may be summarized in the following way.

If, as Leibniz said, this is the best of all possible universes, and, if man, as a species, has that unique quality of inborn goodness which empowers him to exert dominion within that universe, what is the cause of all these avoidable miseries which afflict us today?

In our response to that paradox, let us put to one side those calamities which are fairly attributed to natural causes. These kinds of troubles "go with the territory," so to speak. Therefore, we must locate the cause for great calamities other than those which are attributable to the natural causes which we, so far, lack the means to correct. We must restate the paradox with that distinction in view.

Therefore, to define the problem in an appropriate way, take a lapsed-time view of the matter. Think in that lapsed-time image as it might be expressed, in first approximation, over a combined past and future span of billions of years of human existence. See those billions of years as expressed in terms of successive, validatable changes, changes flowing from additional discoveries of universal physical principle. If we state the paradox I have outlined within that frame of reference, then, as I shall indicate summarily, in due course below, it should become clear to us, that mankind has the innate power, as a species taken in the wholeness of its existence, to bring the natural calamities of this universe increasingly under mankind's control.

Next, adopt the idea of compressing that lapsed-time view, and its included billions of years of successive vali-

8. Mathew Carey, *The Olive Branch*.

Once any among us has adopted a view of human progress, as sampled from billions of years of combined past and future human existence, there is a resulting, profound change of that individual's state of mind. That difference, even in approximation, defines the required moral quality of world-outlook among leaders of society's times of deep crisis.

President Abraham Lincoln reads the Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet, July 22, 1862.



The Granger Collection, NY

dated discoveries of universal physical principle, into the span of an hypothetical individual person's thinking lifetime. Look at the succession of validated discoveries of universal physical principle in this way. We are now positioned to put the issues of combined natural and man-made calamities into the kind of perspective needed for understanding the true nature of the great, menacing paradox which I have identified in the opening section of this report.⁹

Situate the shortcomings of human behavior within that latter perspective.

Now, focus this investigation upon both the case of an original, validatable act of discovery of universal physical principle, and include in this the subsequent act, by the discoverer, which provokes the same act of original discovery, of that same universal principle, within the mind of a second person.

With that latter intent kept in view, let us define the natural condition of mankind, provisionally, as that state of mind. That is the same state of mind which

leads humanity to overcome, eventually, virtually all those naturally caused afflictions, those which might threaten the assigned mission of our species' entire existence.

Let us concede, that those imperfections of human knowledge which are mankind's inexhaustible opportunities for fundamental scientific progress, shall never vanish completely within any finite time, no matter how many billions of years pass. Thus, we must humbly exclude the notion of absolute knowledge from our considerations here. Let us therefore define that goodness of the human mind, its power for validated discoveries of universal principle, in terms of its knowably expressed efficiency. See this in lapsed-time terms, as if by successive approximations of man's increasing power in the universe, over a span of billions of years of what is, in net effect, progressive human endeavor in this direction.

Let us agree now, to define the possibility of the perfection of mankind in accord with that goodness. Let us, for the moment, burden the term *perfection* with no other requirements than *successive addition of validated discoveries of universal physical principle*. As the great Sanskrit philologist Panini would have remarked, "perfection" is not a noun, but a verb. Or, to say the same thing, as Heraclitus

9. This will be recognized by literate modern philosophers and theologians, as an echo of the concept of "the simultaneity of eternity." The functional significance of that concept, as it bears on solving the paradox posed afresh here, will be made clear below.

and Plato insisted, nothing is constant except change.¹⁰

Once any among us has adopted that compressed view of human progress, as sampled from billions of years of combined past and future human existence, and as I have summarily described that process here, there is a resulting, immediate, most profound change of that individual's state of mind. The resulting state of mind differs most profoundly from that simple-minded, nominalist's sense of personal self, which pervades popular opinion today. The better state of mind, is true of such scientific minds; it is also true of the minds of masters, such as Ludwig van Beethoven or Friedrich Schiller were, of those Classical forms of artistic composition which trace their origins to, chiefly, Plato's Greece.

That profound difference in state of mind, so induced, even when expressed only in approximation, defines the required moral quality of world-outlook among the qualified leaders of society's times of deep crisis. This is the quality which sets those leaders of a nation, who are appropriate for a time of great crisis, apart from the more primitive, fumbling state of mind, the more barbaric state of mind, which is pointed toward by a conventional use of the term, "the practical politician."

That difference in state of mind, is key to solving the paradox we are addressing here.

Now, let us identify a real-life experience, of a type which each among all properly-educated students of physical science has shared. This experience represents, if only as a moment, the quality of goodness which corresponds to the quality of state of mind of all great leaders of society, science professionals or otherwise. Let us turn attention now, to the model case: the enactment, or student's re-enactment of a discovery of a validatable universal physical principle. Choose, for this purpose, the typical case of a re-enactment of such a discovery of universal physical principle as by one student, and then include in that same phenomenon, that first student's action in provoking a similar, non-deductive, creative experience of discovery within the mind of a second student. As Plato's *Parmenides* implied: focus upon the *change* effected by the action which prompts the replication of the discovery by the second of those students.

How Reason Is Defined

Three multiply-connected aspects underlie the phenomenon I have just described. It is those aspects of that phenomenon, which set the cultivated intellect of the exceptional leader of society, apart from, and above the world-

outlook of the more small-minded, so-called "ordinary, practical" person.

- *The first, is the Socratic principle of ontological paradox:* A deeply embedded reliance upon those methods, by means of which validated discoveries of universal physical principle are generated. This is otherwise known as Plato's principle of Socratic truthfulness and justice, as developed in the great dialogue recognized more popularly by the name *The Republic*.¹¹ This is otherwise knowable as the principle of perfect sovereignty of the act of knowing through non-deductive modes of cognition (i.e., *Reason*).
- *The second, is fairly described as the Classical-artistic sense:* cultivated by the person who has generated—or, regenerated—a validatable universal physical principle, who then fosters the generation of the same sovereign individual cognitive act of validatable discovery in another person.
- *The third, is the discovery of those validatable universal principles, beyond merely physical principles, of that Classical-artistic form, which subsume the capacity of society to cooperate to the practical—e.g., physical-economic—effect of increasing mankind's power within the universe.* These principles are typified in expression by those Classical forms of poetry, tragedy, plastic arts, and musical composition coherent with the development of the notion of the *idea*, as Plato defines this. This is typified by compositions modelled upon the role of the idea in Classical Greek productions of plastic and non-plastic arts.¹² These Classical-artistic principles, as applied to the subjects of history, Socratic natural law, and of other matters of statecraft, provide society the means to rally itself in that rational form of cooperation needed for the successful great enterprises of human scientific and other progress.

11. This Platonic connotation of the term "republic," defines the scientific-legal meaning of "republican," as in direct contrast to the characteristics and customs of an oligarchical form of society. British ideology typifies today's anti-republican, oligarchical mind-set.

12. For the case of musical composition, the development of polyphonic musical composition out of its roots in the vocalization of Classical (e.g., Vedic-Sanskrit and Greek) poetry, begins its modern development with the Fifteenth-century Florentine *bel canto* singing, as the principles of vocalization were systemized by Leonardo da Vinci. What proved to be the decisive development, was the perfection of principles of well-tempered tuning and polyphony by J.S. Bach, that through Wolfgang Mozart's revolutionary examination of such Bach compositions as *A Musical Offering*. This produced the modern Classical principle of well-tempered polyphonic thorough-composition, which became the standard of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, as continued through the last works of Johannes Brahms.

10. E.g., Plato, *Parmenides*.

It is an essential fact, that no validatable universal physical principle could be generated by methods consistent with deductive methods. Cognition occurs only within the sovereign privacy of the cognitive activity of an individual person. Thus, *ideas*, as typified by a validated discovery of a universal physical principle, can be communicated from one mind to another, in but one way: replication of the cognitive act of discovery in the second mind. In this process, there is no reliance upon deductive methods, except for purely negative, auxiliary activities (e.g., reduction to absurdity).

Thus, the attachment of a notion of truthfulness to any notion of a universal principle, such as a universal physical principle, requires that certain special conditions be satisfied. The hypothetical discovery of principle, made as a sovereign act of one mind, requires empirical validation of a special type.¹³ For such a notion to be shared among two or more individual minds, each must have experienced the cognitive act of generating that idea, and must also share knowledge of the empirical validation of the notion as being a universal physical principle. If those conditions are fulfilled, the shared belief can be called a truthful belief.

What I am about to write at this juncture, is crucial. It might, in fact, be the most important idea ever presented to you. It, most probably, is just that. I shall craft the elaboration of this point for you with special carefulness, with a keen sense of the unfamiliar sorts of difficulties which you might experience in coming to grips with any idea of such exceptional importance.

What most of you have been taught, as the modern Aristotelianism of the mortalist Pietro Pomponazzi, or, as the empiricism of Galileo, Cartesianism, philosophical materialism, Kantianism, and so on, is false, but, as the record shows, all too easily believed by today's credulous people. Most among you were mistaught, thus, the popularized falsehood, that the connection among observed sense-phenomena can be reduced to a system of deductive relations.¹⁴ Through the growing influence of the mental disorder known as mathematical formalism, you

were lured into believing the lie, that the physical universe can be reduced to a mathematical scheme consistent with such a system of deductive relations.¹⁵ While my subject here is a matter of moral issues, rather than issues of physical science as such, it is necessary to touch sufficiently on the scientific issues to make clear the moral significance, the intrinsic immorality, of those systems of belief based upon an asserted universal principle of deduction.

The delusion, that the relations among phenomena are connected in the form of deductive relations, requires the implicit adoption of the axiomatic assumption, that the elementary principle of physical action in the universe, is of the form of linearity in the infinitesimally small. All attempts to derive a proof of principle, by applying today's "generally accepted classroom mathematics" to the blackboard, or in an analogous manner, are consistent with the axiomatic absurdity of assuming that the celebrated "limit theorem" of Augustin Cauchy's widely taught, but corrupted version of the Leibniz calculus, corresponds to physical reality.

In reality, as the earliest known valid forms of solar astronomical calendars, and related ancient practices of transoceanic navigation, show, the mind of the crafters of those calendars and navigational methods, measured action in the universe in terms of what we call today physical space-time curvature: in angular measurements. The ancient Greek scientists, for example, knew that the Earth orbited the sun, had estimated the distance to the moon (crudely, but significantly), and had measured the Great Circle circumference of the Earth. The ideas of "linearization in the infinitesimally small," like the deliberate frauds of Claudius Ptolemy's hoax, were influences dumped by ancient Latin Rome upon a post-Hellenistic Europe. These beliefs persist in today's ideologies, as relics inherited from the catastrophic cultural decay of the Mediterranean region, under the influence and aftermath of ancient Rome's rise to that inherently decadent form of imperial power, from which European civilization has

13. I.e., Bernhard Riemann's requirements for a *unique experiment*. Bernhard Riemann, *Über die Hypothesen, welche der Geometrie zu Grunde liegen* (1854) ("On the Hypotheses Which Underlie Geometry"), in *Bernhard Riemann's Gesammelte Mathematische Werke*, ed. by H. Weber (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubener Verlag, 1902; reprint edition New York: Dover Publications, 1953) and (Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Saendig Reprint Verlag), pp. 272-287. For purposes of precision, reference is made to the German; for a passable English translation of the text, see the Henry S. White translation in David Eugene Smith, *A Source Book in Mathematics* (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), pp. 411-25.

14. This is immediately clear in the cases of the most radical logical

positivists, such as the followers of Ernst Mach, Bertrand Russell, and such Russell disciples as Norbert Wiener and John Von Neumann. However, these radicals have but carried to an extreme the more general practice among the modern followers of Pietro Pomponazzi, Paolo Sarpi, René Descartes, Kant, *et al.*

15. The August-September 1998 virtual bankruptcy of the Long Term Capital Management (LTCM) syndicate, an effect caused by blind faith in the Nobel Prize-winning Black-Scholes formula, is an example of the effect of the same kind of mental disorder, earlier featured in the Seventeenth-century tulip bubble and the Eighteenth-century South Sea Island and Mississippi bubbles.

not fully freed itself to the present day.¹⁶

In modern times, since the fraudulent empiricist doctrine was taught by Kepler-hating Paolo Sarpi to Sarpi's household lackey Galileo Galilei, it has become conventional to assume that space, time, and physical action proceed in straight lines, unless bent by applied external force. The more intelligent, pre-Roman ancients thought differently; they recognized that our knowledge of the universe, as defined by solar astronomical calendars and related practices of navigation, knew regular action only in the form of curvature, as angular displacement. The internal evidence shows us today, that these pre-Romans constructed their best solar-astronomical calendars on the basis of attempting to normalize observations, as France's anti-Newtonians Carnot, Fresnel, and Ampère did (for example), to conform to a system of interacting, elementarily spherical "least actions," not straight-line actions.¹⁷

The fact is, as I shall summarize this below, that no validatable universal physical principle can be generated by deductive methods.¹⁸ This signifies that man's practical power in the real universe lies outside the domain of any deductive schematization of mere phenomena. The fact, that humanity's increased power in the physical universe occurs only through the cognitive act of discovery of new universal physical principles, means, that the form of the mental action by which humanity's power is increased, is to be ascertained by

investigation of the form of the uniquely creative act of individual cognition itself.

Therefore, since the universe shows itself to be obedient to nothing but the discovery of validatable universal physical principles, principles generated by cognition, the geometry of universal physical-space-time must have a characteristic curvature which is congruent with the form of action represented by cognition. Now, examine that argument summarily.

If efficient action in the universe is not primarily straight-line, but elementarily curved: *What is its curvature?* The world waited until Riemann's 1854 habilitation dissertation, to read the answer to that question adequately stated in first approximation.¹⁹ But, we must go further than Riemann does, as I did in my own original, 1948-1952 discoveries respecting the branch of science known as physical economy.

As I shall now set forth the case, man's knowledge of the lawfulness of the universe, is delimited to that proof of practice by means of which man's power in the universe is increased. *Man proves that he knows the universe only to the degree that man is able to change that universe's relationship to the human species. This is, therefore, the only literate meaning of the interchangeable terms "cognition" and "creativity" within the provinces of physical science.*

Since man changes that relationship successfully only through cognition, it is only to the degree we are able to acquire a mental image of the action performed by cogni-

16. Among the Jews and Christians of the First century A.D., the Rome of Augustus, Diocletian, and Nero was known as "the New Babylon." The same conception appears in the Apostle John's dream of the Apocalypse, in the image of Latin Rome as "the Whore of Babylon." The Roman Empire was, in fact, modelled consciously by its architects upon the model of the ancient empires of Mesopotamia. This is the same "Whore of Babylon" on which the British monarchy has explicitly modelled itself, its Empire, and its Commonwealth, since the time of the Eighteenth century's Lord Shelburne.

During the Eighteenth century, the effort of the British monarchy to model itself on the legacy of ancient Rome, was recognized by the term "Romanticism." The term "Romanticism" has the same connotations on the continent of Europe during the same period. The British monarchy's recognition of the Roman Empire as based on the Babylonian form of the so-called oligarchical model, is reflected in the fraudulent version of history, which traces the origins of civilization to ancient Mesopotamia, and which therefore denies the simple fact, as reported by Herodotus, that the first known Mesopotamian branch of civilization was founded by what Semites of the time described as "the black-headed people," as the Dravidian maritime colony known as Sumer.

Thus, the legacy of ancient Rome occurred as a great set-back to Mediterranean civilization, a cultural degeneration which began about the time the Latins butchered Archimedes. Most of the leading traditional follies of European science and culture, still today, are, like France's Code Napoléon, products of the cultural

decadence strictly identified by the term Romanticism.

For these reasons, every renaissance in extended European civilization, from the time of Christ to the present day, has been, as Augustinus appreciated this, a product of the revival of the pre-Roman legacy of the Greek Classic against the burden of that cultural disaster known as the Roman legacy, or, in modern times, Romanticism. This was the specific form of the controversy between the European Classical versus Romantic currents of art and science of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries.

17. Regard "spherical action" here as an approximation of regular, but non-constant curvature. The latter includes not only conic sections, such as Kepler's ellipse, but curvatures from the higher orders of hypergeometry. Although the Leibnizian notion of "least action"—e.g., regular non-constant curvature—can be traced to the catenoid-caustic relations presented by Leonardo da Vinci, the generalized notion of regular non-constant curvature as "least action," was introduced by the Johannes Kepler who relegated the mathematical problems involved to "future mathematicians." Thus, the Leibniz calculus; thus Leibniz's corollary *analysis situs* and monadology. The catenary-tractrix case, served as Leibniz's stepping-stone toward what later emerged as the hypergeometry of the Gauss-Riemann multiply-connected manifold.

18. The so-called "law of entropy," as introduced by Clausius, Grassmann, Lord Kelvin, *et al.*, is no law of nature, but simply a result of a foolish effort to reduce science to nothing more than a deductive theorem-lattice.

19. *Op. cit.*

tion itself,²⁰ that we are able to define the nature of a quasi-regular, non-constant curvature of the real universe we inhabit. In turn, *it is only through the cognitive action of one mind in conceptualizing a validatable discovery of universal principle by another mind, that the “image” of cognitive action itself can be “visualized.”*²¹ The study of the relationships among individual cognitive processes, from the standpoint of such forms of cognitive insight, leads to the discovery of a new array of universal principles, typified by the best work of Classical forms of artistic composition, such as the Bachian form of well-tempered thorough-composition developed by Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Brahms, *et al.*

Now, keep that notion, of the *mental image* of the curvature of cognitive action, in view, as we now proceed. We shall return to this matter a short space later.

This quality of social relationship among what are each absolutely sovereign cognitive processes, is thus the essence of a truthful—e.g., Socratic—meaning-of-the-meaning of truthfulness.²² This truthful notion of truthfulness is essential for the social act of applying discovered universal physical principles as the authority for changes in social practice.

For example, the question whether science is truthful, or not, requires proof that, through scientific and technological progress, mankind’s power in the universe is increased. This means mankind’s ability to *increase its power to exist by no other means than such discoveries of principle*, and to include in the requirement of existence, the perpetuation of still greater powers, *per capita* and *per square kilometer*, by succeeding generations. In other words, progress as I have defined it for the science of physical economy, as measurable in terms of the human species’ increasing of its *potential relative population-density*.

Thus, it is the nature of cognition, as knowable through the social relations among the individual cogni-

tive processes sharing independently generated, validatable discoveries of universal principle, which is the most crucial issue in our efforts to define mankind’s nature in a rigorous and truthful way.

In the first approximation, those social relations are expressed in terms of discovery and application of validated universal physical principles. However, as I have already emphasized above, the exploration of the social relations associated with individual cognitive processes, leads us to discovery of other sorts of validatable universal principles, other than what are recognized as universal physical principles.

The universal social principles, so defined, are typified by Classical artistic compositions, as typified by the Classical Greek models. However, if we recognize the efficient role for statecraft contributed by the mind cultivated in the composition of Classical art-forms, we recognize that history and statecraft, as those subjects were defined by Friedrich Schiller, for example, are properly studied as Classical art-forms, forms with the same characteristics as what are more narrowly defined as Classical sculpture and painting (Scopas, Praxiteles, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael Sanzio), Classical tragedy (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Schiller), Classical musical composition (Leonardo da Vinci, J.S. Bach, *et al.*).

Not only do Classical art-forms represent validatable universal principles, as do history and law when the latter are practiced in congruence with Classical-artistic standards. Society could not prosper without governance according to this array of multiply-connected universal principles.

The relationship between, and distinction between the principles of physical science and of Classical artistic composition, are crucial for attempting to understand either. It is this set of distinctions which accounts for the image of a mathematical formalist, such as systems analysis’s John Von Neumann, or the notorious Laplace earlier, as “a dead man talking”—a soulless automaton at the classroom blackboard. From the standpoint of the formalist, the difference between science and art is the *passion* which formalism prides itself upon banning from the scientific deliberations among the dispassionate talking dead of the formalist’s lecture hall. Ah! But this is also the exact difference between mathematical formalism and validatable discovery of new universal physical principles!

The quality of cognition which will not let a paradox go, until a validatable discovery of principle has resolved the issue, and the joy which accompanies that discovery, typify the qualities of passion intrinsic to valid scientific discovery and the Classical-humanist classroom’s fostering of the re-enactment of original discoveries of scien-

20. I.e., Platonic *idea*. Images are of two types, perceptual, and those other, more important images, such as images of microphysical processes, which are beyond the capacity of sense-perception. The standard of truthfulness of the claim for the existence of a Platonic idea is Socratic truthfulness. Truthful mental images are as definite as images based on sense-perception, and have a more immediate correspondence to the physical world than mere sense-perceptions.

21. Hence, as some British psychiatrists have lately confessed, some of the world’s worst modern philosophers, such as Thomas Hobbes, Newton and Kant, never married. Other bad philosophers may have married, but of course, have been so occupied with changing sexual partners, that they, too, find no breathing-space for love.

22. Why should it not be required, that the definition of truthfulness must itself be truthful? I.e., Socrates versus both Thrasymachus and Glaucon, in *The Republic*.

tific principle. These are the same qualities, identified by the Classical Greek term *agapē*, the term which appears as Socrates' passion for truthfulness and justice—in opposition to Thraysmachus and Glaucon—in Plato's *Republic*. This is also the passion which underlies all valid generation and reproduction of Classical artistic composition.

The face of the enemy is so exposed. The formalism—such as mathematical formalism—which characterizes the scientific opinion of the classroom's talking dead, is an alien to the innate nature of the human individual and social relations. It is the pseudo-art which eschews the standard of scientific rigor for art. Indeed, it is the passions seated within the domain of principles of Classical artistic composition, which motivate all of the accomplishments properly associated with the name of physical science.

The Role of Humanist Education

In Schiller's and Humboldt's specifications for anti-Kantian, Classical humanist forms of education, the emphasis is upon the indispensable moral quality of an educational system which is based upon the principle of knowing through cognitive re-enactment, rather than mere learning. Textbook learning, is what is to be avoided on this account. The purpose of a universal secondary education premised upon Classical principles, respecting matters of science, art, and statecraft, is to develop the personal character of the student into the form of a Classically cultivated mind.

The function of Classical humanist education, and the proper function of all decent modes of public education, is to educate the inseparable passions underlying both physical science and Classical art. We must not teach the student what to think, but lead him or her into discovering how to think cognitively. If you are right, and if he thinks cognitively, he is likely to come to the same conclusion you have reached in that way. We must cease to be a society which shares taught opinions, and become instead, a civilized society, one which actually thinks in a human, that is cognitive, way. That is the proper mission of universal education. In this way, education of that sort brings forth the innately human qualities of the young individual, those qualities which are in accord with the divine spark of Reason.

Such cultivation of the individual mind along the lines which Wilhelm von Humboldt, after Friedrich Schiller, defined as the principles of Classical humanist secondary education, typifies the way in which a society may develop at least a significant ration of its maturing youth into developing their potential as

future foremost and secondary leaders of a society.

The scrutiny of those principles of Classical humanist education, as met among the earlier Brothers of the Common Life, France's Oratorians, and some other leading examples of the European Augustinian tradition, is key to knowing the quality of difference between the relative moral frailty of the so-called practical citizen, and the higher moral powers for leadership of the cultivated Classical mind.

During my lifetime, in the United States, only a small fraction of the actual development of the mind of the student occurred within the classroom and related educational settings. Formal education never gave more than a sketchy outline of elements of human knowledge. Rarely did any of that formal education represent the prompting of the student's cognitive re-enactment of a validatable universal principle.

Rather, at best, from the combination of childhood nurture, books of a certain quality, and the schoolroom, a certain amount of cognitive generation of knowledge occurred. The child's playful sense of pleasure in these cognitive experiences, would prompt the child and adolescent into those voluntary plunges into cognitive activity, which produced the exceptionally cultivated mind thus exhibited by some among the adolescents or young adults. That cultivated state of mind defines the category of *Reason*.

There was a rapid degeneration of U.S. education on this account after World War II. Evidence of today's educational practices and related cultural impact on the child and adolescent, is simply awful. Today's younger generations are, therefore, far less *reasonable* than those of the U.S. veterans of World War II—and I was, quite justly, not excessively satisfied with the performance of my own and my parents' generation on this account.

It is from this standpoint, including the standpoint of my branch of science, physical economy, that the paradox posed above may be solved.

2.

The Individual Act of Reason

Now, focus more sharply on the relationship between an individual paradox of the so-called "ontological" form, and the nature of the kind of discovery of principle which this paradox requires. I have addressed these matters at varying length, and in varying depth, in numerous earlier locations. I now present a compacted summary of those points, as they bear directly upon the issue of politi-

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*Emeritus Professor
Dr. Robert Moon directs
replication of Ampère
electrodynamics experiment,
Schiller Institute summer
program, 1986.*



Philip Ulanovsky

cal leadership being treated here. I begin with the case for discoveries of universal physical principle.

As a matter of preparing the assault on this topic, the actual nature of the cognitive act of discovery of a validatable physical principle, I include a summary restatement of points already introduced above.

From the standpoint of deductive method, any rationally coherent system of formal knowledge can be reduced to a theorem-lattice underlain by a single, multiply-connected set of definitions, axioms, and postulates. Such is the underlying, purely formalist misconception implicit in the way mathematical physics is taught and believed in most locations today. The contrary view, on which the mid-Fifteenth-century founding of actual modern European experimental science of measurement was premised, represents one of the most important of the revivals, this by Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa and his followers, of the Classical Greek way of scientific thinking associated with such leading figures of the famous Academy of Athens as Plato and Eratosthenes.

The legacy of Cusa's influence is typified by the succession of such figures as Leonardo da Vinci, Johannes Kepler, William Gilbert, Desargues, Fermat, Pascal, Huyghens, and Leibniz. The crucial breakthrough, after

the work of Leonardo, was provided by Kepler, especially Kepler's definition of the characteristic, elementary form of physical action in the universe as regular non-constant curvature. Kepler's work led directly to Leibniz's founding of the original calculus, in 1676, a calculus based upon the elementarity of regular non-constant curvature, as opposed to the linear mentality of Galileo, Descartes, Euler, Lagrange, Laplace, Cauchy, *et al.* In other words, Leibniz's original development of the calculus is coherent with the notion of *analysis situs*, or "geometry of position."

The continuing residue of the influence of Leibniz in late Eighteenth-century France and Germany, led to the convergence of, and collaboration in the work of the Carnot-Monge circles in France, and the circles of 1806-1827 *Ecole Polytechnique* member Alexander von Humboldt, and Humboldt's continuing collaboration with Carl F. Gauss in Germany. Out of the confluence of, and interaction among these Platonic currents of modern science, there emerged the Gauss-Riemann conception of a universal *hypergeometry*, otherwise described as a series of "multiply-connected manifolds"; this was defined as a series, by physical, rather than mathematical-formalist methods. Thus, the combined contributions by the Oratorian-oriented Carnot-Monge faction of France's *Ecole*

Polytechnique, with the continuing work of Alexander von Humboldt's circles in Germany, produced a best modern practice of experimental physical science, developed in the general form adopted by the best qualified scientific thinkers still today.

I merely summarize only the most relevant elements of Riemann's contribution.

Riemann's 1854 habilitation dissertation brought into the open what Gauss had already discovered, but had feared to disclose.²³ Riemann, proceeding from the work of Gauss, eliminated all *a priori* assumptions of definitions, axioms, and postulates, such as those of Euclid, the empiricists, Cartesians, *et al.*, from geometry. He limited the adoption of any underlying axiomatic features, to universal physical principles which had been shown to be validatable by the methods of what Riemann specified as "unique" experiments.²⁴ The very notions of time, space, matter, and physical action which had been premised upon *a priori* assumptions, were to be eradicated from physical science, and replaced by the notion of a manifold of uniquely validated, multiply-connected, universal physical principles.

After Riemann's habilitation dissertation, honest physical science had no honorable choice, but to treat every experimentally based ontological paradox in science in terms of assuming that, either some wrong choice of principle had been included in the pre-existing repertoire of science, or, in the alternative, that some missing discovery of a new, universal physical principle, must be added to the pre-established manifold of a number, n , of validated such principles.

In the latter case, by definition, such an added $(n+1)$ th principle, could be neither generated, nor validated by pre-existing mathematics. A pre-existing mathematics, insofar as it is, or represents a deductive theorem-lattice, can not generate within itself a new axiom which overturns the existing system. The new "axiom" must be generated by cognition, and validated by following the advice of the founder of modern experimental science, Nicolaus of Cusa, by going outside the domain of mathematics, into physics, into the domain of physical measurements of critical characteristics of processes. It must be validated by a unique quality of physical experiment, designed for this specific kind of purpose.

To this effect, Riemann turned, as he reports in his habilitation dissertation, to the work of Gauss on the gen-

eral principles of curved surfaces. For me, back in 1952, Riemann's notion of a series of multiply-connected manifolds, was not only the standpoint from which problematic features of Georg Cantor's otherwise most valuable notion of the mathematical transfinite, must be corrected. Riemann's notion of a series of manifolds, ordered by their physical space-time characteristics (curvature), was the key to redefining the Leibnizian science of physical economy in the needed, fresh way.

The preceding account brings us to the point we are prepared to take up the most crucial of the practical issues confronting the President and Congress of the U.S.A. today: *The nature of the needed new economic policy, to solve the crisis caused by the foolish economic thinking dominating the policy-shaping of our Executive, Congress, and Federal Court today.* Whoever does not understand this needed change in economic policy of practice, is incompetent to determine what kinds of policies will actually bring the U.S.A. out of the "new dark age" now in the process of descending upon us all.

At the present stage of the present crisis, only a change back to the conceptions of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, combined with the principles of a science-driver agro-industrial growth program, could prevent the otherwise inevitable disintegration of the U.S. itself. Therefore, all proposed new leadership of our nation must be judged, and shaped accordingly.

What need be added to the traditional American System of political-economy,²⁵ is contained in a coherent form in my contributions to the science of physical economy. The connections underlying my contributions to today's science of physical economy, are, summarily, composed of three steps: (1) The defining of the relevant ontological paradox; (2) The experimental validation of the discovered new principle which overcomes that paradox; (3) The manner in which such a validated new principle becomes a driver for an upshift in the characteristic *economic-physical-space-time curvature* of that society, the society to which the new manifold is introduced as a standard of practice.

These considerations point, rather directly, to the new role which the science of physical economy must play, now, in defining those standards of statecraft, and related practice, by means of which the world could be led successfully away from the present brink of a global "new dark age." This reform redefines the meaning of individual reason, as reason is to be defined for purposes of future statecraft. Follow the

23. That for reason of the anti-Leibniz, British political influences ruling Hanover at that time. See the relevant correspondence on the subject of "non-Euclidean geometry" among Gauss, Wolfgang and John Bolyai, and others.

24. *Op. cit.*

25. Among literate persons around the world, the term "American System of political-economy" has always meant the anti-British system of Hamilton, the Careys, and Friedrich List. Any different use of the term, is the mark of an economics illiterate.

following summary of the three indicated steps with that end in view.

I begin this summary with a thumb-nail sketch of a relevant case, the overturning of Isaac Newton's absurd doctrine respecting the propagation of light.

Reason on the Attack!

Reason in all aspects of science, and also art, begins its work, as it must, with an assault upon the authority of mathematical and related expressions of either anarchic irrationalism, or formalism. Reason begins, in all cases, as a Socratic negating of presently established opinion. In the case of formalist opinions respecting scientific matters, including national economic strategy, the Socratic assault assumes the initial form of an attack on the set of definitions, axioms, and postulates (i.e., assumptions) which implicitly defines the formally defensible theorems of that entire body of opinion placed under attack.

I have chosen here an example, which as you shall see, is most relevant to this present report, that on several grounds. Take the case of a battle against the legacy of Newton, Euler, Lagrange, Immanuel Kant, and Laplace, by the *Ecole Polytechnique's* Fresnel and Ampère. To understand not only what Fresnel did in this case, but how he proceeded to do it, you must recognize that Fresnel applied the same principle otherwise known in its military guise as "the principle of the flank."

As a friend has expressed the point, "flanking does not mean 'always attack from the left.'"²⁶ The true principle of the flank comes immediately to the fore in battles over principle within science; Fresnel's ruin of Newton's reputation on the matter of light, is what should be considered a Classic example of the way in which the principle of the flank actually works, in science-wars and battles alike. The principle of the flank should be understood to signify, as in the case of Cannae itself, or in science wars, a matter of recognizing and exploiting, as Hannibal did there, that stupidity to which one is assured, the command of the adversary force will cling obsessively.²⁷ That

26. He points out, as von Schlieffen's *Cannae* supports this, that Frederick the Great's defeat of a superior Austrian force at Leuthen, demonstrates the folly of the Austrian command in their misunderstanding of the principle expressed by Hannibal's victory at Cannae.

27. It is for precisely this reason, that the worst military commands are those which have prepared themselves most thoroughly to re-fight the experience of the previous war, as the superior force of the Austrians marched to their defeat by Frederick the Great at Leuthen. And as the French went down to defeat in 1940, because the German command anticipated the folly of a French commitment to re-fight World War I against the Schlieffen Plan of 1905.

is precisely what Fresnel did to Newton's reputation on the relevant occasion. That is also what Wilhelm Weber did later, to J. Clerk Maxwell, in Weber's experimental validation of Ampère's discovery of physical principle.

It is important for our purposes here, to get the strategic flavor of the circumstances under which Fresnel's ruin of Newton's claims occurred.

At the relevant time, the experimental scientists of the *Ecole Polytechnique*, representing the standpoint of the Leibnizians Lazare Carnot and Ecole founder Monge, were in a continuing, virtual life-death battle in defense of science against the rabid mathematical formalism of, most immediately, the Newton fanatics, the later including Euler follower Lagrange, Laplace, and Cauchy. The Ecole had already been ruined, in significant degree, through Lagrange's role, by its takeover by the rabid Romantic Napoleon Bonaparte's intervention. The ruin was near to completion with the 1815 takeover of France by the Duke of Wellington's puppet, the Restoration monarchy.

If you are placed under attack by a force which intends to use that battle for the included purpose of imposing its stupidity upon the conduct of the war, as was done recently in a NATO war against Yugoslavia whose net results have not been recognized yet, use the fact that the enemy is committed to that stupidity, to bring about his defeat in ways which the attacker's bull-headed stubbornness (e.g., that of Blair, Robin Cook, Albright, *et al.*) refuses to recognize as possible.²⁸

Thus, in this illustrative case referenced here, Fresnel did not merely defeat the formalists' attempted defense of Newton. Fresnel's opponents had committed themselves to the folly of proposing to settle the absolute authority of Newton over Leibniz, as if for once and for all. Ampère collaborator Fresnel exploited their adversaries' stupidity on this account, by his Classic choice of flanking attack. He used the engrained stupidity of the mathematical formalists, to trap them into routing themselves in this

28. One does not actually win the wars themselves; one actually wins, only if one wins the outcome of the war. In the case of Mr. Blair's and Mrs. Albright's war against Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav civilian economy was crushed, but, when the NATO command refused to carry through the exit strategy for ending the war, which President Clinton had outlined at San Francisco, by refusing to include Serbia in the reconstruction unless Milosevic were first ousted, it was the U.S.A. and NATO which had virtually lost *the outcome of the war*. Admittedly, President Clinton's credentials are not military, but those among his advisors who have responsibility for military matters, should have warned him against the ruinous potential of failing to carry through the exit strategy outlined at San Francisco. The U.S.A. and western Europe have barely begun to feel what will soon be the monstrous effects of their folly on this account.

battle over a matter of universal physical principle. Fresnel defended the Leonardo da Vinci principle respecting the propagation of light, the same principle of non-linear propagation adopted and demonstrated, if only in approximation, by the combined work of Christiaan Huyghens, Leibniz and Jean Bernouilli.²⁹ The fact that the foolish French mathematical formalists were committed, as if suicidally, to the cause of Newton, made possible Fresnel's political victory over them on this occasion.

Perhaps in the early future, the detailed implications of Fresnel's work on that occasion will be reported, and explained, by others, in suitable other locations. I limit myself here to emphasizing the way in which the Socratic principle of flanking-action was mustered in this instance. Situate the opposing factions in science historically, together with what Fresnel and Ampère therefore knew of their opponents' flankable vulnerabilities.

During the period of William of Orange's coup d'état and dictatorship in the British Isles, the earlier role of Venice's founder of empiricism, Paolo Sarpi, was assumed, from a Paris base, by another Venetian clergyman, Abbot Antonio Conti. Many of you have heard me speaking, or seen me writing, on earlier occasions, on this crucial turn within modern European history.

As France, England, and the Netherlands were ruined by the prolonged wars foisted upon the reign of France's Louis XIV, William of Orange's protégé was enabled to assume the newly created throne of the British monarchy, and France lapsed into the monstrous state of corruption associated with the minority of Louis XV.³⁰ In this setting, Conti, the creator of both the cult of Isaac Newton and of the virtually bottomless Voltaire, too, became the central figure of a Europe-wide spider-web of power.

The central feature of the activity of avowedly pro-Descartes fanatic Conti, was cultural warfare in the domains of both art and science. This spider-web, which became known as "The Eighteenth-century Enlightenment," featured such depravities as Pope and Dryden in England, the pathetic *kitsch* composer Rameau in France, and the corruption of science in Europe through the spread of the cult of Isaac Newton. Conti's networks represented the leading Romanticist movement in the arts and sciences throughout Europe as a whole. The use of

the silly Rameau as the Conti cabal's chosen champion for the campaign to exterminate Johann Sebastian Bach, and the role of Maupertuis, Algarotti, Voltaire, Euler, Kant, and Lagrange in the activities of the Berlin Academy of Frederick the Great, are among the most significant elements of the cultural warfare coordinated by Conti and his late-Eighteenth-century successors.

Fresnel and Ampère focussed their attacks upon the central features of the system of axiomatic follies constituting French mathematical formalism at that time. That folly was that same rejection of the principle of cognition which is expressed by depraved Immanuel Kant's *Critiques*. That same folly is expressed in every rejection of cognition, a rejection implicit in every attempt to limit learning, as Kant did, to theorem-lattices premised upon the axiomatics of deductive method.

It is the fact that, in such a contest, that superior efficiency of cognition which may be mustered against any competing deductive system, lies in the elementary fact, that cognition is a form of action which lies outside control from the domain of deductive formalism. This supplied Fresnel and Ampère the means for applying the military principle of the flank to the quarrel within the Ecole at that time. Axiomatically, cognition and its principle of efficient action, lie outside the domain of that which formalism is willing to conceive as existing. Thus, on this occasion, in military affairs, and in other ways, formalism is wont to outflank itself. That is the principle which, in that and other kinds of circumstances, provides "the good guys" their potential superiority over even the massed hordes of a great adversary.

Fresnel's starting-point lay not within his experimental hypothesis itself, but in a principle which is far more universal, more elementary than a notion of the principle of propagation of light as such. Together with his collaborator Ampère, he was an opponent of allowing the teachings of Kant to be introduced into scientific work.

Both of these collaborators started from principally two well-established authorities. First, the general principle that action in the universe is elementarily of the form of regular, or quasi-regular non-constant curvature. Second, the settled work on the propagation and refraction of light by Leonardo, Huyghens, Leibniz, and Bernouilli, and also the treatment of the notion of isochronic principles by the latter. They treated the issues of propagation of light and of electrodynamics in terms of comprehending Leonardo's notions of wave-propagation from a simplified expression of the standpoint of regular non-constant curvature, thus referencing the sine-wave which complements the cycloid, as a pedagogical starting-point of reference.

The results, in both cases, the work of Fresnel and Ampère, proved devastating against the formalists. This

29. Like Kepler, much of the knowledge, by Huyghens and Leibniz, of earlier science, was most strongly influenced by the writings of Cusa and Leonardo. Huyghens and Leibniz came into possession of relevant manuscripts of Leonardo through the assignment of Huyghens' father as ambassador to London.

30. The John Law-style financial bubbles of both France and England during that time, are, like the even loonier derivatives speculation of today, a measure of the spread of moral depravity of the respective times.

work proved itself among the most crucial points of transition, from the methods of the Leibnizian Carnot-Monge *Ecole Polytechnique*, to the more profound Leibnizian achievements of Gauss, Dirichlet, Wilhelm Weber, Riemann, *et al.*, in the further, post-1815 progress of modern science. There was never anything accidental in that connection. These developments must be situated within the intersection of Benjamin Franklin with the scientific circles of France and England, the common connections of Franklin's circles with the Lessing-Mendelssohn renaissance, and with the work of Carnot and the Prussian Reform faction of the succeeding generation's Schiller, vom Stein, Scharnhorst, and the Humboldts. These connections contain a lesson from living history which goes much deeper and is more far-reaching in its importance for today's global crisis than the particular controversy with France's mathematical formalists.

We shall resume that topic, after completing now the account of the relevant principles of physical economy.

Enter, the LaRouche-Riemann Method

The "LaRouche-Riemann Method" acquired that descriptive name from the consideration, that the adoption of Riemann's standpoint in physics, came as an addendum to my own preceding adoption of principle respecting the relationship between technological progress and Classical artistic methods. The significance of that connection has been already summarized above: *It is the principles governing the connections among two or more minds sharing the same, sovereign enactment of what is for each an original, validatable kind of discovery of any universal principle, which is the most elementary form of event, from which a science of epistemology and physical economy is to be derived.*³¹ Riemann's habilitation dissertation provided, in its elaboration of the notion of a multiply-connected manifold and its characteristic, the key needed to integrate my initial view of physical economy with physical science generally.

From the standpoint of that LaRouche-Riemann Method, there are two common varieties of paradoxes likely to prompt a discovery of principle. The first, is purely negative, of the type with which Riemann begins his habilitation dissertation: throw out the worthless

garbage of aprioristic or other wrongly assumed definitions, axioms, and postulates. The second, more interesting type of paradox, is that which requires the discovery of a new, validatable form of universal physical, or other principle. The latter requires cognition in its purest form, the form corresponding to a progression from an n -fold, to $(n+1)$ -fold Riemannian manifold.

What I have done, since the outcome of my work of the 1948-1952 interval, is to extend the notion of such manifolds to require inclusion of those principles which conform in quality to Classical-artistic principles.

The validation of an hypothetical new physical principle, requires a test of the form which Riemann defines, implicitly and otherwise, as *unique*. Here, as he says, in conclusion of that dissertation, science must leave the department of mathematical formalism, for the domain of physics. Naturally, the representatives of the Carnot-Monge faction of the *Ecole Polytechnique* would have agreed. It was the work of the latter, especially the development of the machine-tool principle by Carnot himself, which made possible both the U.S.A.'s preparation and conduct of the world's first, 1861-1876, development of a modern form of agro-industrial nation-state economy, and also the subsequent development of the science-driver features of a German economy modelled largely on the success of the 1861-1876 U.S. reforms.

The problem of physical, i.e., experimental, validation of an hypothetical discovery of principle, is two-fold. The most obvious challenge is the validation of the principle itself. The additional challenge, is to measure the effect of the interconnectedness among the individual principles. After we have recognized the need to replace aprioristic geometries by physical hypergeometries, we can no longer presume that the interaction among these principles occurs in the way a naive, aprioristic form of physical geometry treats the relations among its attributed distinct dimensions.³² For both types of problems, the experimental requirements are, broadly speaking, the same.

The object of a unique experimental test of an hypothetical universal principle, is to determine whether a test design incorporating that principle, demonstrates some significantly different characteristic than a test design without taking that added principle into account. In such

31. As I had reported in earlier locations, this discovery was prompted in two steps. The first step came during adolescence, adopting the standpoint of Leibniz and choosing to make my combat against Kant's doctrine the focal point in my work on Leibniz. The second phase, premised on those earlier attacks on Kant, was prompted by early post-war encounters with, and against, Norbert Wiener's "information theory" and, a bit later, the "systems analysis" of John von Neumann.

32. The notorious design failure of Daimler-Benz's A-Klasse passenger vehicle, typifies the folly of using the computerized simulations of so-called "benchmarking," as alternatives to what were formerly the traditional experimental engineering programs of all respectable firms. Not only must unproven principles be tested; as the case of the fatal "O-ring" substitution shows, we must also test any arrangement in which new types of combinations might introduce an unexpected, even fatal, multiple-connectedness among principles represented.

an experimental design, all that mankind knows of principles represented must be at least implicitly included. In that sense, a competent experimental design must compare manifold n with manifold $n+1$, the latter containing the hypothetical principle. The object of the test is to determine whether or not the manifest physical-space-time curvature of case $n+1$ differs significantly, necessarily, from that previously assumed for case n .

In the second case, it is the interconnectedness among (usually) only known universal principles, which is being tested. In both cases, the designer of the experimental apparatus must be the rare sort of shrewd old duck with proven maturity in such matters of machine-tool-design, or of equivalent scientific and engineering practice. He requires a sense of things which might be stirring out of the corner of his eye. This requires a highly cultivated scientific or engineering mind; such talent represents a crucial bottleneck in the possibility of realizing scientific and technological progress. Once one has assembled and developed a team specializing in such work, that team is of the quality of a virtually irreplaceable asset to any government or corporate productive enterprise.

Now, look at that experimental apparatus from a slightly different vantage-point. The settled result of tests conducted by a relevant such apparatus, will necessarily reflect the application of the new principle, or new combination of technologies, to the design of both products and productive processes. Thus, the machine-tool function (using "machine-tool" in the general sense implied) is the pivot which links science to technological progress, and, thus, to increase of a society's productive powers of labor, both *per capita* and *per square kilometer* of surface area.

That, however, is not the end of the matter. To produce, one must, first of all, produce the producers.

Monetarists, and kindred varieties of today's dangerously fanatical illiterates, think of an economy foolishly, as an anarchic aggregation of individual enterprises, whose interaction, according to the rules of a game set out by privateer financial interests, must produce the munificent benefits of the satanic Bernard Mandeville's god, "the Invisible Hand."

In fact, the required function of the private entrepreneur in a national economy, is his or her role in promoting technological and related innovations which ensure the infusion of both new and better products and productive technologies. However, no *viable* economy could exist if it relied on such private entrepreneurs alone. The greatest part of any healthy economy lies outside private entrepreneurship, in the basic economic infrastructure of the land-area as a whole, and in fostering, by aid of public law and government, of the nurture, the education, and the demographic character-

istics of the households of the population as a whole.

Of all these required elements, the most important, and most precious is the interdependent development of the moral character and cognitive powers of all of the individual members of the population. It is the development and utilization of those cognitive powers of the population as a whole, which are the only source of the increase of those productive powers of labor upon which the welfare and progress of the economy as a whole depends absolutely.

Only the government of a sovereign nation-state can meet the combined requirements of the individual entrepreneur, basic economic infrastructure, national security, and the progressive nurture, education, and demographic characteristics of the population as a whole. Only the government of the sovereign nation-state republic can create the issuance of credit necessary to put all of these various essential elements of the society together in such as fashion as to ensure the welfare of all those essential elements.

To that end, as the Preamble of our Federal Constitution sets forth its fundamental law to this effect, the power of sovereign government must assume responsibility for the general welfare of all those essential elements combined. It must accomplish this chiefly through the regulation of the mechanisms of credit, finance, and taxation, in such a fashion as to match expenditure against that growth of the productive powers of labor upon which all possibility of prosperity depends.

This promotion of the general welfare rests upon the foundations of scientific and technological progress, from the nurture and education of the innate goodness of the newborn child, through the assurance of the opportunities for realization of the fruits of cognitive activity of its adult citizens. The succession of discovery of universal principle, experimental validation, and realization of the beneficial application of validated principles, is the view which we must apply to our nation, and to our world, as we look back at ourselves today, from an hypothetical point, perhaps on a distant planet, a century or more ahead.

3. The Americas And Europe

This brings us to the matter of the kind of national economic and related strategy for survival, which a newly emerging leadership of the U.S.A. must adopt.

The rate of progress in the demographic characteristics of populations in Europe was significant, but relative-

The power of the U.S.A., lies in the elementary, essential fact, that the states of the Americas are products of a process of colonization by European civilization, a process whose impetus was supplied by the Fifteenth-century Renaissance and its launching of the modern sovereign nation-state.

Declaration of Independence drafting committee, including Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, presents final text to Continental Congress president George Washington, June 28, 1776.



The Granger Collection, NY

ly modest, at best, until the revolutionary change, the introduction of the modern sovereign nation-state, during the course of Fifteenth century. From that point on, the chief impetus for progress came as a by-product of the struggle to establish a system of sovereign nation-states in western Europe and in the Americas. It was the repeal of those abominable forms of feudal law typified by England's disgusting Magna Carta, and the subordination of both the tyrannical feudal classes and overreaching supranational organizations to the superior power of a sovereign nation-state, which first established individual human rights under a form of law shaped by the concept of Socratic natural law, and created the necessary basis in political institutions and law for a successful form of modern economy.

With the establishment of the U.S. Constitutional Republic of 1789, the first true constitutional republic to appear in any part of the world, the long-term task of humanity became the obligation to bring the new republic in North America into cooperation with European states, this for the further purpose, as implicitly stated by then-Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, of extending the system of cooperating sovereign nation-state republics, to form a "community of principle" among the world at large. Today, that latter mission is centered

around our prospective new form of equal partnership with two continents, Africa and Asia.

Relative to the sweep of history, and the nature of the combined immediate and long-term chores ahead of the world's nations, what is paraded by governments and mass media as "strategy," today, is mostly an evil sort of childishness, verging on the outlook of the perpetrators of the Littleton massacre, more or less in the spirit of *The Lord of the Flies*.³³

Strategy today must begin, by rejecting the sports fanatic's strategic view of current history, as typifying the kind of bloody competition practiced among gladiators in the Roman arena. We must delimit the notion of strategy, to purposes and conceptions which are fit for human beings. We must rethink today's use of the term "strategy," by looking at the relations among the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa in ways which accord with human nature as I have defined human nature here.

Since I am proposing that the United States use its remaining residues of global power and influence, we

33. Or, the same thing, the current babblings of nasty Zbigniew Brzezinski. William Golding, *Lord of the Flies* (London: Faber, 1954).

must abandon its present policy-trajectories, toward our nation's own, self-inflicted doom. We must redefine, so, what an effective leading action by the U.S.A. might be. Do not propose that someone else might be able to launch the required global initiative. Other parts of the world may represent important, weighty regional power and influence, but they have not yet reached that condition of their economic and other development, in which they could be a replacement for that specific role which we must assume at this juncture.

The power of the U.S.A., and the rest of the nation-states of the Americas, besides, lies in the elementary, essential fact, that the states of the Americas are products of a process of colonization by European civilization, a process of colonization whose impetus was supplied by the Fifteenth-century Renaissance and its launching of the modern sovereign nation-state. That is what we are; therein, in our character so determined, lies our capacity to summon ourselves for meaningful actions in the world at large. When we, as a nation, act according to the nature impressed upon us in our struggles for freedom against the British monarchy, our natural strength is at our disposal. When we act to the contrary, we are weakened as a drunken man stumbles, contrary to his nature.³⁴

This requires that we pose to ourselves the question: *What is extended European civilization, and what is the essential significance of its colonization of the Americas?* This question carries us to answers which may grate against some strong prejudices in certain quarters, but these are answers we must face, and adopt, if we are not to fail in the role which the present world situation demands of us.

Those Greeks, Again

European civilization is specifically Greek in its origins. Unless, and until that fact is recognized, and properly situated, talk about "European civilization" degrades itself to a blend of sundry varieties of silly prejudices and gossip.

The development of a Classical Greek culture, as best typified by Plato's work and circles, is most conspicuously indebted to its long association with Egypt, including the sometime region of Egypt known as Cyrenaica. The character of the Greeks who established this relationship

to Egypt, is that they were Peoples of the Sea, a part of the great transoceanic maritime cultures, which evidently preceded the emergence of riparian and inland phases in the emergence of civilization.

There are two crucial developments within Greek culture which came to define the proper meaning of the term "European civilization" today. Foremost, is the Greek development of the concept of the *idea*, as I have defined the notion of scientific and Classical-artistic forms of ideas, above. The second, is the early characteristic of post-dark-age ancient Greek culture: colonization, a characteristic of those ancient Greeks which they, like the Cyrenaicans, shared with all of the transoceanic maritime cultures classable as "Peoples of the Sea."

The known characteristic of these Peoples of the Sea, is their deadly serious, but also playful manner of exploring new areas, founding settlements which became colonies, bringing together the seeds of plants and strange cultures, to fuse these gathered elements into the synthesis of advances in the human condition. In this, the ancient Greeks operated in the eastern Mediterranean as Egypt's Etruscan partners in the western Mediterranean, and, somewhat as did their sea-going Canaanite rivals of Tyre and Carthage throughout the Mediterranean littoral as a whole.

This ancient Greek notion of maritime colonization, was of quite different characteristics than the landlocked imperialism of ancient Mesopotamia, of the New Babylon which was Rome, or of the degeneration of the initial phases of modern European colonization by the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French, into the monstrosities which the Portuguese, Dutch, the British East India Company, and Napoleon III's French empires represented from early during the Eighteenth century on.

Within the preceding sections of this report, we have already addressed that principle of the *idea*, as first known to us today from its Classical Greek origins. Now, we must briefly situate the needed conception of strategy, by some clarifying observations on the subject of colonization.

The continuing significance of the ancient, post-dark age colonizations by the Greeks, is typified by the role of the Ionian maritime city-state republics, in setting the pace in the direction of a modern form of sovereign nation-state republic, such as the 1787 founding of the U.S. as a constitutional republic modelled, largely, on reference to the Classical Greek models. Colonization in that sense became a revived topic of policy-shaping, in the context and aftermath of that Fifteenth-century ecumenical Council of Florence, which has been the watershed of modern European civilization. It was the circles of Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa that revived the pre-

34. So, a poor military training policy, tries to break the recruit to a stereotypical mold. A better training-program draws upon the relevant potentials which already inhere in the recruit. The latter trainee, whether enlisted man or officer, were the one less likely to be flanked.

Roman, Classical-Greek map of a world orbiting the sun, to promote global voyages as part of a strategy for flanking, then, the insurgency of the onrushing Ottoman Empire. This was the prompting of the Portuguese transoceanic explorations, and it was the map constructed by Cusa's associates, which guided Christopher Columbus to the rediscovery of the Americas.

The second phase in this post-Council of Florence wave of transoceanic exploration and colonization, came in the aftermath of the defeat of the League of Cambrai by Venice and its allies. Sixteenth-century persecutions in Spain, and the degeneration of continental Europe's moral and political condition in the Spanish and religious wars of the 1512-1648 interval, turned the initial voyages of exploration into growing waves of European migrations into the lands of the Americas.

As it became clear, during that period, and later, that the prospect of establishing sovereign nation-state republics from within Europe itself, had been lost to the oligarchical forces of both the feudal landed aristocracy, and that aristocracy's sometimes partner and rival, the Venice-centered financier oligarchies, the idea took root, of flanking Europe by establishing the first true sovereign nation-state republic in North America, and then using that success to import that North American model back into Europe.

Thus, the greatest minds of Europe focussed more and more on the prospect of securing victory for the cause of establishing a North American republic among the circles rallied, more and more, around the figure of Benjamin Franklin. That relationship between the United States and Europe, is the natural, healthy relationship, still today. We must re-establish it, and carry it forward to include all of Asia and Africa.

The continuing trend of issues among the nations of Europe and the Americas today, is a continuation of a pattern which is most readily traced from those few centuries beginning the interval from the reign of Charlemagne through the Norman Conquest of England. This pattern persists as the underlying policy-motive behind the British monarchy's organization of the two so-called "world wars" of this passing century, and the recent folly of NATO's war against Yugoslavia.

The underlying issue has been oligarchy's determination to check Christianity's impulse, the impulse to reverse the moral and other cultural decay bequeathed by the "New Babylon" empire of Rome, and to establish a form of society cohering with Christian principles, a form of society which would rely substantially on the benefits of that superior, Classical Greek culture which had antedated imperial Rome. This fight, led by the Augustinian currents within Christianity, as Charlemagne's Alcuin

typifies this, faced two vigilant oppositions, the oligarchical faction represented by the landed aristocracy, and the financier oligarchy, as the latter came to be typified and dominated by the model of medieval Venice.

The natural inclination of Christianity, was the impulse to establish some form of nation-state, under which the sovereign's function was to serve the general welfare of a population defined as man and woman each equally made in the image of the Creator of the universe. The oligarchy, both financial and landed, was determined to prevent that conception of the state from being realized, as Castlereagh and Metternich were in the context of the 1815 Congress of Vienna. The idea of a Christian community of nation-states, whether federated or sovereign, both fiercely opposed by the core of both the landed and financier oligarchies, was issue which motivated the oligarchy's wars to delay the emergence of the first modern nation-state, until the reign of France's Louis XI. This same issue has been the key to every war which the oligarchical forces have unleashed upon Europe and the Americas since the Council of Florence.

The characteristic feature of the oligarchical strategy, from Charlemagne through NATO's war against Yugoslavia, has been to destroy every effort to transform Europe into what John Quincy Adams defined as a community of principle. The chief recurring feature of this oligarchical strategy, has been to foster wars within Central Europe, and to work to ensure conflict and bitterness between France and Germany. Venice's virtual hundred years of Welf League wars against the Emperor Frederick II, are typical of this, as were the approximately 130 years of religious wars, from the defeat of the League of Cambrai, through the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. So were the British monarchy's orchestration of two "world wars" of this century, and the most recent NATO war against Yugoslavia.

Since the founding of our republic, especially since the Presidency of James Monroe, the destiny of the U.S.A. was seen in finding partners against our British monarchical adversary, and in reaching toward the prospect of a community of principle among both the nations to our south, in the Americas, and in Asia. Our essential military policy was always primarily defensive, just as Lazare Carnot emphasized the same doctrine, in opposition to the Romantic Napoleon Bonaparte, for France. Our object was not to conquer nations, but to build them up as prospective partners for an equitable community of principle. That was not such a far cry from the nation-building policies of the Emperor Frederick II, Spain's Alfonso Sabio, or Dante Alighieri.

Indeed, from the time of President Lincoln's victory over London's Confederacy puppets, until a British-con-

Qualities of leadership for times of crisis may appear in astonishing ways, but they are never accidents. The essence of their preparation for that role, is impassioned self-development of their cognitive potentials,



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combined with a toughness which enables them to be governed by those potentials, where weaker personalities would tend to compromise their way into great, tragic failures of will.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt addresses the nation in a fireside chat, 1938.

trolled terrorist's assassination of President McKinley, that was the underlying strategy of the United States. With the fall of Napoleon III, France ceased to be our enemy. Those who bore the legacy of Schiller and the Humboldt brothers, in Germany, were virtually our allies from 1877 onward, as were the leading forces of Russia around Alexander II, Mendelejev, and Count Witte. With the emergence of Japan's Emperor as the anti-American tool of Britain, in the first Sino-Japanese war, the emergence of the *Entente Cordiale* alliance of France to Britain's Edward VII, and the replacement of the patriotic President McKinley by the Confederacy buff Theodore Roosevelt, all was rather suddenly switched around, with World War I as the more or less inevitable result.

The fact remains, that the establishment of a community of principle in Europe, including Russia, is the most vital strategic interest of the U.S.A. today. The kind of financier oligarchical forces which deploy lackeys such as Tony Blair, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Madeleine Albright, will, as usual, do everything possible to prevent such a community of principle from coming into being. Nonetheless, the establishment of such a community is indispensable to the U.S.A. if we are to meet the challenge of bringing all of Asia and Africa into that same

community, and if we can find a U.S. President with the insight, nerve, and support needed to carry it out.

The basis on which the success of such a community rests, is the kind of economic and related educational and social policy which I have outlined in this report.

4.

Leadership As Such

I like the old gag about the farmer selling what he proffered as an "obedient" mule. When the mule obeyed, but only after being whomped along the side of the head, the farmer cheerfully explained: "You see. He's very obedient. You just have to get his attention, first."

I must admit that the present breed of typical American citizen seems to get into trouble more often through his own pure mulishness, than any other cause. Like that mule, don't expect that citizen to behave intelligently, until you have first brought him to attention. If you are one of those new-fangled, Baby Boomer type of "I can feel your pain" Americans, you are not going to get that citizen's attention in the necessary way, and you, as a would-be leader, and that mulish citizen, both, are going to end up in a lot of trouble. If you are President, you are

going to get the whole world into a great deal of trouble.

The characteristic of today's assuredly failed leadership, is the would-be leader who relies upon appealing to pre-established popular prejudices. Since all pre-established *popular* prejudices today, define an orbital trajectory which does nothing but ensure "free fall" toward doom, leaders who rely on readings of opinion polls, or mass media, to shape their policies, are worse than useless, to themselves, and to those who express the prejudices to which the would-be leader has chosen to cater. The so-called "Third Way," typifies the worst, most deadly of the political lunacies to be found in any so-called political leader today.

To lead the U.S. population—in particular—out of the grip of its present "free fall" toward doom, a leader must fight against the relevant popular prejudices.

One may anticipate the question: "How do you propose to fight against popular prejudices? Don't you know the typical American voter is the biggest lying gossip you could want to find anywhere? Those voters are so busy insisting on what they know more or less than nothing about, that they have no time, energy, nor desire left to seek out the truth on any really important subject. Those guys make even the corrupt politicians blush! The only things that are bigger liars than the typical voter, are Wall Street touts and the mass media."

The answer to that question is: "You must first get his attention." Baseball bats would have a certain kind of effect, but that is not recommended for the kind of problem at hand. You must simply point out the terrifying facts and other events which should be important enough to get their attention.

Once, at last, when you have their attention, your real work begins. You must use the same methods a scientist uses to eliminate a deeply held, false belief about current popular scientific principles. You do not resort to the foolishness of debating opinions you know to be absurd; you prompt the fellow whose confidence in his own folly has been shaken, to do some serious thinking.

From that point on, the process assumes a form and provokes feelings which might remind you of an experience of discovery of an idea, during childhood or adolescence. It is important that the person whose attention has been gained, come to an intelligent discovery of the alternative to a false belief. Even more important, politically, is the special kind of pleasure which that citizen gains from the experience of such an act of discovery.

The essence of politics, is to make citizens better people. The essence of doing that, is to evoke the goodness which lies, perhaps fallow, innate within themselves. Thus, it is the evocation of the goodness aroused by the act of cognition, which defines the educational task of the

kind of political leadership qualified for today's sort of crises.

It is that relationship between such a citizen, and such a leader, which defines the kind of political process we require today. To evoke this quality in the poorly educated quality of citizen graduating from our secondary schools and universities today, we usually require the special circumstance associated with a most shocking crisis. That is usually what is required to bring the sense of shock up to the threshold level, at which the citizen's attention is gained in the necessary, relevant way. It is the moral connection between such leaders and such citizens, which defines the kind of political power needed for times of the gravest crises, such as today's.

However, that relationship can not be established, unless the leader has the qualifications needed to evoke such a quality of response. Such development is rare, far rarer today than when Franklin Roosevelt was President, or President Charles de Gaulle of France. It was often said among leading Gaullists I have known: "There never was Gaullism; there was only de Gaulle." Roosevelt became that kind of leader for his place and time of crisis, in his earlier rising from a crippling sickness, resolved to become functional again. In his studies of American history during that convalescence, he emerged as the President Franklin Roosevelt of the Depression and World War II.

Such qualities of leadership for times of crisis may appear in astonishing ways, but they are never accidents. If we take many facets of leadership as one—politics, Classical artistry, science, military leaders such as General Douglas MacArthur, and so on—the essence of their preparation for that role, is impassioned self-development of their cognitive potentials, combined with a toughness which enables them to be governed by those potentials, where weaker personalities would tend to vacillate, to compromise their way into great, tragic failures of will.

That said, what I have found, more and more, the most terrifying thing about leadership today, is that there is so little of it, and, of that we have, so very little that is qualified to play that part at all. The problem is, that we are producing a poorer quality of average personality than in former times, with the result that there are not only fewer qualified to be leaders, but also vastly fewer qualified to follow them.

Let the nightmare of today's world be a lesson to future generations. Never let civilization ever again degenerate so much, that the survival of civilization itself depends upon the biological and other uncertainties which may remove those few leaders, who may have been summoned to lead a nation out of pits like that into which civilization globally is sunken today.



The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin (1799-1837)

National hero and universal genius, Alexander Pushkin was the soul of Russia's Classical movement, which he sparked, advanced, and helped to organize. The intensity of a Russian person's relationship to Pushkin will startle those unaccustomed to the mental habit of holding conversation with the great thinkers of the past.

*Top: Portrait of Alexander Pushkin, Orest Kiprensky, 1827. See inside front cover, this issue.
Right: Pushkin manuscript sketch, self-portrait on horseback, expedition to Turkey, 1829.*

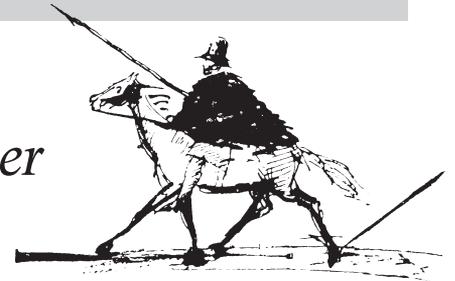
SYMPOSIUM

Alexander Pushkin, Russia's Poet of Universal Genius

A Celebration of the
200th Anniversary of the Poet's Birth

Introduction: Pushkin and Schiller

by Helga Zepp LaRouche



If every man and woman were to look at the intellectual history of other nations with the same loving gaze, with which a patriot looks at his own country, we should no longer have any wars. For then, we should see that every great poet and thinker, who has created universally valid ideas and new beauties in language, has much more to do with a nation's identity, than the long list of its rulers, its government ministers, or its parliamentarians. Naturally, this agapic way of seeing, requires a comprehensive knowledge of other cultures, which, by being comprehended, cease to be foreign.

And so, the Germans would see themselves beloved for Schiller's sake, for Lessing's, Goethe's, Heine's, or Mörike's; and the Russians should be proud, that when the world thinks of Russia, it thinks of Pushkin, Turgenev, Gogol, or

Goncharov.

Above all, at a time like this, in which the frightful events of the Balkans recall the two World Wars, where most people do not think that things are done in Russia for a love of truth, but motivated by quite other interests—at a time like this, remembering Alexander Pushkin, (who is not completely by coincidence the favorite poet of Prime Minister Primačov,) is very useful. The 200th anniversary of Pushkin's birth is a welcome occasion for this.*

Pushkin was the most important influence upon the Russian national culture taken as a whole; he was loved and newly comprehended by each succeeding generation; and perhaps no one has enriched the Russian tongue so much as he. Gogol wrote of him: "Pushkin was for all the poets of his time, as a poetic fire torn from heaven, from which other gifted poets took fire like candles." The reason for this is no mystery: his entire oeuvre speaks from the heart of hearts of the Russian people, which had been reduced to serfdom by an anti-national, oligarchical ruling elite.

In Russia, Pushkin became the "Poet of Freedom" in the same way that Schiller did in Germany. There is an absolutely amazingly close kinship of both poets, not only in ideas, but also in their practical connections to each other, and in the history of the impact they had on their respective nations. Both were ineluctably opposed, in spite of the most difficult personal situations, to any form of despotism; and neither allowed himself, even in the face of most adverse experiences, to be dragged down from humanism, from the optimistic idea of man.

There is a certain irony in the fact that both Schiller and Pushkin attended the elite schools of their time; Schiller the hated Karlschule of Count Eugen von Württemberg, and Pushkin the Lycée in Tsarskoye Selo, where, at the time, the most gifted students and others from the "best families" were being educated for service in the absolutist system. Schiller had just written his "In Tyrannos," however, as a protest against the arbitrariness of the oligarchy that he had experienced first-hand. This protest kindled not only the freedom-loving spirits in Germany, but also captivated the student in Tsarskoye Selo.

* Removed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, May 12, 1999—Ed.

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Schiller's Works in Russia

That Schiller's poetry and dramas were translated into Russian with often very little time lag, is in part due to the fact that some of Schiller's fellow students at the Karlschule were Russian youth, who had been sent there by Tsarina Catherine II, and who thus were able to directly experience the first poetic works of Schiller.

So, for example, Count Sheremetyev, who had been a student at the same school with Schiller from 1775-77, had *Kabale und Liebe (Love and Intrigue)* translated by a student, Sokolov, and had the play performed at the Moscow University theater. Only a few years later, *Die Räuber (The Robbers)* was translated into Russian, and from then on, in general, the Russian first performance would always, without fail, be staged just a short time after the German.

Schiller never travelled to Russia, even though he clearly considered doing so after his flight from Swabia. He wrote to his fellow student Friedrich Jakobi: "Perhaps in Berlin I might change my plans, and because of the support of important people, go to Petersburg." Although these plans would not be realized, Schiller was to become, as did no other foreigner, a "Russian" poet.

The first performance of Act I of *Don Carlos*, in the German language, took place almost simultaneously in Leipzig, and in September 1787, at the Russian court theater in Gatchina, where a friend of Schiller's, Maximilian von Klingler, had just become adjutant to the heir to the throne. Klingler later became Curator of the University in Dorpat, and came to have significant influence on the education of the Russian youth. Professor Johann Georg Schwarz was teaching at Moscow University, where from as early as 1782, he encouraged his students to read the Russian translations of Schiller's works; while Professor Johann Baptist Chad, who had been Schiller's colleague in Jena, worked at the University in Kharkov, and played a major role in making Schiller known in southern Russia.

In March 1788, the famous N.M. Karamzin stayed over in Paris for some four months, and made friends with Wilhelm von Wolzogen—who in turn stood in close contact with Schiller—and together they read the issues of Schiller's journal *Thalia*. In 1791, Karamzin mentioned Schiller for the first time in his *Letters from a Traveller*. Wilhelm von Wolzogen, later to become Schiller's brother-in-law, went on to head up the negotiations for the Weimar court, in the marriage between the heir to the ducal throne of Weimar and the Countess Maria Pavlovna, Tsar Alexander I's sister. Von Wolzogen brought Schiller's works to the court of St. Petersburg,

including *The Bride of Messina*, *Don Carlos*, *Turandot*, “The Homage to the Arts,” and *Wallenstein*. However, because of its “parricide” scene, and given the mysterious circumstances surrounding the murder of Tsar Paul I in 1801, Schiller thought *Wilhelm Tell* unsuitable.

Von Wolzogen’s judgment of the Tsar’s family’s literary depth was, however, less than favorable, even though readings of Schiller’s works took place every evening, at which often numerous members of the Tsar’s family would be present. Von Wolzogen wrote to Schiller on Sept. 27, 1803:

Your *Don Carlos* has been well received, also *The Bride of Messina*. I will take advantage of that as much as I can, even though I don’t think it will do any good, because almost every day I can hear them saying how much of a sacrifice it is, if they have to give something, and how they curse the tasks which would make them do that. On top of that, they do not understand anything beyond the mediocre. What is solidly middle class is what counts around here, and at most, they can stand gaping at the Great and the Beautiful, but grasp it they cannot.

Still, the Tsarina had *The Death of Wallenstein* read to her several times, and had a very high opinion of *Don Carlos*. Finally, she sent by von Wolzogen, a valuable ring to Schiller, as an expression of the esteem in which she held his work.

In the context of these things related to Russia, Schiller hit on the subject of Demetrius, for which he had von Wolzogen send him material. This drama, which remained unfinished owing to Schiller’s untimely death, is about the legitimacy of power, about *nemesis*, which overtakes the ruler when he violates natural law.

Pushkin was born in Moscow on June 6, 1799; Schiller died on May 8, 1805 in Weimar. He was at this time the most beloved contemporary poet in Germany; his noble ideal of man had an immense effect upon the Prussian Reformers, as well as upon the population in general. When soldiers left for the Liberation Wars of 1812-13, they carried with them numerous poems by Schiller,



Friedrich Schiller in Weimar.

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because these expressed the ideals of freedom and humanity which they hoped to achieve by winning the war.

It was just this patriotic war of 1812, which had such a lasting influence upon the thirteen-year-old Pushkin, and is interwoven with his first poetic creations. In 1815, after Napoleon had already been defeated, Pushkin recited the ode “Recollections at Tsarskoye Selo” for an examination, in which the following lines occur about Moscow in ruins:

In what was an abode of comfort,
 Where fragrant orchards bloomed, and groves,
 Where myrtle sweetly smelled, and lindens trembled,
 There now are embers, ashes, dust.
 And in the silent, beauteous summer nighttime
 No noisy revels’ cheer will fly there any more,
 The forest glades are dark, no lights flare on the
 stream-bank;
 All’s dead, all’s silent now.

Already at age sixteen, Pushkin was a master of the

paradox. Gavriil Derzhavin, the famous poet, who was guest of honor at the examination, would say later: “Soon the world will see a new Derzhavin: Pushkin, who is still in high school, has surpassed all the other writers.”

In the same poem, Pushkin goes on:

Russians in Paris! Torch of vengeance!
Oh, Gaul, now lower your proud head!
What’s this I see? The Russian smiles, with peaceful offering,
He comes with olive branch in hand.
The battle’s thunder still resounds far in the distance,
The city Moscow mourns, like steppes in midnight gloom,
But he unto the foe not ruin brings—salvation,
And beneficial peace on earth.

Patriotism yes, but not vengeful chauvinism; if one thinks about the traumatic effect of the burning of Moscow, and of the scorched-earth policy which was the basis of Napoleon’s invasion of Russia, then you can see here the all-embracing humanity of the sixteen-year-old, and you can descry the spiritual kinship with Schiller, who wrote in the fragment “German Greatness”:

It is not Germany’s greatness
To find victory with the sword;

But to penetrate into the realm of the spirit
To defeat prejudice,
To fight like a man against illusion,—
That is worth the effort.

A Kinship of Souls

What is the substance of this kinship of souls and the closeness of the ideas of these two poets? It seems that some of the literary historians of the former Soviet Union had some trouble answering this question, in part because they had to emphasize the “independence” of Pushkin, in part because they thought to have found “contradictions” in Schiller’s worldview, and difficulties in his relationship to the French Revolution. Schiller had turned away with horror from the Jacobin Terror, and judged that a great moment had found a little people.

I, on the other hand, believe that the works of Pushkin taken as a whole, leave no doubt that Schiller—his dramas, his poems, and his writings—belonged as much to the cultural climate around Pushkin, as air does to breathing. For example, Pushkin wrote in a poem for the anniversary of Tsarskoye Selo on Oct. 19, 1825, in memory of former comrades, from whom he now had been



“Alexander Pushkin at Tsarskoye Selo,” painting by Ilya Repin, 1911. The aged poet Gavriil Derzhavin is leaning forward at the left.

separated by his banishment, and many of whom, shortly thereafter, as a consequence of the uprising of the Decembrists, would be killed or sent to Siberia:

Come here; and with your magic, fiery story
Rekindle our traditions of the heart;
Of stormy Caucasus days shall we speak then,
Of Schiller, and of glory, and of love.

In *Yevgeni Onegin*, Pushkin has the young poet Lensky, the night before he is killed by Onegin in a duel, read Schiller when he is unable to sleep.

Even more manifold are the relations and resonances between a whole array of poems and dramas. For example, Pushkin's "To Chaadayev," a new poem, entirely unique, is based on the same idea that lies at the foundation of Schiller's "Die Ideale" ("The Ideal")—even if Pushkin ends his poem with a call to revolution, and excludes the possibility of attaining freedom by peaceful means. The same theme of the lost ideals of youth, rouses Lensky in *Yevgeni Onegin* shortly before his death:

"Ah, whither have you now receded,
Whither, my golden days of spring? . . ."

A similar, new working-through of a poetical idea, is also to be seen in Pushkin's *Dubrovsky*, in which the theme of Schiller's *Robbers* is transplanted to a Russian milieu, as an attack on serfdom and feudal relations. There is another such kinship in theme between Schiller's poem, "Ritter Toggenburg," and Pushkin's "Scenes from the Age of Chivalry," which deal with love, even in the face of death.

And, even though, of course, the themes of *The Maid of Orleans* and *Yevgeni Onegin* are different—Schiller's play deals with Joan's heroic action of liberating her fatherland from the invading English; the subject of Pushkin's novel in verse, is a portrait of social life in Russia, and the personal transformation of Yevgeni Onegin through the feeling of guilt—yet, the theme of the innocent country girl, ennobled to greatness, is similar in the two works.

When Joan accepts her divine mission, she speaks the following parting words:

Farewell, ye mountains, ye beloved swards,
Ye quiet and familiar vales, farewell!
Johanna will now no more o'er you wander,
Johanna says forever fare you well!

When Tatyana must leave her beloved countryside, in order to get married in the city, she says:

Farewell, you peaceful valleys,
And you, familiar hilltops,

And you, familiar forests;
Farewell . . .

Tatyana, whose first love was Yevgeni Onegin, to whom she revealed herself and was rejected, meets Onegin again after an arranged marriage has made her a lady of high society, which now awakens his interest in her. And, even though Onegin has matured through the torments of the soul which he suffered from having snuffed out the life of a young and gifted poet when he killed Lensky, Tatyana sees through to the reason for Onegin's sudden interest in her. Besides, it is completely foreign to her nature to betray her husband, even though she does not love him. In Tatyana, Pushkin created a noble image of woman, which reminds us of Gertrude in *Wilhelm Tell*, or Elizabeth in *Don Carlos*.

And, even if Schiller's *Demetrius* is quite different from Pushkin's *Boris Godunov*, in that the lack of inner authority of the hero in *Demetrius* only becomes apparent at the moment he himself discovers that he is an imposter, whereas in *Godunov*, the pretender operates as such from the beginning; still, both poets were working on one of the central themes of Russia's national poetry.

A close investigation of the reception of Schiller in Russia, and particularly Pushkin's relationship to him, would be a fruitful field for research, especially since only a few Russian poets were well-enough versed in German to be able to read Schiller in the original. It is said that Pushkin read Schiller's "Die Ideale," and the German-language biography of his great-grandfather, Ibrahim Hannibal the Abyssinian prince, in the original. But, in general, following in another poet's footsteps—as always when translating from one language to another—presents a considerable problem. Nonetheless, the difficulties which arise from this, such as vagueness and, perhaps, here and there a shifted emphasis, are secondary.

The great themes of the Classical poets, the idea of beauty, of truth, and justice, concepts such as natural law—against which even the most frightful despot is powerless; concepts such as the ideal of individual freedom within the context of necessity, the effect of natural beauty on the human spirit; these notions are the ingredients of the mankind's history of ideas, and are realized as universal history.

If we think, for example, of the effect of the Greek Classical tragedies, of Aeschylus or Sophocles on Shakespeare or Schiller, or for example how all the Classical composers after Mozart had to take into account Mozart's method of composition, which he had presented in the "Haydn" Quartets as a new method of contrapuntal composition and "further elaboration" of Bach's studies as published in *A Musical Offering*—then the coherence will

be clear. Poetry itself is the individual act of the poet's sovereign spirit, but he deals with one universal idea, which can be further unfolded, and is ever amenable to being reworked. The poet—if he dares to take that name after Schiller—if he is to have a predictable effect upon his audience, must himself, at least when he is making poetry, have been elevated to ideal man, and deal with universally valid themes.

In this sense, it is clear that Schiller and the German Classics were for Pushkin and all those whom he “enkindled,” as Gogol put it, the spiritual well-spring and the nourishing soil, which allowed for a true explosion of poetic genius—mediated by Pushkin—in Russia.

Pushkin's teacher and friend, Vasili Zhukovsky, who among other things was the Russian teacher of the Empress Alexandra, a hereditary Prussian princess, and who translated Schiller's and Goethe's poems into Russian, had without doubt an immense part in German literature's becoming, alongside the English, a model for the new Russian national literature (which till then had been dominated by French literature and the “Enlightenment”). Moreover, as a Lieutenant, Zhukovsky had taken part in the general levy to defend Moscow during the war against Napoleon, and embodied in his person the humanistic outlook of the German and the Russian freedom fighters. The fact that it was he, who obtained the freedom of the Ukrainian nation-

al poet Taras Shevchenko from being a serf bound to the land, opens a further chapter in the history of the effect of poetic ideas.¹

The Battle Against the Oligarchy

When you read Pushkin, it has to be love at first sight. He joins together the finest lyric sensations, with the most heart-wrenching sympathy, and the noblest strivings of mankind. He is just as ready to think about the great scope of mankind, as with non-malicious irony about the weaknesses of his fellow man. Pushkin is worthy of our love, but he is also, without doubt, a tragic figure. The question is, if, under the circumstances in which he found himself, he might have been something else.

From his earliest years, he was a carefree child. His fearless verses, in which he trained his sights on the oligarchical ruling stratum, began to circulate in all freedom-loving circles when he was still in high school. After the uprising of the Decembrists, Pushkin himself—although they had never brought him in on their plans—barely escaped capital punishment or banishment to Siberia; although, over the course of his life, he did have to spend many years banished to the south of Russia or to the countryside, where he was quite often unhappy—which, however, he faced bravely, and produced a considerable amount of poetry.



The Decembrist uprising, Senate Square, St. Petersburg, Dec. 14, 1825. The equestrian statue of Tsar Peter I can be seen in the background. (Watercolor by Kolman.)

If you consider the apparent constraints through which he had to navigate in the last years and months of his life until his death in the duel with d'Anthès, you cannot escape a mixture of anger and shock. In a certain respect, what befell the living Pushkin, was what happened to the dead Schiller with the Carlsbad Decrees—total censure by the restoration of the system of the Holy Alliance.

Pushkin escaped the fate of his Decembrist friends, only because, above all, Tsar Alexander I and then Nicholas I, had to keep asking themselves, if it were not opportune to bind to the throne a poet so beloved of the people. Even though Nicholas I acted as Pushkin's patron to a degree, yet he used one of Pushkin's writings on universal education which he had commissioned, as a kind of test of his conscience, and rejected Pushkin's argument—that "Enlightenment and Genius" alone should serve as the basis of perfecting the population—as "a threat to public safety." If there ever was a litmus test, this is it: the oligarchy's fear of a system of universal education aimed at the creation of geniuses.

It is also a fact, that Chief of Police Benkendorf's so-called "Third Section," under orders of the Tsar, shadowed Pushkin's every step; and that for the majority of his life Pushkin was subject to continuous harassment. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to think that when Pushkin accepted the duel with d'Anthès, he had been lured into a trap by anti-national circles in the Russian oligarchy around Nesselrode.*

Their setting of such a trap would cohere with the research and publication tasks that Tsar Nicholas I gave to Pushkin, but also, moreover, the possibility that Pushkin's humanistic worldview might become an enduring influence upon the Tsar. Schiller's thesis was, that the best way to understand universal history, is to ask questions of things operating in the present, and in this way seek to answer the problems of the past. With this as background, it is clear that the oligarchy most often reaches for murder as a remedy, when they wish to destroy a potential which might become dangerous to their power.

Let us not forget that Nesselrode belonged, with Capodistria and Castlereagh,† to the most embittered opponents of Freiherr vom Stein and of the Humboldts at the Congress of Vienna, which annihilated all the freedom fighters' hopes for a unification of Germany as a

constitutional state, and instead of this, inaugurated, with the Holy Alliance, a most evil period of restoration and reaction. And, why should a European anti-nationalist oligarchy, which in Vienna had conspired against the Prussian Reformers, and which in 1819 with the Carlsbad Decrees banned Schiller's works, not see the closeness of Pushkin to Nicholas I as threatening in the highest degree? Besides the role which the salon of Nesselrode in St. Petersburg played in setting the stage for the fatal duel, what also surely merits a closer investigation, is the fact that Pushkin's murderer, d'Anthès, was a nephew of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

Could Pushkin have avoided the snares, which from our distance in time seem so clearly visible? His tendency of wanting to fight a duel at the drop of a hat, was well-known. Could he have not changed this behavior? Might he, who created a Tatyana, not have been able to discuss with his wife the possibility of an intrigue, a set-up? That these questions must remain unanswered, is the more painful, since the death of young poets only makes more clear, what they might have yet been able to give to the world, had they been granted a longer period for their creations.

Ideals, the great ideas of the dignity of man, freedom, good government under the law—such as thought by poets like Schiller and Pushkin—are the blueprints from which, in the best cases, rulers and politicians create their reality. Chernyshevsky, later banished to Siberia for intervening in favor of the peasant, wrote in 1857: "The works of Schiller are now being translated by us—and that is a joy, to hold Schiller as our own poet, as someone who has taken part in our own spiritual development. A feeling of just gratitude obliges us to acknowledge, that our society owes more to this German than to any of our lyric poets except for Pushkin."

If we, today, when Western civilization as a whole has been thrown into an existential crisis, make the thoughts of Schiller and Pushkin our own, we will also find the way out of the crisis.

—translated from the German by Rick Sanders

1. Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of Ukraine, was born into serfdom in 1814. He became the page-boy of his master Pavel Engelhardt, the brother of Pushkin's friend Colonel Vasili Engelhardt. Shevchenko's connection to Pushkin continued throughout his life. He secretly listened to the poet Vasili Zhukovsky recite works of Pushkin and Schiller, during literary evenings at his master's home. Zhukovsky later played the leading role in securing his freedom from serfdom.

The first translation into German of Shevchenko's poetry appeared together with Pushkin's, in a book entitled *Thoughts*. Shevchenko's passionate poems for freedom—written to inspire what he called "*bratoliubie*," or love of one's fellow man—are sung still to this day.—Irene Beaudry

* See "The Mystery of Pushkin's Death," page 74, this issue.

† Vide P.B. Shelley's "The Masque of Anarchy":

"I met Murder on the way—
He had a mask like Castlereagh—"
—Ed.

The Living Memory of Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin

Champion of Creative Dialogue Among Poetic Minds

by Rachel B. Douglas

Alexander Pushkin is alive in the mind of virtually every Russian person, and in the minds of foreigners, who have encountered him upon making even the slightest effort to learn the Russian language, or have met a shadow of his thought, filtered through translation. Pushkin's beautiful language is the core of literate Russian, which he made more powerful by bringing into Russian the ideas he shared and developed with the collaborators, living and dead, from far-flung times and places of human history, who peopled his own mind.

A national hero and a universal genius, Pushkin embodies the Classical idea in Russia. He was the soul of the Classical movement in Russian culture, which he sparked and advanced and helped to organize.¹

The special place of Pushkin in Russia, the intensity of a Russian person's relationship with Pushkin, will startle someone unaccustomed to the mental habit of holding conversation with past thinkers, or unacquainted with this poet,



Cobis-Bettmann

*Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837).
Portrait by Vasili Tropinin, 1827.*

as it did the present writer as a youngster several decades ago. I had a campaign-style button with a cartoon of Pushkin on it, although I didn't know who it was, pictured in the caricature with wild hair and enormous eyes. A visitor to our house, a lady Russian teacher from a different Slavic country, saw my button and exclaimed, "Pushkin! I love Pushkin!" with an ardor that piqued my curiosity about the person who inspired it. Some years later, immersed in Russian at a summer school where the language was the slow, well-ordered speech of the resident native speakers, elderly Russian emigrés of the first and second waves,² I encountered that passion again. The artist Ye. Klimov painted my portrait and, as he worked,

'The Bronze Horseman'—
Equestrian statue of Tsar
Peter I, Senate Square,
St. Petersburg, by
E.M. Falconet.



he confided in almost a whisper, "When I was a boy, I met a man, who saw Pushkin *when he was alive!*" The phrase in Russian was spine-tingling: ". . . *kotory videl zhivogo Pushkina!*" Our conversation was in 1972, that is, 135 years after the poet's murder.

When Pushkin lay dying of wounds suffered in his duel with Georges d'Anthès, Jan. 27-29, 1837 (Old Style; Feb. 8-10 by the Gregorian calendar), such a crowd of thousands upon thousands of Russian people kept vigil in the streets outside his St. Petersburg apart-

Что в имени тебе моем?

Что в имени тебе моем?
Оно умрет, как шум печальный
Волны, плеснувшей в берег дальный,
Как звук ночной в лесу глухом.

Оно на памятном листке
Оставит мертвый след, подобный
Узору надписи надгробной
На непонятном языке.

Что в нем? Забытое давно
В волненьях новых и мятежных,
Твоей душе не даст оно
Воспоминаний чистых, нежных.

Но в день печали, в тишине
Произнеси его тоскую;
Скажи: есть память обо мне,
Есть в мире сердце, где живу я. . .

'What Is There for Thee . . .?'

What is there for thee in my name?
For it will die, like the sad slapping
Of waves, at a far coastline lapping,
Like cries at nighttime on the plain.

On mem'ry's page the trace it burned
Is dead—the unfamiliar diction,
The pattern of a tomb inscription
In language foreign and unlearned.

What's in it now? So long forgot,
In turmoils new and wild surrender,
Unto thy soul it will give nought,
No recollections pure and tender.

But, on a day of silent grief,
Pronounce it then; thy want confiding,
Say this: A mem'ry of me keeps,
There's one heart, somewhere, I abide in.

—A.S. Pushkin, 1830

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ment that the regime, fearing political disturbances, shifted the funeral from St. Isaac's Cathedral to a small church, with admission by ticket only. "In those two days," wrote the poet Anna Akhmatova in *A Word About Pushkin*, "his house turned into a shrine for his Motherland, and a more complete, radiant victory the world has never seen."³ His body was sent away by wagon in the dead of night, to be buried near his mother's estate in Pskov Province. Today, the apartment is a national museum. At the place of the fatal duel, people still pause to read the inscription carved on a memorial stone.

Generations of Russians learned to read, reading Pushkin, especially during the Soviet period. Typical is a poetical primer for elementary schoolers, published in Moscow in 1972. "Because you are not so little any more," the editor addresses the children, "it is time for you to know who Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin was, and when he lived. He was born long ago, in 1799, in Moscow. He wrote such verses, tales, and stories, as no one had been able to write before him. . . . You will grow up, and your Pushkin will always be with you. First, this book of verses, or his fairy tales. Then another—a book of longer poems, then a book of stories, and another, and another. When you're all grown up, don't forget to read the poet's letters, which are really interesting. Pushkin will be with you all your life. . . ."⁴

In the essay "Pushkin and the Children," Anna Akhmatova talks about how a mental life of communion with Pushkin had given Russian people beauty and a sense of decency, even during the political terror of the 1930's. "Pushkin's verses gave children the Russian language in its most perfect magnificence, a language which they may never hear or speak again, but which will remain with them as an eternal treasure."⁵

The subjects of Pushkin's writing are the eternal ideas—truth, beauty, justice, mercy, love, freedom, commitment to a mission of doing good. Lawfully for a poet who, in his work, was transforming a language, he devoted special attention to "genius"—the nature of the creative motion of the individual mind. Exploring the paradoxes of leadership in Russian history, Pushkin pioneered the realm of Classical tragedy in the Russian language, with his drama *Boris Godunov* and his studies of

Tsar Peter the Great. He was a master of the acerbic epigram, aimed at political or cultural foes. He was one of the great story-tellers of all time.

The Time for a Classical Movement

Pushkin created Russian anew as a literary language, a nation-builder's language, in which a speaker or writer could express such universal ideas with great power and beauty. Employing Classical verse forms in combination with the spoken language of the people, Pushkin amplified the power of the ancient Indo-European linguistic roots that are preserved in Russian. He was self-conscious in his work, insisting that the "popular" (*narodny*) quality of a language will flower when it is elevated to express profound ideas. This principle, by which Pushkin accomplished the transformation of Russian, had been Dante Alighieri's principle when he composed his great *Commedia* in the Italian vernacular at the beginning of the Fourteenth century, providing for the population an enriched, more powerful language as the moving force for the development of the nation.⁶ The poet's transformation of the common language gives an impetus to the creation of the modern nation-state, as happened with Dante and Shakespeare. The same principle is encountered in the musical development of folk themes by Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms, and others.⁷

Thus, Pushkin worked in the way, expounded by Friedrich Schiller in his 1789 lecture, "What Is, and to What End Do We Study, Universal History?":

All preceding ages, without knowing it or aiming at it, have striven to bring about our human century. Ours are all the treasures which diligence and genius, reason and experience, have finally brought home in the long age of the world. Only from history will you learn to set a value on the goods from which habit and unchallenged possession so easily deprive our gratitude; priceless, precious goods, upon which the blood of the best and the most noble clings, goods which had to be won by the hard work of so many generations! And who among you, in whom a bright spirit is conjugated with a feeling heart, could bear this high obligation in mind, without a silent wish being aroused in him to pay that debt to coming generations, which he can no longer discharge to those past? A noble desire must glow in us to also make a contribution out of *our means* to this rich bequest of truth, morality, and freedom which we received from the world past, and which we must surrender once more, richly enlarged, to the world to come, and, in this eternal chain which winds itself through all human generations, to make firm our ephemeral existence.⁸

A NOTE ON RUSSIAN TRANSLITERATION

Two systems for the transliteration of Russian into English are used in this article. Bibliographical references in the notes are given in the Library of Congress system. In the article, the transliteration is modified to better approximate Russian pronunciation.

After hearing how Pushkin picked up the “eternal chain” from the ancients and the Classics, in his verse and prose writing, it will be no surprise to learn that he also became his generation’s leading historian of Russia.

In 1799, the year of Pushkin’s birth, Russia was ripe for a national poet to lead a Classical movement in the country. It was eighteen years since the American War of Independence from Great Britain had been won, during which interval the French Revolution of 1789 was corrupted by British-steered Jacobin terrorists, setting the stage for the devastation of Europe in the Napoleonic Wars. There was a full-blast offensive by leading oligarchs, to extirpate the virus of American republicanism from the European continent, and to stamp out the scientific and philosophical heritage of Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716), in favor of “Enlightenment” reductionism. For reasons of the successes of Leibniz’s worldwide movement in science and statecraft, Russia was a major player in these conflicts.

From the time the Russian delegation to the Ecumenical Council of Florence (1437-1439) was arrested upon return to Moscow until the reign of Tsar Peter I (“the Great,” r. 1682-1725), Russia was relatively isolated from Europe. “The great epoch of the Renaissance had no influence here,” observed Pushkin. The theological and philosophical debates at the Council of Florence, unfolding under the guidance of Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa and his allies, had laid the basis not only for the reunification of Christendom, including Russia and the rest of the Orthodox East, but for the emergence of a new type of nation-state based on education of the qualities of man as *imago viva Dei*, the living image of God. In the subsequent centuries-long contest between the nation-state and the landed and financial oligarchy, centered in Venice before the removal of Venetian forces to new power bases in Britain and The Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, two of Venice’s first countersteps against the nation-state movement were to engineer the fall of Byzantium’s capital, Constantinople, to the Turks (1453), and to cultivate in Russia a force that would be alien to and employable against Western Europe. The course of Venetian manipulation of Russia’s development was blazed by the Russian Orthodox Church’s declaration of autocephaly in 1448, and the 1472 marriage of Sophia Paleologue, niece of the last Byzantine emperor, to Ivan III, Grand Duke of Muscovy. Sophia came to Moscow with a position paper from the Signoria of Venice, telling Ivan that “for reason of cessation of the imperial line on the male side, [the legacy of Byzantium] should belong to your highness as a result of your favorable marriage.” This imported notion became the ideology of “Moscow the Third Rome,” which was further consolidated when Sophia’s grandson, Ivan IV, crowned himself “Tsar,” or “Caesar” in 1547.

In the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries, Peter the Great’s modernizations jolted Russia into closer relations with Europe. The third full-fledged Tsar of the Romanov dynasty, after his grandfather Michael (r. 1613-1645) and father Alexis (r. 1645-1676), Peter came to power through the tumult of a struggle with his half-siblings at the end of Alexis’ reign. Until taking full power in 1689, when his half-sister Sophia was dismissed as the regent for himself and his half-brother and co-Tsar, Ivan V, Peter was raised outside of Moscow, in the care of his mother and the company of Dutch and German shipbuilders and other craftsmen.

In 1696, he undertook an embassy to Europe to study shipbuilding and industrial techniques in Holland and England. On the way, he was hosted at Hanover by Sophie, the Electress of Hanover, and her daughter Sophie Charlotte, the Electress of Brandenburg, who were Leibniz’s patron and student, respectively, and were among the philosopher’s closest allies on the continent. Leibniz met Peter in person in 1712 and was appointed as Councillor of Justice for the Russian state—as “Russian Solon,” he exclaimed, after the famous law-giver of ancient Athens. Leibniz hoped that an industrially and scientifically developing Russia would be a bridge between Europe and the high culture of China in the Far East. Peter adopted from Leibniz his projects for the Academy of Sciences, founded in 1725 at the new city of St. Petersburg on the Baltic Sea; the council of senior advisers called the Senate; and the organization of the government into nine collegiums (Foreign Affairs, Revenues, Justice, Expenditure, Financial Control, War, Admiralty, Commerce, Mining and Manufactures), in place of the previous thirty-five government offices.⁹

The number of iron foundries in Russia rose from 17 in 1695 to 69 in 1725, the year of Peter’s death. Russia opened up factories to produce gunpowder, lumber, paper, textiles (including silk and sailcloth), leather, and glass. It became a relative powerhouse of industry, producing as much iron as did England by 1725, and, by 1785, more than the rest of Europe combined. Peter launched large infrastructure projects, including the Volga-Neva canal, which made it possible to ship freight by inland waterway from the Caspian Sea to the Baltic. Russia was a military force to be reckoned with on the continent during the Eighteenth century.

Nation-State vs. Oligarchy

Peter’s reforms were complex and contradictory, insofar as the build-up of state institutions and projects was financed by new forms of taxation that strengthened the institution of serfdom, under which peasants were bound to the land. Serfdom had been consolidated in Russia

only in the previous century and a quarter, after Ivan IV's 1581 decree restricting peasants' movements. Under Peter, the power of landowners over the serfs increased in most regions. Peasants were also subject to conscription into the armed forces or labor brigades for twenty-five years, that is, essentially for life. The "service nobility" policy, under which hereditary nobles had to serve the state and, in principle, non-nobles could attain nobility through state service, entailed a Table of Ranks, which became a framework for the notorious Russian bureaucracy under future, less visionary Tsars.

Thus, by the time of Catherine the Great (born Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst, r. 1762-1796 as Tsarina Catherine II), over ninety percent of the Russian population—some twenty million people—still lived in serfdom. The insurgency against the state, led by Yemelyan Pugachov in the 1770's, gained broad support among peasants as well as the militarized horsemen, the Cossacks, as had Stenka Razin's uprisings a century before.

During the reigns of Peter's niece Anne (r. 1730-1740) and daughter Elizabeth (r. 1741-1762), European powers had sought Russia as an ally, and influence among leading Russian factions. Venetian and British oligarchs, especially, strove to reassert control over the political and cultural processes in the country.

At the same time, the Leibniz tendency in the Academy of Sciences continued to be strong, despite numerous counteroperations. Franz Aepinus, a member of the Academy, drafted the Declaration of Armed Neutrality during the American War of Independence. In the League of Armed Neutrality, established thereby, Russia joined with Denmark, Sweden, The Netherlands, and other powers to defend neutral shipping by force of arms, allowing the delivery of naval stores to the Americans by France, among other benefits. Although Catherine the Great had come to power with backing from agents of the old Venetian financial oligarchy, the Orlov brothers,¹⁰ and was inclined to ally with her "most devoted Brother George" (King George III of England), the skillful diplomacy of French Foreign Minister Choiseul and certain of his allies inside Russia maneuvered the Empress into signing the treaty. Persistent British attacks on Russian ships helped make their case.

During the Napoleonic Wars, Russia's orientation would swing full circle from the temporary alliance between Tsar Alexander I and Napoleon, contracted at Tilsit in 1807, to the life-and-death struggle of Russia against Napoleon's invading Grand Army in 1812. The leaders of the Classical movement in Germany, including Schiller and his in-laws, Wilhelm and Ludwig von Wolzogen, involved themselves in the struggle for the soul of Alexander I (ruled 1801-1825), the grandson of Catherine

II, and, later, in designing Bonaparte's defeat.¹¹ The leadership of the Prussian reformers and military scientists was crucial in crafting the defeat of Napoleon, but when it came to the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815, Freiherr vom Stein echoed Schiller's observation about the French Revolution, that "a great moment found a little people," lamenting that there was very poor material to work with in diplomatic efforts to shape the post-war order. At the Congress, Alexander was ensnared in an agenda of prayer sessions and parties, under the influence of a cabal of foreign confidants, leaving Russian diplomacy in the hands of the Venetian Giovanni Capodistria, Napoleon's cousin Carlo Andrea Pozzo di Borgo, and their confederate, Count Karl Nesselrode, all of them foreign-born officials of the Russian Foreign Ministry, whose efforts yielded for Russia the role of "gendarme of Europe" in the Holy Alliance.

Just when Russian youths, who had marched all the way to Paris during the war, or had attended university in Europe, were in ferment over ideas about nation-building, from America, from Germany, as well as from France (the scientific concepts of the Classical movement there, not only radical Jacobinism), the Russian Empire was assigned the role of enforcer of "balance of power" politics in Europe. Tsar Alexander I, who had begun his reign with projects for the reform of government and, especially, education, ended it as a tool of Castlereagh's Britain and Metternich's Austria, the details of Russia's status being negotiated by his State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Capodistria.

This political tension of post-Congress of Vienna Russia, lasting until Britain's assault on its erstwhile ally with the Crimean War in 1854, spanned the era of Pushkin's life, and determined the social environment in which he would work. It challenged him to write tragedy, and it set the stage for his own tragedy.

Language and Education

When Pushkin was born, the language of the court and of most intellectual discourse was French, and not the Russian vernacular—a situation similar to that which had confronted Leibniz in regard to French and Latin in Seventeenth-century Germany. In "On the Reasons, Retarding the Progress of Our Literature," an unpublished memorandum written in 1823, the young Pushkin would take note of the conceptual challenge of breaking the dominance of a foreign language:

The general use of the French language and neglect of Russian is customarily considered to be one of the reasons, retarding the progress of our literature. All of our writers complain about this, although they have no one to blame



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G.W. Leibniz (above) sought a developed Russia, as a bridge between Europe and China. Peter I (the Great) appointed him Councillor of Justice for the Russian State. **Right: Peter I supervises construction of his new city of St. Petersburg.**



Corbis-Bettmann

but themselves. Except for those who are working on verse, the Russian language could scarcely be attractive for anybody. We have neither literature nor books, but from infancy we derive all our knowledge and ideas from foreign books, and we have gotten used to thinking in a foreign language; the enlightenment of our age requires important objects for thought, as food for minds, which can no longer be content merely with brilliant games of the imagination and with harmony; scholarship, politics, and philosophy, however, have yet to be expounded in Russian. We have no metaphysical language at all, and our prose is so undeveloped, that even in simple correspondence we are forced to *invent* turns of phrase, in order to explain the most ordinary concepts; and we, in our laziness, are more than willing to express ourselves in that foreign language, the mechanical forms of which were formed long ago and are known to everyone.¹²

In the middle of the Eighteenth century, Russian scientists had taken up the task of composing in literate Russian. Among them was Mikhail Lomonosov (1711-1765), the brilliant researcher in chemistry and physics, who worked in parallel with, and gave close attention to, the experiments of Benjamin Franklin and his collaborators on electricity. Pushkin held Lomonosov in high esteem as “the great man,” who carried Russian intellectual life forward between the reigns of Peter I and Catherine II, and wrote about Lomonosov in 1834, “He founded our first university. Better put, he *was* our first university.”¹³ Pushkin regretted, however, the channel into which Lomonosov had directed Russian writing. He wrote prose as well as odes in Russian, about which Pushkin sorrowfully reflected:

The monotonous and oppressive forms, into which he poured his thoughts, make his prose tedious and heavy. He made this half-Slavonic, half-Latinate scholastic grandeur obligatory; fortunately, Karamzin freed the language from the yoke of foreign domination and gave it back freedom, returning to the living founts of popular speech. Lomonosov had neither feeling, nor imagination. His odes, written on the model of contemporary German poets, long since forgotten in Germany, are tedious and overblown. His detrimental influence on our language is still felt. Bombast, over-sophistication, the departure from simplicity and precision, and the absence of any popular element or originality—these are the traces, left by Lomonosov.¹⁴

The cited Nikolai Karamzin (1766-1826) was the historian, whose twelve-volume *History of the Russian State* was to be a rich source of ideas for Pushkin. Karamzin also experimented in *belles lettres*, composing the prose tale *Bednaya Liza* (*Poor Liza*) and other stories in the French sentimental style. Admiral Alexander Shishkov (1754-1841), later State Secretary and education minister, led a counter-offensive through his “Conversation Society of Lovers of the Russian Word” (“*Beseda Lyubitelei Russkogo Slova*”), which sought to ban gallicisms and other foreign infiltrations from Russian writing. The war between these two tendencies was at the forefront of Russian cultural life, in the first decades of the Nineteenth century.¹⁵

This same Karamzin wrote verses in jest on the eve of the new century, titled “Prophecy for 1799, found among the papers of Nostradamus,” which predicted that “this year” would be born “the new Pindar” in Russia. “Little



Pushkin's father (bottom right) was descended from six centuries of Russian nobility, and his mother (top right) was the granddaughter of Ibrahim Hannibal (above), a North African prince whom Tsar Peter I adopted as a godson.

Map: European Russia in the 1830's. Among the Pushkin family estates were Mikhaylovskoe, near Pskov, and Boldino, south of Nizhny Novgorod.



did he suspect,” writes the modern Pushkin specialist Irina Bagration-Mukhraneli, “that his invention would come true, and that his verse applied to the newborn nephew of his friend the poet Vasili Lvovich Pushkin, Sergei Lvovich Pushkin’s son Alexander.”¹⁶

Alexander Pushkin was born in Moscow on May 26 (June 6), 1799. His father’s family history could be traced back through 600 years of the Russian nobility. His mother, Nadezhda Osipovna Hannibal, was the granddaughter of Ibrahim (Abram) Hannibal, a prince from north-east Africa, who was kidnapped and given to Tsar Peter I in 1705, at the age of eight. Adopted by Peter as his godson, Ibrahim Hannibal was educated in France as a military engineer, and lived out his life in the Russian state service; Peter gave him a large estate near Pskov, land that was later inherited by Pushkin’s mother.

The poet’s father, Sergei Pushkin, and his Uncle Vasili were both men of letters. The family belonged to the old nobility, but was not well off. Pushkin’s parents were sometimes eccentric (one year, his mother didn’t speak to him), but the company they kept was lively for a child. Baron M.A. Korf, a schoolmate of Pushkin, recalled, “The Pushkins’ house was always in chaos and something was always lacking, from money right down to glasses to drink from. If two or three extra guests came for dinner, they always had to send to the neighbors for tableware.”¹⁷ Never lacking, was discussion of burning issues of literature and culture, and access to books. Pushkin’s father taught him French, starting by reading

the plays of Molière aloud to the child. Alexander Pushkin learned to speak, write, recite from memory and make puns in French. By the age of eleven, he was reading his way through his father’s library of French classics, as well as the books of their neighbor, Dmitri Petrovich Buturlin, an amateur actor and owner of one of the best private libraries in Russia. He had plunged into history, reading Plutarch’s *Lives*. He was improvising plays in French verse, which he staged before the critical eye of his sister, Olga.¹⁸

The habits of delight in word-play and improvisation, acquired in childhood, never left Pushkin. At the same time, as a child he met some of the most serious writers of the day. His father recalled, “In his very earliest years, he showed great respect for writers. Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin was not the same as the others. One evening, N.M. was visiting me and stayed late; the entire time, Alexander sat across from him, listening as he talked, and never taking his eyes off [Karamzin]. He was six years old.”¹⁹

Pushkin learned Russian chiefly from his maternal grandmother, Maria Alekseyevna Hannibal (née Rzhnevskaya, from another old Russian noble family), who had an unusual command of the language for a woman in this period. His nursemaid, Arina Rodionovna Yakovleva, was a serf from one of the Hannibal villages; her fairy tales, told to Pushkin as a boy, and their renewed acquaintance during his exile to his mother’s estate in 1824-1826, gave the poet his richest source of

Russian as it was spoken in the countryside.

The Lycée

Pushkin spent six years, beginning October 19, 1811, as a member of the first class of the Imperial Tsarskoye Selo Lycée, an institution animated by the Classical pedagogy of the *Ecole Polytechnique* in France and the Humboldt education reforms instituted in Germany in the same period.²⁰

I.I. Martynov, a Ministry of Education department chief and former seminary classmate of State Secretary Michael Speransky, presented the Tsar with the first draft of statutes for a Lycée in 1808. The outlined curriculum was weighted towards languages, physical sciences, and mathematics. It proscribed rote memorization and stressed the development of the capacity for thought. Speransky said later that he had written the core of the plan by uniting elements of a Cadet Corps program with the thirty-subject curriculum used at a school attached to Moscow University. Minister of Education Count Razumovsky attacked this plan by trying to play on the Tsar's fears about the French Revolution, warning that the youth would be confused by instruction on "philosophical opinions on the soul, ideas, and the world."

In Razumovsky's opinion, a Russian diplomat or civil servant had no need for chemistry or astronomy, not to mention Greek. Attempts to block a Classical curriculum, did not succeed, however. When the Lycée opened, it was staffed by graduates of university courses in Germany and France, and initially led by Vasili F. Malinovsky (1765-1814), a close student of American political and economic thought, and Russian translator of U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures."

The government resolution on establishment of the Lycée was promulgated in January 1811. It provided for six years of study, divided into two three-year courses. In

the first course were: *languages*—Russian, Latin, French and German; *moral sciences*—Divine law, moral philosophy, and logic; *mathematical and physical sciences*; *history*; *fine arts and gymnastics*—penmanship, drawing, dancing, fencing, horseback riding, swimming. The senior course provided a more elaborate curriculum for the "moral sciences," including public law, Russian law, the history of law, the philosophy of law, and the history of religion.

Malinovsky, the Lycée's first headmaster, was a diplomat and philosopher, specialist in history and law, and drafter of many projects for the development of Russia, the abolition of serfdom, and the establishment of "world peace." Malinovsky's translation of Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures" had come out in St. Petersburg in 1807, containing his introduction in praise of the nascent American system of promoting industrial development.²¹

Pushkin was close to headmaster Malinovsky and his son, a fellow member of the class. He was one of the five Lycée pupils, who helped to carry Malinovsky's coffin when the teacher died in 1814.

Alexander P. Kunitsyn, Professor of Law at the Lycée, had studied at Göttingen University in 1808-1811, as well as in Paris. While at Tsarskoye Selo, he wrote his own book on *Natural Law*, published in 1818. The last of Pushkin's five poems addressed to his former classmates, written on the anniversary of October 19 (in the years 1825, 1827, 1828, 1831, 1836), invokes the spirit of the Lycée with the image of Kunitsyn, welcoming the boys to the new school.

One year after the founding of the Lycée, Napoleon was in Moscow. The older brothers, uncles, and friends of the students went to war. In September 1812, there was some consideration of evacuating the boys from Tsarskoye Selo, in case the Grand Army turned north towards St. Petersburg. The classmate Pushkin called his "first friend," Ivan Pushchin, remembered that on Sundays, Professor of Russian Literature Koshansky would read aloud communications received from students' rela-

The development of Russian as a literate language was undertaken by men of letters beginning the mid-Eighteenth century. Shown (left to right) are the scientist Lomonosov, and the poets Derzhavin and Karamzin.



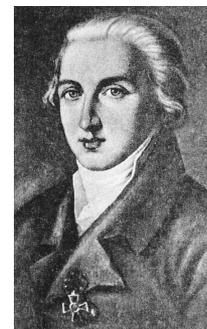
Mikhail Lomonosov
(1711-1765)



Gavriil Derzhavin
(1743-1816)



Nikolai Karamzin
(1766-1826)



Pushkin attended the elite Imperial Tsarskoye Selo Lycée, whose Classical curriculum was drafted under State Secretary Michael Speransky (above). Its first headmaster was Vasili F. Malinovsky (right), Russian translator of Alexander Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures." Above: Pushkin manuscript sketch of the Lycée.

tives at the front. "The newspaper room was never empty after class; Russian and foreign publications were read non-stop, with continuous discussion. . . . The professors would come and teach us how to follow the course of events, explaining the things we didn't understand."²²

The same Koshansky encouraged Pushkin in poetic composition. His literature course included *belles lettres*, the analysis of writings from Classical antiquity, stylistics, rhetoric, aesthetics, and philology. Substitute teacher Galich, who gave the literature courses during Koshansky's illness, urged Pushkin to prepare a special poem on the feats of the Russian Army against Napoleon, for the Lycée examinations of 1815 to be held in the presence of the aged poet Gavriil Derzhavin (1743-1816). A military officer during the reign of Catherine II, and then Justice Minister, Derzhavin was the leading Russian poet after Lomonosov. Before Karamzin, he had begun to stretch the expressive capabilities of the Russian language, without straying far from the canons of Latin and French verse forms. The boy Pushkin's recitation of his 19-stanza "Vospominaniya v Tsarskom Sele" ("Recollections at Tsarskoye Selo") told Derzhavin that his life's work had not been in vain—that Russia would have a national poet.

Writing in "Recollections . . ." about the burning of Moscow and the battles to drive Napoleon from Russia, Pushkin echoed the vocabulary of Derzhavin's odes to Russian military commanders in the 1768-1774 Russo-Turkish War, before moving in the closing stanzas to invoke the next generation of Russian poets, Konstantin Batyushkov and Vasili Zhukovsky (1783-1852), the translator of Schiller. The verses ended with a favorite

Pushkin theme—mercy and forgiveness.²³ His recitation was informed by Koshansky's training in the principles of declamation, such as the singing quality of speech, the musicality of speech in meter, the dynamic modulation of the voice, and vibrancy for expression. "Pushkin recited with unusual animation," recalled Pushchin.

Pushkin himself reminisced about this seminal moment at the start of his career:

I saw Derzhavin just once in my life, but I shall never forget it. When we heard that Derzhavin was coming, we were all astir. [Pushkin's friend and fellow poet Baron Anton] Delvig went out onto the staircase, to wait for him and kiss his hand, the hand that had written "The Waterfall." . . . Derzhavin was very old. He was in uniform, with velvet boots. Our examinations tired him; his face was expressionless, his eyes dull. He dozed until it was time for the examination in Russian literature. Then he came alive: His eyes flashed, and he was completely transformed. . . . Finally, I was called forward. I recited my "Recollections at Tsarskoye Selo," standing two paces away from Derzhavin. I cannot describe the state of my soul: When I reached the line where Derzhavin is mentioned, my adolescent voice squeaked, and my heart beat in ecstasy. . . . I don't know how I finished reading; I don't remember, where I fled. Derzhavin was ecstatic: He demanded that I be fetched, so that he could embrace me. . . . They searched, but they didn't find me.

When word spread about Alexander Pushkin's recitation, the editors at the *Vestnik Yevropy* (*Herald of Europe*) literary journal in Moscow realized who was the author of the poem "K drugu stikhotvortsu" ("To a Poet Friend"), which they had received anonymously and published in

1814 under the pseudonym “Alexander Enkashape” (the consonants in “Pushkin,” spelled backwards). It was Pushkin’s first published verse. “Recollections at Tsarskoye Selo” came next, now under his real name. For the remaining twenty-two years of his brief life, Pushkin was at the center of Russian culture—as he has been ever since.

A Poet’s Life For the Nation

Because only a few moments of Pushkin’s creative work will be explored here, an outline of his career is in order for English-speaking readers, to whom Pushkin is generally unknown.

Upon graduation from the Lycée in 1817, Pushkin received his civil service appointment, to the Foreign Ministry. He lived in St. Petersburg until 1820. In 1818, he was admitted to full membership in the Arzamas literary society, where he joined his uncle, Zhukovsky, Batyushkov, and Prince Pyotr Vyazemsky, who would be his friend for life, in polemics defending Karamzin’s “foreign” modifications of written Russian against the purists of Admiral Shishkov’s Conversation Society. Never one to be doctrinaire, however, Pushkin also visited the Shishkov circle, and he later lampooned his fellow Arzamasians for being as overblown in their excesses of poetic refinement, as was Shishkov in his militant Slavonicism. Pushkin’s nickname within Arzamas was *Sverchok*—“Cricket.”

In 1819, Pushkin was in the short-lived Green Lamp society, meeting at the home of Nikita Vsevolzhsky, which combined interest in the fast life of theater circles, with political ideas known as “liberal” in the post-Congress of Vienna period. Some future participants in the Decembrist uprising of 1825 were in the orbit of the Green Lamp, but most of Pushkin’s correspondence with and about Vsevolzhsky concerns the poet’s attempts to purchase back a manuscript of his poems, lost to Vsevolzhsky at a game of cards.

Pushkin’s barbed political epigrams, which circulated in St. Petersburg, and poems such as “*Volnost*” (“Liberty”) (1817) and “*Derevnya*” (“The Countryside”) (1819) drew official attention. In “*Derevnya*,” Pushkin wrote about serfdom as “a murderous disgrace,” and asked:

And shall I see, oh friends, the people crushed no
longer
And slavery by the Tsar’s command depart,
And will there finally in skies above our country
Arise enlightened freedom’s beauteous dawn?

He was interrogated by the Governor-General of St. Petersburg in April 1820, and transferred to Yekaterinoslav in southern Russia the next month. Karamzin and Zhukovsky exerted their influence, to prevent the young poet’s exile to Siberia.

Pushkin then lived in Kishinyov²⁴ (late 1820–summer 1823) and Odessa (1823–24), all the while in the employ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, until being exiled to his mother’s estate in the summer of 1824. In Odessa, his superior was Count Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov (1782–1856), the Governor-General of Novorossiysk and Bessarabia, son of the Count Semyon Vorontsov who had been Ambassador to Venice and then London under Catherine II, a gentleman, known as an “Anglomaniac,” who called himself “Simon.”²⁵ The younger Vorontsov, who made life difficult for his subordinate in Odessa and had a hand in his exile, was skewered by Pushkin in an 1824 epigram:

Half-Milord, half a merchant,
Half a wise man, half a lout,
Half a scoundrel, but there’s hope yet,
There will be all [or: enough] of him at last.

Before departing St. Petersburg for the south, Pushkin had completed his first long poem, *Ruslan i Lyudmila* (*Ruslan and Lyudmila*), which was published at the end of 1820. This work prompted Zhukovsky to inscribe to Pushkin a portrait of himself, “From the vanquished teacher to his victorious pupil. . . .”; in *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, Pushkin parodied elements of Zhukovsky’s ballad “The Twelve Sleeping Maidens,” while Zhukovsky’s own plan for a long poem set in Kievan Rus, the epic *Vladimir*, did not materialize. Pushkin drew on Russian fairy tales and the heroic narrative poems called *byliny*, as well as the narrative style of the Italian Renaissance poet Ariosto, for his comic epic. He mocked sentimental and Romantic conventions, with such touches as having Lyudmila, held captive by the villain Chernomor, contemplate throwing herself from a bridge—only to take a break for lunch, instead. This first long poem was immensely popular. In the opening stanzas of *Yevgeni Onegin*, his unique novel in verse, Pushkin would address his anticipated readers as “Friends of Lyudmila and Ruslan!”

From the south, Pushkin wrote and published another long poem, *Kavkazsky plennik* (*The Prisoner of the Caucasus*), and wrote *Bratya razboyniki* (*The Robber Brothers*), *Bakhchisaraysky fontan* (*The Fountain of Bakhchisaray*), most of *Tsygany* (*The Gypsies*), and parts of several others. He began work on *Yevgeni Onegin*, written in 1823–1830 and published in installments.



After graduating from the Lycée, Pushkin joined poets Vasili Zhukovsky (top left), Konstantin Batyushkov (bottom left), and Pyotr Vyazemsky (top right), in the St. Petersburg Arzamas literary society.

Below: Pushkin manuscript sketch shows Prince Vyazemsky in profile.



The adventure plots of the “southern” long poems and their exotic locales have often served as a pretext for critics to characterize them as a “Romantic” or “Byronic” phase of the poet’s development—even though they never lack that irony in the narration, which is quite alien to Romanticism, but is always there in Pushkin. In a survey of criticism of his published works, which Pushkin jotted in a notebook in 1830, he looked back on *The Gypsies* with a smile and some satisfaction about how it had *not* conformed to Romantic canons:

One lady observed that there was only one honest person in the whole poem, and that was the bear [kept by the gypsies—RBD]. The late Ryleyev objected to Aleko’s being made the bear-keeper, and even more to his collecting money from people to see the bear. Vyazemsky said the same thing. (Ryleyev asked me to make Aleko at least a blacksmith, which would not have been a bit more noble.) Best of all would have been to make him an official of the eighth rank or a landowner, and not a gypsy at all. Then, of course, there would have been no poem, *ma tanto meglio* [but so much the better].

The deterioration of his relations with Vorontsov and the interception by the post office of a letter in which Pushkin discussed atheism, led to his second exile. He was dismissed from the state service and sent to his mother’s estate of Mikhailovskoye, near Pskov. Pushkin was alone there from August 1824 to August 1826, with the company only of the neighboring Osipov-Vulf family, his childhood nursemaid Arina Rodionovna, and other ser-

vants, and with just an occasional visit from friends (Delvig and Pushchin each came to see him once) and the ability to correspond, subject to interception and surveillance. He finished *The Gypsies*, continued *Yevgeni Onegin*, and broke new ground with his dramatic tragedy, *Boris Godunov*.

Pushkin was at Mikhailovskoye, when Tsar Alexander I died on Nov. 19 (Old Style), 1825 in Taganrog. Alexander’s next oldest brother, Governor-General of Warsaw Constantine, had renounced the throne and Nicholas was the heir, but this was not generally known. Military units swore allegiance to Constantine, who, however, refused to come to St. Petersburg. On December 14, the Northern Society²⁶ of young noblemen and officers, veterans of the Great Patriotic War against Napoleon, took advantage of the interregnum to stage a revolt, known as the Decembrist uprising, against the incoming Tsar Nicholas I. On the Senate Square in St. Petersburg, a day-long standoff, punctuated by the assassination of two government officials, ended in an hour of cannonfire. Scores of the soldiers summoned by the insurgents died, and the Decembrist leaders were arrested. Among them were two of Pushkin’s closest Lycée friends, Ivan Pushchin and Wilhelm Kyukhelbeker (Küchelbecker).²⁷ Five ring-leaders were hanged in 1826, including Pushkin’s friend the poet Kondrati Ryleyev. Others were exiled to Siberia for life.

Pushkin wrote to Zhukovsky in January 1826:

Probably the government has ascertained that I do not belong to the conspiracy, and had no political ties with the rebels of December 14—but in the journals it has announced disgrace for those, as well, who had any information of the conspiracy and did not announce it to the police. But just who, except for the police and the government, did not know about it? There was shouting about the conspiracy in every alley, and that is one of the reasons I am guiltless. All the same . . . the gendarmes . . . can perhaps easily convict me of political conversations with somebody or other of the accused. And among them there are enough of my friends.

He named some of his associates among the Decembrists—Major Rayevsky, General Pushchin, Orlov. Pushkin burned his notes for an autobiography, after learning that manuscripts of his early poems had been found in the possession of most of the Decembrists.

In the same letter, Pushkin asked Zhukovsky to consult with Karamzin, on whether this were not the time to ask the new Tsar finally to allow him to return from the countryside. His sense of the timing had to do not only with his own sustained efforts to get away from Mikhailovskoye, but with hopes for Russia. He had spent the previous year wrestling in his mind with the question of national leadership, while writing *Boris Godunov*, so he thought not in terms of a simple scheme like “bad Tsar succeeded by good Tsar,” but about the tragedy of the outgoing regime. In the same letter to Zhukovsky, Pushkin wrote, “They say you have written verses on the

death of Alexander—a rich subject! But your lyre was silent during the last ten years of his reign [after the Congress of Vienna—RBD]. That is the best reproach against him. Nobody has more right than you to say that the voice of the lyre is the voice of the people. Consequently I was not completely wrong in hissing him to the very grave.” Pushkin’s biting verse, “Reared to the beat of a drum,” on Alexander fleeing at Austerlitz in 1805 and trembling in 1812, dates from 1825, but so does this passage in his “October 19” poem:

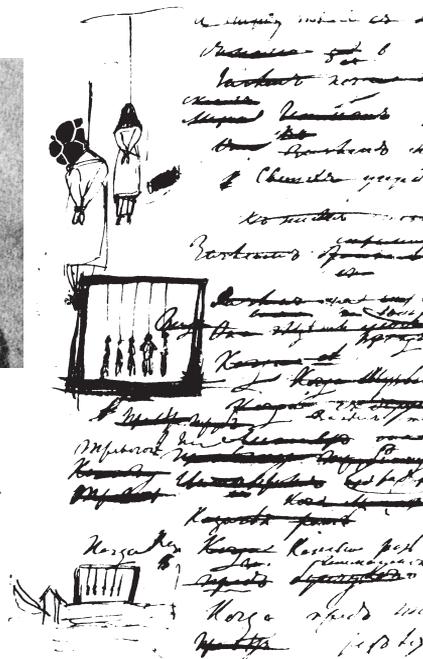
Hurrah, our Tsar! Raise glasses for his health.
 He is a man! The moment is his master,
 He is a slave of gossip, doubts, and passions;
 Let us forgive him unjust persecution:
 He took Paris, and founded the Lycée.

When Pushkin did petition the new Tsar to end his exile and the request was approved, he was brought in September 1826 directly to an audience with Nicholas I in Moscow. Nicholas remarked afterwards that on September 8, on the eve of his coronation, he had talked with “the most intelligent man in Russia.” Pushkin recalled that he answered a question about the December 14 uprising, “I would have been in the ranks of the rebels,” had he been in St. Petersburg on that day, and thanked God that he hadn’t been there. Nicholas granted Pushkin a pardon, and initiated a complex relationship in which he was Pushkin’s personal censor, although without, as the poet thought at first, releasing him from the regular

Pushkin’s closest Lycée friends were Baron Anton Delvig (far right), Wilhelm Kyukhelbeker (right), and Ivan Pushchin (below).



Pushchin and Kyukhelbeker were arrested after the Decembrist uprising. In Siberian exile, Kyukhelbeker translated Shakespeare’s tragedies.



Left: Pushkin manuscript sketch depicts the five hanged Decembrist ring-leaders, including his friend, the poet Kondrati Ryleyev.



censors. Their correspondence was conducted through Count Alexander Benkendorf (Benckendorff), chief of the Third Section of His Majesty's Chancellery, the political police.

In 1828, Pushkin wrote the long poem *Poltava*, set around Peter the Great's decisive battle in the Northern War with Sweden (1700-1721). Then, in 1830, came the famous Boldino Autumn. Engaged to marry Natalya Goncharova, Pushkin travelled to Nizhny Novgorod on the Volga, to arrange finances in connection with his father's gift to him of half the estate of Boldino, south of Nizhny. Arriving at Boldino at the beginning of September, he was caught in a cholera epidemic and could not cross the quarantine zones to return to Moscow. In three months at Boldino, Pushkin wrote Chapter 8 (the last published chapter) of *Onegin*, the five prose *Tales of Belkin*, the Little Tragedies (four short dramas on moral themes), the verse tale *Domik v Kolomne* (*The Little House in Kolomna*), the fairy tale in verse *Skazka o pope i o rabotnike ego Balde* (*The Tale of the Priest and of His Workman Balda*), and several of his most brilliant short poems.

Married in February 1831, Pushkin lived for the rest of his life in Tsarskoye Selo and St. Petersburg. He and his wife had four children.

Permission was granted for the publication of *Boris Godunov*, at the time of Pushkin's marriage. In 1831, the poet obtained a special appointment from the Tsar as historiographer, giving him access to the state archives. In 1833, he was elected to the Imperial Russian Academy. An 1833 field trip to Orenburg and Kazan, to research the insurgencies led by Yemelyan Pugachov in the 1770's, concluded with the second Boldino Autumn, as Pushkin stopped at Boldino for October and November, and there completed *The History of the Pugachov Revolt*, as well as writing *Medny Vsadnik* (*The Bronze Horseman*), two more fairy tales, and *Angelo*, based on Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*.

At the end of 1833, Pushkin was given the court rank of *Kammerjunker*, normally bestowed upon younger aristocrats. Because of the years of civil service advancement missed by Pushkin during his official disgrace, the court rank matching his government-service rank was inappropriate for his age. Resentment over the mandatory court appearances and protocol associated with his *Kammerjunker* status dogged Pushkin for the rest of his life. He did not attribute ill will to Nicholas, who simultaneously consented to finance the publication of *Pugachov*, but he wrote to his friend Pavel Nashchokin in March 1834:

I've been a *Kammerjunker* since the month of January. *The Bronze Horseman* was not passed [by the censors—RBD].

Losses and unpleasantnesses! On the other hand, *Pugachov* has been passed, and I am publishing it at the Sovereign's expense. This has quite solaced me; all the more that, of course, in making me a *Kammerjunker* the Sovereign was thinking of my rank rather than of my years—and he surely didn't intend to humiliate me.

The next month, though, Pushkin wrote with more bitterness in a letter to his wife Natalya, on the occasion of a ceremony for the future Alexander II:

I have no intention of going to see the Heir, with congratulations and greetings; his reign is yet to come, and I probably shall not live to see it. I have seen three Tsars: the first [Paul I] ordered my little cap to be taken off me, and gave my nurse a scolding on my account; the second was not gracious to me; although the third has saddled me with being a Kammerpage close upon my old age, I have no desire for him to be replaced by a fourth. . . . We shall see just how our [son] Sashka will get along with his namesake [Alexander] born to the purple: I didn't get along with mine. God grant that he not follow in my footsteps and write verses and quarrel with Tsars!

This letter was screened by the postmaster, forwarded to the police, and delivered directly to the Tsar. The aftermath of the incident for Pushkin's relations with the court was grim, as he wrote in his diary on May 10, 1834:

I have received from Zhukovsky a note from Tsarskoye Selo. He informed me that a certain letter of mine was circulating around the city, and that the Sovereign had spoken to him about it. . . . The Moscow post unsealed a letter written by me to Natalya Nikolayevna and, finding in it an account of the Grand Duke's swearing in, written, apparently, not in the official style, made a report about it to the police. The police, without making out the meaning, presented the letter to the Sovereign, who flared up and did not understand it, either. Fortunately, the letter was shown to Zhukovsky, who then explained it. Everything quieted down. It did not please the Sovereign that I referred to my becoming a *Kammerjunker*, without tender emotion and without gratitude. But I may be a subject, or even a slave, but I shall not be a flunky and a clown even before the Tsar of Heaven. But what profound immorality there is in the customs of our government. The police unseal a husband's letters to his wife, and take them to the Tsar (a well-bred and honorable man) to be read, and the Tsar is not ashamed to admit it. . . .

On June 25, 1834, Pushkin attempted to resign from the state service, while retaining permission to use archival materials in his historical research and writing. The reply from Count Benkendorf said, "His Imperial Majesty does not wish to keep anyone against his will," but that retirement would mean the loss of access to the archives. With his great project of writing the history of

Peter the Great still ahead, Pushkin could not accept these terms. The last two years of his life involved an ever-tightening circle of financial troubles, attempts to leave the service and the capital without forfeiting the archives, and intrigues against him. Professor Vadim Kozhinov, in the article included in this issue of *Fidelio*, analyzes the final offensive against Pushkin by his political enemies, ending in his death in January 1837 [see “The Mystery of Pushkin’s Death,” page 74, this issue.].

Pushkin wrote the story *Pikovaya dama* (*The Queen of Spades*) in 1834, as well as his last fairy tale in verse, *Skazka o zolotom petushke* (*The Tale of the Golden Cockerel*). *Kapitanskaya dochka* (*The Captain’s Daughter*), a novel set in the time and region of the Pugachov revolt, was finished in 1836. During that last year, 1836, Pushkin published his own literary quarterly, *Sovremennik* (*The Contemporary*).

The Greek Project

“We are all accursed and scattered over the face of the earth,” Pushkin wrote to Vyazemsky from Odessa in 1824. The matter at hand was their mutual desire to found a literary journal, a forum for the development of Russian literature that would be “nobly independent” of oligarchical patronage, for which task Pushkin said “we must unite.” He was hungry for collaborators, but isolated from them.

Pushkin found partners in dialogue from other times and places. The education he had received, prepared Pushkin’s mind to embody the principle of Raphael’s “School of Athens” in scientific work and Classical art, the method of education Lyndon LaRouche discussed with Russian scientists during his first visit to Moscow, in 1994, as on many other occasions:

The best method to educate a child is the method which resulted in the Renaissance in Italy and elsewhere. . . . The same method was used by [Gaspard] Monge in the *Ecole Polytechnique*. The child *must re-live the experience of each discovery*. Any good scientist, as we can all attest, has a mind full of the memory of the experience of discovery of many great scientists from history. When colleagues are referring to a certain scientist’s work by name, they are trying to recall among themselves the mental experience they had as a student, in living through that experiment. . . .

So, what we should call scientific culture, is a child’s mind, a student’s mind, filled with the living, re-created memory of a thought of a person who was dead one hundred years, two thousand years ago. You can imagine the painting of Raphael, of the famous “School of Athens.” People who are separated from each other by hundreds of years are sitting in the same large hall. How is this possible? Because in the mind of the person who knows the creative work of each, *they are living contemporaneously*.

These ideas, represented by the creative contributions of original thinkers, transmitted by teachers who have re-lived that experience, to students and others who re-live the experience—that is where this power comes from.²⁸

The dialogue between cultures occurs as a creative individual takes the workings of the minds of other thinkers, inside the sovereign precincts of his own mind.

In Pushkin’s early writing, there is already evident a relationship with past composers that goes beyond mere imitation of forms or themes, to seize the living kernel of works from Classical antiquity. Like plenty of young poets, he was fond of Ovid (43 B.C.-c. A.D. 17), the Roman poet of love and and love’s transformations, exiled by Augustus Caesar to the north shore of the Black Sea. In Kishinyov in 1821 he wrote “*K Ovidiyu*” (“To Ovid”), in which he compared his own exile to Ovid’s:

. . . now I have visited
The land, where once upon a time you spent an age.
Imagination’s dreams being brought to life by you,
Here, your refrains I sang again, again, oh Ovid,
And well could I believe the truth of their sad
pictures; . . .

If future generations learn of me and come
To seek my lonely trace in this far country,
Beside your famous ashes . . .
In lot, not glory, shall I be your equal.

Three years later, in *The Gypsies*, Pushkin had progressed in his simplification of Russian poetic expression to where he could convey his *idea* of Ovid—the exiled good poet, who is immortal in the minds of people because of a quality of kindness that becomes shared—without ever saying his name, now putting much sparer language in the mouth of the old Gypsy. The Old Man tells of a legend among the Gypsies, about a man exiled to Bessarabia by a Tsar:

In years he was already old,
But young, alive in his kind soul:
He had a wondrous gift of song,
A voice like to the sound of water,
Beloved was he by everyone,
And on the Danube banks he lived,
Offense to no one did he give,
But all enchanted with his stories. . . .

And strangers hunted game for him
And caught fish for him in their nets;
And when the rapid river froze
And winter whirlwinds raged around,
They stitched together furs and skins
To keep the blessed old man warm; . . .

Pushkin was certain that the most important creative contributions of original thinkers to be brought into Russian were those of ancient Greece, beginning with the language of Homer. He gave lifelong attention to the project of translating Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into Russian; the translation of the former had been undertaken by Nikolai Gnedich (1784-1833). Gnedich was Pushkin's friend from youth, helping to shepherd *Ruslan and Lyudmila* through its first printing. Pushkin wrote to him from Kishinyov in 1821 about the *Iliad* translation, and again in May 1823, asking, "You, whose genius and labors are too lofty for this puerile public, how are you doing, how is your Homer doing?"

From Mikhailovskoye in 1825, deep into study of Russian history and of tragedy for his *Boris Godunov*, Pushkin suggested in a letter to Gnedich that the translation of Homer was necessary preparation for the writing, perhaps by Gnedich himself, of heroic epics in Russian:

My brother has told me of the early completion of your Homer. That will be the first classical, European feat in our fatherland (may the devil take this fatherland). But when you have rested after your *Iliad*, what will you take up in the full flower of your genius, after you have matured in the temple of Homer, like Achilles in the Centaur's den? I am expecting an epic poem from you. "The shade of Svyatoslav is wandering, unsung," you once wrote me. And Vladimir? and Mstislav? and Donskoy? and Yermak? and Pozharsky? The history of a people belongs to the poet.²⁹

And, in 1826: "Gnedich will not die before he com-

pletes his *Iliad!*" After twenty-two years of work by Gnedich, and after his illness and long convalescence, the translation reached publication in 1829. Pushkin hastened to place a notice in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, observing that the completion of this task far outweighed all the most popular verses that literary critics spent their energies to debate:

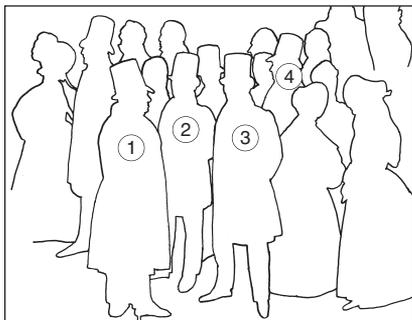
At last, the translation of the *Iliad*, so long and so impatiently awaited, has come out! In a time when writers, spoiled by successes of the moment, mostly aspire to produce brilliant little nothings, when talent is divorced from labor, while fashion ignores the models of grand antiquity, . . . it is with a feeling of deep respect and gratitude that we look upon a poet, who proudly dedicated the best years of his life to the exclusive labor and selfless inspiration, of this absolutely unique, lofty feat. The Russian *Iliad* is before us. Let us now study it, so as to be able, with time, to give our readers some account of this book, which ought to have such an important influence on our country's literature.

The notice was unsigned, but Gnedich recognized Pushkin's hand and thanked him, to which Pushkin replied in a letter of Jan. 6, 1830:

I am glad, I am happy, that the several lines which I timidly jotted down in the *Gazette* could touch you to such a degree. Ignorance of the Greek language prevents me from proceeding to a full-scale critique of your *Iliad*. This analysis is not necessary for your fame, but it may be necessary for Russia.

In verse, as well, Pushkin celebrated the translation of

The painter Grigori Chernetsov incorporated the literary circle around Pushkin, which he had painted in his 1832 "In the Summer Garden," as a detail of his large canvas, "Parade in the Field of Mars" (detail, right). Writers include (1) Ivan Krylov, author of the famous Russian "Fables," (2) Pushkin, (3) Vasili Zhukovsky, and (4) Nikolai Gnedich, the translator of Homer.



The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg

the *Iliad*, with an unpublished poem to Gnedich and with his distich “*Na perevod Iliady*” (“On the Translation of the *Iliad*”). This poem happens to provide a particularly transparent illustration of his method of composition:

Слышу умолкнувшей звук божественной эллинской речи;
Старца великого тень чую смущенной душой.

I hear the died-away sound of divine Hellenic speech;
The great old man’s shade I sense with perturbed soul.

The meter of the distich is dactylic hexameter, the meter of Homer’s epics (slightly modified):

/ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘
Sly-shu u- | mol-knu-vshy | zvuk bo- | zhe-stven-noy | el-lin-skoy |
/ -
re-chi;
/ ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ / / ˘ ˘ / ˘ ˘ /
Star-tsa ve- | li-ko-vo | ten | chu-yu smu- | shchon-noy du- | shoy.

Pushkin imitates the *sound* of ancient Greek, with the double vowel *uu* at the end of the first word and beginning of the second word.

Beyond this mimickry of Greek with meter and sound, the two lines give a beautiful example of Pushkin’s mastery of the principle of inversion. There are two simultaneous inversions: in the ordering of vowel sounds and in the grammatical arrangement. The vowels move from the relatively “dark” ones produced in the middle or the back of the mouth, to three stressed *e* vowels in a row, which are produced in the front of the mouth and sound “bright”; the hinge in the center, the first syllable of the second line, is the only stressed *a* in the poem—*stártsa* (“of the old man”); then back through the forward *i* and *e*, to conclude with the “dark” *o* and *u* vowels again. Here is the sequence of stressed vowels, with unstressed *u* and [>]*o* also shown, in parentheses, because they are fully sounded even when not stressed:

[> (u) (u) o (u) (>) u] [e e e]
[a] [i e] [u (u) (u) o (u) o]

The second inversion is the grammatical ordering: verb / object / genitive (adjectives-noun) // genitive (noun-adjective) / object / verb:

[I hear] [the died-away sound] [of divine Hellenic speech];
[Of the old man the great] [the shade] [I sense]

After the grammatical inversion, the last, summary phrase—*smushchonnoy dushoy* (“by means of my perturbed soul”)—is in the instrumental case, a noun form that implies verbal action. It is a powerful grammatical

feature, inherited by Russian from ancient Indo-European; Sanskrit also has the instrumental case, as do the Baltic Languages (Lithuanian, Latvian), which likewise preserve many ancient word-roots and some grammatical differentiation lost even to Classical Greek, not to mention most modern Indo-European languages.³¹ In Russian, the instrumental is called *tvoritelny padezh*, literally “the creative case.”

One of Pushkin’s notebooks from 1833, the year Gnedich died, contains his own sketch for the opening of the *Odyssey* in Russian.

Pushkin’s Friend Shakespeare

Pushkin seized on the idea of writing a dramatic tragedy in Russian, from Russian history, in 1824. He was reading Shakespeare (in French) in Odessa. Then, at Mikhailovskoye, he received Volumes 10 and 11 of Karamzin’s *History of the Russian State*. “What a marvel these last two volumes of Karamzin are,” wrote Pushkin, “What life! It’s all as topical as the latest newspaper.” He wrote out notes on the chapters dealing with the murder of Dmitri, the young son of Ivan IV (Ivan Grozny, “the Terrible” or “the Awesome,” r. 1533-1584), and the short reign of Ivan’s other son, Fyodor. He sketched the outline of a play, which became *Boris Godunov*. The project absorbed Pushkin until completion of the first draft in November 1825.

Godunov is set just before and during the *smutnoye vremya*, the Time of Troubles, 1605-1613. Ivan and Fyodor, being the last tsars of the Rurikid Dynasty of Kiev and Moscow, were succeeded in 1598 by the boyar Boris Godunov, rumored to have murdered Dmitri seven years before that. In 1603-1605, Godunov was challenged by a pretender, the renegade monk Grishka Otrepyev, who claimed to be the escaped Dmitri. The False Dmitri secured military backing from Poland, invaded Russia from the West, and overthrew Godunov. He, in turn, was overthrown the following year. Chaos and a flood of new pretenders ensued, ending only in 1613 with the election of Mikhail Romanov as Tsar Michael I. In the larger framework of European history, the Russian Time of Troubles was the eastern front of turmoil and collapse that intensified throughout Europe, leading into the 1618-1648 Thirty Years War.

Schiller’s last play, the unfinished *Demetrius*, treated the same episode of Russian history as did Pushkin’s *Godunov*. Schiller left notes for the unfinished parts of the play, on the concept of legitimacy of leadership, which he wanted to present through the double tragedy

of Dmitri and Godunov—either of whom could rightly have ruled, irrespective of bloodline, had he *given* leadership. The crucial psychological moment, of the False Dmitri's own belief or disbelief in his identity—which Schiller discusses in his notes for a scene called “Demetrius discovers his birth”—also has a central place in Pushkin's work, in the scene titled “Night. A Garden. A Fountain,” between the Pretender and the Polish lady, Marina Mnishek.

As Pushkin worked, he addressed simultaneously the problems of the nature of tragedy, leadership in the history of Russia, and the kind of language needed to write a work of this nature. He asked his brother to send him Schiller's published plays (in French). He thanked Karamzin, through Vyazemsky, for sharing an “observation on Boris' character. . . . I had been looking at Boris from the political point of view, without observing his poetic side”³²; now, Pushkin would “set [Boris] down to the Gospels, make him read the story of Herod,” the killer of the innocents.

Above all, he enlisted the aid of Shakespeare to break out of the existing canon about how tragedy might be written. Following the sterile formalisms of the French Academy, Russia's partisans of French “court Classicism” had turned Aristotle's “three unities”—of time, place, and action—into strict requirements for “verisimilitude.” Like Gotthold Lessing in Germany in the previous century, Pushkin consciously followed Shakespeare as he argued that these rules should yield for the sake of truth of a higher order.³³ “The true geniuses of tragedy have never troubled themselves about verisimilitude,” he wrote in the draft of a letter to Nikolai N. Rayevsky (the younger) in July 1825.

[At Mikhailovskoye] I have literally no company except my old nursemaid and my tragedy; . . . While writing it, I have reflected on tragedy in general. It is perhaps the most misunderstood genre. The classicists and the romanticists have all based their laws on *verisimilitude*, and that is precisely what the nature of drama excludes. Not to speak of time, etc., what the devil verisimilitude is there in a hall cut in two halves, of which one is occupied by two thousand people, who are supposed to be unseen by those who are on the boards? . . . Verisimilitude of situations and truth of dialogue—here is the real rule of tragedy.

In the same letter, Pushkin revealed where he had turned in his efforts to achieve “truth of dialogue”:

. . . what a man this Shakespeare is! I can't get over it. How paltry is Byron as a tragedian in comparison with him! This Byron who never conceived but one sole character . . . ; this Byron, then, has parceled out among his characters such-and-such a trait of his own character; his pride to one,

his hate to another, his melancholy to a third, etc., and thus out of one complete, gloomy, and energetic character he has made several insignificant characters—there is no tragedy in that.

By contrast, Pushkin advised,

Read Shakespeare; he is never afraid of compromising a character of his, he makes him speak with all the unconstraint of life, because he is sure to find the language of his character for him at the right time and place.

Pushkin read *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Richard III* while he was writing *Godunov*, and likely others of the histories, all in French.³⁴ He alludes in letters from this time to *Henry V* and the two parts of *Henry IV*. In later notes for an introduction to *Godunov*, he remarks that “Dmitri has much in common with Henry IV.” Pushkin wrote, “. . . I composed my tragedy according to the system of our father, Shakespeare, and sacrificed upon his altar two of the classical unities, barely preserving the third.” And, “I imitated Shakespeare in his free and broad depiction of the characters, and carefree and simple composition of types.”

Pushkin followed Shakespeare in the composition of crowd scenes, while the snatches of the conversation of officers on the battlefield, one speaking French and another German, in the scene “A Plain near Novgorod of the North” are reminiscent of Fluellen and Gower in *Henry V*. The character Marina Mnishek, of which Pushkin was especially proud (“My Marina is a fine female: a real Katerina Orlova!” he told Vyazemsky, referring to the sister of Rayevsky), reminds us of Shakespeare's bold heroines, especially the quick-witted Beatrice in *Much Ado About Nothing*.³⁵

Boris Godunov is in Russian blank verse in the manner of Shakespeare, unrhymed iambic pentameter, but Pushkin, like Shakespeare, shifted into prose for what he called “coarse jokes and common [*prostonarodnyye*] scenes.”

In the scene “Square in Front of the Cathedral in Moscow,” the character called the *Yurodivy*, or Russian Holy Fool, makes a single appearance. His name is Nikolka Iron Cap:

YURODIVY

Boris! Boris! The children are insulting Nikolka!

TSAR

Give him alms. Why is he crying?

YURODIVY

Little children are insulting Nikolka. . . . Order them murdered, as you murdered the little Tsarevich.

BOYARS

Away, fool! Seize the fool!



Pushkin's Shakespearean drama "Boris Godunov" was based on the history of the Time of Troubles following the rule of Tsar Ivan the Terrible (above). Right: Scene from Mussorgsky's opera "Boris Godunov," based on the play by Pushkin, Bolshoi Opera, Moscow.



TSAR

Leave him. Pray for me, poor Nikolka.

Exit.

YURODIVY

No, no! Tsar Herod can't be prayed for—the Mother of God says not to.

The scene is completely Russian, and at the same time so directly after Shakespeare's fools, that the voice of Edgar, playing the fool, in *King Lear* echoes: "Who gives anything to poor Tom. . . . Poor Tom's a-cold."³⁶ Pushkin put a great deal of thought into the truth-telling fool. He obtained from Karamzin a book on Iron Pointed Cap, a famous Moscow *yurodivy* discussed in the *History*. Pleased with the outcome of his project, he wrote to Vyazemsky in November 1825, on the pivotal place of the fool in *Boris Godunov*: "My tragedy is finished; I reread it aloud, alone, and I clapped my hands and shouted, 'at-a-boy, Pushkin, 'at-a-boy, you son of a bitch! My holy fool is a very funny young fellow.'" Speculating on the prospects for *Godunov* to be approved by the censors, Pushkin added, ". . . hardly, my dear one. Although it is written in a good spirit, there's no way I could hide my ears completely under the pointed cap of the holy fool. They stick out!"*

It is possible also to hear Pushkin's own voice from

* Cf. Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, another work that had to get past the censors.—Ed.

another character in *Boris Godunov*—the monk Pimen, the chronicle writer, who foreshadows the work of Pushkin as historian.

With one more tale, my chronicle is finished,
The duty is fulfilled, which God entrusted
To me, a sinner. . . .

Descendants of the Orthodox will know
The bygone fortunes of their native land.

Pushkin wrote that he had paid special attention to the footnotes in Karamzin's *History*, where the author provided voluminous excerpts from old manuscripts and chronicles. "I followed Karamzin for the clear development of events," wrote Pushkin, "while in the manuscripts I attempted to discern the way of thought and the language of that time."

With Shakespeare, Pushkin worked through the concept of *narodnost*, or "folk quality," in language, which was under debate by Vyazemsky, Kyukhelbeker, the critic Polevoy, and others in Russian journals in 1824-1825. In a notebook memorandum in 1825, Pushkin made fun of writers who "see *narodnost* in words, i.e., are glad that people, expressing themselves in Russian, use Russian expressions." "Climate, the nature of government, and faith give each people a special physiognomy, which is more or less reflected in the mirror of poetry," Pushkin wrote. "There is a way of thought and feeling, there is a mass of customs, beliefs, and habits, which

The Eloquence Of the Vernacular

belong exclusively to a given people.” At the same time, he insisted that a particular national idiom must be honed to express universal ideas and insights, shared with other branches of humankind. Shakespeare’s *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Measure for Measure* possess “qualities of great *narodnost*,” he noted, while they are situated far afield from England. In an 1830 article, Pushkin emphasized again that “the tragedies of Shakespeare that have the greatest folk element, happen to have been borrowed from Italian novellas.”

Pushkin continued to pursue every avenue, to explore how Shakespeare thought and wrote. In 1834 or 1835, a decade after *Godunov* was written, the philologist Ya.K. Grot encountered Pushkin at Dixon’s bookstore for English-language publications. “Seeing Pushkin,” he recalled, “I forgot my own mission and was all attention: He was asking for books on the biography of Shakespeare. . . . In my presence, he selected everything new on Shakespeare, and ordered them to be delivered to his house.”³⁷ Pushkin’s personal library contained K. Simrock’s 1831 *Die Quellen des Shakespeare in Novellen, Märchen, und Sagen*, a German book on Shakespeare’s sources.

Pushkin deepened his study of English in the late 1820’s. He obtained a Leipzig edition of *The Dramatic Works of Shakespeare* in the original. His long poem *Angelo* (1833) is a setting of *Measure for Measure*, with several scenes embedded in direct translation, including Isabella’s famous confrontation with the hypocrite, Angelo, in Act II, Scene 2. Pushkin told Nashchokin, “Our critics have ignored this piece and think that it is one of my weaker compositions, but really I have written nothing better.” Initially, Pushkin had contemplated making a full translation of *Measure for Measure*; the surviving manuscript of the first few scenes made the late Nineteenth-century literature professor and Shakespeare scholar N.I. Storozhenko exclaim that “in Pushkin, we lost a great translator of Shakespeare.”

Shakespeare was much discussed in Russian literary journals, especially *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, where Baron Delvig became editor-in-chief in 1830. Pushkin helped to prepare for press an article by the exiled Kyukhelbeker, “Thoughts on Macbeth,” which Delvig managed to publish without indication of the author’s identity.³⁸

Shortly after finishing *Godunov*, Pushkin had written to Delvig in February 1826 about a matter close to their hearts—their mutual anguish over the just-failed Decembrist uprising, the fate of their friends who took part in it, and Russia’s fate: “I firmly rely on the magnanimity of our young Tsar. Let us not be either superstitious or one-sided—like French tragedians. But let us look at the tragedy with the eyes of Shakespeare.”

Pushkin worked relentlessly to make his Russian vocabulary and poetic lines more direct and closer to spoken Russian. In doing so, he created more degrees of freedom in the language, including the possibility of reintroducing, for special effect, the type of Old Church Slavonic vocabulary to which he had objected in its overuse by Lomonosov or Shishkov.

The simplification of expression by Pushkin is evident in sequences of his rough drafts. A draft of “*Anchar*” (“The Upas-Tree”) (1828) reads:

К нему не ходит гладный тигр,
Над ним орел не пролетает

K nemu ne khodit gladny tigr
Nad nim oryol ne proletayet

To it goes not the hungry tiger
O’er it the eagle does not fly

Gladny is a lofty-sounding Old Church Slavonic (OCS) form of Russian *golodny*, or “hungry.” In Pushkin’s final version, it has disappeared:³⁹

К нему и птица не летит,
И тигр нейдет:

K nemu i ptitsa ne letit
I tigr neidyot—

To it the bird never does fly,
And tiger goes not—

While expunging OCS expressions, as well as ornate imitations of French, Pushkin listened carefully for the language to adopt in their place.

In the “Rejoinder to Criticism,” written in his notebook in the Boldino Autumn of 1830, Pushkin reviewed criticisms of the language in *Yevgeni Onegin*:

Certain poetic liberties, such as the accusative case instead of the genitive after the negative particle *ne*; or, the use of *vremyan* in place of *vremyon* [variations of the genitive plural of *vremya*, “time”—RBD] . . . sent my critics into a terrible state of confusion. They were most upset of all about the line:

Людскую мольв и конский топ.
Lyudskuyu molv i konsky top.

The people’s speech and horses’ tread.

“Is that how we express ourselves, who have studied

from the old grammar books; can the Russian language really be distorted like that?," *Vestnik Yevropy* cruelly mocked that same line. *Molv (rech)* [speech] is a Russian word in its root. *Top* in place of *topot* [clatter] is just as much in use, as *ship* in place of *shipeniye* [hissing] (consequently, *khlop* in place of *khlopaniye* [clapping] is by no means contrary to the spirit of the Russian language). What's more, the line is not even mine, but was lifted in full from a Russian fairy tale:

«И вышел он за врата градские, и услышал
конский топ и людскую мольву».

"I vyshel on za vrata gradskoye, i uslyshal konsky top i
lyudskuyu molu."

"And he came out past the city gates, and heard
the horses' hooves and the speech of the people."

The study of old songs, fairy tales, etc., is necessary for a perfect knowledge of the properties of the Russian language. In vain do our critics despise them. . . . The conversational language of the common people (who do not read foreign books and, thank God, do not express their thoughts in French, as we do) is worthy of the most profound study. Alfieri studied Italian at the bazaar in Florence: it wouldn't be bad for us sometimes to listen to the Moscow church-bread bakers. They speak an amazingly pure and correct language.

By the time Pushkin died, he had led the way in bringing a great array of words, that were defined as colloquialisms or slang in the *Slovar Akademii Rossiyskoy (Dictionary of the Russian Academy)*, published 1789-1794, into legitimate use in literature.⁴⁰ Writers now had the flexibility to say many things in three ways: Russian, or with an admixture of OCS roots, or with foreign borrowings. In *The Bronze Horseman*, Pushkin moved through the range of how the city, St. Petersburg, could be named: with the Russian *gorod* ("city"), with the OCS-root alternative, *grad*, or as the Greek-derived "Petropolis."

In the poem "Prorok" ("The Prophet") [SEE page 61], Pushkin produced a special effect by reintroducing OCS roots in concentrated expression:

«Восстань, пророк, и виждь, и внемли,

"Vosstan, prorok, i vizhd, i vnemli . . .

"Rise, prophet, hearken, understand . . .

With the OCS *vizhd*; the prefix *voz-* (*vos-*) (having the sense of initiating and/or uplifting), verbs with which were used constantly in stilted Eighteenth-century verses, but less and less often by Pushkin; and the word *prorok* ("prophet") itself, which has embedded the archaic *rok* ("fate"; replaced in general usage by the word *sudba*),

Pushkin had the freedom to make God's voice sound different from other voices. It is characteristic of the way he played with such modalities of vocabulary, that he did so in order to imitate not the religious language of OCS liturgy, but rather the Classical Arabic of the Holy Quran! Pushkin had practiced the lofty language for this poem on receiving from God his mission as poet-"prophet," in the set of verses called *Podrazhaniya Koranu (Imitations of the Quran)*, done at Mikhailovskoye in 1824, in which are found the images of "thirsting in the desert" and the prophet (*prorok*), instructed to "read the book of heaven until morning," that later appear in "Prorok."⁴¹

Pushkin developed flexibility of meter, analogous to his transformation of Russian vocabulary. He was a master of all varieties of so-called syllabic meter, which had entered Russian poetic composition from France and Poland, and of the syllabic-accentual meters introduced by Lomonosov. The 1830 long poem *Domik v Kolomne* even begins:

Четырестопный ямб мне надоел:

Chetyrestopny yamb mne nadoyel:

Of iambic tetrameter I've had enough:

The poem proceeds in eight-line stanzas of iambic pentameter.

These meters have a fixed number of syllables *per* line, which in the syllabic-accentual form are arranged in two- and three-syllable feet with different accent patterns. The potential for musical tension in such meters, due to the rhythmic overlay of stressed syllables in the words as they are normally spoken, onto the syllables stressed according to what the meter demands, is especially great in Russian, because each Russian word, even if multisyllabic, has only one stressed syllable. Thus, the opening line of *The Bronze Horseman*, written in iambic tetrameter, must be read with three accents, not four:

На берегу пустынных волн

Na be - re - gu pu - styn - nykh voln

and not

Na be - re - gu pu - styn - nykh voln.

Pushkin did not stop with the varieties of syllabic versification. During the Mikhailovskoye exile, he began to experiment with accentual meters, called in Russian *tonicheskyy*. These meters have a set number of stresses or accents *per* line, regardless of the number of syllables. They hearken

back to the oral epics of the Slavs, which were *sung*.⁴² In 1817, A.Kh. Vostokov published his *Opyt o russkom stikhoslozhenii* (*Essay on Russian Versification*), a treatise in praise of the accentual meters of Russian folk verse, a study that Pushkin upheld in *A Journey from Moscow to Petersburg* (1833-1835) as a work of high scholarship and insight. Pushkin employed accentual meters in his fairy tales and some other poems, especially after studying south Slavic accentual meters in his work on the *Pesni zapadnykh slavyan* (*Songs of the Western Slavs*) cycle (1833-1834).

The accentual meter of *Skazka o rybake i rybke* (*The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish*) (1833) is audible, contrasted with the trochaic tetrameter of *The Tale of the Golden Cockerel* (1834).⁴³ The syllabic-accentual *Golden Cockerel* begins:

Негде, в тридевятом царстве,
В тридесятом государстве,
Жил-был славный царь Дадон.

*Negde, v tridevyatom tsarstve,
V tridesyatom gosudarstve
Zhyl-byt slavnny tsar Dadon.*

Once upon a time and long ago,
In a kingdom far away,
Lived the famous Tsar Dadon.

The number of accents *per* line varies, owing to the multisyllabic words, but the number of syllables is fixed—seven in lines with masculine endings (last syllable stressed), eight if the ending is feminine (last syllable unstressed). *The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish* is quite different:

Жил старик со своею старухой
У самого синего моря;
Они жили в ветхой землянке
Ровно тридцать лет и три года.

*Zhyl starik | so svoeyu | starukhoy
U samovo | sinevo | morya;
Oni zhyli | v vetkhoy | zemlyanke
Rovno tridtsat | let | i tri goda.*

There lived an old man with his old woman
Right by the blue sea;
They lived in a ramshackle dugout
Exactly thirty years and three more.

There are three accents *per* line, each governing a phrase-group of words, but the number of syllables *per* phrase-group varies. In the first line, 10 syllables occur in phrase-groups of 3, 4, and 3 syllables; in the second line, 9 syllables are grouped 4-3-2; in the third line, 9 syllables as 4-2-3; in the fourth line, 9 syllables as 4-1-4. The poem has up to 12 syllables in a line.⁴⁴

The Tale of the Priest and of His Workman Balda begins:

Жил-был поп,
Толоконный лоб.
Пошел поп по базару
Посмотреть кой-какого товару.

*Zhyl-byt | pop,
Tolokonny | lob.
Poshol pop | po bazaru
Posmotret | koy-kakovo tovaru.*

Once there lived a priest,
A real porridge-head.
The priest went to the bazaar
To look over some wares.

Pushkin wrote this tale during the Boldino Autumn of 1830, but he had outlined it at Mikhailovskoye in 1824, as told to him by Arina Rodionovna. When Pushkin read *The Tale of the Priest and of His Workman Balda* to the writer Nikolai Gogol in 1831, the latter reported to a friend, “There is one fairy tale that has no meter, but only rhymes and unimaginable charm.”

Conversations with Russian History

“... [T]he Tsar ... has taken me into service—i.e., has given me a salary and permitted me to burrow in the archives, to compile a history of Peter I. God grant the Tsar health!” Pushkin was jubilant, as in this 1831 letter to Nashchokin, about the possibility of serious work on the history of Russia. Being the successor to Karamzin, whom he called “our first historian and last chronicler”⁴⁵, he considered a vital part of his identity and a matter of civic duty.

Never letting go of the ideals of freedom expressed in his early poems, Pushkin delved into the complex relationship between Russia’s people and its tsars. He wanted to look at what had happened, when the Romanov Tsars launched reforms, without being able to recruit the politically active layers of the population, never mind the

peasantry, to support a workable idea for the betterment of the nation. In surviving notes for his history of Peter I, covering the year 1721 (for that year, only the portions of the notebooks that were censored in 1840, the outtakes, are extant), Pushkin observed:

There is an amazing difference between Peter the Great's state institutions and his ukazes of the moment. The former are the fruits of a broad mind, full of benevolence and wisdom, while the latter are *not infrequently cruel, capricious, and seemingly written with a knout*. The former were for eternity, or at least for the future,—the latter were the outbursts of an *impatient*, autocratic landowner. [Pushkin's emphasis]

He added a note to himself: “N.B. (Think this through and put it in the *History of Peter*).”

Pushkin hoped that the Russian people could advance, without violent revolution. He believed that “the fate of the peasantry improves, with the spread of education. The welfare of the peasants is closely tied to that of the landowners; that is evident to all. Of course, there should be great changes; . . . The best and most durable changes are those that proceed from an improvement of moral practice, without the violent political upheavals that are so terrible for mankind.”⁴⁶

In 1826, Pushkin was asked on behalf of the Tsar to write a memorandum on public education. Knowing he was expected to criticize the Lycée, as part of the price of being allowed to return from exile at Mikhailovskoye,

Pushkin nonetheless detailed his ideas for the teaching of history and other subjects. He remarked to Alexei Vulf, “It would have been easy to write what they wanted, but no chance to do some good should be passed up.” In December 1834, Pushkin recorded in his diary his conversation with the Tsar's brother, the Grand Duke Michael Pavlovich. Touching on such sensitive matters as the role of the hereditary nobility in Russia, the Decembrist uprising, and Pushkin's characterization of “all the Romanovs as revolutionaries and levellers,” the conversation “turned to his Highness's favorite topic, education. I was able to say a lot to him. God grant, that my words produce even a drop of good.”

In the same spirit, Pushkin offered *The History of Pugachov*, which the Tsar required be retitled *The History of the Pugachov Revolt*, for publication in 1834. His exposition of the cultural history and economic circumstances of the Yaik Cossacks, which had predisposed them to follow Pugachov during the crisis of the 1770's, provided rich material for Russian state leaders, and was said to have been consulted by Nicholas I in preparation for agrarian reforms. “God forbid that we see Russian revolt [*Rusky bunt*], senseless and merciless,” was Pushkin's famous warning in *The Captain's Daughter*.

Had Pushkin lived, the defining “Slavophile vs. Westernizer” divide in Russian Nineteenth-century intellectual and political history might have been resolved, preventing many destructive effects achieved by British geopolitical manipulation of the belief-structures of both



The Granger Collection, NY



In 1831, Tsar Nicholas I appointed Pushkin to research and write an official history of Peter the Great (above, left). While studying Peter's reforms, Pushkin noted that, “The best and most durable changes are those that proceed from an improvement of moral practice, without the violent political upheavals that are so terrible for mankind.”

Left: Peter I leads troops at the decisive Battle of Poltava (1709), in the Northern War with Sweden. Pushkin recounted the events in his 1828 narrative poem, “Poltava” (below).



the radical Pan-Slav movements and the “Western” revolutionary insurgencies in the late 1800’s. The “Westernizers” came more and more under the domination of British liberalism, influenced by the international organizing of John Stuart Mill, Giuseppe Mazzini, and other apostles of Lord Palmerston in the mid-Nineteenth century.⁴⁷ The “Slavophile” reaction to attempts to import political mores from Western Europe, was to argue that Orthodoxy was superior, and that Peter I’s reforms had been a mainly destructive force. In this school of thought, the Renaissance idea of the sanctity of the creative individual, *imago viva Dei*, was held to be no different than the so-called Enlightenment’s “Hobbesian” man, and they were glossed together as spiritually bankrupt “Western individualism.” Late in the Nineteenth century, the extreme ideology of “Pan-Slavism” served to entangle Russia in Balkan Wars that benefitted the British Empire.

In 1836, Pushkin wrote a reply to one of the opening salvos of the Slavophile-Westernizer debate, Pyotr Chaadayev’s *Philosophical Letters* (1836), in which the author argued that Russia’s divorce from Western Christianity had deprived the country of any meaningful history or culture. It was in response to Chaadayev’s assertion, that the Slavophile movement arose. The terrain of the argument was not new to Pushkin. In an 1834 rough draft titled “On the Paltriness of Russian Literature,”⁴⁸ Pushkin himself reflected on the detrimental impact of Russia’s long separation from Western Europe:

Having adopted the light of Christianity from Byzantium, [Russia] took part in neither the political revolutions, nor the intellectual activity of the Roman Catholic world. The great epoch of the Renaissance had no influence here. . . . Russia had a lofty calling Its boundless plains swallowed the force of the Mongols and stopped their onslaught at the edge of Europe. . . . During the epoch of storms and great changes, tsars and boyars agreed about one thing: the necessity of bringing Russia closer to Europe. Hence the relations of Ivan Vasilyevich [IV] with England, Godunov’s correspondence with Denmark, . . . the embassies of Alexei Mikhailovich [r. 1645-1676]. . . . Finally, Peter appeared.

Pushkin drafted a letter to Chaadayev, whom he had known for two decades, on Oct. 19, 1836 (although the political circumstance of Chaadayev’s being declared insane deterred him from sending it):

. . . you know that I am far from being entirely of your opinion. There is no doubt that the Schism separated us from the rest of Europe and that we have not participated in any of the great occurrences which have agitated it. But we have had our own special mission. Russia, in its immense expanse, was what absorbed the Mongol con-

quest. . . . They withdrew to their deserts, and Christian civilization was saved. . . .

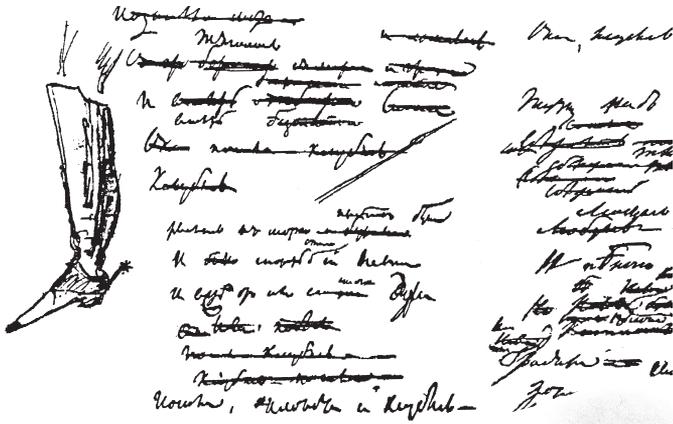
You say that the well to which we went to draw Christianity was contaminated, that Byzantium was contemptible and contemned, etc. Well, now, my friend! Was not Jesus Christ himself born a Jew, and was not Jerusalem the laughing-stock of nations? Are the Gospels the less wonderful for that? We have taken the Gospels and traditions from the Greeks, but not the spirit of puerility and controversy. The customs of Byzantium were never those of Kiev. . . .

As for our history being nil, I absolutely cannot be of your opinion. The Wars of Oleg and of Svyatoslav, and even the wars of appanage—are these not that life of adventurous effervescence and of ruthless, pointless activity which characterizes the youth of all peoples? The invasion by the Tatars is a sad and a grand picture. What? Are the awakening of Russia, the development of its power, its march toward unity, . . . the two Ivans, the sublime drama begun at Uglich and concluded at the Ipatyev Monastery—is all this to be not history, but a pallid and half-forgotten dream? And Peter the Great, who in himself alone is a universal history! And Catherine II, who placed Russia on the threshold of Europe? And Alexander, who led us to Paris? And (cross your heart) do you find nothing impressive in the present-day situation of Russia, nothing which will strike the future historian? Do you believe that he will place us outside Europe? Although I personally am sincerely attached to the Emperor, I am far from admiring all that I see around me; as a man of letters, I am embittered; as a man of prejudices, I am offended. But I swear to you on my honor that not for anything in the world would I be willing to change my fatherland, nor to have any other history than that of our ancestors, such as God gave it to us.⁴⁹

What a crime, that the battle over Russia’s identity had to continue without Pushkin!

Pushkin’s viewpoint became focussed in his study of Peter I as an expression of Russia’s historical circumstance. His notes for his *History of Peter* are the assembled raw materials for a great chronicle, spiced with the sort of pungent insight, noted above, with respect to the contrast between Peter’s institutional designs and his pragmatic cruelty. Pushkin recorded Peter’s development of the economy, from the mapping of Siberia, to silver prospecting, to the establishment of iron foundries and shipbuilding. He detailed the purchases of scientific instruments, made during Peter’s travels to Germany, Holland, and England, and the founding of the Academy of Sciences, as well as the Russian Senate, according to designs from Leibniz.

The *History of Peter* being unfinished, Pushkin’s strongest statements on the central figure of Peter the Great are in his poetry. Pushkin could look at Russian history through the prism of his own family, as he did in



Pushkin manuscript sketches for “The Bronze Horseman”—the equestrian state of Peter I in St. Petersburg’s Senate Square—include the “firm foot by the sea” (above) and a playful “bronze horseman without the horseman” (right). Far right: The statue pursues Yevgeni through the streets of St. Petersburg, in a famous illustration to the narrative poem.



the poem “Moya rodoslovnaya” (“My Genealogy”) (1830). Its refrain is “I am simply a Russian bourgeois,” a status that Pushkin traced, in verse, from the noble roots of the Pushkins, through the conflicts around the accession of Catherine II:

Then the Orlovs fell into favor,
And into jail my grandpa fell, . . .

In a postscript to this poem, Pushkin replied to sniping by his literary adversaries, by bringing the matter back to Peter the Great:

Figlyarin from his armchair judges,
That my black grandpa Hannibal
Was purchased for a bottle of rum—
Into the skipper’s hands he fell.

That skipper was the famous skipper,
By whom our native land was moved,
Onto a course of power and greatness,
With might, the helm of state he hove.

Pushkin’s great-grandfather Ibrahim Hannibal, here also called “the Tsar’s confidant, not his slave,” was the subject of his unfinished novella *Arap Petra Velikogo* (*The Moor of Peter the Great*).

In *The Bronze Horseman*, Pushkin captured the tragedy of Peter by setting a “sad story” of little people, in St. Petersburg, the gloriously conceived northern capital

he founded. First, Peter the Great brings the city into being by the power of his thought:

By nature we are destined here
To cut a window through to Europe.
To stand with firm foot by the sea.
Hither, across waves new to them
All flags will visit as our guests,
And we shall feast on the expanse. . . .

The poet rejoices at the new city:

I love thee well, Peter’s creation,
I love thy strict and well-built look,
The river Neva’s stately current,
The guardian granite of her banks.

The clerk Yevgeni, who loses his fiancée in the great St. Petersburg flood of 1824, goes mad and imagines that Falconet’s bronze statue of Peter the Great (it stands in the Senate Square, the place of the Decembrist revolt) pursues him through the streets of the city. As Yevgeni looks in horror at the statue, the poet-narrator asks:

Where art thou leaping, oh proud horse,
Where will thy hooves come down again?
Oh mighty master of destiny!
Just so, didst thou not o’er th’ abyss,
On high, with iron bit in hand,
Rear Russia up on its hind legs?

A Poet's Immortality

A few months before he was killed, Pushkin wrote his version of the Horatian ode on the immortality of the poet, “*Exegi monumentum aere perennius . . .*” (“I have built a monument more lasting than bronze . . .”). Derzhavin had begun his own ode on this theme:

Я памятник воздвиг чудесный, вечный. . .

Ya pamyatnik vozdvig chudesny, vechny . . .

A monument I've built, wondrous, eternal . . .

Keeping Derzhavin's language exactly, through *vozdvig*, Pushkin then said something entirely new:

Я памятник воздвиг нерукотворный. . . .

Ya pamyatnik vozdvig nerukotvorny . . .

A monument I've built, unmanufactured . . .

Literally: “not by hands made.” Pushkin used the word *nerukotvorny* only this once. It is rooted in the Old Church Slavonic of the Gospels, where Jesus is reported to say he will build a new temple “without hands” (Mark, 14:58). In Russian, the term also describes miraculous icons, religious images believed to have been painted not with a brush in a human hand, but by divine intervention.⁵⁰ The entire poem reads*:

A monument I've raised that never hands could
build,
The people's path to it will not be overgrown,
Its head, unbowed, untamed, stands higher from the
ground

Than Alexander's column stands.

Not all of me will die: by sacred lyre my soul
Will outlive mortal dust and will escape decay—
And I shall be renowned so long as on this earth
One single poet is alive.

Word about me will spread throughout great Russia's
land,
And each and every speaker there will say my name,

* Readers should compare this poem to Shakespeare's Sonnet 55, which begins,

“Not marble nor the gilded monuments
“Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful rime . . .”

The proud Slav's sons, the Finn, the still untamed
Tungus,
The Kalmyk, dweller of the steppe.

Long after now my name will warm the people's
heart,
Because my lyre awoke feelings both good and kind
And in my cruel age I sang of freedom's glory
And for the fallen mercy begged.

Be thou obedient, Muse, to the command of God!
Not fearing wrongful hurt, seeking no laurel crown,
Remain indifferent to calumny and praise,
And do not argue with a fool.⁵¹

Pushkin was self-conscious of the source of the power of ideas—*l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle* (“the love that moves the sun and th'other stars”)—the divine love of which the poet Dante sang. His poems on beauty and inspiration radiate the essence of the creative moment, which is recognizably and naturally coherent with the personal kindness Pushkin exuded in his life. It is striking to find in Pushkin's letters, amid the literary debates, such correspondence as his 1830 thank-you note to two citizens from Kaluga, who walked eleven miles to see him at his grandfather-in-law's estate and thank him for his poetry, or his 1834 appeal to the Procurator of the Holy Synod on behalf of a priest in Tsarskoye Selo, fired for drunkenness, who “has addressed himself to me, supposing that my weak voice might be honored with your attention.”

Pushkin was visited by “a genius of pure beauty,” he said in the famous poem, “*Ya pomnyu chudnoye mgnoveniye . . .*” (“I remember the wondrous moment . . .”), which is directed to an unnamed beautiful woman in the way that Dante addressed his Beatrice. Pushkin wrote by the rule of love, the principle his Mozart speaks of to the plodding, envious Salieri in the short drama *Mozart i Salieri (Mozart and Salieri)*:

. . . a genius,
Like you and me. Genius and evil-doing
Are incompatible. Is that not so?

The character Salieri, brooding because the seeming magic of creativity eludes him, has complained about Mozart:

What use is he? Like some sweet cherubim,
He brought down to us several songs from heaven,
Awakened wingless yearning in us mortals,
Creatures of dust—only to fly away!

But, in truth, neither Mozart nor Pushkin flew away. They are present, so long as their music resounds in the mind of any person living anywhere.

Appendix

‘Quoting’ Pushkin on Creativity

Just as Pushkin conversed for all his life with the poets, philosophers, historians, and statesmen who were the “unseen host of guests” that peopled his mind, so his creative work and his language have echoed in the minds of Russian writers. His young friend Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852), whose prose enriched Russian writing with a range of vocabulary and expressions from Gogol’s native Ukraine and whose masterpieces *Dead Souls* and *The Inspector-General* both used plot-lines suggested to the author by Pushkin, said upon the poet’s death: “All that brought joy to my life, all that gave me the greatest pleasure, vanished with him. . . . I did not write a single line, without imagining him standing before me. What would he say of it? What would he notice? What would make him laugh?”

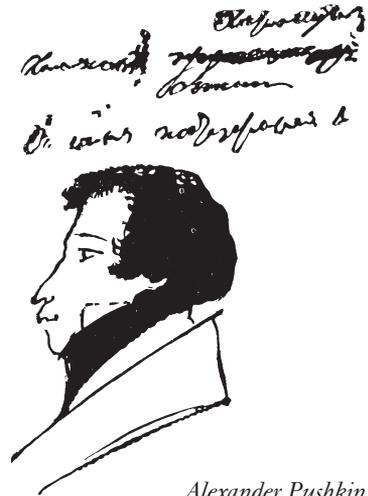
In the poem “*Tvorchestvo*” (“Creativity”), the Russian poet Anna Akhmatova (1889-1966) writes of the moment when a thought takes shape in the mind, and is present as an unarticulated idea, before being expressed by metaphor in words and verse. Before any words of a poem are written, there is this one idea—just as

Anna Akhmatova Creativity (1936)

It happens thus: a certain sweetish languor,
The clock’s persistent striking of its tones,
The distant rumble of retreating thunder;
And I hallucinate complaints and groans
Of many voices, unbeknownst and captive.
Some kind of secret circle narrows in,
But in th’ abyss of gongs and whispers plaintive
A single sound arises o’er the din.
Silence so irremediably surrounds it,
That I can hear the grass grow in the woods
And evil with its chattel walk the planet.
But lo!—my ears start to distinguish words,
And signal sounds of verses lightly stated—
Then I commence my stupor to assuage,
And lines appear as if simply dictated
In place upon my notebook’s snowy page.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart speaks of carrying the whole idea of a musical composition in his mind, before ever writing down a note. In the eighth line of Akhmatova’s poem, “a single sound arises o’er the din”—“*vstayot odin usyepobedivshy zvuk*”—the stressed *i* of *odin*, meaning “one,” leaps out in recitation, after the preceding seven lines where almost all the stressed syllables in the Russian were *a, o, u*.

“*Prorok*” (“*The Prophet*”), on his mission as a poet, and “*Osen*” (“*Autumn*”), which ends with two stanzas about the moment of poetic creation, contain the Pushkin verses most noticeably cited by Akhmatova in this poem. The translations are by Rachel Douglas.



Alexander Pushkin,
manuscript self-portrait, 1823.

Alexander Pushkin The Prophet (1826)

With thirsty soul and spirit dimmed,
I languished in a desert gloomy,
When a six-winged seraphim
Beside a crossroads hastened to me.
With fingers light as in a dream,
My eyelids then were touched by him.
Those weighty lids wide open fluttered,
As a scared eaglet’s eyes unshutter.
Lightly he touched my ears around,
And my ears rang and filled with sound:
I grasped the tremor of creation,
The lofty course the angels keep,
Sea creatures’ movements in the deep,
The distant growth of vegetation.
He reached between my frozen lips
And out my sinful tongue he ripped,
For its deceit, and idle prating,
And then the wisest serpent’s sting
With bloodied right hand did he bring
To where my deadened mouth was waiting.
My breast he opened with a sword,
And tore my heart out as it trembled,
And where my vacant breast was gored,
He placed a fire-glowing ember.
As corpse-like on the sand I lay,
God’s voice did summon me, and say:
“Rise, prophet, hearken, understand,
By thee now let my will be done,
Make rounds of all the seas and lands,
By word ignite the hearts of men.”

Autumn—A Fragment (1833)

What comes not then into my drowsing mind?

—Derzhavin

October is upon us—now the trees
Shake off the last leaves from their naked limbs;
An autumn cold has blown—the road will freeze.
The gurgling millstream still rotates the wheel,
But on the pond is ice; my neighbor flees
With hounds to hunt, into the open fields,
The winter wheat's run under by such fun,
And howling dogs awake the sleepy sun.

Now is my time: Spring I can hardly bear;
The thaw is wearisome; the stench and grime—
I sicken, mind and feelings crushed by care.
Stern winter offers what I treasure more,
I love the snow; and in the moonlit air
The light sleigh's run, when 'neath the sable throw,
A willful girl, beside you fresh and warm,
Presses your hand, inclines her trembling form!

How merry, then, with hooves in iron turned out,
To skate the standing, even river's mirror!
And what more cheer than winter's sparkling rout? . . .
But then enough; six months of snow on snow
Not e'en a bear will finally last out,
Deep in his lair. We cannot for all time
Cavort in sleighs with one or 'nother lass
Or stew at home behind our double glass.

You, summer fair, I'd love with certainty,
Were't not for heat, and dust, and gnats, and flies.
Undoing every mental faculty,
You torture us; we join the droughted fields,
And have no other thought than icy tea
To quench our thirst, and old dame Winter's mourned,

Whom, having bid farewell with cakes and punch,
We now commemorate with ice-chilled lunch.

The latest autumn days have often been
Accursed, but, reader dear, for me they're best,
They sparkle peacefully, with quiet sheen.
Like a poor child its parents fail to love,
Fall draws me to her. Yes, I truly mean,
She is the only season gives me joy,
There's good in her; a modest lover, I find
In her some element of my own mind.

How am I to explain? To me she's dear,
As once, perhaps, a sickly girl to you
Was dear. Condemned to death, she lets it near
Without a murmur, not expressing ire.
A smile is on her fading lips, no tear;
She doesn't hear the yawning grave's abyss;
There's on her face more crimson light than sorrow.
Today she lives as yet, but not tomorrow.

Oh mournful time! Enchantment of the eyes!
Your farewell festive costume pleases me—
I love that richest bloom, as nature dies,
The woods dressed up in crimson and in gold,
Through all their leaves, the rustling wind that sighs,
The skies enveloped in the wavy mist,
The sun's rare shimmer and the frost's first bite,
The far-off hint of threatening winter's might.

And every autumn back to bloom I surge;
The Russian cold snap benefits my health;
And to the ways of life I bring new verve:
I sleep in turn, I hunger when I ought;
My blood fair frolics, racing to each nerve,
Desires well up—I'm happy, young again,
I'm full of life—such is my organism,
(If you'll forgive needless prosaicism).

Pushkin manuscript sketches, "Osen" ("Autumn"), October 1833. Above, right: "It sails—where should we sail?"



Pushkin manuscript sketches, "Osen" ("Autumn"), October 1833. Above, right: "It sails—where should we sail?"

A horse is brought me; 'cross the wide estate,
 With tossing mane, he carries off his lord,
 And 'neath his flashing hooves reverberate
 The frozen valley and the crackling ice.
 The short day dims—and in the lonesome grate
 The fire burns again—it pours bright light,
 I read before it, to the last dying coal,
 Or nurture longtime thoughts within my soul.

And I forget the world, in silence sweet
 I'm sweetly conquered by imagination,
 And poetry awakes anew in me:
 My soul's compressed by lyric agitation,
 It flutters, sounds, and seeks, as if in sleep,
 To pour out full in free manifestation—
 An unseen host of guests arrives and teems,
 Acquaintances of old, fruits of my dreams.

And in my head the thoughts take shape and rage,
 And easy rhymes come meet them on the run,
 My fingers ask a pen, the pen a page,
 A moment—and the verses freely flow.

So on the still sea oft a still ship lays,
 But ho!—quick, up the ropes the sailors climb
 And down—the sails puff out with wind in motion;
 The great hulk shifts, it moves, and plows the ocean.

It sails. Where should we sail?



He says very much — *He says in 'Pushkin,*
 (He knows *volpe* — x x x — x x x)
 He is just x x *He is just*
 He is just *He is just* — —

All quotations from Pushkin's letters are taken from "The Letters of Alexander Pushkin," trans. by J. Thomas Shaw (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

The works of Pushkin that are most accessible in English translation are the stories, including "The Tales of Belkin" and "The Queen of Spades," which are available in several anthologies. The Penguin and Everyman paperback editions of "Yevgeni Onegin" give readable renditions of Pushkin's novel in verse.

NOTES

1. On the Classical idea, see Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., "The Classical Principle in Art and Science," *Fidelio*, Winter 1997 (Vol. VI, No. 4). In the chronology of the development of Russian literary language, Pushkin defined a new era, superseding what is known as the "Classical" period of the Eighteenth century, when Lomonosov and Derzhavin wrote odes in imitation of the forms used by ancient Greek and Latin authors, or their modern French imitators. In distinction from "Classical" as an academic classification of that sort, we denote by the terms "Classical principle" or "Classical idea," not the mere imitation of ancient forms (the "Romantics," customarily counterposed to the "Classical," were the more fanatical devotees of Rome, in all its corruption), but rather the celebration and metaphorical expression of creative reason. "Classical," LaRouche writes in a footnote to the cited article, "is employed . . . in the sense of rejection of . . . forms of degeneration into eroticism expressed by Romantics . . ."
2. The emigration from Russia during the Revolutions of 1917 and the Civil War (1918-1921), is known as the first wave; the second wave occurred in connection with World War II.
3. Anna Akhmatova, "Slovo o Pushkine," May 1961, printed in *Anna Akhmatova o Pushkine* (Leningrad: Sovetskii Pisatel', 1977).
4. Alexander S. Pushkin, *Zimniia Doroga*, ed. by Irina Tokmakova (Moscow: Detskaia Literatura, 1972).

5. Akhmatova, "Pushkin i deti," radio broadcast script prepared in 1963, published in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, May 1, 1974.
 A youngster with a lively mind quickly absorbs Pushkin's verses, as did a future Prime Minister of Russia, Yevgeni Primakov, as a child. David Hoffman recounted in *The Washington Post* of March 19, 1999: "Robert Demargaryan, a childhood friend and classmate, recalled for the Russian magazine *Ogonyok* last year how Primakov missed the first week of classes in the first grade. Fatherless, born in Ukraine, Primakov had moved to Tbilisi [Georgia] and lived in a 17-square-yard communal apartment with his mother, a gynecologist. A stern teacher informed the new boy that the other students had learned how to draw a slanting line, how to repeat in unison, and how to count to ten. What could Primakov do? 'The small, very stocky boy, not the least intimidated, stood up and began to recite Pushkin,' Demargaryan said. 'We were all stunned. We listened open-mouthed, and he kept reciting by heart. All of our achievements writing lines and little curlicues gradually dimmed, became insignificant.'"
6. Muriel Mirak Weissbach, "The Power of Great Poetry To Shape Character and Build the Nation: Dante, Humboldt, and Helen Keller," *Fidelio*, Summer 1996 (Vol. V, No. 2). Dante's work *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, on the eloquence of the vernacular, is presented on pp. 6-11.
7. See Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., *op. cit.*; also, especially, "That Which Underlies Motivic Thorough-Composition," *Executive Intelligence Review (EIR)*, Sept. 1, 1995 (Vol. 22, No. 35), pp. 50-63.
8. Trans. by Caroline Stephan and Robert Trout, in *Friedrich Schiller, Poet of Freedom*, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Schiller Institute, 1988), pp. 253-272.
9. Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), pp. 175-7, 569, 754. Sophie said of Peter, "He is a prince at once very good and very bad; his character is exactly that of his country. If he had received a better education, he would be an exceptional man, for he has great qualities and unlimited

natural intelligence.”

H. Graham Lowry, *How the Nation Was Won: America's Untold Story, 1630-1754* (Washington, D.C.: EIR, 1988), pp. 87-91, recounts the project to put the Electress of Hanover Sophie on the English throne, as the “Leibniz card” against the Venetian party in Britain. The *EIR* series by Philip Valenti, “The Anti-Newtonian Roots of the American Revolution,” Dec. 1, 1995 (Vol. 22, No. 48), and Anton Chaitkin, “Leibniz, Gauss Shaped America's Science Successes,” Feb. 9, 1996 (Vol. 23, No. 7), deals with the American republic as Leibniz's greatest project. Michael O. Billington writes on Leibniz's ideas about China in “Toward the Ecumenical Unity of East and West: The Renaissances of Confucian China and Christian Europe,” *Fidelio*, Summer 1993 (Vol. II, No. 3), and “Kepler and Renaissance Science in China,” *21st Century Science and Technology*, Summer 1996 (Vol. 9, No. 2).

10. Allen and Rachel Douglas, “The Roots of the Trust,” unpublished *EIR* research report, 1987, Chapter III. The Venice-centered financial oligarchy that dominated the world grain trade had great interest in securing political control over the southwards expansion of the Russian Empire. It was a sign of the Venetians' success, that in the Black Sea port city of Odessa, founded in 1794 as part of the build-up of the “New Russian” lands acquired by Catherine II, the first street-signs were in Italian. The main cargo shipped through Odessa was so-called “Polish grain,” from the newly incorporated Polish provinces of the Russian Empire (Bessarabia, Podolsk, Volyn). The structure of the city was soon determined by this trade, from the great Greek and Italian exporting firms, the insurance and shipping operations they ran, down to the mass of agents, commissioners, brokers, weighers, drivers, balers, bag-stitchers, port labor, construction workers, and so forth.
11. Helga Zepp LaRouche, “Friedrich Schiller and the Liberation Wars,” *Executive Intelligence Review*, Dec. 4, 1998 (Vol. 25, No. 48), examines the brilliant strategic thinking by Ludwig von Wolzogen and his collaborators, by means of which Napoleon was defeated in Russia. Wilhelm von Wolzogen tutored the family of Tsar Alexander I, whose wife had been Princess Louise of Baden, reading Schiller's plays with them, among other texts. Schiller cautioned his brother-in-law to avoid certain plays such as *Wilhelm Tell*, as being more than the Russian political situation was ripe for. Half a generation later, the main Russian translator of Schiller, Vasili Zhukovskiy, would tutor in Russian the bride of Alexander I's younger brother Nicholas, the future Tsar Nicholas I. She was born Princess Charlotte of Prussia, daughter of the Queen Louise who reigned during the liberation war against Napoleon.
12. Pushkin, “*O prichinakh, zamedlivshikh khod nashei slovesnosti*” (1823).
13. Pushkin, “*Puteshestvie iz Moskvy v Peterburg*” (1833-1835).
14. *Ibid.* The “Slavonic” elements were borrowings from Old Church Slavonic, a language from the southern branch of the Slavic language group (akin to Macedonian and Bulgarian), which came into use with the missions of Cyril and Methodius to the Slavs in the Ninth century.
15. The Russian historian and philologist Ya.K. Grot characterized the state of literary Russian before the appearance of Pushkin, in his 1869 review of the famous dictionary of spoken Russian, compiled by V.I. Dal: “The followers of Lomonosov, who had assimilated his respect for Church Slavonic books, but lacked his linguistic restraint, befouled written speech with their abuse of Slavonicisms. This provoked another extreme: Those who disliked such writing turned to modern foreign languages and started looking for models there, especially in French. Thus, in the 1780's there developed a ‘French style,’ alongside and in opposition to the language of the Slavonomaniacs, and these two mutually hostile schools could not coexist. One of them had to prevail, the one on whose side there would be more common sense, taste, and talent. Karamzin embodied these qualities: avoiding the

extremes of either tendency, but inclined more towards the second, which was more contemporary, he took from it what was in accord with the spirit of our native language, and began to write in a somewhat purified conversational language, mastering the natural cast of speech and, at the same time, a beauty of expression, which he had learned from the best European writers.

“Understandably, the adherents of Slavonicism did not want to yield the battlefield to their foes without stubborn resistance. . . . Shishkov refused to see that Karamzin and the best of his followers, while they did not ban foreign words altogether and even introduced ones that seemed to them necessary, were nonetheless attempting to avoid barbarisms and to replace foreign words with Russian, wherever corresponding expressions could be found in their native tongue. Although all the innovations of the Karamzin school were equally detested by Shishkov, he especially attacked them on what seemed to him the most vulnerable flank, namely borrowings from other modern languages.”

Quoted from Ia.K. Grot, “*Narodnyi i literaturnyi iazyk*,” Grot's review of V.I. Dal's *Tolkovy slovar zhivago velikoruskago iazyka* (Moscow: 1863-1866), in *Trudy Ia.K. Grot*, Vol. II (St. Petersburg: 1899), pp. 1-45. Both of these Russian language specialists knew Pushkin. Academician Grot, whose recollections about Pushkin's study of Shakespeare are cited in the present article, wrote a book on Pushkin and his Lycée classmates. Dal, who was a medical doctor as well as a philologist, was attending physician to Pushkin on his deathbed.

16. Irina Bagration-Mukhraneli, *Pushkin (Tvorcheskaya biografii)*. “*. . . bud' zaodno s geniem*” (unpublished, 1998). The Greek poet Pindar (c.522-433 B.C.) is famous for his odes.
17. *Ibid.*, citing V. Sipovskii, *Detstvo Pushkina. Pushkin. Biblioteka velikikh pisatelei pod red. S.A. Vengerova* (St. Petersburg: Brockhaus-Efron, 1907).
18. Five decades later (1855), Bagration-Mukhraneli reports, Olga Sergeyevna Pavlishcheva (née Pushkina) could still recite her little brother's protest about her “review” of his play “*L'Escamoteur*” (“The Clever Thief”):

*Dis moi pourquoi L'Escamoteur
Est-il sifflé par le parterre,
Hélas—c'est que le pauvre auteur
L'escamota de Molière.*

Oh, say why at “The Clever Thief”
The audience bood, hissed, and sniped,
Alas! 'Tis that th' entire sheaf
From Molière the author swiped.
19. *Ibid.*, citing S.L. Pushkin, “*Biograficheskaya zametka*,” in *Ogonek*, No. 7, 1927.
20. D.F. Kobeko, *Imperatorskii tsarskoselskii litsei. Nastavniki i pitomtsy* (St. Petersburg: 1911), pp. 12-15.

The idea of a special school for aristocratic youth and members of the so-called service nobility had emerged among the reform recommendations, solicited by Alexander I from the circles of Mikhail Speransky during the early years of his rule. Speransky, the orphaned son of a Russian Orthodox priest, rose to the rank of Assistant Minister of Justice in 1808 and State Secretary in 1810, all the while translating the writings of Thomas à Kempis in his spare time. In 1807, Alexander named him, Prince Alexei Golitsyn, the poet and retired Justice Minister Gavriil Derzhavin, and several Russian Orthodox Church officials, to a commission on the reform of ecclesiastical education. They proposed a system of academies, seminaries, and district schools, to be financed by returning to the Church its monopoly on the sale of wax candles. At the same time, political storms raged around the project for an institution to educate national leaders.

The Duc de Richelieu, a French veteran of the Russian Army who in 1805 became Governor General of Novorossiysk in south-

- ern Russia, proposed a Lycée for Russian noble youth on the model of Jesuit schools in Europe, to be staffed with Jesuits. (The Jesuit Order had a strong presence in Russia, where Catherine II gave its members refuge after Pope Clement XIV banned the Order in 1773.) The influence of Joseph De Maistre, a Savoyard refugee from the French invasion of Italy and Sardinian Ambassador to Russia, was on the rise in St. Petersburg just at this time. De Maistre lobbied members of the Russian nobility to whom he was close (he was working to convert as many of them as possible to Catholicism, even as he promoted a version of Freemasonry, mixed with an occultism that he called the “true divine magic” of Christianity), to win their support for Richelieu’s version of a Jesuit Lycée and opposition to the curriculum that was actually proposed. De Maistre corresponded constantly with Minister of Education Count Razumovsky during 1810.
- The factional strife bearing on education policy is touched on in: Alan Palmer, *Alexander I, Tsar of War and Peace* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 164-176; Marc Raeff, *Michael Speransky, Statesman of Imperial Russia, 1772-1839* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), pp. 56-63; James Billington, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970 edition), pp. 269-276.
21. V.F. Malinovskii, *Izbrannye obshchestvenno-politicheskie sochineniia* (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1958), pp. 23-24. In his introduction to the Russian edition of Hamilton’s report, one of the founding documents of the American System of Political Economy, which defines the development of manufactures as the source of a nation’s wealth and the necessary condition for its security, Malinovsky wrote, “The similarity of the American United Provinces with Russia appears both in the expanse of land, climate, and natural conditions, and in size of population disproportionate to the space and the general youthfulness of various socially useful institutions; therefore all the rules, remarks and means proposed here are suitable for our country.” Malinovsky’s “world peace” studies antedate Immanuel Kant’s 1795 treatise on that topic.
 22. Quoted in Bagration-Mukhraneli, *op. cit.*
 23. The stanza of the poem on forgiveness is quoted in Helga Zepp LaRouche’s article in this issue, p. 29.
 24. Chisinau, today the capital of Moldova.
 25. Douglas, *op.cit.* details the London and Venetian alliances of “Simon” Vorontsov.
 26. The two wings of the Decembrist movement were the Northern Society and the Southern Society, originally so called after the division of the Union of Welfare secret society, founded in 1817. Anatole G. Mazour, *The First Russian Revolution, 1825* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937, 1964), gives the history of the Decembrist movement, including details of the various factions and their views, with documentary material from their writings and testimony at trial. Political ideas among the Decembrists ranged from radical republicanism, pledged to regicide and imitation of the Jacobin Committees of Public Safety, to designs for a constitutional monarchy, with economic reforms incorporating elements from America.
 27. Just one week before the Decembrist revolt, Pushkin had written to Kyukhelbeker, the subject being the latter’s play *Shakespeare’s Spirits*, in which Kyukhelbeker used characters from *The Tempest* in a parody of Zhukovsky’s works. Kyukhelbeker was a serious translator of Shakespeare, working on the tragedies during his long years of Siberian exile.
 28. “LaRouche in Dialogue with Russian Science,” *Executive Intelligence Review*, June 10, 1994 (Vol. 26, No. 24), pp. 30-43. The publication is the transcript of lectures and discussion before an audience of Russian scientists, gathered under the auspices of Dr. Pobisk Kuznetsov’s “*Prezident*” program. The “School of Athens” principle is developed in depth by LaRouche in “The Truth About Temporal Eternity,” *Fidelio*, Summer 1994 (Vol. III, No. 1), and in many other locations.
 29. Svyatoslav ruled in Kievan Rus from c. 945 to 972; Vladimir, who

converted to Christianity, from 980 to 1015. Mstislav founded the principality of Tmutarakan in the Eleventh century. Dmitri Don-skoy, ruling prince of Moscow, ended the Tatar-Mongol occupation with the defeat of the Tatars at Kulikovo Field in 1380. Yermak Timofeyevich took western Siberia for Russia in the Sixteenth century. Prince Dmitri Pozharsky commanded Russian forces against Poland during the last years (1610-1613) of the Time of Troubles.

30. The Russian vowel **Ы**, written γ in phonetic transcription, is sounded mid-mouth, between u and i. It is heard in the German pronunciation of the first vowel in *Physik*.
31. Groundbreaking work on the “died-away sounds” of ancient Indo-European was being done in St. Petersburg in Pushkin’s lifetime. The German philologist Friedrich Adelung was based there. His comparative studies of Sanskrit and European languages helped lay the basis for the breakthroughs of Franz Bopp, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the Grimm brothers in the 1820’s and later, on the relationship of these tongues as members of one language family. Adelung sent his study *Rapports entre la langue Sanscrit et la langue Russe (Connections between the Sanskrit and Russian Languages)* (St. Petersburg: 1811) around the world, including via Levett Harris to the American Philosophical Society.

In the Twentieth century, the Indian philologist S.K. Chatterji [1958 conference speech, reprinted in *Select Papers*, Vol. 2 (New Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1979), pp. 131-154] made a short study of the rare surviving Russian oral epic poem, *Slovo o Pǎlku Igoreve (The Lay of Igor’s Campaign)* or, as Chatterji translated it for emphasis on the shared word-roots: *The Word about Igor’s Folk*. A manuscript of the 770-line poem, with Twelfth-century subject-matter and Fifteenth-century script, was discovered in the Eighteenth century in the library of the Musin-Pushkin family. Its authenticity was debated. Pointing out that “Old Slav preserves some Primitive Indo-European linguistic features more than any other branch of Indo-European,” Chatterji suggested that “It will not be too much to suggest that the famous invocations to the Wind, the Water, and the Sun, which the loving and sorrowing wife of Igor, Yaroslavna, is making on the ramparts of the town of Putivl, have a Vedic ring about them.”

*svetloye i tresvetloye Solntse!
usemu teplo i krasno yesi!*

Bright and thrice-bright Sun!
To all men warm and beauteous art thou!

Chatterji commented, “This invocation can easily be rendered into Sanskrit, using a good many words of the original Old Russian text in their Sanskrit equivalents or cognate forms—so closely do the words . . . of this unique fragment of . . . ancient Slav poetry run with the words and sentiments of Aryan and Indo-European language and poetry as preserved in the *Vedas*.” Chatterji carried out the experiment:

*śvētalah āt tri-śvētalah Sūryakā!
viśvēbhīyas tāpalah āt ślakṣṇ ah (?) asi!*

There is no indication of Pushkin’s direct involvement with the German philologists, but he intervened in the debate about the Russian epic. One of his last essays, dated 1836, is called “*Pesn o polku Igoreve*” (“The Song of Igor’s Campaign”). Regarding authenticity, Pushkin went by what he could hear: “There is no evidence, except the word of the song-writer himself. The authenticity of the song is proven by its spirit of antiquity, which is impossible to feign. Who among our writers in the Eighteenth century had the talent to do this? Karamzin? But Karamzin was not a poet. Derzhavin? But Derzhavin didn’t know Russian, never mind the language of ‘The Song of Igor’s Campaign.’ The rest of them had not as much poetry, all put together, as is to be found in Yaroslavna’s lament alone.”

32. J. Thomas Shaw, translator of Pushkin's letters into English, provides Karamzin's observations as conveyed to Pushkin by Vyazemsky: "You must have in mind in depicting the character of Boris a savage mixture: piety and criminal passions. He constantly reread the Bible and sought in it justifications for himself. That is a dramatic contradiction."
33. Muriel Mirak Weissbach, "Lessing's Shakespeare Revolution in Germany" (unpublished, 1999).
34. M.P. Alekseev, "Pushkin i Shekspir," in *Pushkin. Sravnitel'no-istoricheskie issledovaniia* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1972), p. 249ff.
35. Having written two chapters of *Yevgeni Onegin*, by the time of his work on *Boris Godunov*, Pushkin was also incubating the character of Tatyana, the figure whose uncompromising virtue and integrity makes her the heroine of that novel. Marina Mnishek, though, is not a sketch for a cookie-cutter of the "strong female" type. Pushkin wrote in a letter to Rayevsky the younger in 1829, of which a draft survives, that Marina herself should be seen as a tragic figure: ". . . most certainly she was a strange, beautiful woman. She had only one passion and that was ambition, but to such a degree of energy, of frenzy that one can scarcely imagine it. After having tasted of royalty, watch her, drunk of a chimera, prostitute herself with one adventurer after another. . . . Watch her boldly face war, destitution, shame, and at the same time negotiate with the king of Poland as one crowned head with another—and end miserably a most extraordinary life. I have only one scene for her, but I shall return to her, if God grants me life." He also wanted to write again about Prince Shuysky, the leading boyar figure in *Godunov*.
36. William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act III, Scene 4. Academician Alekseev's research on Pushkin's study of Shakespeare does not highlight *King Lear*, although it was one of the first works translated into Russian (from a French version) by Nikolai Gnedich.
37. Alekseev, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
38. Kyukhelbeker translated *Macbeth* in 1828-1829. He was so immersed in Shakespeare, that an 1836 letter of his to Pushkin from Siberia came in this mixture of English (italics show English in the original) and Russian: "I am going to get married; now I shall be *Benedick the married man*, and my *Beatrice* is almost as much of a little *Shrew* as in old man *Willy's Much Ado*." Quoted in Alekseev, *op. cit.*, p. 264.
39. V.A. Plotnikova, "Rabota Pushkina nad slovom v protsesse sozdaniia poeticheskogo teksta" ("Pushkin's Work on Word Use in the Process of Creating a Poetic Text"), in *Problemy Sovremennoi Filologii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965). The anthology is a Festschrift, prepared by the Literature and Language Division of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., for the seventieth birthday of Academician V.V. Vinogradov, author of *Iazyk Pushkina (Pushkin's Language)*. Plotnikova gives the example from *Anchar* and several others.
40. Iu.S. Sorokin, "Razgovornaia i narodnaia rech' v 'Slovar Akademii Rossiiskoi'" ("Conversational and Popular Speech in the 'Dictionary of the Russian Academy'"), in *Materialy i issledovaniia po istorii russkogo literaturnogo iazyka* (Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1949), Vol. 1, pp. 95-160. Sorokin gives dozens of examples, from *rukhnut* ("to collapse") to *krysha* ("roof"), citing their use in literature by Pushkin and others, and some instances of loud protests by Pushkin's critics against such usage. He notes Pushkin's high regard for the *Slovar*, about which the poet wrote that "It can only be regretted that our writers too infrequently consult the Dictionary of the Russian Academy." In *Onegin*, Chapter I, Stanza 26, Pushkin jokes about the impossibility of finding, even in the *Slovar*, Russian words to describe the dandy Yevgeni's attire: *gilet, pantalon, frac*.
41. See Mirak Weissbach, *The Power . . .*, pp. 11-15, on the universal character of the Classical tropic poem. Pushkin's "Imitations of the Quran," done from translations into other European lan-
- guages, proceed from God's instruction to the prophet, "Read! Recite!"
42. These traditions are still alive in Slavic-language poetry. In 1993, members of the Schiller Institute had an opportunity to ask the Ukrainian poet Pavlo Movchan, a Member of Parliament and a guest speaker at a Schiller Institute conference in the United States, to recite some of his verses. Movchan began to chant and sing; the verse incorporated elements of pitch-accent in the manner of the Indo-European epics of antiquity.
43. *The Tale of the Golden Cockerel* brings to light yet another of Pushkin's partners in story-telling and language-creation—the American writer Washington Irving. Pushkin retold Irving's "Legend of the Arabian Astrologer" from the *Tales of the Alhambra*, which Pushkin acquired in French as soon as it was published, in the same year as its English editions, 1832. Thus, we have a rendition in Russian narrative verse form, of an American's retelling of this story from Moorish Spain!
- Irving's story begins: "In old times many hundred years ago there was a Moorish King named Aben Habuz who reigned over the kingdom of Granada. He was a retired conqueror, that is to say, one who, having in his more youthful days led a life of constant foray and depredation, now that he was grown feeble and superannuated, 'languished for repose' and desired nothing more than to live at peace with all the world."
- Compare Pushkin's *Golden Cockerel*:
- Once upon a time and long ago,
In a kingdom far away,
Lived the famous Tsar Dadon.
Fearsome was he from his youth
And he inflicted bold offense
On his neighbors time and again,
But in old age he desired from
Fighting wars to take a rest
And make for himself, repose; . . .
- The late Allen Salisbury's enthusiastic research into the spread of American story-telling (by diplomats and intelligence agents, as most of these writers were) in Europe, led me to recognize the Irving story in Pushkin. Anna Akhmatova made the same comparison, in her 1931-1933 article, "Posledniaia skazka Pushkina" ("Pushkin's Last Fairy Tale"), printed in *Anna Akhmatova o Pushkine* (see footnote 3).
44. V.M. Zhirmunskii, "Russkii narodnyi stikh v 'Skazke o rybake i rybke'" ("Russian Folk Verse in 'The Tale of the Fisherman and the Fish'"), in *Problemy Sovremennoi Filologii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965). Zhirmunsky gives detailed analysis of the phrase-groups, or syntagmas, in this tale, as following from the accentual verse developed by Pushkin in *Pesni zapadnykh slavyan*.
45. Pushkin, review in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (1830) of N. Polevoi's *Istoriia Russkogo Naroda*.
46. Pushkin, *Puteshestvie iz Moskvy v Peterburg* (1833-1835).
47. "Lord Palmerston's Human Zoo," *Executive Intelligence Review*, April 16, 1994 (Vol. 26, No. 16), pp. 4-45.
48. Pushkin, "O nichtozhestve literatury russkoi" (1834).
49. The "two Ivans" are Ivan IV (Tsar, r. 1533-1584) and his grandfather Ivan III ("the Great", r. 1462-1505). Ivan IV's son Dmitri died at Uglich in 1591; the Time of Troubles ended in 1613 with the election of Michael Romanov at Ipatyev Monastery. By his "prejudices," Pushkin refers to those of a member of the old nobility against the corruption of the "service nobility" introduced by Peter I.
50. David G. Huntley, "On the source of Pushkin's *nerukotvornyi*," *Die Welt der Slaven* (Wiesbaden, 1970), Jg. 15, Heft 4, p. 362.
51. After the translation in Walter N. Vickery, *Alexander Pushkin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970).

‘Pushkin Was a Live Volcano . . .’

The Poet, As Seen by His Contemporaries

by E.S. Lebedeva

*Pushkin was a live volcano, whose
inner life burst from him like
a column of fire.*

—F. Glinka (I, 245)¹

*Poetry is the exclusive passion of those
few, who are born poets.*

—A.S. Pushkin

Pushkin lived his life in a big and noisy crowd—not in isolation, but surrounded by many people who had the opportunity to see him. We can hear the chorus of his contemporaries, with its great range of voices, in their reminiscences about him.

These memoirs have a certain peculiar feature. The people closest to the poet found it difficult to speak, and they did not do so right away. Alexander Sergeevich’s friend S.A. Sobolevsky expressed the reason for this constraint, in his own way, in 1855: “In order not to retell what is superfluous, or fail to tell adequately what should be told, every friend of Pushkin ought to remain silent. . . . Let those who didn’t know him, write about him.” (I, 38)

Be that as it may, memoirs about the poet ultimately filled two large volumes.

The degree of his closeness to the memoir writers varies—friendship of many years, blood kinship, literary



*Manuscript sketch, 1820, self-portrait (lower left)
with members of the Rayevsky family.*

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collaboration, chance meetings on the post roads, or in some Cossack settlement, or on the Georgian Military Highway. People of different levels of culture gave testimony about him, and there is a great range of variety in how they perceived the personality of the poet: from tender solicitude at the sight of a missing button on his jacket, to amazement at the scope of the phenomenon that was Pushkin.

All social layers are represented on the list of people who have said what they had to say about the poet—from the Emperor to the serf, from the fashionable fortune-teller to the old Cossack woman, who remembered Pushkin. The richness of these memoirs is a natural response to

the character of his genius, open as it was to the world and to people: In Pushkin’s own words (as related by A.O. Smirnova), he saw his own mind in every person, and every conversation partner was interesting for him—“from the police watchman, to the Tsar.”

I.I. Pushchin, the “first friend, . . . priceless friend,” sketched the far from simple relations among the Lycée classmates. “From the very beginning, Pushkin annoyed many people, and therefore did not inspire general sympathy; that is the lot of an eccentric being, among people.” (I, 82) Even earlier, his perceptive and loving grandmother had worried, as she observed the unusual child: “He rushes from one extreme to another. He has no middle ground. God only knows, what it will all end in.” (Ver., 33)²

P.A. Pletnyov, whom the poet described as the possessor of “a beautiful soul, full of sacred dreams, living and

clear poetry, lofty thoughts and simplicity,” formulated his amazement at Pushkin, in this way: “The ardent nature of his soul, fused with his clarity of mind, made him an extraordinary, even strange being, in whom all qualities took an extreme form.” (II, 254)

In 1820, I.A. Capodistria, chief of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs, wrote upon sending Pushkin to General Inzov in the South: “There is no extreme, into which this unfortunate young man would not fall, nor is there any degree of perfection, which he could not attain, highly gifted as he is.” (Ver., 90)

Count Benkendorf recorded the paradox of Pushkin, from his own point of view: “Pushkin united in himself two unique beings: He was a great poet, and a great liberal, hating any authority.”

Adam Mickiewicz saw the uniqueness of his Russian fellow writer, in his combination of poetic genius and civic, historical thinking: “The bullet that felled Pushkin inflicted a terrible blow against intellectual Russia. Now Russia has excellent writers But nobody will replace Pushkin. Only once is it granted to a country, to produce a person, who unites in himself to such a degree such diverse and, seemingly, mutually exclusive qualities.” (I, 143)

Russian religious philosophy has remarked upon Pushkin’s antinomic nature, from an ontological standpoint.³

The comments cited above are sweeping statements about the poet’s personality. Other observers record more particular, but very striking contradictions in the poet’s character, actions, and psyche.

“I knew Alexander Sergeyevich as a quick-tempered person, sometimes to the point of frenzy,” testified his Kishinyov acquaintance, Lt. Col. I.P. Liprandi, “but at a moment of danger, specifically, when he came face to face with death, at which moment a person completely reveals himself, Pushkin was to a high degree imperturbable. . . . When things reached that barrier, he was as cool as ice. . . . In such cases, I have rarely encountered such a nature as Pushkin’s. These two extremes, united as they were in Alexander Sergeyevich, must be very rare.” (I, 316)

The poet’s brother recalls: “Pushkin was not good-looking, but his face was expressive and animated; he was short

. . . but slim, strong and well-built. Women liked Pushkin; he fascinated them, and he inspired more than a few passions in his time. When he was flirting with a woman or when he was genuinely engaged with her, his conversation became unusually alluring. It should be noted that one rarely meets a person, who can express himself as indifferently and insufferably as Pushkin used to, when he was not interested in the topic of discussion. But he would become brilliantly eloquent, when it had to do with something close to his heart. Then he was a poet, and rather more inspired than in any of his compositions.” (I, 63)

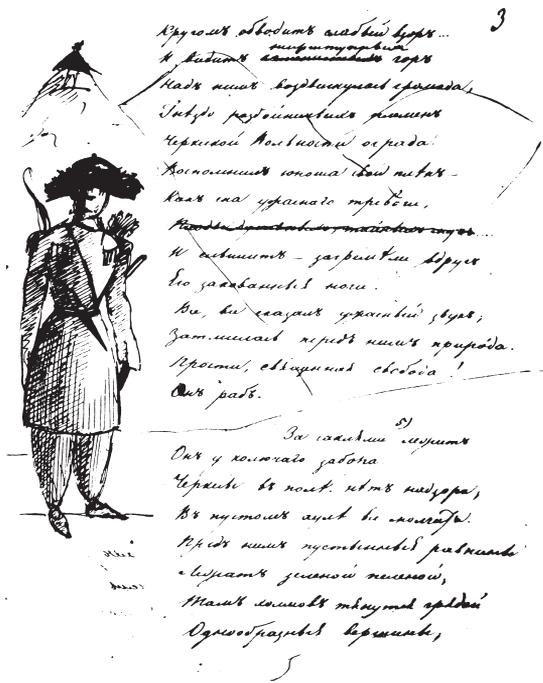
The remarks of A.N. Vulf, “the Lovelace of Tver,” are well known: “He knows women like nobody else. For that reason, though lacking any of the external attributes, which always influence the fairer sex, he wins their favor with the sheer brilliance of his mind.” It is interesting to contrast yet another “male” view of Pushkin with these opinions—the less popularized statement by A.A. Mukhanov (in a letter to his brother, May 1827): “Alexander Pushkin, who is setting off into the night, will bring you this letter. Try to get to know him better; it is impossible to value highly enough the pleasure of passing time with him, thinking about the impressions which his unusual gifts awake in us. He is a hundred times more interesting in male company, than with women, when he makes

himself comprehensible to the females by constantly dissipating himself into pettiness.” (Ver., 235)

A.P. Kern, who observed the poet in quite varied circumstances, noted: “He was very uneven in his manners: sometimes loudly merry, sometimes sad, sometimes shy, sometimes bold, sometimes inexhaustibly gracious, sometimes exceedingly boring—and there was no way to guess what mood he would be in a minute later.”⁴

These states, coming in frequent and rapid succession, sought an outlet, and Pushkin’s artistic nature expressed them not only in his creative work, but in life.

“The Arabian Devil” [*“Bes-Arabsky,”* a pun on “Bessarabian”—RBD] Petersburg friends of the poet called him among themselves, when he was exiled to Bessarabia. One rather air-headed Kishinyov lady saw him like this: “Pushkin was still very young. He wasn’t exactly black,



Manuscript page, “The Prisoner of the Caucasus,” 1834.

but swarthy, or sun-burned. He was kind, well-mannered, but a mischief-maker. I would tell him, ‘You’re such a child!’ And he called me a rose in the sweetbriar. I would say to him, ‘You’ll be jealous.’ And he’d say, ‘No! No! Never.’ He would improvise verses for us. Pushkin would often walk in the city park. But every time, he put on a different costume. You’d look, and there would be Pushkin as a Serb or a Moldavian. Ladies of his acquaintance gave him the clothes. The Moldavians were wearing cassocks at the time. Another time, you’d look, and Pushkin would be a Turk. . . . When he walked about in ordinary clothes, in his overcoat, then he’d always have one side over his shoulder, and the other dragging on the ground. He called this ‘general-style.’ . . .” (Ver., 25) In imitation of Byron, he amused himself with ethnic costuming in Kishinyov. Later, while living at Mikhailovskoye, he appeared in Russian peasant dress at the fair outside the Svyatogorsk Monastery.

In research on Pushkin’s drawings, A. Efros has shown convincingly that his numerous self-portraits are a brilliant graphic record of the various states of his sensitive nature, his habit of adopting various historical roles, or, at times, playing a game with time, when he would assume an age that was still ahead of him, or identify himself with his adversaries and opponents, or with great fellow writers—Dante, Griboyedov, or Mickiewicz.

His contemporaries did not see the world of his manuscripts [decorated with the drawings—RBD], but they did not fail to notice the internal contradictions in his nature, as captured in the portrait by O.A. Kiprensky,* which gained popularity at an Academy of Arts exhibition. “There is the poet Pushkin, don’t bother looking at the caption: Having seen him in person even once, you will immediately recognize his penetrating eyes and his mouth, which has the shortcoming of ceaseless trembling. . . .” (Ver., 239) “If you look at his face, starting from the chin, you will seek in vain for some expression of the poetic gift, until you reach the eyes. But his eyes will stop you without fail: You see in them rays of the fire, which heats his verses.” (Ver., 237) “Pushkin’s

physiognomy is so special and expressive, that any good painter can capture it, but at the same time, it changes and shifts so much, that it is difficult to imagine that any portrait of Pushkin could give a true idea of him.” (Ver., 232)

That was said in 1827. After Pushkin’s death, his acquaintance V.A. Nashchokina recalled, “I have seen many portraits of him, but sadly I must admit that not one of them conveyed even one-hundredth of the spiritual beauty of his face—especially his amazing eyes. . . . In my whole long life, I have never seen any other eyes like that.” His eyes were light blue, or sometimes dark blue.

In 1827, when Pushkin was at the zenith of his fame, O.A. Kiprensky saw his task as the creation of an ideal image of the genius of Russian poetry. Pushkin’s poetic message to Kiprensky refers to this, joking:

As in a mirror-glass I see
Myself; the mirror flatters me . . .
In Paris, Dresden, and in Rome,
Thus will my look henceforth
be known.

The possibility of including the Russian genius in the context of European Romanticism could have been realized, had the portrait been toured with the Orest Kiprensky exhibition. European culture was elaborating the canon of the “Great Poet.” In *The Romantic School*, Heinrich Heine summarized the process:

In Goethe, the coincidence of the personality with the gift, which is demanded of extraor-

inary people, was experienced in all its fullness. . . . His outward appearance was just as weighty as the word that lived in his creations, and his image was harmonious, clear, joyful, nobly proportioned, so that one could have studied Greek art from him, as from a Greek statue. . . . When I visited him in Weimar, standing in front of him, I must say that I involuntarily looked to the side, to see if the eagle with lightning in its beak were there by him. I nearly started speaking to him in Greek. . . . Goethe smiled. He smiled with those same lips, with which once he kissed the beautiful Leda, Europa, Danae, Semele, and so many other princesses and mere nymphs.⁵

Russia picked up from Europe the Romantic myth of the poet as “ruler of souls.” Pushkin was compared with Goethe, although rarely, and with Lord Byron constantly,



Manuscript title page, “The Golden Cockerel,” 1834.

* See inside front cover, this issue.

by his admirers and persecutors alike. Ecstatic devotees named the author of “The Prisoner of the Caucasus,” the Northern Byron. “Half-Milord”^{*} Vorontsov didn’t give a hoot for either of them: “He is a weak imitator of Byron, who is a disreputable model.” After the death of the great Russian poet, Thaddeus Bulgarin spitefully characterized Pushkin’s mode of behavior: “He posed as Byron.” Let us not, however, exaggerate the Byronism of Pushkin, who, into whatever framework or convention or cliché he was inserted, always broke it.

Readers of Pushkin were often confronted with surprises and paradoxes, upon comparing the lyric hero of his works, with the living, real Alexander Sergeevich.

M.P. Pogodin recorded in his diary his first meeting with Pushkin: “He stayed for five minutes, a fidgety and outwardly indifferent person. . . .” But the same Pogodin also witnessed the author’s reading of *Boris Godunov* at the Venevitinovs’ house on Krivokolenny Alley:

The high priest of majestic art, whom we expected, was a slight, almost puny person, fidgety, with long hair, curly at the ends, without pretensions, and with lively, quick eyes and a quiet, pleasant voice, wearing a black frock-coat, a black vest buttoned all the way up, and a carelessly knotted tie. Rather than the lofty language of the gods, we heard simple, clear, ordinary, and, at the same time, very poetical, engaging speech! The first parts were received quietly and calmly, or, perhaps, with some perplexity. But as he continued, the sensations intensified. The scene of the chronicler with Grigori stunned everybody. And when Pushkin reached Pimen’s story about Ivan Grozny visiting the Kirillov Monastery, and the novices’ prayer, “And may the Lord send down peace to his soul, suffering and stormy,” we practically lost consciousness. . . . Our hair was standing on end. It was impossible to restrain ourselves—one person jumped from his seat, another shouted aloud. One moment there was silence, the next a burst of exclamations, for example at the False Dmitri’s verses: “*Ten Groznogo menya usynovila.*” [“The shade of Grozny adopted me as his son.”] The reading finished. We looked at each other for a long time, and then threw ourselves upon Pushkin. There were embraces, a roar arose, laughter broke out, tears flowed, and congratulations. . . . Oh, what a marvelous morning that was, leaving an impression for my entire life. (Ver., 212)

S.P. Shevryov thought Pushkin looked handsome, when he was reading *Boris Godunov*. Somewhat earlier, at Mikhailovskoye, Anna Petrovna Kern had listened with

delight to the author’s reading of “The Gypsies.” “. . . He had a singing, melodic voice, just as he says about Ovid in ‘The Gypsies’: ‘A voice like the sound of waters.’”

Witnesses relate to us the inimitable features of Pushkin’s mode of behavior, from childhood until his death—his pronounced emotionality, his expressiveness, and, in his youth, extravagance and attempts to shock those around him. He might crawl under the table to retrieve a rough draft, discarded by Zhukovsky: “What Zhukovsky throws away, we may yet put to good use.” Sitting in a theater box, he fanned himself with his wig, removing it from his shaven head; like Onegin, he went “between the chairs among the feet.” He “applauded” on the bald head of a self-satisfied official, sitting in front of him. At the Turgenevs’ house, he jumped onto the table and, sprawling out, wrote his ode “Liberty,” while looking out the window at the tyrant’s empty monument, the Mikhailov Castle. On another occasion at the same house, taking Ivan Pushchin by surprise, he sneaked up behind him and whispered to his Lycée friend, who had concealed from him his membership in a secret society, “I’ve caught you at last. Is this a meeting of your society?”

He issued a challenge to Baron Korf, when the latter beat one of his servants; in the duel with Kyukhelbeker, who in anger had aimed at his forehead and missed, Pushkin fired into the air and then offered Kyukhla his hand, with the words: “Enough of this foolishness, dear friend; let’s go drink tea!” (Ver., 74)

In Kishinyov, Pushkin beat some Moldavian boyars with candlesticks, for which that “good mystic,” General Inzov, put him under house arrest and took away his boots. Then he wrote his verses all over the whitewashed walls of his cabin, and carpeted the floor with rough drafts. “The Russian community in Kishinyov was chiefly military. Pushkin stood out because of his peculiar clothes, his head, which was shaved after a fever, and his red skullcap. At dinners, the servant waiting on the table usually skipped him, for which he was merrily indignant at Kishinyov.” (L.S. Pushkin)

In Odessa, he had a pirate friend whom he called “retired corsair Morali,” i.e., the Moor Ali [but also, in Russian, “of morals”—RBD]. He called him his “kinsman,” and liked to sit on this giant’s lap. (Ver., 138)

When he was misunderstood or did not want to explain himself, he would act in ways that were quite unexpected for the person he was speaking with. For example, when Ivan Pushchin in 1820 reproached him for playing up to the lions of society at the theater, he didn’t object, but simply . . . tickled him. In 1828, he was all eyes for the author of a play about the Time of Troubles, who had managed to omit the False Dmitri

* Pushkin’s superior during his Foreign Ministry assignment to Odessa, M.S. Vorontsov was a member of the Anglophile aristocratic Vorontsov family. The poet mocked him as “Half-Milord” in a famous epigram translated on page 45 of this issue.—RBD

(this was reported by Baron Rozen).

He expressed sympathy and friendship openly and demonstratively. Anna Kern says that he and Delvig would kiss each other's hands when they met. In 1826, he cried to V.P. Zubkov, a friend of Pushchin, "I cannot live without you!"

He loved to repeat verses that he liked, both his own and those of others. In the fall of 1828, for example, visiting A.P. Kern in a room at Demutov's Tavern, he entered with the words, "The battle has struck. Poltava's battle!" He was writing "Poltava" at the time.

In 1836, he fell on his knees before Karl Bryullov, begging him for a picture that he liked. (Tatyana Galushko suggests that it was a caricature of Louis de Heeckeren, the Dutch ambassador.)

He shocked the Emperor with his free behavior at an audience in the Kremlin, Sept. 8, 1826. Fetched by a Feldjäger from Mikhailovskoye and brought directly to the palace, half frozen on the road, the poet warmed himself by standing with his back to the fireplace, then leaned against a table and nearly sat on it.

His tears and laughter were almost always unexpected for those around him. The Decembrist I.D. Yakushkin recalled tears springing into Pushkin's eyes at Kamenka, when a conversation about the secret society was turned into a joke. N.M. Karamzin showed P.Ya. Chaadayeve a sofa, drenched with the tears of the young poet (after a misunderstanding about a note, which had fallen into the hands of the historian's wife, Katerina Andreyevna). He cried when Gogol read aloud *Dead Souls*, and exclaimed, "God, how sad our Russia is!"

Many people remembered his open, white-toothed, unpretentious laugh. At a visiting Frenchman's lectures on literature, Pushkin laughed, almost aloud, and people said it spoiled the lecture. (Ver., 227)

A gypsy woman from a Moscow chorus remembered this person, who looked so unlike others: "Slight, with thick lips and curly hair. . . . The minute he saw me, he was dying with laughter, with white teeth, big teeth, that sparkled. . . . I burst out laughing, too, except he seemed very ugly to me.

And I said to my friends in our gypsy language, 'Dyka, dyka, ne na lacho, tako vasheskeri!'—'Look,' it means, 'Look how ugly he is, just like a monkey!' " (II, 209)

"What are they saying about *Onegin*?" he asked K. Polevoy. "They say you're repeating yourself: They discovered that you mentioned fly-swatting twice." He burst out laughing, "No! Is that really what they're saying?"

N.M. Yazykov reports that the poet I.I. Dmitriyev, during one of his visits to the English Club on Tverskaya, noted that there could be nothing stranger than the name of this club: the Moscow English Club. Pushkin, overhearing, laughed and told him that we have even stranger names of things. "Like what?" asked Dmitriyev, surprised. "The Imperial Philanthropic Society," answered Pushkin (whose relations with the Court were strained at the time). Adam Mickiewicz reports another of Pushkin's jokes. Running into him on the street, Pushkin stood aside and said: "Out of the way, deuce, the ace is coming!" Mickiewicz replied, "The deuce is a trump, and beats the ace!" (I, 139)

P.A. Vyazemsky recalled how Pushkin would blush: "I remember, and can even still hear, how Princess Zinaida Volkonskaya sang his elegy, 'The light of day has dimmed,' in his presence on the very first day of their acquaintance. Pushkin was keenly touched by the flattery of this refined and artistic flirtation. As usual, the color rushed to his face. This childlike or feminine sign of great sensitivity was unquestionably an expression of internal turmoil, or joy, or annoyance, or any tremendous feeling." (I, 148)

He expressed negative emotions in terrible ways. "Once, in a fit of jealousy, he ran five versts under a blazing sun, bareheaded" (L.S. Pushkin). Rage, or suspicion that he was being insulted, would provoke an outpouring of bile. When his request to be assigned to the Army in action against the Turks was refused, he "fell into morbid despair, lost his appetite, and could not sleep; bile welled up, and he became seriously ill." (Ver., 255) V.A. Sollogub was shaken by Pushkin's state in November 1836: ". . .



Manuscript sketches for "Tale of the Priest and of His Workman Balda," 1830.

He read me his famous letter to the Dutch ambassador, in its entirety. His lips were trembling, his eyes bloodshot. He was so terrible, that I did then understand that he really was of African extraction. How could I object against such a crushing passion?" (II, 304)

Two years earlier, the same Count V.A. Sollogub saw Pushkin carrying out his onerous duties at the party at Peterhof, held each year in honor of the Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna. "He was riding in the court carriage, with the court suite. His well-known, somewhat worn Spanish scarf was draped over his Kammerjunker's uniform, with lace. Under the three-cornered hat, his face seemed sorrowful, stern, and pale. Tens of thousands of people saw him not in the glory of the national poet, but in the garb of a courtier just starting out."⁶

Pushkin considered the physical expression of passions to be a rather complex matter for a writer. As for his own mimicry and expressions, they were, evidently, impossible to reproduce. At any rate, the Lycée musician and mime Mikhail Yakovlev, nicknamed "Clown of the Two Hundred Faces," was unable to include Pushkin in his repertoire. Alexander Pushkin's own repertoire of amazing roles exceeded two hundred by far. It was created in his work and life, and comprised both those conceived by the author, and the unintentional, seen by a reader or viewer—everything that was within the style of romantic behavior, as well as what broke out of that framework, and both what was written down in words or drawings by the poet, and what memoir writers witnessed.

Research remains to be done on literary parallels and the author's identification with his heroes, but here is an incomplete list of the poet's ethnic and socio-political masks: Turk, Serb, Moldavian, Greek, Gypsy, Jew (in Kishinyov). He calls himself "a stern Slav," but also "descendant of ugly Negroes," and "kinsman" of the Odessa Moor. "Moorish blood, which mixed soot into our Slavic milk," was the impression one Pole had about his external appearance (Ver., 252). He was also "the Frenchman"—his nickname at the Lycée; "the foreign-

er," as a noble lady in Tver saw him; "a peasant," at the fair by the Svyatogorsk Monastery, where he made an impression on Archbishop Yevgeni of Pskov; a petty official, whom Count Vorontsov could dispatch to monitor a locust infestation; a half-educated fellow (his own notation about himself, in a travel record during a journey with Rayevsky); or, a waiter in a hotel in Chernigov, as A.I. Podolinsky from Petersburg thought, seeing him at the bar. A strange horseman in a felt cloak and a round hat with an off-center peak, tearing off to do battle with the Turks in the Erzurum campaign ("Rayevsky's soldiers,

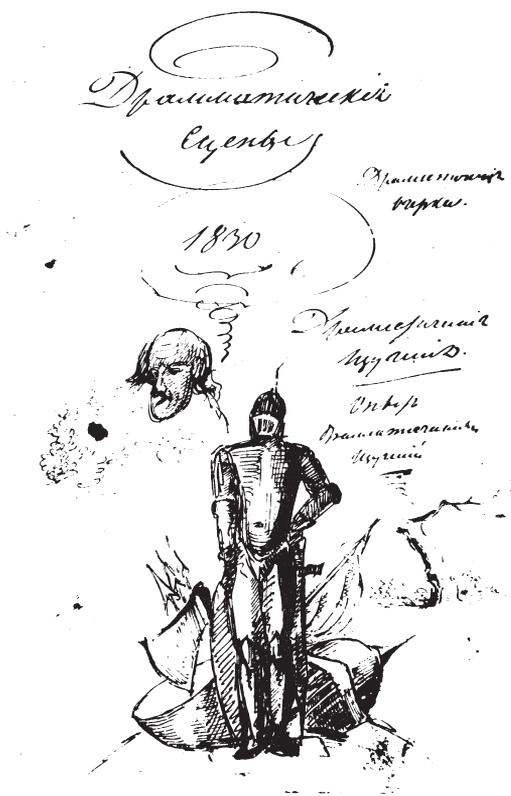
seeing him in his black frock-coat and with a shining cylinder on his head, took him for the regimental priest and called him Father of the Dragoons"—M.V. Yusefovich). The Governor of Nizhny Novgorod suspected he was an inspector general, when he was travelling around places linked with Pugachov; on the same journey, Pushkin's servant would call him sometimes "Count" and sometimes "General," when they stopped at the postal way-stations. He was a monk, in his jesting self-portrait as a novice, tempted by a devil.

Aristocrat, man of society, Kammerjunker, titular counselor—this was the range of his real-life lines of work. After the death of Karamzin, he was titled Russia's historiographer.

Some of his favorite items of attire testify to his interest in international political events: an American cape, a Spanish scarf, a Moldavian red cape, a "broad Bolivar," a shaggy moun-

taineer's hat, a Turkish fez, and the hat of an Italian carbonari.

He had a great repertoire of comical and satirical masks. "Monkey," "Cross between a Monkey and a Tiger"—these were his nicknames at the Lycée. "Crick-et" was his nickname in the literary society, Arzamas. "Nephew-imp" (nephew of the poet Vasili Lvovich Pushkin). "Devil," "shaitan" (the opinion of Ossetians, frightened by his cries on the Georgian Military Highway); "madman" (in the view of an adolescent girl in Kamenka); "jester" (his fear: "what Mashka and especial-



Manuscript title page, "Dramatic Scenes," 1830. Plays include "Mozart and Salieri" and "The Stone Guest," a treatment of the Don Juan story.

ly what Sashka will say; there will be little consolation for them in papa-daddy's having been buried as the court jester and their little mama's having been terribly pretty at the Anichkov balls"); "the Antichrist" (from the report of Berdsky Cossacks to the Military Governor of Orenburg V.A. Perovsky: "Yesterday a strange gentlemen arrived, not tall, with dark and curly hair, and a swarthy face, inciting a new 'Pugachovshchina' [Pugachov Revolt—RBD] and offering gold; he must have been the Antichrist, because he had claws on his fingers instead of nails." (Ver., 125) (He liked to grow long fingernails, in the fashion of Chinese scholars.)

In 1820, A.I. Turgenev said that the poet Pushkin was a historical figure for the Petersburg gossips. The double, and the shade of legend and gossip, accompanied him until his death. Before he was exiled in 1820, it was said that he had been cut to pieces in the secret chancellery; later, that he had fled from Kishinyov to Greece or to America; that he had shot himself in Odessa; in 1824, that he beat up his own father at Mikhailovskoye; that he had disappeared from Pskov, abroad; in 1831, it was said in Moscow that he had died of cholera in Tsarskoye Selo and left his poor wife pregnant. He was suspected of being an adventure-seeker, an informer, an agent of the Third Section, of wanting to have the key of a Kammerherr, and even of being offended that d'Anthès was not paying more attention to his wife (a poisonous remark by Prince P.A. Vyazemsky).

His answer was a nervous reaction in life, and bitter words in verse: "What is fame? A bright patch on the bard's tattered rags . . ."

Pushkin's character as an artist, like his calling as a poet, rebounded against him in the small world of the court, where he was forced to live. There was the intrinsic danger of constant attempts to assume a multitude of different images and roles, and the threat to his health as a consequence of the accentuated sense of the multifaceted character of his "I" and the multi-dimensionality of life. (This phenomenon, as applied to the type of the romantic poet, was described in the article, "The Fate of Apollon Grigoryev," by A. Blok, who made the famous sacramental statement, "Pushkin is our all.")

The unity of the personality of the genius Pushkin, its coherence and spiritual health, was guaranteed by the character of his creative work:

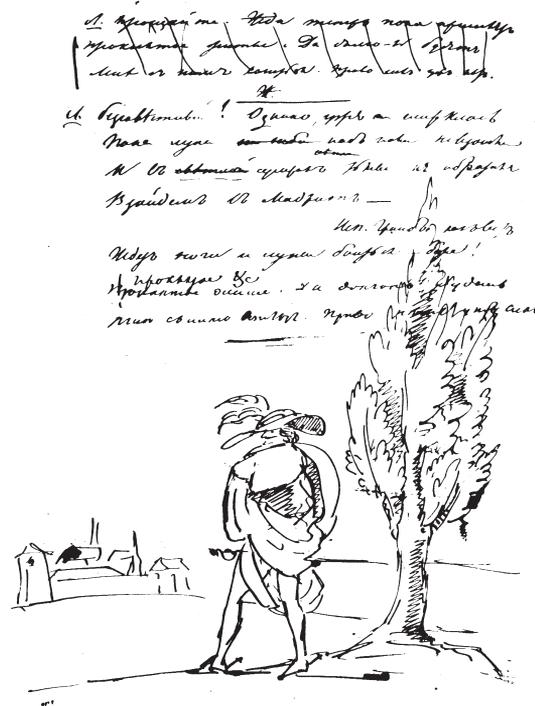
There was a protective and saving moral force, deep within him. . . . That force was the love for work, the need to work, the irrepensible need to express something creatively, to bring out of himself sensations, images, and feelings, which were asking to come from his heart into the wide world and there be clothed in sounds, colors, and enchanting and instructive words. Work was most sacred for him; it was the font, where wounds were healed, where the feebleness of despair recovered audacity and freshness, and weakened forces were restored. When he felt inspiration

alight, when he began to work—he would grow calm, find courage, and be as if born again. (P.A. Vyazemsky) (I, 150)

From the disharmony of his outward life, and the internal contradictions of his nature, was born the divine harmony of Pushkin's poetry.

Outside of poetry, this harmony, in which the personality and the gift coincided, happened once for Pushkin—as the shaken V.A. Zhukovsky reported in his hexameters ("He lay without motion . . ."), and in his letter to the poet's father after his death: ". . . never on his face had I seen an expression of such profound, grand, and solemn thought. Of course, it had flitted across his face in the past. But in its purity it was

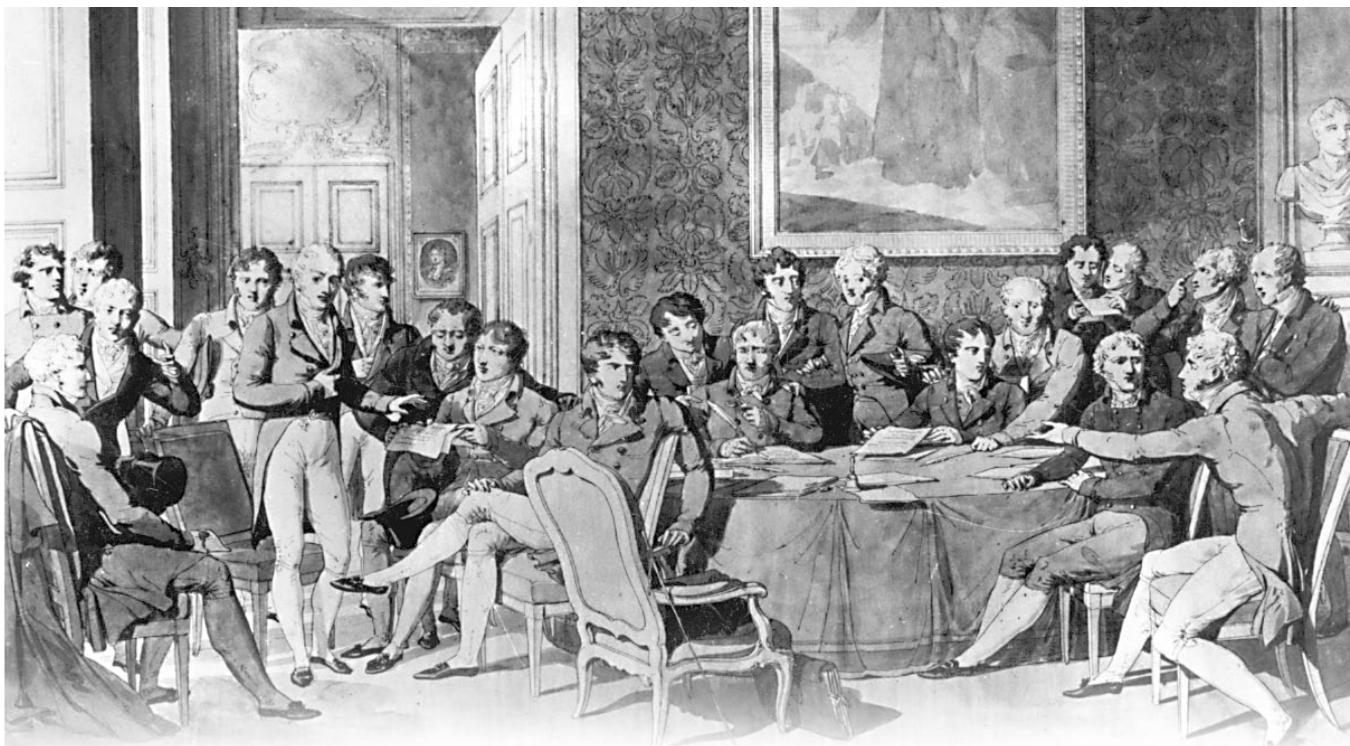
revealed only when everything earthly had separated from him, as he was touched by death." (Ver., 293)



Manuscript page, "The Stone Guest."

1. *Pushkin v vospominaniakh sovremennikov*, (Moscow: 1974), Vols. I, II. Citations in text are indicated as "I" or "II."
2. V. Veresaev, *Pushkin v zhizni*, Vol. 1. (Moscow-Leningrad: Academia, 1932). Citations in text are indicated as "Ver."
3. F.A. Stepun, "Dukhovnyi oblik Pushkina," in the anthology, *V kraiu chuzhom . . .*, ed. by M.D. Filin (Russkii mir, 1998).
4. A.P. Kern, *Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. Perepiska*. (Moscow: 1989), p. 32.
5. Heinrich Heine, *Collected Works* (in Russian), Vol. 4 (Moscow: 1980-83), pp. 389-390.
6. V. Veresaev, *Pushkin v zhizni* (Moscow: 1987), p. 374.

—translated from the Russian by Rachel Douglas



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The Mystery of Pushkin's Death

by Vadim V. Kozhinov

Much, even too much, has been written about the fateful duel of Jan. 27, 1837 and its prehistory. I say “too much,” because a surfeit of information can sometimes hinder an understanding of the essence of a matter, no less than the lack of information does. Some may say that I myself, by taking up this theme, am adding to the potentially harmful surfeit. But, first of all, the place for calling a halt has already been passed. Moreover, writings on Pushkin's duel during the past twenty or thirty years have been dominated by a tendency that, as I shall try to show, leads away from the truth.

In 1916, the prominent historian and writer P.Ye. Shchegolev published his voluminous (around 400 pages) book, *The Duel and Death of A.S. Pushkin*, which more or less summarized the results of the preceding eighty years of investigation. Later, however, in 1928, a second edition

of this book came out that was larger by half, in the introduction to which P.Ye. Shchegolev stated that “new material, previously inaccessible but uncovered by the revolution in 1917, . . . has prompted me to reevaluate the history of the duel.”

This revision was expressed, in one way or another, in the writings of other prominent Pushkin specialists of that time—M.A. Tsyavlovsky, B.L. Modzalevsky, B.V. Kazansky, and D.D. Blagoy, who much later, incidentally, in 1977, harshly criticized the *first* edition of P.Ye. Shchegolev's book: “Under the pen of this researcher, a national tragedy was transformed into a rather banal family drama: a husband, a beautiful young wife, and a homewrecker—a fashionable, handsome officer of the cavalry.”

There was reason for D.D. Blagoy's harsh tone. In the 1960's and 1970's, some Pushkin specialists “returned,” to

The 1815 Congress of Vienna. Tsar Alexander I left Russian diplomacy to a gaggle of foreign-born officials of the Russian Foreign Ministry, including Count Giovanni Capodistria and Count Karl Nesselrode, whose efforts on behalf of the British-Venetian oligarchy yielded for Russia the role of “gendarme of Europe” in the anti-republican reaction known as the Holy Alliance. (Watercolor by Jean Baptiste Isabey.)

some extent, to the old and seemingly totally superseded understanding of the events of Nov. 4, 1836–Jan. 27, 1837. D.D. Blagoy believed (not without grounds) that A.A. Akhmatova* had initiated this “return,” because she experienced a sort of “jealousy” of Pushkin’s wife. It was a jealousy that could be understood, and even accepted, as the state of *the soul of Akhmatova as a poet*, but it was hardly appropriate in *research* on the history of Pushkin’s duel. Yet, Anna Andreyevna† worked for a long time precisely on her essay, “The Death of a Poet,” an ostensibly painstaking piece of research. D.D. Blagoy wrote about that essay, at the time: “Anna Akhmatova went to extremes in her condemnation and accusations against Pushkin’s wife” If the main “guilty party” in the death of the poet were his wife, the entire story of the duel would inevitably become purely an everyday family drama.

Akhmatova was followed by all the Pushkin specialists who worshipped her, above all S.L. Abramovich. The writings of the latter, which were published in huge editions (between 1984 and 1994, nearly half a million copies in all were printed of her four books about the last year of the poet’s life), effectively covered up what had been written about the death of the poet as a result of the above-mentioned “revision.”

Many essential facts, which had been established with a high degree of certainty in P.Ye. Shchegolev’s 1928 book, were either reinterpreted, or simply ignored in the writings of Pushkin specialists of the “Akhmatova” tendency. The cited confession of D.D. Blagoy did not change the situation. The result is that now, as at the beginning of the century, there is a widespread notion that the history of the duel may be reduced to the clash of Pushkin with the dandy d’Anthès. This not only distorts the heart of the matter, but essentially belittles the poet.

The actual clash with the “youth,” as Pushkin called him, who spoke “vacuous things,” which the Dutch Ambassador Heeckeren had “dictated” to him, took place only *at the very beginning*—Nov. 4, 1836. That was the day Pushkin and several of his close associates received the joke “diploma,” which reported the unfaith-

fulness of his wife. Since d’Anthès had been pursuing Natalya Nikolayevna blatantly enough for several preceding months, the poet, in the heat of the moment (as was his habit of acting), sent him a challenge. The next morning, however, at the request of d’Anthès’ “adoptive father” Heeckeren, who came to see Pushkin, the duel was postponed first for twenty-four hours, and then, a day later, for two weeks. On November 17, Pushkin retracted the challenge, stating verbally and in writing that d’Anthès was a “noble” and “honest” person; later, in a December letter to his father, he even called d’Anthès “a fine fellow.”

All of this has been quite precisely known for a long time, but because popular articles have reduced the story of the duel to the notorious love triangle, many people believe that the postponements were, so to speak, accidental; that Pushkin was thirsting to “punish” d’Anthès and therefore, later, on Jan. 25, 1837, sent him a new challenge, with fatal consequences—although, in reality, he sent that extremely offensive letter not to d’Anthès, but to Heeckeren.

On November 4 and the immediately subsequent days, Pushkin was most open with his then young (twenty-three years old) friend, the future outstanding writer Count V.A. Sollogub, who on November 4 brought to Pushkin the envelope he had received (but not unsealed) with a copy of the “diploma.” There are a number of very important reports in the memoirs of Vladimir Aleksandrovich, to which we shall return. At this point, it may be noted that the young man immediately offered Pushkin to be his second, but Pushkin, thanking him warmly, decisively refused: “There will not be any duel”¹

The point here, obviously, is that only after sending off his challenge, did Pushkin read the “diploma” carefully and determine its real meaning. It stated that Alexander Pushkin had been “elected” deputy to the Grand Master of the Order of Cuckolds D.L. Naryshkin, and “historiographer of the order.” The “diploma” was signed by the

Vadim Valerianovich Kozhinov is a leading Pushkin researcher at the Russian Academy of Sciences. He is the author of many books, of which the most recent are “Russia in the Twentieth Century (1901-1939),” “Russia’s Destiny—Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow. The History of Russia and Russian Literature,” and “Great Creativity, Great Victories.” We thank Professor Kozhinov for his kind permission for the Schiller Institute to publish this article, which appears for the first time in German in Ibykus, No. 66, 1999, and here for the first time in English.

* Anna Akhmatova (1889-1966) was a Russian poet, famous for the clarity of her beautiful verses, and for her patriotism, as she refused to leave Russia during the Soviet period, despite the execution of her husband and the imprisonment of her son. A translation of her poem “Creativity” appears on page 61 of this issue.

† In Russian, a person may be called by his first name and patronymic, the middle name derived from the father’s given name. Thus, Anna A. Akhmatova is called “Anna Andreyevna”—Anna, daughter of Andrei. Tsar Nicholas I is also “Nikolai Pavlovich”—Nicholas, son of Paul.

“permanent secretary” (of the “Order”) Count I. Borkh.

All of these details were, to use the currently fashionable term, highly *semiotical*. First of all, everybody in high society of the day knew that in 1804, the beautiful young wife of D.L. Naryshkin (younger than her husband by as many years as Pushkin’s wife was younger than him) had become the mistress of Emperor Alexander I, and that Naryshkin was compensated for his wife’s “services” by being given the court rank of *Oberjägermeister*.² And here was Pushkin, “elected” as the “deputy” of Naryshkin—“elected,” during the reign of Alexander I’s younger brother, Nicholas I!

Moreover, the beautiful wife of “Permanent Secretary of the Order of Cuckolds” Count I.M. Borkh, Lyubov Vikentyevna, was famous for her extremely “light” (even, bluntly speaking, indecent) behavior, about which Pushkin himself spoke. But the main point was that she was of the same age as the poet’s wife, and was her relative. Her grandfather, I.A. Goncharov, was the younger brother of N.A. Goncharov, Natalya Nikolayevna’s great-grandfather. That is, the name of Count Borkh had been added to the “diploma” because his profligate spouse and Natalya Nikolayevna were kin.³

Finally, it was highly significant that the poet was “elected” as “historiographer of the Order.” Half a year after Pushkin’s marriage, Nicholas I had appointed him “historiographer,” about which Alexander Sergeyeovich wrote to his bosom friend P.V. Nashchokin, on Sept. 3, 1831, “The Tsar . . . has taken me into service—i.e., has given me a salary . . . to compile a history of Peter I. God grant the Tsar health!”⁴

At this point, a short digression on the theme of “the poet and the Tsar” is in order. For a long time, beginning long before the revolution, Nicholas I was portrayed as a furious hater of the poet, who had no other thought than to humiliate and crush him. This is a gross falsification, although it was inevitable that there were certain contradictions and even incompatibility between the Tsar and the poet. Revealing, in this regard, is the death-bed phrase, which many people believe Zhukovsky composed in Pushkin’s name: “Tell the Sovereign, that I am sorry to die; I would have been all his”—which means, that in



A.S. Pushkin

life, *he was not*. Even if Zhukovsky did compose that phrase, it expresses something nonetheless: Vasili Andreyevich could not fail to acknowledge that the poet belonged to a different spirit and will.⁵

With all due qualifications, the attitude of Nicholas I toward the poet in the last years of his life was, on the whole, favorable, as may readily be demonstrated with numerous facts and eyewitness accounts. Pushkin himself, in his letter to Nashchokin on July 21, 1831, said, “The Tsar is very gracious and amiable with me. The first thing you know, I shall turn into a Tsar’s favorite.” In February 1835, noting in his diary that Minister of Education

Uvarov was “howling” about his *History of the Pugachov Revolt* as a “scandalous piece of writing,” Pushkin summed up: “*Tsar lyubit, da psar ne lyubit*” [“The Tsar likes it, but his huntsman doesn’t”]. (The *History* was published with funds provided by the Tsar.)

In discussing all this, by no means do I intend to idealize the Tsar’s relationship to the poet. As is well known, after their first conversation on Sept. 8, 1826, Nicholas I told State Secretary D.N. Bludov (as the latter did not conceal), that he had spoken with “the most intelligent man in Russia.” But it must be borne in mind that “a most intelligent person” was potentially “dangerous” for the authorities, and Nicholas I, it is clear from a number of his remarks, knew it. Nonetheless, in 1831, the poet received the status of historiographer (albeit somewhat lesser than Karamzin had enjoyed), and the Tsar contributed to and financed his work both on *The History of Pugachov* (being the one to propose, incidentally, the substitution of “the Pugachov revolt” for “Pugachov” in the title), and the monumental, regrettably far from finished *History of Peter*.

Thus Pushkin, reading the “diploma” carefully, saw that it contained, in the accurate words of V.V. Kunin, compiler of the 1988 book *The Last Year of Pushkin’s Life*, “the vile suggestion that his rank of *Kammerjunker*, his loans from the Tsar, and even the title of ‘historiographer’ were all purchased by Pushkin for the same price that Naryshkin had paid for his prosperity. It was impossible to have struck the poet with any greater insult. . . .” (p. 309)

* * *

The “vile suggestion” fell on prepared soil. Natalya Nikolayevna was the foremost beauty of the court, and the Emperor’s attentions to her were scarcely covert (although there is no basis to speak of anything more than a court flirtation). Upon departing Petersburg without his wife, Pushkin often expressed his disquiet, albeit in a joking way. Thus, in his letter to her from Boldino on Oct. 11, 1833, he instructs her, “. . . don’t coquette with Ts.” (that is, the Tsar). On May 6, 1836, just half a year before the appearance of the “diploma,” he writes to her from Moscow: “. . . about you, my darling, some talk is going about. . . . it seems that you have driven a certain person [beyond any doubt, this meant the Emperor–VVK] to such despair with your coquetry and cruelty, that he has acquired himself in solace a harem of theatrical trainees. That is not good, my angel.”

Of course, this may be read as humor, rather than real suspicions, but still . . . P.V. Nashchokin recalls that already then, in May 1836, Pushkin told him that “the Tsar was pursuing his wife like a young officer.” Six months later, on Nov. 4, came the notorious “diploma.”

The poet’s state of mind after reading the “diploma” was clearly expressed in the letter he sent on November 6 to Minister of Finances Count Ye.F. Kankrin: “. . . I stand indebted to the Treasury . . . for 45,000 rubles” Expressing his desire “to repay my debt *in full and immediately*,” Pushkin states: “I have 200 souls in Nizhny Novgorod Province. . . . As payment of the aforesaid 45,000, I make bold to give over this estate” [my emphasis–VVK].

The partisans of the “Akhmatova” version attempt to explain this act by the poet by “the need to put his affairs in order” (S.L. Abramovich’s phrase) on the eve of the duel with d’Anthès. As has already been mentioned, however, Pushkin then agreed to a two-week postponement, and even affirmed that “there will not be any duel.” Moreover, his proposal to Kankrin was essentially a gesture of despair, not “putting in order” his affairs, since Pushkin had effectively transferred the Kistenevo estate, to which he referred in his letter, to his brother

and sister in 1835 (as P.Ye. Shchegolev already showed). Finally, and most importantly, the letter contained an extremely insolent phrase about Emperor Nicholas I, who, Pushkin wrote, “might even order that my debt be forgiven me,” but “in such a case I would be compelled to refuse the Tsar’s favor, and that might seem an impropriety . . .,” etc.

There is no ambiguity in these words. It is clear, that they meant a rejection of any “favours” from the Tsar, insofar as there existed suspicions about his relations with Natalya Nikolayevna.

As already noted, in the immediate period after the appearance of the “diploma,” Pushkin was the most open with V.A. Sollogub, who later explained the poet’s state of mind by citing the suspicion “of whether she [Natalya Nikolayevna–VVK] had not had relations with the Tsar”⁶

It was mentioned above that the partisans of the “Akhmatova” version not only artificially reinterpret the meaning of various facts and texts, but maintain silence about documents that are “inconvenient” for their version. Thus, in S.L. Abramovich’s chronicle, *Pushkin, The Last Year*, “there was no room” in approximately 600 pages of the book, for even a reference to the letter to Kankrin, the paramount significance of which is indisputable. The unprecedented boldness of this letter to a minister (!), with the threat “to refuse the Tsar’s favor,” reveals precisely what was the *main* problem for the poet. The question of d’Anthès and even of Heeckeren was relevant *only* in connection with this main problem.

It will most likely be objected, that what Pushkin wrote and said at the time shows that he was concerned not by the behavior of Nicholas I, but by the intrigues of Heeckeren (and, in part, d’Anthès). It was absolutely impossible, however, to *write* or *speak* at all publicly about the Emperor as a seducer of other men’s wives.

There are two texts that diverge in a highly significant way. We have testimony from V.A. Sollogub’s *personal* conversation with the prominent man of letters A.V. Nikitenko in 1846: “. . . in connection with the duel, Pushkin’s wife was the target of



Natalya Nikolayevna Pushkina

accusations that she had relations with d'Anthès. But Sollogub says this is nonsense. . . . Another reason is suspected . . . whether or not she had relations with the Tsar. This would explain, why Pushkin sought death and hurled himself against all comers. There was nothing left for the poet's soul, except death. . . ."⁷

But when we turn to the reminiscences, *written* by Sollogub somewhat later (but, not later than 1854) at the request of the poet's biographer, P.V. Annenkov, which presented essentially the same idea of what had happened, we find this: "God alone knows, what he [Pushkin-VVK] was suffering at that time. . . . In the *person* of d'Anthès [my emphasis-VVK], he sought death. . . ."⁸

Whether or not the poet really "sought death" may be disputed, but the important thing here is something else: Sollogub, setting down in writing what he had communicated verbally before, decided not to mention the Tsar; he only let it be understood, that d'Anthès was *not* the problem.

* * *

Let us now look more closely at the course of events. On the morning of November 4, 1836, Pushkin receives the "cuckold's diploma" and, without reading it thoroughly—owing to his consternation—sends a challenge to d'Anthès, who had been hovering around Natalya Nikolayevna for a long time. The next morning, a frightened Heeckeren comes to see him, and the duel is postponed, first for twenty-four hours, and then, after a second visit on November 6 (the very day of his sending that highly significant letter to Kankrin), for two weeks. At that time, the poet also assures Sollogub that "there will not be any duel."

From November 5 on, Pushkin was working not on preparations for a duel, but on his investigation to determine who had written the "diploma." In particular, he asked his Lycée classmate M.L. Yakovlev for an expert analysis of the "diploma," Yakovlev being a specialist, as the director of the Imperial Typography since 1833. Soon afterwards, no later than mid-November, Pushkin became convinced that Heeckeren had pro-



Georges d'Anthès, "adopted son" of the Dutch Ambassador Baron Louis van Heeckeren

duced the "diploma," although he also believed, and told Sollogub, that the initiator was Countess M.D. Nesselrode, the wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. True, Sollogub did not mention her name in his memoirs, which were written no later than 1854, when Nesselrode was still the all-powerful *Chancellor*, but confined himself to the observation that Pushkin "suspected a certain lady, whom he named to me, of having composed . . . the diploma." Many researchers have concluded that this meant Countess Nesselrode, beyond any doubt.

Pushkin believed that Heeckeren was implicated in the "diploma," for the very reason of his close relations with the Nesselrode couple. In 1829, already, D.F. Fikelson wrote about Heeckeren in her diary: ". . . a tricky person, duplicitous, unsympathetic; here [in Petersburg-VVK] he is considered to be Nesselrode's spy." Evidently, Pushkin also thought so.

It would have been senseless to accuse the Minister's spouse, but since Pushkin was convinced that Heeckeren had actually "produced" (his word was "fabriquée") the "diploma," on November 16 he challenged Heeckeren's "adopted son" (as the memoirs of K.K. Danzas make clear, "Heeckeren could not take part in a duel, because of his official position"), who had to have been party to the "production." This was essentially a *second* challenge, which had a *different* purpose: On November 4, Pushkin had challenged the "suitor" of his wife, but on November 16, he was addressing a party to the production of the "diploma."

In early November, as already noted, Pushkin refused Sollogub's offer to be his second, because "there will not be any duel." When, on November 16, he told Sollogub: "Go and see d'Archiac [d'Anthès' second-VVK]. Arrange with him only the material side of the duel. The bloodier, the better. Do not agree to any negotiations."—Sollogub was thunderstruck, by his own account.

Pushkin's new challenge was indeed in striking contrast to his behavior on November 5-6, when he had readily agreed to a postponement of the duel after

Heeckeren’s “explanations.”⁹ According to the well-informed P.A. Vyazemsky, “Pushkin, touched by the distress and tears of the father [i.e., Heeckeren, the “adoptive father” of d’Anthès–VVK], said, “. . . not just a week; I’ll give you two weeks’ postponement, and I pledge on my word of honor not to move the affair forward before the appointed day and, upon meeting your son, to act as if nothing had transpired between us.” On November 16, however, Pushkin categorically stated: “Do not agree to any negotiations.”

Still, the duel did not take place, since, as is well known, d’Anthès announced on November 17 that he was seeking the hand of Natalya Nikolayevna’s sister Yekaterina in marriage. Pushkin took this as total capitulation by d’Anthès, and agreed to withdraw his challenge. He had no intention, however, of dropping the fight against those he believed to have produced the “diploma” (in d’Anthès, he saw only a puppet in Heeckeren’s hands). On November 21, Pushkin told Sollogub: “. . . I do not want to do anything without your knowledge. . . . I shall read you my letter to old man Heeckeren.¹⁰ I’m through with the son. Now give me the old man.”

This letter said, in particular, that Heeckeren had composed the “diploma.” The very same day, Pushkin wrote another letter—to Minister of Foreign Affairs Count Nesselrode. Strangely enough, this letter (it begins with the salutation “Count,” with no name) is considered to have been addressed to Count Benkendorf, despite its acknowledged fundamental difference in tone and style from Pushkin’s fifty-eight known letters to Benkendorf.¹¹

P.Ye. Shchegolev, with good grounds, initially identified it as a letter to Nesselrode, but he later learned that one day later, on November 23, Benkendorf and Pushkin called on the Emperor, and he began to have doubts about the addressee. The question naturally arose, of whether the chief of the Third Section, having received this letter, had not arranged for the poet to meet with Nicholas Pavlovich.

It subsequently was established, in any event, that Pushkin did not even send

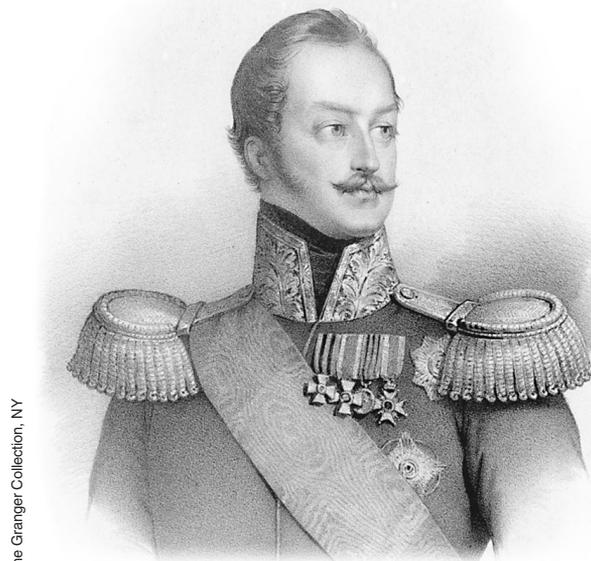
this letter to its addressee. Nonetheless, in defiance of all logic, it continues to be published as a letter to Benkendorf. The fact of the matter is, however, that a letter accusing a citizen of a foreign country, never mind an ambassador, of composing the “diploma,” would have been addressed precisely to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. An even more important feature is that Pushkin’s letter expressed overtly hostile scorn for the addressee (for example: “I neither can nor will provide anyone whatever with the proofs for what I assert . . .”), such as is never found in any of Pushkin’s letters to Benkendorf, and could not be in this instance, because the chief of the Third Section, unlike Nesselrode, had nothing to do with the “diploma.”

The Nesselrode-Heeckeren connection will be further discussed below. On November 21, Pushkin read to Sollogub his extremely offensive letter to Heeckeren. Sollogub immediately sought out V.A. Zhukovsky, who straight away went to Pushkin and convinced him not to send the letter. The next day, Zhukovsky asked Nicholas I to receive Pushkin, and the poet’s conversation with the Tsar took place on November 23.

* * *

Unfortunately, the content of this conversation of theirs, as well as the next one, which took place three days before the duel, can only be guessed. It appears to be accurate to suppose, that on November 23 Pushkin promised the Emperor not to allow matters to reach the point of a duel, since otherwise there would be no reason for the phrase in

the note Nicholas sent to the dying poet around midnight on January 27: “. . . accept my forgiveness.” More important, is *why* this promise was given, and why for exactly two months, until January 23, the facts show that Pushkin had no intention of breaking it. True, he categorically refused to have any contact with Heeckeren and d’Anthès, who on Jan. 10, 1837 married Natalya Nikolayevna’s sister and thereby became a relative. This refusal, while expressing hostility, also served as protection against clashes (the adversaries were constantly in each other’s company at balls and receptions).



Tsar Nicholas I

The Granger Collection, NY

The partisans of the “family” version of the duel maintain that d’Anthès and Heeckeren, supposedly having learned of Pushkin’s promise to the Tsar not to resort to a duel (and this is, it must be said, a lightweight supposition), acted ever more blatantly because they thought they could do so with impunity, thus driving the poet into a state of extreme agitation, in which he sent his insulting letter to Heeckeren.

It is known, that a sharp change in the poet’s mind took place between January 22 and 25. On January 16, Pushkin’s dear friend Ye.N. Brevskaya, his neighbor at Mikhailovskoye, whom he had known since she was a little girl, arrived in Petersburg. They met on January 18 and January 22 and had calm conversations, but on January 25, Pushkin stunned her by telling her of the impending duel.

Thus, the shift took place on January 23-24. Brevskaya’s reminiscences also provide the key to understanding the causes of the shift. Pushkin told her, that the Emperor “knows all *my* business.” From Nicholas I himself, we hear that he talked with Pushkin three days before the duel—that is, the 23rd or 24th—and that Pushkin made the striking admission, that he suspected him of “paying suit” to Natalya Nikolayevna (from which it follows, that Pushkin to some extent *believed* the “diploma” that he had received).

There is no doubt, that this last conversation took place at the ball at Count I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov’s, which took place from 10:00 p.m. on January 23 until 3:00 a.m. on the 24th. The earlier occasion on which Pushkin could have met with the Emperor was January 19, at the opera in Bolshoy Kamenny Theater, but Nicholas I mentioned “three days,” not a period of more than a week, and it is known that he had an excellent memory.

This conversation between the poet and the Tsar is, it appears, the main mystery. It may be surmised that, in the course of their conversation, he was convinced of the absolute falsehood of his suspicions and, consequently, of the slanderous nature of the “diploma,” which, he believed, Heeckeren had put together; and that, as a result, Pushkin wrote and sent to Heeckeren the well-known letter of January 25. It has long been noted, that the poet’s state of mind at that time was expressed in the letter he wrote the next day, January 27, to Gen. K.F. Tol, in which he cited the case of a slandered military officer, generalizing with great meaning: “No matter how strong the prejudice of ignorance may be, no matter how avidly slander may be accepted, one word . . . destroys them forever. . . . *The truth is mightier than the Tsar. . . .*”

It is highly probable that this phrase is connected

with the conversation with Nicholas on the night of January 23-24. But that, of course, is only a surmise. What is indisputable, is that it was precisely the conversation with the Emperor (whatever its nature may have been) that *determined* the shift in the poet’s mind and conduct.

I expect the objection, that a whole array of witnesses attributed this shift to the unrestrained pranks of d’Anthès—in particular, during that same ball at Vorontsov-Dashkov’s. This argument is bolstered, by Pushkin’s saying in his letter to Heeckeren: “I cannot permit your son . . . to dare to speak a word to my wife, nor still less to recite guardhouse puns to her. . . .” (This referred to a crude witticism of d’Anthès at that ball.)

It has to be taken into account, however, that, first of all, nobody at the time knew about Pushkin’s conversation with the Tsar, and, secondly, that the poet could not, of course, mention it in his letter to Heeckeren. Strangely enough, no concentrated attention has ever been given to one very significant opinion of P.A. Vyazemsky, who investigated the reasons for Pushkin’s death more than anybody else. In February-April 1837, he wrote dozens of lengthy letters about it to various people, in which he essentially reduced everything to a family drama. It appears, however, that he continued the investigation, and ten years after the duel, in 1847, he published an article in which he said the following:

“The time has not yet come for a detailed investigation and clear exposition of the mystery, surrounding Pushkin’s unfortunate demise. But in any event, *knowing the course of events* [my emphasis—VVK], we can state positively that malignant joy and malicious gossip will have little to gain from a dispassionate investigation and exposure of the essential circumstances of this sad event.”¹² It is difficult to explain this impossibility of “exposing” the circumstances, other than by the implication of the Tsar himself in the matter. The long-lived Vyazemsky, however, returned once again to this article of his, nearly *thirty* years later, when he substantially edited it for the publication of his collected works, which began in 1878. He left the just-cited phrase unchanged. Thus, even more than forty years after the duel, it was impermissible to “expose the essential circumstances”; they were clearly a matter of interests of State, not private interests.

As has been said, Pushkin was convinced that Heeckeren had produced the “diploma” (although he saw that someone behind him had commissioned it). There is no hard proof of this. The supposition of a number of authors, that Heeckeren had intended for the “diploma,” by making a target of the Emperor, to

divert Pushkin from d'Anthès, will scarcely hold up, since such a shifting of the blame to Nicholas I was too risky for d'Anthès, who was paying suit to Natalya Nikolayevna.

We shall return to the question of how the “diploma” was prepared. Ultimately, what is important for an understanding of the course of events, is the fact that Pushkin was *certain* of Heeckeren’s guilt, but that his overriding *main* concern was—as is evident from Nicholas I’s report of the main point of their last conversation: “I suspected you of paying suit to my wife”—the question of the accuracy of the information contained in the “diploma.” Having made sure, so I think, in the course of his conversation with Nicholas I, that it was absolutely false,¹³ the poet could not restrain himself from sending the letter to Heeckeren (as he had been able to do in November 1836).

It is important (although hitherto insufficiently considered so) that, upon acquaintance after the poet’s death with his letter to Heeckeren and the text of the notorious “diploma,” the Tsar reacted to them essentially as Pushkin had. Heeckeren immediately became “a vile rascal” in his eyes, whom he ordered to be expelled from Russia in a humiliating fashion; Nicholas was especially incensed, no doubt, by the intrigues against himself, more than by those against Pushkin (the “diploma” contained a fairly transparent hint about his imagined relations with Natalya Nikolayevna). Some researchers have speculated about how the Tsar came to know that Heeckeren had produced the “diploma,” but the natural presumption is the simple solution—that he believed what was stated in Pushkin’s letter, which became known to him.

It should be added that, in expelling the Ambassador (who had, incidentally, the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary), the Emperor made no allowances for the deliberate offensiveness of this act to The Netherlands. He did offer a written explanation to the Prince of Orange, who was married to his sister Anna, but the Russian Ambassador to The Netherlands nonetheless reported to Nesselrode: “I cannot but remark upon the heavy feelings, which this entire affair has evoked here, and I do not conceal from Your Excellency, that the circumstances, surrounding the departure of Baron Heeckeren from St. Petersburg, evidently caused some offense here.”

Finally, of considerable importance is the sharp shift in Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna’s attitude to the conflict between Pushkin and Heeckeren. It is known that her sympathies had lain with “the father and son.” On January 28, the day after the duel, she wrote in her diary:

“Pushkin behaved unforgivably; he wrote impudent letters to Heeckeren, leaving him no possibility to avoid a duel.” A week later, however, on February 4, Alexandra Fyodorovna notes: “I wish they would go away, the father and son.—I know now the *whole* of the anonymous letter, which was *foul*, and, at the same time, partially *true*” (that is, she had noticed her spouse’s interest in Natalya Nikolayevna). The Pushkin researchers of the “Akhmatova” tendency ignore this highly significant diary entry.

* * *

Like many other people, I doubt that Heeckeren was party to producing the “diploma”—if only because it would have been extremely risky for him to undertake such a forgery (being already implicated in d'Anthès’ lady-killing antics). It might seem to speak in favor of his involvement, that Nicholas I, who, of course, had great possibilities for obtaining information, believed in Heeckeren’s guilt. The court personage Prince A.M. Golitsyn, however, reports that Nicholas’ son, Alexander II, heard a different story: “The Sovereign Alexander Nikolayevich . . . said quite loudly, in a small group of people, ‘Well, now they know the author of the anonymous letters [i.e., the copies of the “diploma”—VVK], which were the cause of Pushkin’s death; it was Nesselrode’.”¹⁴ The text does not make clear whether this meant the Count, or the Countess; P.Ye. Shchegolev believed it was the latter.

It is unlikely, also, that the “semiotical” names in the “diploma,” discussed above—D.L. Naryshkin and, especially, I.M. Borkh—were introduced into the text by Heeckeren. Although he was well informed about many things in the life of Petersburg high society, he would unlikely have known, for example, that Borkh’s profligate wife was Natalya Nikolayevna’s second cousin once removed.

Nesselrode and his wife, by contrast, knew Borkh personally. The latter had served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1827. As for Naryshkin, the Nesselrodes knew him and his wife very well, as well as his wife’s daughter, Sofia, whose natural father was Alexander I: Yet another Ministry of Foreign Affairs official, A.P. Shuvalov, sought Sofia’s hand in marriage, and Nesselrode had intervened on behalf of his promotion to the rank of *Kammerherr*.¹⁵

It is well known, that the Nesselrodes really hated Pushkin, who had been assigned to Ministry of Foreign Affairs service in his early years, beginning June 1817. On July 8, 1824, it was under pressure from Nesselrode, that Alexander I dismissed the poet from the service and

exiled him to the village of Mikhailovskoye.

On Aug. 27, 1826, however, Nicholas I lifted the exile and ordered Pushkin's return to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is revealing that Nesselrode, at the risk of incurring the Tsar's displeasure, refused for more than three months to pay Pushkin his allotted annual salary of 5,000 rubles.

P.P. Vyazemsky, the poet's son, testifies to the existence of acute animosity between Pushkin and Countess Nesselrode. It should also be mentioned, that the Nesselrodes were very well disposed toward Heeckeren and, for special reasons, d'Anthès; the latter was a relative or, more precisely, an in-law of Count Nesselrode. His mother, Maria-Anna-Luisa (1784-1832), was the daughter of Count Gatsfeldt, whose sister married Count Franz Nesselrode (1752-1816), of the same family as Count Wilhelm Nesselrode (1724-1810), the Russian foreign minister's father. (These connections were traced by P.Ye. Shchegolev.) There was nothing unnatural, therefore, in the minister's wife serving as the sponsoring "mother" (the "father" was Heeckeren) at the wedding of d'Anthès with Yekaterina Goncharova on Jan. 10, 1837.

This picture would seem to establish some grounds for attributing the involvement of Countess M.D. Nesselrode and, ultimately, the Count himself, in composing the "diploma," to their *personal* hostility towards Pushkin. The essential point, however, seems to lie elsewhere.

The well-informed P.P. Vyazemsky wrote that Countess Nesselrode was "a powerful representative of the international areopagus, which held its sessions in the Paris suburb of St. Germain, at the salon of Princess Metternich in Vienna, and at Countess Nesselrode's salon in Petersburg." It is quite understandable, Pavel Petrovich wrote, "that this representative of the cosmopolite oligarchical areopagus hated Pushkin. . . . Pushkin missed no opportunity to lampoon his stubborn antagonist, who could scarcely speak Russian, with epigrams and anecdotes."

The clash between Pushkin and the Nesselrode couple was other than "personal" in nature, as D.D. Blagoy wrote convincingly in his above-mentioned research. It was the most profound sort of confrontation—political, ideological, and moral. It may be mentioned that,



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after Pushkin's death, Tyutchev (who wrote about that death as "regicide"), in a sense, took the baton from him in opposing Nesselrode.¹⁶

In the somewhat pretentious, but essentially true words of D.D. Blagoy, Nesselrode and his circle were "an anti-popular, anti-national elite of courtiers, . . . who had long harbored malice against the Russian national genius who opposed them."

This conflict grew more acute, D.D. Blagoy showed, as Nicholas I increasingly extended his patronage to Pushkin. From the standpoint of the "courtiers' elite," there was a growing "danger that the Tsar . . . might listen to the voice of the poet." The facts are eloquent enough: At the end of 1834, the *History of the Pugachov Revolt* appears in print, for the publication of which the Emperor gave 20,000 rubles and which he intended to take into account during elaboration of his policy on the peasant question; in the summer of 1835, Nicholas I lends 30,000 rubles to Pushkin, who is then working on the history of Peter I; in January 1836, he permits publication of Pushkin's journal, *Sovremennik*, the first three issues of which come out in April, July, and early October of 1836 (i.e., one month before the appearance of the "diploma"), and, despite being called a "literary" journal, its pages contain no small amount of "political" writing.

N.N. Skatov, one of our leading Pushkin scholars, recently published a comprehensive study of the multifaceted "rapprochement" of the poet with the Tsar during the 1830's.¹⁷ In another article, Nikolai Nikolayevich rightly wrote that antagonism between Pushkin and the Nesselrode camp was *inevitable*: "If we look at the anti-Russian policy (and all the subsequent events demon-



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Congress of Vienna diplomats:
Austria's Prince Klemens
Metternich (left), Britain's
Viscount Castlereagh (above).

strate that this is what it was) of the 'Austrian Minister of Russian Foreign Affairs' [the going ironical title of Nesselrode-VVK], then it is clear that it had to be aimed, sooner or later, against *the fulcrum of Russian national life*—Pushkin."¹⁸

Taking all of this into account, there is a basis for agreement with D.D. Blagoy's conclusion that the notorious "diploma," which he believed was conceived in the salon of Countess Nesselrode, was

designed to lure Pushkin “into direct collision with the Tsar, which could lead to the gravest consequences for him, in light of the poet’s well-known passionate, ‘African’ disposition,” and it did. M.A. Korf (Pushkin’s Lycée classmate), who observed Countess Nesselrode at close quarters for many years, remarked, “Her enmity was terrible and dangerous.”

A conflict with the Emperor, regardless of its ostensible pretext, in no way fits the framework of a “family drama” (unlike a conflict with d’Anthès).

Although there is scant supporting evidence for a decisive role of the Nesselrode salon in the appearance of the “diploma,” a number of well known, and quite diverse, researchers were convinced of that role; D.D. Blagoy was not the first. In 1928, P.Ye. Shchegolev remarked, that “the involvement of the wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs was a bit too close.” In 1938, G.I. Chulkov, author of a book about Pushkin and one about the Russian emperors, wrote: “In M.D. Nesselrode’s salon . . . the idea of the Russian people’s right to an independent political role was excluded. . . . They hated Pushkin, because they discerned in him a national force, which was entirely alien to them in spirit. . . .” In 1956, I.L. Andronnikov asserted: “Countess Nesselrode’s hatred for Pushkin was boundless. . . . Contemporaries suspected her of having composed the anonymous ‘diploma’. . . . There is almost no doubt, that she inspired that base document.”

It may be objected, that these are statements by representatives of post-revolutionary, Soviet literary scholarship, which was typically politicized and ideologized. But, in 1925, one of the most profound Pushkin scholars, the poet Vladislav Khodasevich (who was no “Soviet”), published a short article in an emigré newspaper, titled “Countess Nesselrode and Pushkin.”¹⁹ He wrote with great conviction that the Countess had commissioned the “diploma.”

* * *

As stated above, Heeckeren’s participation in making the “diploma” seems quite dubious, despite his closeness



Count Karl Robert Nesselrode,
Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs

to the Nesselrodes. More likely to be accurate is the version suggested by G.V. Chicherin, although his relevant letter to P.Ye. Shchegolev, which was published in 1976,²⁰ more than two decades ago, has not been duly noted by Pushkin scholars (evidently, because of the hegemony of the “family” interpretation of events).

It should be borne in mind that G.V. Chicherin, best known as the People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs from 1918 to 1930, belonged, first of all, to a family that produced several prominent diplomats, who were well informed about what was going on in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under Nes-

selrode, and, secondly, that his grandfather²¹ and other relatives knew Pushkin personally. G.V. Chicherin, one would think, was relying on his rich family traditions.²² G.V. Chicherin’s letter of Oct. 18, 1926, takes it as a given, that Countess Nesselrode was the initiator of the “diploma,” but says that it was executed for her not by Heeckeren, but by F.I. Brunov (or Brunnov), an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This person, it may be noted, had served with Pushkin in Odessa in 1823-24, and had annoyed the poet with his subservience to superiors. In the 1830’s, Brunov became a “special assignments officer” for Nesselrode, and in 1840 he received the prestigious post of ambassador to London, for his performance of his duties or, rather, his services. In any event, on the eve of the Crimean War, which was so fatal for Russia, Brunov (as shown in Ye.V. Tarle’s outstanding study, *The Crimean War*) repeatedly sent dispatches to Petersburg that were full of disinformation, assuring that Great Britain had no intention of launching war against Russia.

Of course, the question of Brunov’s role requires special research, but it is strange, to say the least, that, for many years, nobody has undertaken such a study.

The above interpretation of the events of Nov. 4, 1836-Jan. 27, 1837 may, of course, be disputed. But it seems inarguable that there was a *historical* background to the poet’s death, not only a “family” one, despite the fact that most recent writing on the matter ignores this.

The above-cited testimony of V.A. Sollogub, Ye.N.

Brevskaya, Nicholas I himself, Pushkin's letter to Kankrin, hints in the writings of P.A. Vyazemsky, etc., show clearly enough that the heart of the matter was a collision between the poet and the Tsar. Its point of departure was the "diploma," which fell onto the prepared soil of Pushkin's suspicions.

The "diploma," once again, was composed not for somebody's "personal" interests, but for the purpose of setting the poet at odds with the Emperor, since there was well-founded concern, that Pushkin might come to exert significant influence on his policy. This does not mean, of course, that the duel of January 27 was "pre-planned" in the Nesselrode salon; rather, the "diploma" was the "launch mechanism" of the agonizing tribulations and later events, which ultimately led to the duel.

Finally, there is the testimony of Emperor Alexander II, P.P. Vyazemsky, and, in later years, G.V. Chicherin, relying on family traditions, as well as Pushkin's sharply worded letter to Nesselrode (absolutely groundlessly published as a letter to Benkendorf)—all of which indicate, with no ambiguity, that the "diploma" came out of the Nesselrode salon. In M.A. Korf's words, that salon was, during the second half of the 1830's, "unquestionably the foremost in St. Petersburg," playing an influential, directly *political* role. Thus, it is inappropriate to reduce the production of the "diploma" to a matter of settling *personal* accounts. This was a struggle on the historical stage, and Pushkin's death was a genuine historical tragedy. I recall his lines:

It is, for certain, on the great road
That I shall die, God has ordained . . .

It cannot be denied that this historical tragedy had the *superficial* appearance of a family one, and so it was seen, and continues to be, by the great majority of people. The "triangle" of Natalya Nikolayevna-Pushkin-d'Anthès (together with his so-called "father") masks a different triangle, to take the same geometrical figure: Nicholas I-Pushkin-the influential Nesselrode salon (ultimately, the Minister himself). The poet's death in that collision was a *historical* tragedy, in the full sense of the word.

* * *

There is one other aspect of the matter, which provides additional arguments in favor of the idea of these events presented above. As is well known, a number of people close to the poet—the Vyazemskys, the Karamzins, the Rossets, and others—harshly criticized his behavior on the eve of the duel, since they supposed that it was motivated by excessive and unfounded *jealousy* of d'Anthès.

Many people will find it difficult to agree with me, but it should be stated that these people were, from their standpoint, more or less *right*. Insofar as it appeared to them that the poet was moved chiefly, or even exclusively, by jealousy of d'Anthès, their reproaches are understandable and, in a sense, fair.

On the evening of January 24, that is, after his conversation with the Emperor and two days before the duel, Pushkin spent the evening at the home of Prince P.I. Meshchersky, who was married to Karamzin's daughter Yekaterina Nikolayevna. Vyazemsky was present, as was the historian's other daughter, Sofia, and others—including d'Anthès and his wife. Sofia Karamzina wrote to her brother Andrei about that evening: "Pushkin grinds his teeth and puts on his tiger expression. . . . Overall, it is very strange, and Uncle Vyazemsky says he is going to stay out of this and not see the Pushkins any more."

Sofia Nikolayevna considered what was happening to be "very strange," that is, it could not be explained by the facts known to her. It was as if she guessed that there was something else involved, besides the infamous jealousy, although ultimately the people around Pushkin thought that was the main factor.

Even more significant is that the next day, the poet tried to convince his friends that he was not jealous. On the evening of January 25, he was at the Vyazemskys, again in the presence of d'Anthès and his wife. The host was not there: Vyazemsky had gone to a ball at the Myatlevs, perhaps carrying out his promise not to see the Pushkins. Later on, however, the wife and son of Vyazemsky both recalled what the poet had said to them about d'Anthès: ". . . my accounts with that young man are settled"—that is, it was a matter not of jealousy of the vulgar young man, but of something else.

It is clear that Pushkin could not talk about the Emperor's role; he alluded to it the same day (and there are no other known instances of his) in conversation with the *provincial* landowner Ye.N. Brevskaya (*vide supra*), who did not have ties with Petersburg high society.

I repeat: Pushkin's friends, convinced that the reason for his behavior was jealousy of d'Anthès, were essentially correct in their reproaches. From that standpoint, too, the position of S.L. Abramovich, the above-mentioned contemporary Pushkin researcher, is illogical; she proposes essentially the same interpretation of the pre-duel situation as Pushkin's friends did at the time, but then she angrily accuses them for their reproaches against the poet!

Since the notion of the duel as the result of a purely family conflict dominated so thoroughly, a number of prominent people also "reproached" the poet, even *after his death!*

Thus, Pushkin's contemporary, the poet Yevgeni Boratynsky, wrote: "... I am deeply shaken, and with tears, protests, and *bewilderment* [my emphasis—VVK] I keep asking myself: why this, and not some other way? Is it natural, that a great man in the prime of life, perish in a duel like some careless youth? How much of the guilt is his own . . . ?"

A.S. Khomyakov condemned the poet even more harshly: "Pushkin had a shoot-out with some d'Anthès. . . . What a pitiful repetition of Onegin and Lensky—a sorry and premature end. There were no good reasons for the duel. . . . Pushkin failed to be steadfast in his character. . . ." ²³

There are also "reproaches," in effect, even in Lermontov's famous verses: "... slave of honor . . . the poet's soul could not withstand the shame of *trivial* offense . . . and why to petty slanderers did he extend his hand? . . ." etc. And we may acknowledge, that if it were a question of conflict with d'Anthès, these reproaches would have been to some extent justified. The facts and testimony cited above, however, show convincingly that the poet's death stemmed from something different and immeasurably more substantial.

Last, but not least: Lermontov was bewildered, and even "accused" Pushkin:

And why, from comfort calm and simple-hearted
friendship
Stepped he into that close and jealous world . . .

It would seem that Alexander Sergeyevich himself could agree, since in 1834 he wrote the opening lines of the poem,

It's time, my friend, it's time, the heart asks for
repose,—

for which he sketched the conclusion in prose as follows: "Oh, will it be soon that I carry my penates²⁴ to the countryside—the fields, the orchard, the peasants, and books; poetic labors—a family of loves. . . ."

The poet continued to have this longing in his heart, quite strongly, in his mature years. Yet, being aware of his lofty calling (as clearly expressed in his "Monument"²⁵), Pushkin experienced an even stronger longing to be at the center of the *life* of Russia. It is sometimes asserted, especially by authors of the Akhmatova tendency, that Alexander Sergeyevich was at the imperial court, due solely to Natalya Nikolayevna's wish to shine at the balls.²⁶ The poet, however, valued the opportunity to influence the highest authorities in the country; after one "long conversation" with the Tsar's brother, Grand Prince Mikhail Pavlovich, he wrote in his diary:

"I was able to tell him many things. God grant that my words did even a drop of good."

The mature Pushkin would scarcely be the Pushkin we know, if he had acted on the longing expressed in the poem, "It's time, my friend, it's time" His contemporary Yevgeni Boratynsky did so, incidentally, and lived his mature years chiefly in the countryside. But Boratynsky, for all his virtues, was not Pushkin.

1. *A.S. Pushkin in the Recollections of His Contemporaries* ("Recollections") (Moscow: 1974), vol. 2, p. 300.
2. Pushkin put Naryshkin's wife in his juvenile joke poem, "The Monk" (1813). In 1834, he wrote to his wife: 'Yesterday I went to a concert . . . in Naryshkin's splendid hall, really splendid.'
3. See P.S. Shchegolev, *The Duel and Death of A.S. Pushkin* (Moscow: 1987), p. 374.
4. Quotations from Pushkin's letters are from *The Letters of Alexander Pushkin*, trans. by J. Thomas Shaw (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).
5. Vasili A. Zhukovsky (1783-1852), Russian poet and translator of Schiller, was a tutor to the royal family, and Pushkin's friend.
6. *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 482.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 482.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
9. Thus, on November 6, Pushkin did not yet consider Heeckeren to have produced the "diploma."
10. There was a different notion of "old age" at the time; Heeckeren was 45.
11. Count Benkendorf, chief of the Third Section of His Majesty's Chancellery (the political police), was Pushkin's intermediary with Tsar Nicholas, after the latter made himself personal censor for the poet upon his return from exile in 1826.
12. Cited in P.A. Vyazemsky, *Aesthetics and Literary Criticism* (Moscow: 1984), p. 325.
13. *Cf.* the letter to Gen. Tol: "one word" destroys slander.
14. Quoted by P.Ye. Shchegolev, *op. cit.*, p. 392.
15. *Cf.* P.Ye. Shchegolev, *ibid.*, p. 389.
16. See details in my book, *Tyutchev* (1988, 2nd ed.; 1994, 3rd ed.).
17. *Nash Sovremennik*, No. 11-12, 1998, p. 251-261.
18. *Trud*, Aug. 21, 1998, p. 5; N.N. Skatov's emphasis.
19. See the reprint in *Nedelya*, No. 49, 1987, pp. 22-23.
20. *Neva*, No. 12.
21. It should be noted that Pushkin attended a ball, held by that maternal grandfather of Chicherin, Ye.F. Meyendorf (1792-1879), on Dec. 17, 1836, a month and a half before his death.
22. It is noteworthy that his father's sister was the wife of E.D. Naryshkin (b. 1815), the son of the D.L. Naryshkin whose "deputy" the "diploma" declared Pushkin to be.
23. Yevgeni Onegin, the title character in Pushkin's novel in verse, kills the poet Lensky in a carelessly entered duel.
24. Household gods.
25. The poem "*Ya pamyatnik vozdvig . . .*" ("I have built a monument . . .") is translated on p. 60.
26. It should be noted that her life at the balls was rather limited, since every autumn after her marriage in 1831, she was pregnant. Almost all of her deliveries took place in May, that is, soon after the height of the ball season at the end of winter (at Mardi Gras); on March 4, 1834, she had a miscarriage right after a ball, and in 1835 and 1836 (she gave birth in May in each of those years) she was not dancing, as Pushkin put it.

—translated from the Russian by Rachel Douglas

LaRouche to U.S. Conference: 'Rebuild the Nation on Principles of F.D.R.'



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis



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The strategy for restoring the United States to the principles of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as opposed to those of Winston Churchill, was the subject of the keynote presentation by Democratic Presidential pre-candidate Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., to the Labor Day conference of the Schiller Institute /International Caucus of Labor Committees on September 4-5. LaRouche was introduced by Amelia Boynton Robinson, Vice Chairman of the Institute.

You have no right to be stupid, LaRouche told the audience in his videotaped presentation. You must rise to the level of cognition, in the interest of winning a "system of sovereign nation-states, each governed by a fundamental constitutional principle of the general welfare, and all sharing and understanding that the survival and security of one, depends upon the general welfare provided by all to each."



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

LaRouche's presentation was then complemented by that of Gen. Harold Bedoya (ret.), former Defense Minister and head of the Armed Forces of Colombia. Bedoya announced that he had come to the United States to win political support

from America for Colombia's war against the drug trade. But this is not just a matter for Colombia, he stressed. Colombia has been chosen by the international narco-terrorists because of its strategic position, and, if Colombia, which is already being devoured by the terrorists, is destroyed, that fact will represent a strategic threat not only to the rest of Ibero-America, but also to the United States itself.

The second panel of the conference addressed the necessity of "Classical thinking." As elaborated throughout the

Top left: Lyndon LaRouche keynotes conference by videotape. **Above:** Helga Zepp LaRouche challenges the "continent of the clueless."

conference, such thinking means an absolute rejection of "bite-sized" slogans and organizing, in favor of exercising the mind to generate and communicate ideas. Ideas, as Gerald Rose and William Wertz stressed, cannot be reduced to "information" or "facts," but demand constant confrontation and resolution of paradoxes, and the supersession of inadequate hypotheses.

This panel began and ended with musical presentations, First, the Schiller Institute chorus sang

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Conference speakers (clockwise from left): Colombia's Gen. Harold Bedoya (ret.), EIR economics editor Marcia Baker, Sheila Jones (r.) and Mindy Pechenuk, Gerald Rose.



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

Washington, D.C. Seminar

LaRouche Balkans Plan Aired

Paolo Raimondi, *Executive Intelligence Review* Southeast European affairs specialist, was the featured speaker at a seminar on Balkan Reconstruction in Washington, D.C. June 23. The event was chaired by Debra Hanania Freeman, national spokesman for Lyndon LaRouche's Committee for a New Bretton Woods, who introduced the panel of speakers. Raimondi was joined by Panamanian Congressman Miguel Bush; Pennsylvania State Rep. Harold James; and Michigan State Rep. Ed Vaughn.

In her introductory remarks, Freeman referred to an April 7 policy statement, "The LaRouche Doctrine," in which LaRouche asserted that the principal cause of the Balkans war was the ongoing

collapse of the global financial system.

In fact, Freeman pointed out, the NATO bombing drove a wedge between the governments of the U.S., Russian, and China—the necessary pillars of any new financial order—especially in the aftermath of the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy, which plunged U.S.-China relations to an all-time low. LaRouche, however, insisted it were still possible to make the Balkans the birthplace of a new era of peace and development, and called for a Marshall Plan for the region.

Economic Development Plan

Raimondi exposed the fraud of the debate that has erupted over "who will pay" for Balkan reconstruction. "There

EIR correspondent Paolo Raimondi (podium), joined by (left to right) LaRouche spokesman Debra Hanania Freeman, State Representatives Harold James (Pa.) and Ed Vaughn (Mich.), and Panamanian Congressman Miguel Bush.

need be no money involved," he said. What is required is *credit creation*, and recognition of the existing emergency, as LaRouche addressed it in the following three requirements: (1) An engineering corps to build bridges, roads, railroads, hospitals, and housing, before winter. (2) A special financial facility within the structure of a new Marshall Plan, *to create credit*. (3) Creation of a private contractors' authority, where vendors are organized to supply raw materials, technology, and so forth.

This approach will create a huge export boom, and an enormous increase in productive jobs, just as we saw at the end of World War II.

Both Rep. Harold James and Rep. Ed Vaughn, who chairs the Michigan Legislative Black Caucus, endorsed the LaRouche plan. James cited Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address—"With malice toward none, with charity for all"—as a touchstone for the approach required today to heal the terrible wounds in the Balkan region. Vaughn added his hope that Balkan reconstruction will be unlike so-called "Reconstruction" in the South at the end of the Civil War, in which Lincoln's

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Ukrainian Candidate Vitrenko Target of Assassination Attempt

Ukrainian Member of Parliament Dr. Natalia Vitrenko, co-initiator with Helga Zepp LaRouche of the 1997 Appeal to President Clinton to Convene a New Bretton Woods Conference, is currently campaigning for the office of President of Ukraine, using Lyndon LaRouche's famous "Triple Curve" heuristic of the typical economic collapse function—as seen

here in her campaign poster.

The Presidential election is Oct. 31. With only the scantiest of media coverage, Vitrenko has placed second, after President Leonid Kuchma, in most polls. On Oct. 2, Vitrenko was the target of an unsuccessful assassination attempt, while campaigning in the eastern Ukraine town of Ingulets.



Faris Nanic Tours U.S. for Balkan Reconstruction

Faris Nanic, Secretary General in Croatia of the Party of Democratic Action (S.D.A.) and former Chief of Staff to President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, conducted a two-week tour of the United States in late September, calling on this nation to adopt Lyndon LaRouche's economic development policies, as the only basis for real reconstruction of the Balkan nations. The tour was co-sponsored by the Schiller Institute.

Nanic is a co-initiator, together with Schiller Institute founder Helga Zepp LaRouche, of an international call for "Peace through Development for the Balkans," which was drafted for worldwide endorsement during NATO's bombardment of Serbia last spring.

A Balkans Marshall Plan

That statement calls for a Marshall Plan for the Balkans regions; a New Bretton Woods policy for the world economy (including fixed exchange rates, protection of national economies, and sovereign credit generation for economic development); a sharp, immediate break with the I.M.F. and World Bank practice of imposing austerity measures and unacceptable financial conditionalities on sovereign nations; debt moratoria for the economies of the region, which have been ruined by war and enforced shock therapy; use of the model of the *Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau* during the post-World War II reconstruction of Germany; joining the initiative for a Eurasian Land-Bridge in cooperation with all interested nations; and inclusion of all Balkan and Southeastern European states in the Eurasian Land-Bridge project.

During his tour, Nanic spoke at town meetings in Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, Philadelphia, and New York City. He also addressed seminars in New York City and Washington, D.C., attended by U.N. and foreign embassy officials. And, in Northern Virginia and



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis



EIRNS/George Hollis

Left: Faris Nanic speaks with reporters during intermission between press conference and forum in Washington, D.C. Below: Nanic addresses Town Meeting in Los Angeles.

Baltimore, he addressed events co-sponsored by local mosques and the Schiller Institute.

On his tour, Nanic told his American audiences: "I've been talking so much about Balkan reconstruction and the failures of the Dayton Accords, that I realize that we have to observe all of these things from a broader perspective. I'm trying to look at solutions, and I'm thinking that radical ideas have to be introduced. My only hope is that the shift will happen here in the United States of America—not because the U.S. is the only remaining superpower, but because of the tradition, which is the tradition of all of mankind."

U.S. Role Necessary

The United States has the "unique chance" to initiate the necessary global reconstruction, Nanic said. "You cannot expect from small, terrified states," such as Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina, "to initiate radical changes. This has to be done from key nations, mainly the U.S."

Nanic focussed on Lyndon LaRouche, as the key American who can carry out the needed policy: "The only person I know who is, from a political standpoint, based on ideas, and is capable

of addressing each and every crisis, is the leader of your movement. I've known Mr. LaRouche from 1993, when I interviewed him when he was in jail. You have to understand that the global political leadership is not acting on ideas, but acting on public opinion. He is a man who represents the historical continuum of the best ideas that have shaped the world. For all the world, you have to give him support, to put him in position to become a decision-maker. He's the only person who can address the crisis."

Institute Reps in

A Schiller Institute delegation travelled to Hungary and Slovakia at the end of June, to report on two human rights issues: first, the need for immediate postwar reconstruction in the Balkans; and second, the gross violations of human rights in the U.S. justice system.

The delegation held a press conference on June 28 in Bratislava, Slovakia, which was well attended by the major press. Anno Hellenbroich described NATO's war against Yugoslavia as a violation of human rights, as well as of the

Colombia's Bedoya Calls for Alliance vs. Drugs

General Harold Bedoya (ret.), former Commander of the Armed Forces of Colombia, gave an extremely successful news conference Sept. 7 at the National Press Club, where he briefed an international contingent of 40 reporters from government-linked and private news services, on the nature and scope of the narco-terrorist threat to Colombia and other nations, and what must be done to vanquish it.

According to the senior military leader, the way the situation in Colombia is portrayed, as a 40-year political struggle, "is false." What you have, is a drug cartel—a known drug cartel—attempting to seize power. Bedoya noted that the drug culture could have been defeated, had the will existed to do so. But the previous government was beholden to the Cali cartel, and this current government was installed by the narco-terrorist FARC cartel.

Using maps to address the group, the General stressed three interrelated points in his remarks.

First, he called for a Marshall Plan for development of Colombia, specifically *without* any conditionalities or involvement of the I.M.F. He attacked Richard Grasso, the head of the New York Stock Exchange, for visiting the FARC drug region recently, and talking of collaboration. General Bedoya pointed out that what's involved are drug money flows, and that Grasso knows



General Harold Bedoya (ret.) addresses Washington, D.C. National Press Club.

this. These are speculative money flows to Wall Street, which needs this dirty money. Wall Street is facing a crash. But, Bedoya pointedly added, even if they were not, they would still need this kind of money to keep their system going.

Second, he said, we must change the situation in Colombia. The current government has been in power for one year, but "it feels like a hundred." They are destroying the country and the territory. He said that Colombians "are mobilized" for a change. We cannot stand the government for the next four years. We must have change. We can't have the indebtedness we do now. We must have no more I.M.F.

He also called on Washington to change its current policy of support for the Colombian government's "absurd" negotiations with the FARC cartel, in pursuit of an illusory peace that will not come through this kind of capitulation.

General Bedoya spoke of the need for a "change in the culture." The state has but a single function—to look out for the welfare and progress of its people. But the most basic norms are now being violated. He pointed to the 4,000 Colombian children who have been kidnapped by the narco-terrorists, and made to carry grenades, guard drug labs, and do the narco-terrorists' bidding. We cannot have children treated this way.

Hungary, Slovakia

principle of national sovereignty, presenting Lyndon LaRouche's proposal for an immediate Marshall Plan for the region.

Margaret Greenspan reported on human rights violations in the United States, concentrating on the cases of Lyndon LaRouche, who, although now free on parole, served five years in prison despite his innocence; and of her brother Michael Billington (currently serving a 77-year sentence in Virginia) and two other LaRouche political prisoners, Paul and Anita Gallagher.



Margaret Greenspan (left) and Anno Hellenbroich discuss human rights issues with a Hungarian journalist.

'Triangular Association' Founded in India

Leading scholars of India, China, and Russia have founded the "Triangular Association," to promote the Eurasian Land-Bridge as a task vital to the strategic interests of all three nations. The founding took place at a meeting held in New Delhi on July 30, and was reported in the New Delhi daily *The Hindustan Times* on Sept. 2.

The founders were the prominent scholars, Professor Ma Jiali of China, Professor Devendra Kaushik of India, and Dr. R. Rybykov of Russia. American economist and Presidential candidate Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr., has been named an honorary adviser to the Association.

Triangular Objectives

The three founders called on all like-minded people and associations to support the following objectives:

- "To facilitate cultural, scientific, and technological cooperation among the three countries, utilizing each other's strengths for the betterment of the conditions of the people not only belonging to these three countries, but also of those residing in countries of the region, and beyond.
- "To help the governments and the people through studies, conferences, and seminars, making them aware of the necessity to protect the strategic interests of the region in the wake of the growing threats to security and stability posed from outside and within.
- "To organize study-projects and publications to facilitate a coordinated approach among the three countries in effectively dealing with the deepening global economic and financial crisis. The building of the Eurasian Land-Bridge, which will connect the easternmost parts of Asia to the Western coast of Europe, is of vital importance to all three countries. The studies will be undertaken to exhibit the necessity of building this Land-Bridge, to strengthen the region economically and strategically."

Mexico Seminar on 'Excellence in Education'

One thousand Mexicans gathered in the city of Guadalajara June 6, to hear 140 youth choristers present a concert of Classical choral and instrumental music in dedication to "a new cultural renaissance and a new, just world economic order." The concert, culminating a two-day seminar on "Excellence in Education," was sponsored by the Schiller Institute and Mexico City's Schola Cantorum.

The concert, held at the Church of the Holy Family of Guadalajara, featured performances by young instrumentalists from the Anatoly Zatin International Academy of Music, and by the Schola Cantorum children's choir, the Children's Choir of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Guadalajara, and the Xochiquetzal Children's Choir of Guadalajara. It concluded with the combined choirs singing Pergolesi's glorious *Stabat Mater*, accompanied by the Ensemble Clásico string quartet.

Opening the concert was the Schiller Institute's Hugo Lopez

Ochoa, who said that his organization has long fought to stop the world from plunging into a new Dark Age. The answer lies in nurturing man's creativity, to produce the kind of transcendent beauty represented by the youngsters performing that day.

The same theme was presented at the seminar, held in the Zapopan Cultural House on the outskirts of Guadalajara, which drew scores of music teachers and students from throughout the state of Jalisco, as well as a large delegation from the National Union of Educational Workers, and nuns from teaching orders. The seminar was also attended by representatives sent by Jalisco's Governor, by its Secretary of Culture, and by its Secretary of Education. Messages of support for the seminar's theme and purpose were sent by the world-famous Italian tenor Carlo Bergonzi, and by Arturo Sacchetti, former artistic director of the Vatican's "Giovanni Carisio" International Academy of Music.

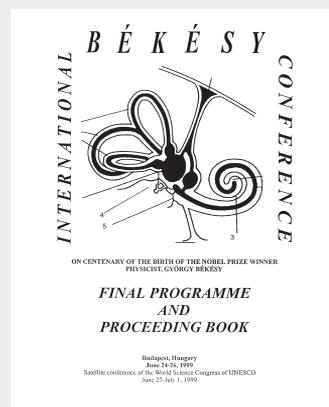
Institute Paper Read at Hungarian Academy

At the end of June, Anno Hellenbroich of the Schiller Institute in Germany, presented a paper entitled "Between the Notes: Metaphor in Classical Composition," at a conference held at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, Hungary. The conference, held to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georg von Békésy, was attended by more than 100 scientists from the United States, Japan, Ukraine, and various European countries. Békésy received the Nobel Prize in 1961, for his work on the physiology of the ear and hearing.

Hellenbroich was invited to speak about what the Classical composers "hear," and what principles underlie their compositions, in order to better understand what the great Renaissance

Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa described as the "mental ear."

In his remarks, Hellenbroich stressed that an international group had analyzed thousands of compositions, looking at the registers and register shifts of the human voice, and that this



European Conference: Science and Music

Launch New Campaign for Verdi Tuning

Speaking at a conference of the Schiller Institute in Oberwesel, Germany on the weekend of July 25, Italian musician Arturo Sacchetti, an organist, choir and orchestra conductor, and former artistic director of Vatican Radio, made a proposal for expanding the campaign for scientific, Verdi tuning to musical instruments, which the Schiller Institute began in 1988, around the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of composer Giuseppe Verdi's death.

Maestro Sacchetti described his proposal as follows:

"Soon, an historic event will take place. On Jan. 30, 1901, Verdi died; in the year 2001, will be the 100th anniversary of his death. And this fashionable event has already unleashed many initiatives to celebrate Verdi. It is obvious from what I have been saying, that a revival of his operas will convey a false idea, unless they are played at the tuning he wanted.

"For this reason, we worked out a project, which will be presented very soon, to celebrate Verdi in 2001 in his



Maestro Arturo Sacchetti calls for expansion of the campaign for Verdi musical tuning, flanked by the Schiller Institute's Liliana Gorini and Anno Hellenbroich.

own town of Busseto, Italy, in order to propose the performance of Verdi operas at A=432 Hz, both for instruments and for voices. This revival will be fundamental to rediscovering the vocal and instrumental sound of Verdi."

"This project has been inspired by Mr. Lyndon LaRouche and his book *A Manual on the Rudiments of Tuning and Registration*, which in Italian appeared as *Canto e Diapason*, and which demonstrates the question of tuning in relation to each of the four voices. The Busseto project aims at recovering Verdi's operas, performing them at A=432 Hz. It is a rigorous project, because the idea is to create a stock of instruments which are strictly tuned to A=432. This stock of instruments will be put at the disposal of young musicians who come to Busseto to learn how to play at the Verdi tuning, in a kind of permanent master-class.

"The instrumental part of the master-class will be to teach instrumentalists, and also conductors. After a period of studying and practicing this tuning, instrumentalists will be joined by singers of the *bel canto* academy of Maestro Carlo Bergonzi, who has been holding regular *bel canto* master-classes in Busseto for many years.

"This is a Verdi project which aims at creating, for the first time in history, a

permanent orchestra tuned to A=430. This orchestra shall be joined by solo and choral voices in the performance of Verdi works.

"This project will unleash a lot of polemics. Mainly, because a part of the international music world supports the high tuning, without any scientific motivation, but stating that voices should adapt to the tuning of the instruments. The results of their performances are not coherent with the music world of the time of the composers. Therefore, not only works of Verdi, but all vocal, instrumental, chamber, and oratorio works of the Nineteenth century, so performed, do not correspond to the will of the composers.

"The most famous singers endorsed our campaign to go back to the Verdi tuning. With this Busseto project, we aim at achieving performances which respect scientifically, musically, and from the standpoint of interpretation, the creativity and intent of the composers."

The Schiller Institute has undertaken to support Maestro Sacchetti's project, by circulating a petition asking for endorsements from famous musicians, as with its international petition for lower tuning, first circulated in 1988. The petition draft appears on page 112 of this issue.

of Sciences

group had come to completely different conclusions from those of Helmholtz's postulation (on the basis of Rameau's theory) of the so-called "resonance theory" of hearing. Their conclusions appear in the Schiller Institute's internationally released *Manual on the Rudiments of Tuning and Registration*.

Using the famous motif from *A Musical Offering* by J.S. Bach as an example, Hellenbroich demonstrated how Mozart and Beethoven had worked this motif into their compositions. In this connection, Hellenbroich emphasized the importance of educating the population at large for "active hearing."

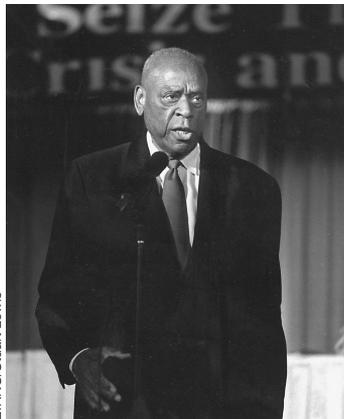
Hellenbroich's remarks are included in the published Proceedings of the conference.

U.S. Conference

Continued from page 86

three sections of Ludwig van Beethoven's Mass in C; later, at the conclusion, Sheila Jones and Mindy Pechenuk of Chicago gave a demonstration of how musical instruments must be governed by the principles of the human singing voice.

Rose spoke on the theme, "Beauty Is Truth, Truth Beauty." After rigorously defining the criteria for beautiful ideas in terms of their effectiveness in promoting human civilization, Rose used examples from Greek Classical sculpture, and from the poetry of Keats, to demonstrate the Classical principle. Wertz then took up the same question from the standpoint of Prometheus versus Hamlet, emphasizing the crucial role of *agapē* in determining the ability to think. He interspersed his presentation with a number of recitations, and concluded with a discussion of Classical paintings which demonstrated how supersensuous ideas are conveyed on canvas—much as



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

Rose had shown they can be conveyed in stone.

The Eurasian Land-Bridge

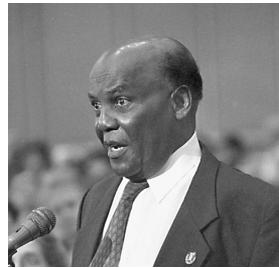
Schiller Institute founder Helga Zepp LaRouche opened the second day of the conference with a keynote on "The Eurasian Land-Bridge as a Global Strategy for Today." Her presentation flowed from a polemic on the ignorance of the American people about the role of the United States in the world, and about strategic realities internationally, an ignorance she referred to by the polemical phrase, "the continent of the clueless."

Zepp LaRouche presented a detailed analysis of the development of the strategic dangers facing the world today, from the period of 1986, when her husband, the intellectual author of the S.D.I., came under deadly assault, to the current time. As a result of the dominance of the Brzezinski-style geopolitical crowd during this period, the world now faces multiple crisis spots which could lead into World War III, especially in the context of the collapse of the world financial system. She then reviewed the way in which the Eurasian Land-Bridge development perspective provides the unique alternative to war.

Zepp LaRouche was followed by *EIR* editors Dennis Small, who spoke on

Left: William Warfield performs Schumann's "Die Beiden Grenadiere."

Below: Institute chorus and soloists present sections of Beethoven Mass in C.



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

Comments from the floor (clockwise from top left): Hon. Godfrey Binaisa, former President of Uganda; Adam Clayton, Scottish National Party; New York State Assemblyman Felix Ortiz.

"The Case of Ibero-America: Justice vs. Jacobinism," and Linda de Hoyos, speaking on "The Case of Africa: A Dark Age or a Renaissance?"

The last two panels of the two-day conference dealt with organizing questions, and with a polemical presentation on economic reality versus the psychosis of the current phase of the financial system.

Important to setting the level of discussion throughout, was the contribution of Schiller Institute Board member William Warfield, a world-renowned bass-baritone. Warfield, accompanied by pianist Sylvia Olden Lee, opened both keynote sessions, combining performances of Classical German *lieder* and of profoundly moving Negro Spirituals.

LaRouche Balkans Plan

Continued from page 87

policy was sabotaged.

Congressman Bush, who heads the Judiciary Committee of the Legislative Assembly of Panama, noted that he had been studying the writings of Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt, and that, "Your government has been doing everything opposed to that!" Bush said, that if you look around the world, there is always the same "perturbing element"—"the Anglo-Saxon empire of the British." This same empire, he said, encourages and profits from the drug traffic which has ravaged Panama and other nations of Ibero-America.



EIRNS/Stuart Lewis

'Through beauty to freedom . . .'

On Labor Day weekend, in New Glarus, Wisconsin, three performances of Friedrich Schiller's drama "Wilhelm Tell"—two in English and one in German—were staged in full costume, with animals and nearly a hundred children in the cast, set in a green meadow surrounded by forest in gently rolling hills. New Glarus, known as "Little Switzerland," has been staging the Schiller drama since 1938, as part of its proudly held Swiss heritage.

But "Wilhelm Tell" is truly a universal play, written in the finest German, about those ideas which are the founda-

tion of Judeo-Christian civilization. The bravery of Tell and his young son—from whose head the father shoots an apple with his crossbow in the face of the tyrant—are part of the cultural heritage of every freedom-loving nation.

Thus, the performance of Schiller's play in its original German, in America, which Peter Etter, the director for the past fifteen years of the Wilhelm Tell Guild in New Glarus, discusses with Fidelio in the accompanying interview, is very important, as is the teaching of Schiller's writings in the large German program offered in New Glarus's schools. In an America

which has become worn down by the brutality of its popular culture, it is a true joy to encounter this jewel of a festival, in which goodness is still unabashedly celebrated. Friedrich Schiller said, "It is through beauty that one proceeds to freedom." This kind of beautiful event serves as a happy reminder of the principles of freedom on which our nation was founded, not merely for its choice of dramatic content, but for the community's commitment to a tradition so evidently at odds with the environment shaped by today's cynical Hollywood entertainment media.

—Marianna Wertz

Wisconsin Festival Features *Wilhelm Tell*

A quiet flowering of German culture has been taking place, perhaps a little too quietly, in the rolling hills and beautiful countryside of southern Wisconsin, far removed from the origins in the Swiss Alps of the drama *Wilhelm Tell*, written by Germany's national poet, Friedrich Schiller, during the Weimar literary renaissance of the late Eighteenth century.

For 62 years, the New Glarus Wil-

helm Tell Guild has been performing German and English versions of *Wilhelm Tell* to celebrate

the story of Swiss independence, written by Schiller to demonstrate the "universal history" of mankind's aspirations for a better destiny. I attended the 62nd German performance this Labor Day week-

end, to see the only such ongoing production of amateur Classical drama in these United States.

Swiss emigrés settled New Glarus, Wisconsin in 1845, after departing the depression conditions of their cantons in that tumultuous European decade for the New World. Today, a giant image of Wilhelm Tell and his son, Walter, greets you

as you enter New Glarus (population 1899), which tells you of the success of their venture. In 1938, a local resident named Edwin Barlow established the Wilhelm Tell drama as an annual event. Today, the citizens of New

Glarus continue to celebrate their independence, and their cultural efforts represent the antidote to the increasing "Littleton" fragmentation of American society.

Wilhelm Tell

The play is situated on the beautiful "Tell Grounds," located several miles out of town in the countryside. You drive into a typical-looking farm field on the side of the road, which has been cut out of a heavily wooded area. Then you walk, sloping downhill, into the thick woods through a delightful, almost enchanted pathway, over which the trees and bushes are interwoven in a lovely quarter-mile archway. This allows you to leave the mundane world behind, and excites your imagination for the "next world," as you suddenly step onto a luscious green meadow, not



EIFNS/Glenn Mesaros



EIFNS/Glenn Mesaros

Town plaque and emblem tell of New Glarus's Swiss heritage.



Left: “All must bow to Gessler’s hat!”
Below: Men of three cantons recite the
 “Rütli Oath.”

unlike the rolling meadows of Switzerland!

You sit on the right side of the meadow, which extends for at least an acre, and look across to another heavily wooded area marked with several trails, from which the actors will emerge in their brilliantly colored costumes. But wait! First, you must relax, as a children’s group performs several songs with carefully crafted, and harmonious, Swiss bells. Now, surely, you are in a different world, where you have to use your imagination.

Now, the stage empties, as an unseen announcer introduces the overture to Rossini’s opera version of *Wilhelm Tell*. There is an excellent sound system, and soon the familiar, riotous overture is exciting everyone for the play.

As the overture wafts away, tinkling cow bells are heard from yonder, and soon a whole panoply of colorful peasants, leading brown dairy cows with huge decorated bells, and shepherds, guiding bleating goats, traipse onto the meadow. The play has begun! However, one huge cow is recalcitrant about “exeunt left,” and her handler wisely stays put; they just blend into the next scene, until the cow decides to follow the herd into the wooded trail.

“*Hoch Deutsch*” begins to resound in rolling R’s throughout the meadows and woods, as Wilhelm Tell resolves to help the poor Alzeller refugee from the governor’s troops cross the stormy lake. Violent peals of thunder echo through-



out. While Tell helps his fellow countryman here, he still holds back from the growing rebellion which will soon recite the famous “Rütli Oath.”

Nonetheless, various Swiss Cantons soon assemble on the famous meadow, and begin a long debate on the history of Swiss independence, which invokes their forefathers’ rejection of the capricious

whims of governors and even the emperor or himself. “God is everywhere, where justice is dispensed,” they proclaim, as Schiller reviews the lawful history of Swiss rebellion. The deliberation of this *ad hoc* “constitutional convention” stands as a living polemic against the anarchy of the just-past French Revolution, when Schiller had lamented that “a great historical moment had found a little people.”

Schiller’s Swiss will not be “little people,” and soon they raise their swords at the impassioned call of Werner Stauffacher, “No, there’s a limit to a tyrant’s power!” They pledge their sacred honor and blood to a secret rebellion on Christmas Day, when they will take over the castles fortified by the occupying army. “Let everyone restrain his righteous rage, and save his vengeance only for the whole, for he despoils the universal good, who only helps himself in his own cause.”

The hated Imperial Governor Hermann Gessler now makes his appearance, however—on horseback, with a full retinue—and soon his tyrannical tirades against the independent-minded Swiss



The Swiss are free! Flags of twenty-one cantons parade in the finale.

are resounding throughout the meadows. There is a touching scene where Tell explains to his son (a young boy speaking excellent German) why the Swiss prefer to live among the dangerous mountain glaciers, amid avalanches, rather than kowtow to the likes of Gessler.

The stage is now set for the famous confrontation between Tell and Gessler, replete with soldiers carrying Gessler's silly hat on a highly decorated pole. Townspeople scurry every which way to get away from saluting the blasted thing. However, Tell, carrying his vaunted crossbow, and his son, nonchalantly walk right on by it.

"Halt!"

Tell's brave son takes center stage, inspired by his father's talk, and insolently tells the governor that his father can shoot the apple off his head. The mounted Gessler grows increasingly enraged, as his horse snorts furiously along with his master, and Gessler, refusing Tell's apologies, demands his entertainment. Walter confidently walks off in the distance, and soon comes back with half an apple for the now apoplectic Governor, who takes Tell prisoner anyway.

Interspersed among these exciting scenes is the deathbed appearance of Werner, Baron von Attinghausen, who is brought onto the meadow on a wooden plank, barely alive, and destined not to live to see the conversion of his heir-apparent nephew to the Swiss cause. There is great sacred music as a group of young boys, dressed as monks, lead the funeral procession.

Finally, the escaped Tell lies in wait for Gessler, who makes one last violent outburst against a petitioning peasant woman, when suddenly an arrow rips his heart, and ends his tyranny once and for all. The crowd cheers, as Gessler falls from his horse, and a local wedding party streams out of the woods into the meadow, featuring many colorful young girls twirling flower garlands and singing.

The play ends as all the players, and all the animals, return to the meadows from the thick forest, and Switzerland celebrates with a parade of all the flags of all its newly independent cantons! Bravo!

—Glenn Mesaros

Peter Etter President, Wilhelm Tell Guild

'The entire community is involved'

Peter Etter, president of the Wilhelm Tell Guild in New Glarus, Wisconsin, is also Superintendent of Schools and Principal of New Glarus Elementary School. He has played the role of Hermann Gessler in the German performance of Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell" in New Glarus for the past fifteen years. He spoke September 8 with Schiller Institute vice president Marianna Wertz.

Etter: Let me tell you who I am. I am the Superintendent of Schools of the New Glarus School District, and in K-12 I have 700 students. In this capacity as Superintendent, I'm also the Elementary Principal and Business Manager all rolled into one. When I came to New Glarus 21 years ago, I had a German program, and my German teacher had two classes and was also the librarian. When I saw that—how would you like to be a German teacher in New Glarus and have me drop in your classroom, since I speak the language!—I told her, Linda, you need to go to Germany and get this program going. She is now a full-time German teacher, our high school has 200 students, and she has an enrollment of 130 students in her classes.

The reason she is doing that is, number one, because she's a good teacher. Number two, because she has German contacts now. I took her to Germany. We have a partnership school, we're bringing



Courtesy of Peter Etter

I don't need to defend my heritage, but twelve years of German history, when we had this person from Austria ruin it, we have to fight that. Everybody thinks that Germans are Nazis!

German kids over every year and every year our kids go over to Germany.

Fidelio: What's your partnership school?

Etter: It's in Hessen, Bad Arolsen. The principal there is Dan Radeck. He even brings adult groups over here, which has really gotten us into the adult exchange program. On Oct. 3-12, I've got ten principals coming from the National Association of School Administrators in Wisconsin, and we're hosting them here in New Glarus. They're staying in peo-

ple's homes. I'm real proud of that part.

In doing this, I've also gotten Linda involved in the *Wilhelm Tell* plays. I've gotten her to use Schiller in the German classroom, because, as you also know, Schiller is a wonder, a great German author. He uses the wonderful German language and it's *hoch Deutsche* [high German], it's wonderful *hoch Deutsche*.

We came to town here 21 years ago. The Swiss have presented this play since 1938. A wonderful play. The Swiss do it because of their cultural heritage. It's a good story: Good triumphs over evil. The big, mean Gessler dies, and well he should, because he's an evil S.O.B. Since I've become involved, we've gotten more German speakers, as the Swiss have died out. Now, we're doing it more and more *hoch Deutsche*.

The biggest comment we got—from the University of Wisconsin about ten years ago—was, Hey, we love your play because now we can understand it. We are trying to do more *hoch Deutsche*, because now we feel we have something we can offer German classes.

Fidelio: Can you comment more on your thoughts about the content of Schiller's writings and their importance for America?

Etter: Absolutely. The actual content you can see in the *hole Gasse*, the narrow passageway, where Gessler gets killed. You're coming through the narrow passageway and a woman confronts Gessler with her two children. She says, I will not go away from this place until you have done right by my husband, who is in jail awaiting you to pass sentence. I, as Gessler, say, You are nothing but a miserable people, good for nothing but to mow the grass and herd your cows. This woman as the audacity, the courage, to stand up in front of me, the ruler, and say, Here I lie with my children. Take your horse and ride over me, because that's not the worst you can do to me. That you have already done. That won't even hurt us.

She's saying something about justice, the injustice that the lords had towards the common people. What more can you do to me? My man's in jail. Ride over me with your horse!

Then, of course, in the end, I get shot. Wilhelm Tell, who was a very,

very common, down-to-earth hunter, who didn't want to be bothered—in his soliloquy he says, I was happy, I was content, but you have brought out the worst in me, you, Gessler, because you treat the people so bad, now I have to take something in my hand and do something to the system and to you.

Fidelio: When you perform the play, do you include the part of Johannes Parricida at the end?

Etter: No, I'm not familiar with it.

Fidelio: The end of the play is a commentary on the question of the assassination of a tyrant. Schiller included it to make clear that Tell was not an assassin by heart. That Tell did it out of necessity, and that he does not advocate it. Tell tells Parricida, an assassin who comes to him seeking refuge, that they have nothing in common. He sends him off to Rome to seek forgiveness.

Etter: We don't do that part, but it comes out in the *hole Gasse*, which is a big soliloquy, where Tell says, Up to this time, I've been a happy man. You have driven me to this.

Fidelio: In teaching Schiller in your classrooms, do you teach any of his poetry, his ballads, or his aesthetical writings?

Etter: Very little. We basically zero in on *Wilhelm Tell*. One time I was in Germany, and I sat in on a class where they were doing *Die Glocke* (The Song of the Bell). If you take apart *Die Glocke*, and you take that piece by piece, oh my gosh, is that powerful!

Fidelio: Yes, I translated it into English.

Etter: I'm going to try to do that one. That's a really good one.

Fidelio: That's the whole history of civilization. Tell me about the performance, how did it go?

Etter: The performance went very, very well. On Monday, which was the last

day, we had about 450 people in the audience, which was in English. On Sunday, we had about 200 people in the audience and on Saturday we had about 500.

We're disappointed with the audience, because I remember the days when we had a thousand people. Right now, we're competing against things like the "Taste of Madison" and the "Cow Chip Throwing Contest" and these important cultural things!

Fidelio: The degeneration of culture in this country . . .

Etter: Tell me about it! They'd rather go throw a cow chip than see *Wilhelm Tell*.



EFIRNS/Glenn Mesaros

Above: Baron von Attinghausen's funeral procession. **Right:** Finale.

We have good, clean entertainment.

Fidelio: You involve a lot of children in your plays.

Etter: Do we ever! There's a regular pecking order. My son, who's now twenty years old and going to the University of Wisconsin, started as a peasant. He was born in June. He was out there in August. He was two months old. He's been there every year since this year. This year he came home from college, twenty years old, and he said, Mom, I suppose I could be a soldier, but if my buddies are all gone, I don't want to be a soldier, let's go to the play and watch Dad. My son, who doesn't speak a whole lot of German, was sitting in the audience listening to the German, just to let me know how I did. I asked him, what did you think? He said, "Dad, that's pretty cool!"

The little girls are Swiss Miss dancers when they start out. They move up to

wedding dancers, that's junior high. Then they move up to usherettes. The usherettes are the high school girls, who pass out programs and do the dances in between. The boys have the same pecking order. We start as peasants, then they become shepherd boys and choir boys, then they can become soldiers. All the time in between, they can have speaking parts. The entire community is involved.

Fidelio: This has been going on for fifty or more years?

Etter: The first play was 1938. It keeps us all together. Some people choose not to participate, and everyone participates for different reasons.

After the play, your [Schiller Institute] members came over and talked to Buzz Holland, who plays in the English play. They asked him some questions and Buzz—it's unusual—but he started crying. It was that powerful to him.

I have yelled at Wilhelm Tell in my

we have some Swiss saying we should cut it to two, or we should cut out the German. I said you will never cut out the German. If you cut the German, I will quit. I don't care if there are ten people in the audience, the point is, Who are we doing it for? Are we doing this for tourism, or are we doing this to celebrate our heritage? In my case, it happens to be high German. I don't care if there are ten people in the audience, I will do my best.

If there are 500 people in the audience, it's much easier to do, because when your audience responds, it helps you. But the point is, as long as I can be on that horse and do my part—I don't even have to be Gessler. On Monday and on Saturday, I'm a monk, I'm a stone mason, I'm backstage. The English cast supports the German cast and vice-versa. We do this for the love of the piece of literature.

Fidelio: That heritage is in fact the heritage of America. German immigrants

Etter: I'm partially to blame. A lot of times when you're in a bar having a drink, sooner or later they're going to ask you, are you German. Sooner or later they're going to ask you, where were you in World War II? My father happened to be in the Wehrmacht, he was a German soldier on the Russian front. I don't want to defend that! He was there because that was his job. He chose to come over to America in 1950. I don't need to defend my heritage, but twelve years of German history, when we had this person from Austria ruin it, we have to fight that. Everybody thinks that Germans are Nazis!

Fidelio: I recommend you read the *Fidelio* issue on Moses Mendelssohn and Gotthold Lessing. We published it in part for that purpose. In fact, Mr. LaRouche said, If you want to know the truth, the German general staff was a Jewish conspiracy, derived from the influence of

the Jew Mendelssohn! Germany's great culture was developed through the efforts of Mendelssohn in his collaboration with Lessing. Our purpose is also to make clear that the highest of German culture is what was destroyed by Hitler, not what Hitler was.

Let me raise one last thing. You said you're operating off a poor English translation. The Schiller Institute began its work by creating English translations of Schiller that were poetical. I would urge you to take a look at our translation.

Etter: We have it, and I've already given it to our translation committee. We've been fighting with the translation. Our translation leaves a lot to be desired. For instance, "*Verräter, diese Sprache deine Herrn!*"—Gessler says near the end. It's translated, "Audacious boy, such language to your lord!" What's a *Verräter*? It's a traitor, not an audacious boy! That's the kind of garbage we have to deal with.

Fidelio: Thank you very much, Mr. Etter, and good luck.

The little girls are Swiss Miss dancers when they start out. They move up to wedding dancers, that's junior high. The usherettes are the high school girls, who pass out programs and do the dances in between. The boys have the same pecking order. We start as peasants, then they become shepherd boys and choir boys, then they can become soldiers.



EIRNS/Glenn Mesaros

role as Gessler and I have really gotten into it, because we do the German, and it's a strong German. I sound like Hitler, when I do my lines! After the play, he came up to me and cried. He said, "You were awfully tough! You really got to me." Then when he comes back and shows the second arrow—"I would have shot you had I failed"—this is very powerful!

I have a theory. We have some people talking defeatism in our organization. I'm the president of the Wilhelm Guild, but

helped build this country. German immigrants helped bring Abraham Lincoln into the Presidency.

Etter: We know that. Who was Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of the Interior? Carl Schurz. Who won the Civil War for him? German immigrants.

Fidelio: This is the reason, in fact, that Helga Zepp LaRouche founded the Schiller Institute in America. To remind us of that tradition of German-American friendship.

Unlocking the Civilization of Ancient Egypt

How Champollion Deciphered the Rosetta Stone

One of the great pleasures in retracing the steps of a fundamental discovery, be it in science, or music, or art, is remaking the discovery for oneself, re-experiencing the process through which the scientist or artist grasped something profound, which hitherto had been utterly unknown. The joy of that moment, though but a pale reflection of what must have been the emotion of the original thinker, gives one a taste of what creativity really is all about. And the taste, what Nicolaus of Cusa called the “sweetness of Truth,” has the effect of whetting the appetite further, so that one yearns to find out what lies ahead on the path to knowledge.

Reliving such discoveries makes lasting friendships. For, once one has traversed the same, at times tortuous, path found by the original thinker, one comes to know the personality of that mind, to respect it and love it.

Such is the experience of meeting Jean François Champollion (1790-1832), the great French philologist and historian, whose discoveries laid the basis for what is known today as Egyptology. It was Champollion who fiercely contested all the academic assumptions about Egypt, and, by unlocking the secrets of its ancient language, established a scientific basis for studying Egyptian civilization. In so doing, he dealt a mortal blow to British historiography, which had attempted to bury the truth about the Pharaonic culture under a heap of prejudices, misconceptions, and outright lies. Champollion was also, not accidentally, a fervent patriot, who fought for truth, also, for



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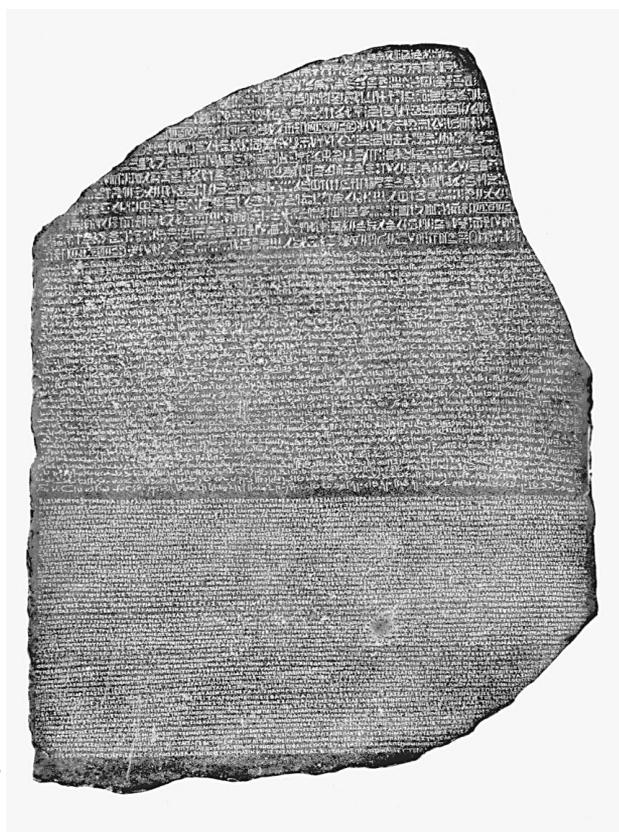
Jean François Champollion

the glory of France. It is only just and proper that France, today, should celebrate young Champollion as a kind of national hero, two hundred years after the events that led to his discovery.

Jean François Champollion, born in Figeac on Dec. 23, 1790, has gone down in history as the man who succeeded in deciphering hieroglyphics, the ancient script of Egypt, on the Rosetta Stone, and numerous other documents. Yet, it was not merely a question of breaking a code, as a cryptographer might imagine. It was a matter of demonstrating that what had been considered a mysterious, pictographic cult object, manipulated by a sinister, elite priesthood to exert social control over the masses, was, in reality, a

highly sophisticated, rational form of writing, which communicated the spoken language of Egypt.

This meant, as well, that the Egyptian society which British scholarship had depicted as backward, slave-based, and devoted to a death cult, was instead a civilization with an advanced language-culture and science. Not only: by deciphering the hieroglyphic texts reaching back to the earliest dynasties, Champollion was able to prove the antiquity of this language-culture, and its extraordinary, unbroken continuity over twenty-two centuries. This established the fact that the Egyptians, far older than the Greeks, had invented writing, in the form of a beautiful alphabetical system, and given this great gift to mankind. As the French philologist wrote, at the conclusion of his major work, the invention of such an alphabetical system was an historical breakthrough. “The solution to such a prob-



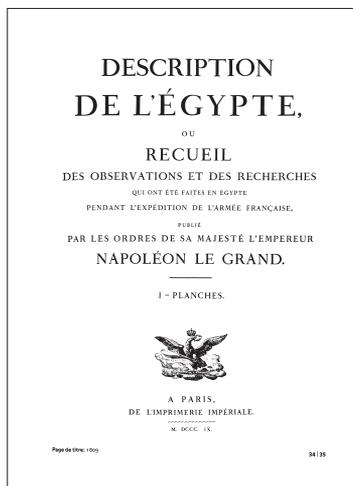
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FIGURE 1. *The Rosetta Stone, found at Rosetta near Alexandria in 1799. Text is inscribed in three different scripts: hieroglyphic (top section), demotic (middle), and Greek (bottom).*

lem offered extreme difficulty,” he wrote, “and the first to find it, changed, without knowing it, the face of the earth; he determined at the same time the social state of his country, that of neighboring peoples, and the destiny of all future generations. The Egyptians, who doubtless had forgotten or had never known the name of the inventor of their phonetical signs, rendered honor, in the time of Plato, to one of their gods of the second order, Thoth, whom they also considered father of the sciences and the arts.” (*Précis*, p. 355)

Cultural Warfare

There can be no doubt, that the British were committed to maintaining the falsehood, that Egyptian culture had been a wasted effort. This was manifest in the way the British responded to the discovery of the Rosetta Stone. It was in summer 1799, that a Frenchman, working on fortifications in a town thirty miles from Alexandria, struck upon a stone in the ground with his pick. When the object he had hit was dusted off, it became clear that it was something of enormous value: although broken off in the upper portion, the basalt slab was inscribed with texts in three scripts: hieroglyphics at the top, demotic (popular Egyptian script) in the middle, and Greek at the bottom [SEE Figure 1]. The unusual monu-



ment was immediately sent to the Institut National in Cairo, an institution which the French under Napoleon had set up, for study of the artifacts that they were collecting. Napoleon's expedition into Egypt, in 1798, had been not only military, but scientific: he had organized a team of 167 scientists, members of the balloon corps, engineers, printers, geometers, astronomers, zoologists, botanists, artists (including painters, designers, sculptors and poets), mathematicians, economists, journalists, and so forth, to canvass the country, and, later, to publish a comprehensive report on their findings

in the *Description de l'Égypte*, a monumental work of eighteen volumes, with illustrations.

Although no one could read the inscriptions, all were aware that the trilingual text opened up the possibility of deciphering hieroglyphics. The British, fully cognizant of the opportunity the stone represented, moved militarily against the French, and after the capitulation in 1801, confiscated all the artifacts the French had collected—especially the Rosetta Stone, which they sent to the British Museum in London.

Not only did the British grab the Rosetta Stone through war, but they also controlled access to it. Through the offices of the Royal Society, the institution



The scientific results of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt were published in volumes of the "Description de l'Égypte," beginning in 1809. Left: Title page of Volume I. Above and right: Illustrations from Latopolis and Thebes.



through which the British sought to control science, they initiated a project to decipher hieroglyphics.

In 1802, the Royal Society took in as a member Dr. Thomas Young, a physicist and medical doctor, who had extensive knowledge of oriental languages. Young quickly rose in the Royal Society, becoming a fellow in 1804. Then, in 1814, Young was given two papyrus texts with hieroglyphic and demotic inscriptions, and it was assumed he would tackle their decipherment, with the aid also of the Rosetta Stone, which he could consult in the British Museum. Young tried

to decipher the script, but failed.

The general content of the demotic and hieroglyphic texts on the Rosetta Stone could be deduced from translation of the Greek text, which was quite complete. It was a decree, promulgated in 197-196 B.C., of the anniversary of the accession of Ptolemy V Epiphanes to the throne in Egypt. After listing the many good deeds of Ptolemy V, who ruled 203-181 B.C., it decreed that statues in his honor be erected in all the temples, and that celebrations honoring him be held. The concluding paragraph declares, “And this Decree shall be inscribed

upon stelae of hard stone, in holy, and in native, and in Greek letters,” and shall be set up in the temples, alongside statues of Ptolemy V.

The “holy” script was the hieroglyphics and the “native” was the demotic. Although nothing was known of the first script, certain progress had been made in attacking the second. Silvestre de Sacy, Champollion's professor of oriental languages in Paris, was the first to identify groups of names in the demotic script, corresponding to the proper names in the Greek, and to hypothesize that the characters were

phonetical. Georges Zoega had intuited in the Eighteenth century, that proper names could be isolated, because they were contained in cartouches, or oval-shaped enclosures. After de Sacy, the Swedish researcher Akerblad attributed sound values to the characters, to make out the name of Ptolemy, for example.

Young worked on the demotic script, using Akerblad's rudimentary alphabet, but did not make much progress. His approach was that of a computer: he counted the number of times a certain word, like "god," appeared in the Greek text, then went to the demotic, to search for a word that appeared about the same number of times. He thus established correspondences, but did not decipher the words.

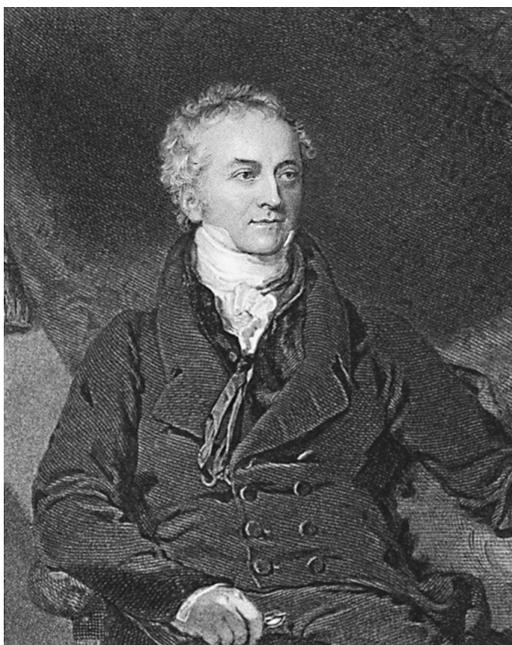
In working on the hieroglyphic text, Young followed a purely haphazard method. The only name in a cartouche in the much reduced hieroglyphic text of the Rosetta Stone, was "Ptolemy." Young proceeded thus to guess the values of the characters, comparing them with the values posited by Akerblad for the same name in demotic [see Figure 2]. As Champollion pointed out later, Young was trying to fit a square peg into a round hole, twisting and turning to make it fit. Thus, he thought some characters were letters, some were syllables,



FIGURE 2. The name "Ptolemy" in hieroglyphic cartouche (top) and demotic script (bottom).



FIGURE 3. Hieroglyphic cartouche of the name "Berenice."



Dr. Thomas Young

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bles, and some were meaningless. Young's attempt to decipher the name Berenice, from a cartouche found at Karnac [SEE Figure 3], was even less lucky, as he guessed correctly only a few characters.

Young gave up after this, regardless of the fact that other proper names in both demotic and hieroglyphics would have been available to him. Why he went no further has not been explained, even by Young's most fervent supporters, like the British Museum's official historian on the Rosetta Stone, E.A. Wallis Budge. Despite his evident shortcomings, Young was commissioned to write an item on Egypt for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1818, and did so, claiming he had discovered the hieroglyphic alphabet. Young also led a veritable witch-hunt against Champollion, following the latter's breakthrough in 1822, which was based on the slanderous assertion that Champollion had plagiarized the work of the British physician.

The Play Drive of the Creative Mind

No two personalities could be more distinct than Dr. Young and Champollion. If the former was motivated by undisclosed aims, shaped by an empiricist approach, the latter was driven by an

unqualified love for truth, and informed by the method of hypothesis. If Young were rigid and dogmatic in his assumptions, Champollion was a free spirit, capable of questioning his own most cherished beliefs.

The key to Champollion's achievement lay in his uncompromising commitment to seek the truth, a commitment shaped by his extraordinary education and upbringing. The son of a bookseller, Jean François became a bibliophile at an early age. His older brother, Jean Jacques, known as "le Figeac," was also an unusually independent mind, who assumed the responsibility for the education of his younger brother, known as "le Jeune."

Jean Jacques placed his younger brother in the care of a religious tutor, who taught him Greek and Latin; later, in 1802, the younger Champollion started studying oriental languages, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Chaldean (Aramaic), and Coptic, the language of the Egyptian Christians. With this grounding in Classical and oriental languages (as well as modern tongues, of course), Jean François immersed himself in the works of the ancient writers; from Herodotus to Strabo, Plutarch to Horapollon, Clement of Alexandria, as well as Plato. Champollion read these works, not as some academic exercise, or to prepare to pass an examination, but to learn what they had to tell him, above all, about Egypt, a subject which became a passionate interest very early.

Part of his interest in Egypt was prompted by his brother, who was to publish a major work on the history of the country. And, it was buttressed by the enormous interest generated in French intellectual circles, by the Napoleonic expedition and the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, which took place when Jean François was nine years old. It was only two years later, that the young boy announced he would be the one to decipher hieroglyphics. In 1806, he explained in a letter to his brother what his plans were

for Egypt: "I want to conduct deep, continuing studies into this ancient nation. The enthusiasm which the descriptions of their enormous monuments ignited in me, the admiration which their power and knowledge filled me with, will grow with the new things that I will acquire. Of all the peoples that I love the most, I will confess that no one equals the Egyptians in my heart."

Champollion's first major work, which he presented to the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Grenoble, just prior to moving to Paris to continue his studies at the College de France, was an "Essay on the Geographical Description of Egypt before the Conquest of Cambyses." Egypt was his passion; but it was not a thing in itself. Rather, he was investigating the history of Egypt, in an effort to comprehend more fundamental, universal questions. This is evident in the titles of courses which he taught, as a twenty-year-old assistant professor of ancient history, at the University of Grenoble; these included "The Antiquity of the World and the Origins of Man," and "Critical Reflections on the Historians of All Times and All Nations."

In Paris, Jean François attended courses at the College de France and the Ecole des langues orientales, where he studied Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Syriac, Chaldean, and Coptic. He loved languages, and threw himself into their study with incredible joy. As he wrote his brother in December 1807, his course of study was intensive: "At nine o'clock [Mondays] I follow M. de Sacy's Persian class until 10:00. Leaving the Persian class, since Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldean are at 12:00, I go to M. Audran's, who offered to take me Mondays, Wednesday, and Fridays from 10:00 to 12:00. . . . We spend these two hours talking oriental languages, translating Hebrew, Syrian, Chaldean, or Arabic. And we always dedicate a half-hour to work on Chaldean and Syriac grammar. At noon, we go down, and he gives his Hebrew class. He calls me the patriarch of the class, because I am the best . . ."

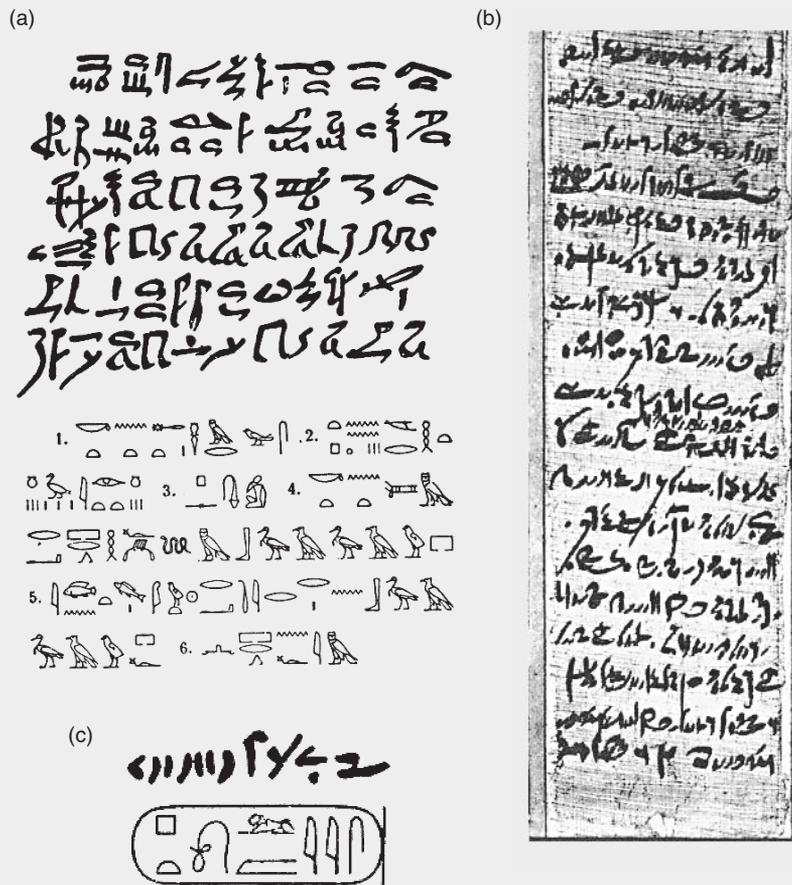
All this intensive study, Champol-

lion experienced as great fun. In fact, play was a constant element in his language study. When he was concentrating on Arabic, Jean François sported Arab dress, and adopted the nickname, "al Seghir," the younger, in Arabic. And when he immersed himself in Coptic, the language which became his overriding passion, he knew no bounds. He wrote his brother in 1809: "I am totally immersed in Coptic, I want to know Egyptian as well as I know French, because my great work on the Egyptian papyrus [hieroglyphics] will be based on this language . . . My Coptic is moving along, and I find in it the greatest joy, because you have to think: to speak the language of my dear Amenhotep, Seth, Ramses, Thuthmos,

is no small thing. . . . As for Coptic, I do nothing else. I dream in Coptic. I do nothing but that, I dream only in Coptic, in Egyptian. . . . I am so Coptic, that for fun, I translate into Coptic everything that comes into my head. I speak Coptic all alone to myself (since no one else can understand me). This is the real way for me to put my pure Egyptian into my head. . . . In my view, Coptic is the most perfect, most rational language known."

Similarly, with Etruscan, a language which had not been deciphered. At 18, he reported to Jean Jacques: "I am totally immersed in the language, in the coins, in the metals, in the monuments, in the sarcophaghi, everything I can find, the tombs, the paintings, etc., about

FIGURE 4. The three ancient Egyptian scripts: (a) Hieratic script (top) with hieroglyphic transposition (bottom). (b) Sample of demotic script. (c) Demotic (top) and hieroglyphic (bottom) versions of the name "Ptolemy." [From Erman, "Die Hieroglyphen," (a) and (c); Jensen, "Die Schrift," (b).]



the Etruscans. Why? because the Etruscans come from Egypt.” Then, in a characteristic jab at “official knowledge,” he added, “That’s a conclusion, that would make the academics climb the walls, those that have a smattering of Greek and Latin, but I have monumental proof.”

Another aspect of his study-play with languages, was comparing scripts. He took the alphabets of the languages he was learning, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew, and compared them, letter for letter; then he would compare each of them with Greek, Coptic, and so forth. While playing with the similarities and differences of forms, he was in essence playing with the hypothesis that the different languages of that region of the world bore common principles.

The Grand Hypothesis

Champollion’s work on deciphering hieroglyphics was a life-long occupation. From his deep study of the ancient authors who dealt with Egypt, he developed several hypotheses, which were to guide his research. First, as is evident in his letters about Coptic, he assumed that Coptic was “Egyptian,” the language not only of the Christians but of all Egyptians, going back to the earliest times. Thus, he assumed a continuity of the language culture through millennia.

Related to these ideas, was his early conviction, that the three forms of script, of which the Greeks wrote—the hieroglyphic, the hieratic and the demotic—were essentially different versions or forms for writing the same language [SEE Figure 4]. To test out this hypothesis of the fundamental unity of the three, Champollion did extensive work comparing the scripts—in the same way he had, as a child, compared the alphabets of oriental languages. He used all the material available to him, the demotic and hieroglyphic texts on the Rosetta Stone, various versions of the Book of the Dead, and any papyrus he could get his hands on. With the issuance of each new volume of the *Description de l’Egypte*, beginning in 1809, he found new material for his comparative studies.

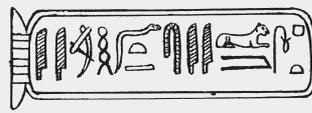


FIGURE 5. Hieroglyphic cartouche containing the name “Ptolemy” from the Rosetta Stone.



FIGURE 6. Hieroglyphic cartouche containing the name “Ptolemy” from the Philae obelisk.

By 1821, he had come to the conclusion that that “the hieratic is nothing but a simplification of hieroglyphic,” and that it “should be considered as shorthand for the hieroglyphs.” By extensive comparisons, he succeeded in identifying what he called the “most simple traits” of the hieratic, and finding corresponding symbols in the hieroglyphs. Although he could not read the scripts, he could find the correspondences; in fact, he would take a word or group in hieratic, and transpose, according to the correspondences he had observed, into the hieroglyphic. He did the same, from the demotic to the hieratic. In 1821, he drew up a table of 300 signs which was intended to demonstrate this unity among the three. What he was seeking, was not primarily the decipherment, but the internal dynamic of the writing as a coherent system.

What the nature of the writing was—whether symbolical, ideogrammatic or phonetical, was still an open question. At one point, he thought they were phonetical. In a paper on the hieratic which he read in August 1821, to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris, he said that he considered the scripts essentially ideogrammatic. In his work of 1822, the *Lettre à M. Dacier*, he said he had previously considered that both hieratic and demotic,

were not only alphabetical, “but often also ideogrammatic, like the hieroglyphs themselves, that is, painting sometimes ideas, and sometimes the sounds of a language.” (*Lettre*, p. 41)

To test the various possibilities, in December 1821, Champollion developed a hypothesis on the basis of the Rosetta Stone, which is startling in its simplicity. He reasoned thus: If the hieroglyphics were ideogrammatic, and each group stood for one idea or thing, then the number of groups (words) in the hieroglyphic version should be approximately the same as in the Greek text. He proceeded to count the Greek words, and came up with 486. He assumed that the hieroglyphic text would actually have far fewer, given that such a large piece of that part of the stone had been broken off. Yet, on the contrary, he found they were far more, 1419 to be precise. This proved that they could not be ideogrammatic. Then, they must be phonetical. To test this hypothesis, he reduced the 1419 signs into what he considered their elementary traits, and came up with 166. Knowing as much as he did about the alphabets of so many languages in the same region of the world, he knew that it would be highly improbable for an alphabet to have 166 characters. Perhaps, it was a mixed system.

At the time Champollion was working on these ideas, it was a universally held assumption, that the hieroglyphics contained in cartouches from the periods of Greek and Roman rule in Egypt, had been adapted as phonetical signs. In other words, it was believed that the hieroglyphs had no relationship to spoken language, and were merely cult symbols used in esoteric rituals. However, it was believed—and most fervently by Dr. Young—the Egyptians, first under the Greeks and later, under the Romans, had used these symbols as characters, in order to express the names of foreign rulers. Young asserted, in fact, that the Greeks had invented this phonetical use of the signs.

In 1822, Champollion made his breakthrough. Working from excellent reproductions of the Rosetta Stone, which had just been published in the

fifth volume of the *Description de l'Égypte*, Champollion isolated the demotic cartouche with the name of Ptolemy, and worked from it, transposing to the hieratic and the hieroglyphic. He discovered that the hieroglyphic version he came up with, actually corresponded to the hieroglyphic contained in the cartouche of the stone.

Champollion succeeded in deducing the sound values for the signs in the demotic Ptolemy, both on the Rosetta Stone and on another papyrus which had been recently acquired by France. He then compared this to a demotic version of Cleopatra, which had been found on the so-called Casati papyrus, and ascertained that there were several characters in the two names which were similar; this had to be the case, since the two names in Greek also share several sounds (P L T O E).

He hypothesized at this point, that, if the demotic and hieroglyphic scripts were lawfully related, and if the demotic names could be read according to these phonetical correspondences, then the same should be true of the hieroglyphics. In order to test the hypothesis, he required good examples of the two names, in hieroglyphs. On the Rosetta Stone, because of the damage, the only hieroglyphic name was Ptolemy [SEE Figure 5].

Finally, in January of 1822, Champollion was able to test the idea. He at long last came into possession of a copy of the obelisk at Philae, through the good graces of M. Letronne. The obelisk, which had been transported to London, was available to Young years earlier. The Philae obelisk had the hieroglyphic name for Ptolemy [SEE Figure 6], as well as a cartouche with the name of a female, identified in a Greek inscription, as Cleopatra. Pro-

ceeding with his comparative method, he identified the signs the two names had in common, and then deduced the remaining ones. He noticed that, the letter which should be in the position of T, in Cleopatra, was not the segment of a sphere he had seen in Ptolemy, but an open hand. Here, he assumed that this must also represent T, and posited the notion of homophones: that more than one symbol or character could be used to express the same sound (as in English “phonetic” and “fancy”).

After having discovered the phonetical values in these two names, Champollion used the knowledge acquired, to decipher still more. He used the reproductions in the third volume of the *Description*, which showed inscriptions of other Greek and Roman leaders, and succeeded in deciphering Berenice, Alexander, Philip, Arsinoe, Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antonin, Sabine, and also the surnames for Alexander, NeoCaesar, Germanicus, Dacius, and the title Autocrator.

Jean François had found the key, and used it to open one door after another. Yet, still in 1822, he attributed an ideographic nature to the three scripts, except for names inscribed in the Greek and Roman periods. When, in 1824, he looked back on this conviction, he wrote, in his *Précis*, “I persisted in this false route up to the moment that the evidence of the facts presented to me the hieroglyphic Egyptian writ-

ing from a completely unexpected point of view, forcing me, so to speak, to recognize a phonetical value in a whole collection of hieroglyphic groups, included in the inscriptions that decorate the Egyptian monuments of all ages.” (*Précis*, p. 299)

It was in the same year, 1822, that Champollion was confronted with empirical proof which utterly contradicted the assumption, that the alphabetical function of hieroglyphics had first appeared with the Greeks. Through a close associate, the architect Nicholas Huyot, Champollion received drawings of cartouches from the temple of Abu Simbel [SEE Figure 7]. What was unusual about the cartouches, is that they did not correspond to any of the names he had deciphered from the Greeks and Romans. Nonetheless, he proceeded with the knowledge of the phonetical values he had acquired through their decipherment, and recognized in the first name, an S (like the last letter of Ptolemy, in Greek Ptolemaios). The first character in the name reminded him of a sun, which he immediately associated with the Coptic name for sun, Re. He then asked himself whether the unfamiliar character in the middle, which looked like three prongs, might be M, which would yield the name Ramses [SEE Figure 8].

Feverish with the excitement that he was about to make a fundamental discovery, Jean François sought out another cartouche, to test the hypothesis, that the phonetical signs had been used back

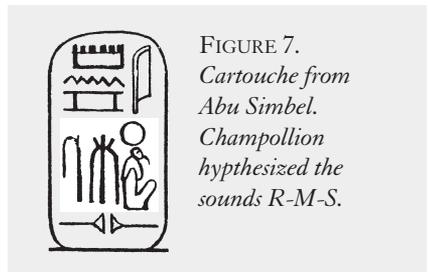


FIGURE 7.
Cartouche from
Abu Simbel.
Champollion
hypothesized the
sounds R-M-S.

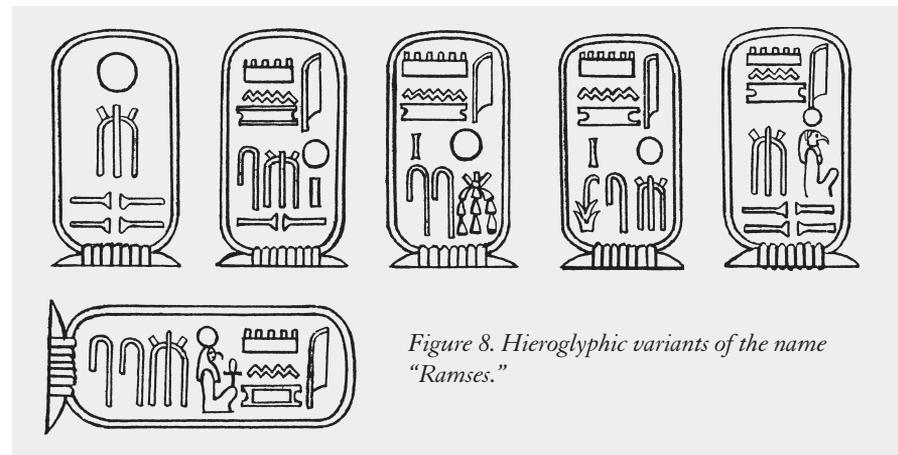


Figure 8. Hieroglyphic variants of the name
“Ramses.”

as early as the time of Ramses for the names of Egyptian pharaohs. The next name he isolated [SEE Figure 9], displayed two familiar characters, those for M and S. They were preceded by the figure of a bird, which he recognized as an ibis. Remembering the reports of the Classical writers on Egyptian history, including Herodotus and Horapollon, he recalled that the ibis was the symbol of the god known as Thot (or Thoth), who, it was believed, had invented writing, and the arts and sciences. Following the same method he had used to decipher Ramses, he proposed the reading Thot-mu-sis, Thotmes (Tutmoses).

Although this second decipherment of an Egyptian name confirmed his finding, he sought for further proof, this time, in the case of a word *not* enclosed inside a cartouche. His hypothesis at this point was, that the entire system could be phonetical.

The first group he found to work with, was composed of two signs he had identified in Ramses and Thotmes, as representing M and S [SEE Figure 10]. Thinking again in Coptic, he wondered whether this combination could be related to “*ms, mis, mise,*” which is the verb meaning “to give birth.” He returned to the text in hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone, and found the same group. Then, searching through the Greek text, he found a phrase referring to “birthday celebrations.” This clinched it.

Overwhelmed by the power of his discovery, Jean François abandoned his room, and ran through the streets, to reach his brother, who worked nearby at the Institut de France. He raced into the room, shouting “*Je tiens l’affaire!*,”—“I got it!”

What remained, was to present the discovery to the world, and thence, to complete his knowledge of the system as a whole. His first announcement of the breakthrough, came in a paper, *Lettre à M. Dacier*, which he read to the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres on Sept. 27, 1822. In it, he cautiously presented his decipherments, but only of the names from the Greek and Roman period. He then asserted, “I am certain

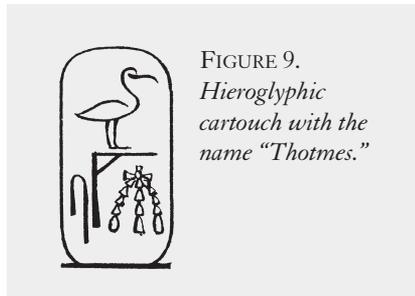


FIGURE 9. Hieroglyphic cartouche with the name “Thotmes.”

that the same hieroglyphic-phonetical signs used to represent the sounds of Greek or Roman proper names, are also employed in hieroglyphic texts inscribed far prior to the arrival of the Greeks in Egypt, and that they at that earlier time already had the same representative sound or articulations as in the cartouches inscribed under the Greeks or Romans.”

He summarized the principle of the hieroglyphic phonetical system: “One imagines, then, that the Egyptians, wanting to express, be it a vowel, be it a consonant, be it a syllable of a foreign word, would use a hieroglyphic sign expressing or representing some object, whose name, in the spoken language, contained in its entirety or in its first part, the sound of the vowel, consonant or syllable that they wanted to write.” (*Lettre*, p. 51) Thus, the sign of a sparrow-hawk (which also symbolizes life, the soul) is called “*ahé*” or “*ahi*” in Egyptian, and stands for the letter A. In Coptic, the word for mouth is “*ro,*” so this sign stands for the letter R, and so forth.

The complete elaboration of Champollion’s discovery came in his 1824 masterpiece, the *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphiques des Anciens Égyptiens*. As he stated at the outset, he would show that the alphabet he had established, applied to “all epochs,” and that his discovery of the phonetical values unlocked the entire system. He would work out “the general theory of the hieroglyphic sys-

tem . . . [which] will give us the full and entire understanding of all hieroglyphic texts.”

Champollion illustrated, in full, the decipherment of grammatical words, the names of Egyptian kings, the names of private persons (from papyri on mummies), titles, names of pharaohs, and so on. He presented a full alphabet, with signs, their names, and corresponding letters. In each case, he demonstrated the multifaceted nature of the alphabet; a name could be indicated by a symbol (an obelisk for Amman, for instance); or the same name could be represented figuratively (with an image representing the god); or it could be rendered phonetically. He summed it up: “The hieroglyphic writing is a complex system, a script at the same time figurative, symbolic, and phonetical, in the same text, in the same phrase, I would almost say, in the same word.” (*Précis*, p. 375)

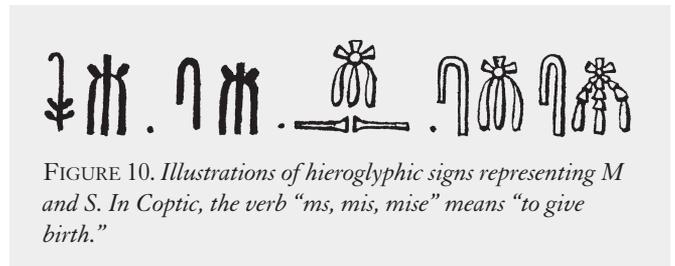


FIGURE 10. Illustrations of hieroglyphic signs representing M and S. In Coptic, the verb “*ms, mis, mise*” means “to give birth.”

By using his discovery to read all these names from the earliest times, Jean François was documenting the dynastic chronology, that had been reported by Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus. He thus showed that this system had been in use from the Nineteenth century B.C. until the spread of Christianity in Egypt. This, he emphasized, obliterated everything that had been thought over the preceding three hundred years by scholars. However, he added, “men of knowledge, in the interests of truth, will easily sacrifice all hypotheses enunciated thus far, which are in contradiction with the fundamental principle that we have just recognized.”

He also demonstrated the unity of the three scripts, and illustrated their use for religious purposes on monuments

(hieroglyphics), for religious and scientific works on papyrus (hieratic), and for administrative matters as well as personal records (demotic). All three scripts, he proved, were in general use throughout Egypt, by all classes.

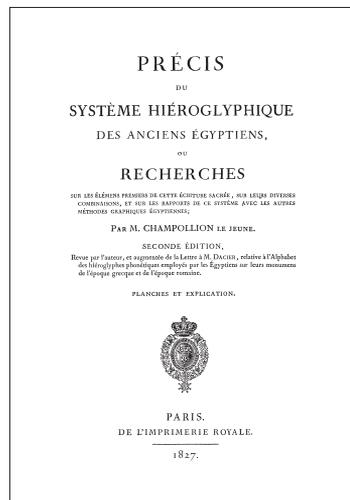
Champollion's works, the *Lettre* and the *Précis*, were the object of massive controversy throughout scholarly Europe. Young led the "English school" which slandered him, while the Humboldt brothers led a large company of scientists in his defense. In 1866, when another bilingual text, known as the Decree of Canopus, was found, his system was put to the test. Using Champollion's method, it was successfully deciphered.

The Secret of Egyptian Art

Champollion went beyond his scientific findings, to explore the implications of this unique system, on the artistic expression of Egyptian civilization as a whole. Unlike Greek art, he wrote, "these arts did not have as their special aim the representation of beautiful forms of nature; they tended only toward the expression of a certain order of ideas, and were intended solely to perpetuate, not the memory of the forms, but that of persons and things." Whether the colossal statue or the tiny amulet, he said, the perfection of form was strictly secondary. Form was "but a powerful means to paint thought." Champollion developed the interesting concept, that unlike the Greeks, who perfected form, and separated imitative arts from writing, "in Egypt, writing, design, painting and sculpture march constantly towards the same portal." Everything flowed into one "art par excellence: that of writing." The great temples, he wrote, were "representative characters of celestial abodes." Further, "this intimate union of the fine arts with the Egyptian graphic system, effortlessly explains to us the causes of the state of naive simplicity in which painting and sculpture always persist in Egypt." (*Précis*, pp. 431-432)

When Champollion finally visited his beloved Egypt, in 1828-1829, he had the opportunity to admire this great art

of writing, and to marvel at the magnificent temples and pyramids, with their statues, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions. The love he had developed for the country and its culture, was only magnified with each new encounter. One of the most moving descriptions from his Egyptian tour, is of the entrance to the library at the temple to the Ramesseum, in which his awe at the Egyptian dedication to language and writing was most enthusiastically transmitted. In his fourteenth letter from Thebes, June 18, 1829, he wrote: "At the foot of the jamb and immediately under the dedication, there are two divinities sculpted, with faces turned towards the opening of the portal, and looking at the second room, which was therefore under their jurisdiction. These two gods are, on the left, the god of sciences and arts, the inventor of letters, Thoth with the head of an ibis, and on the right, the goddess Saf [Sechat], companion to Thoth, who carries the remarkable title of *lady of letters* and *president of the library* [literally, the *room of the books*]. Furthermore, the god is followed by one of his *paredri* (familiar), who, by his inscription and by a huge eye that he carries on his head, one recognizes as the personification of the sense of sight, while the familiar of the goddess is the sense of



Title page of Champollion's masterpiece, "Précis du Système Hiéroglyphiques des Anciens Égyptiens."

hearing, characterized by a huge ear also drawn above the head, and by the word solem [sedjem] (hearing) sculpted in the inscription; he furthermore holds in his hands all the implements for writing, as if to write what he hears.

"I ask myself, if there is a better way than through such bas-reliefs, to announce the entrance to a library?"

—Muriel Mirak Weissbach

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Walter Rosenblum: Homage to the Subject

Now almost eighty, Walter Rosenblum is one of those few photographers who has spoken eloquently, poetically, not only of where we have been in our century, but of where we need to go in the next. Viewing his photographs can be overwhelming, and attempting to communicate that experience in print seems almost futile. Without a poetic command of the written language, like his of the visual, a reviewer might well think better of commenting on his work.

But it is too important, to not say anything.

Rosenblum's work was featured in May of this year at the Kathleen Ewing Gallery in Washington, D.C. I went with excitement, not having seen any of his original prints for about fifteen years, although I already knew his retrospective book well.¹ As a photographer anxious to glean what I could from close, technical inspection of his print values, I began my tour of the two gallery rooms by closely scrutinizing the prints as I went, probing to discover some refinement that I might put to use in my own darkroom printing. Yet, as I went along, I found myself increasingly drawn in by the cumulative artistic power of his compositions. My pace slowed, technical concerns quietly faded. Two-thirds of the way through the 39-photograph exhibit, I realized I was already beginning to feel emotionally overloaded, despite my close familiarity with the majority of the images.

There is no adequate name



Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum

"Woman Feeding Child," Haiti, 1958/59.

for photography such as Rosenblum's. "Documentary" sounds dry, "photo-journalism" is not right, "concerned" falls short. Rosenblum has been photographing people since he was a boy growing up in the poor Jewish immigrant neighborhood of New York's Lower East Side.

photographs begin, and from which they draw their strength; not mere portraits from sincere feeling, but passionately *truthful* ones.

Above the Tide

In the quest for a new avenue of expression, many early Twentieth-century artists of talent, rejecting the empty appearance of the Classical tradition left by Romanticism, turned to Modernism, with its emphasis on abstract form. Increasingly shaped by the destructive pull of influences avowedly opposed to our Judeo-Christian culture,³ this *avante garde* avenue long ago become an open playground for any attention-seeking poseur with



Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum

"Tree, Goats, Mother and Child," Haiti, 1958/59.

a paint can or scrap of rusty chicken wire. For Rosenblum, a student and friend of both Lewis Hine and Paul Strand, two of the century's finer photographers, such pseudo-intellectual artifice holds no sway. Nor do his images depend on gross impact—or visual assault—as is so much demanded by today's insatiate audiences. Some do have that impact, but it is never sensational. These are images that speak simply at first, but grow on you over time, revealing previously overlooked relationships, like a long-familiar song of Schubert. Each element of Rosenblum's compositions plays an integral role, a role which could not be served by a strictly formal or stylistic feature, because Rosenblum composes from ideas, not two-dimensional constructs.

In the finished print from the film negative, those ideas continue to dominate, so that one is never awed by the physical print characteristics before seeing the image itself. One can not speak of Rosenblum's work, however, without including his artistry in the dark-room as a photographic printer. As elaborated below, printing is as integral to the photographer's art as the

painter's use of his brush. Every bit of the technical mastery that enables Rosenblum to make you feel the baking heat of the Haitian sun, or the cool sea air of the Canadian coast, is utilized in refining the visual composition, to communicate its idea content. The path that your eye travels through the scene—where you enter, where you pause, what you don't see until last—has been painstakingly worked and reworked by the artist.

The Fine Print

It is helpful to look at the role of photographic printing in the context of the photographer's purpose.

The distinction between categories

like “documentary photography” and “photo-journalism” is not always sharply defined, but in the case of work such as Rosenblum's, it clearly can not be considered in the same frame of reference as typical photo-journalism. Most photo-journalists work on short deadlines, striving to capture an image, or perhaps several, that will grab a reader's attention on a newsprint or magazine page. Competition for the reader's attention is the name of the game. But this imposes severe restrictions.

For example, the poor quality of reproduction rendered on newsprint paper, compounded by the typically

not from a deadline, but from an internal motivation to see through appearances and bring together elements that will reveal something universal. When possible, the artist observes and studies his subject long before he even takes his camera out to begin photographing, and a location may be revisited time and again, in anticipation of more suitable lighting or other conditions, or in the effort to refine the composition.⁴

The presentation will differ radically, as well. The photographer will craft what is referred to as a “fine print”—a framed, original photographic print, often between approximately 8×10 inches and 16×20 inches, painstakingly made by hand, taking into consideration all the variables the medium will allow. These variables, which allow far greater control over the image than most people are aware, include cropping, altering image contrast and overall brightness, and selectively lightening or darkening even small areas of the picture (a face, a hand, parts of the foreground or background), in order to produce a composition that attains the highest artistic level—an image in which



“Beaching Boat,” Gaspé, 1949.

nothing is superfluous or disproportional to the artist's complete idea. It is not unusual, in this effort, to make half a dozen or more local alterations in printing, in addition to decisions affecting the image overall. This degree of refinement of the image is no different in principle, and no less demanding, than the care of an artist working in charcoal or paint. Although the photographer cannot move a mountain or tree as may the landscape artist, he can alternately suppress or draw attention to the visual elements of the picture as desired.

The photographer also has a wide range of photographic papers of varying tonal and surface characteristics from which to choose, which, in combination

small image size, requires the photographer to eschew subtlety, complexity, and fine detail, in favor of simple and strong compositional contrasts. The reader will view the image for seconds, at best. Working fast and getting some useable image from each assignment, as defined by the relevant editor, day-in and day-out, supersede other considerations. And, of course, every image is subject to cropping (using only a part of the full image recorded on the film) and other decisions by editors.

Although a photographer such as Rosenblum may sometimes photograph events similar to those covered by news dailies and weeklies, the approach is entirely different. The pressure comes

Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum

with special toning baths, may extend the tonal scale, and produce any degree of variation from sepias or chocolatey browns, to neutral, to decidedly cool tones, from the subtlest tint to dramatic change. With all these factors, it should come as no surprise that the photographic artist will occasionally spend several days perfecting the printing of a single image.

Because we are today inundated by photographic images, it is useful to emphasize that fine-art photography, like great works of art in general, must be seen in the original to be fully appreciated. Even with the best printing technology, reproduction in inks falls short of original photographic printing, and when mass book production compromises are figured in (or when printing quality is uneven, as, unfortunately, in Rosenblum's monograph), the original and reproduction may look quite different. I urge you to go (physically, not virtually) to whatever museum or private collection may be accessible, to see works of art in the original—emphatically including works of fine photography.

A Compelling Mirror

The photographs that the youthful Walter Rosenblum made of the Pitt Street neighborhood he knew so well, reveal an extraordinary ability to marry timing and composition. In the cited documentary film, he notes that even then, he began his study by observing, not by shooting first and asking questions later. This desire to get to know his subjects, distinguishes his work from that of countless photographers whose true hope—conscious or not—is to return from an unknown place with “great pictures,” as if with trophies of the hunt. It may be that Rosenblum's own childhood poverty put him at ease with those



Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum

“Brother and Sister,” Spanish refugee children, Toulouse, France, 1947.

in similar circumstances; indeed, he is as unassuming a person today as ever, despite his growing international recognition. But poverty itself makes us neither good nor wise.

Rosenblum's years in Haiti (1958-59) gave birth to some of his finest work, a group of strong images which, together, complete a greater composition. Isolating one or two (especially with the severe limitations of tonal reproduction here) can not do them justice. Yet, see the mother feeding her young child—the warmth of her gentle smile, the child's divided attention, the open innocence of the older son looking on from behind. It presents such a universally familiar scene, we are drawn in by something close to our own experience. Then, the painful irony of the circumstances compel us to think; they cannot be dismissed.

Like the picture of the two men beaching their boat in Canada's Gaspé,

the quiet surroundings of the other Haitian mother and child outdoors tell us that this is life every day. Each image in its own way brings together a counterpoint of essential elements to supersede the momentary nature of photographic exposure, with a lesson from life.

When you look at the picture of the Spanish refugee children, think to the recent years' genocide in the Balkans. Reflect, which has greater, more lasting power, the nightly TV news images of refugees streaming across the border, with news crews stuffing lenses into the faces of bitterly weeping men and women while reporter-personalities pester them with questions before turning their own best side to the camera; that, or this single, silent distillation of the horrors of war?

Through Rosenblum's eye, we see the Haitian, the refugee, the immigrant, in

ourselves. His unbounded portrayal of the enduring human spirit is optimistic, but not carefree. It urges us, each time we think of it, to be better persons.

—Philip Ulanowsky

1. *Walter Rosenblum, Photographer* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1990).
2. “Walter Rosenblum: In Search of Pitt Street,” Daedalus Productions, Inc., New York, 1999.
3. See Michael Minnicino, “The New Dark Age: The Frankfurt School and Political Correctness,” *Fidelio*, Winter 1992 (Vol. I, No. 1).
4. This was the preferred approach of such great photo-journalists as W. Eugene Smith, who was entrusted by *Life* magazine with months-long assignments and huge expense accounts, an opportunity that has all but disappeared from magazine publishing today.

A selection of Walter Rosenblum's New York City photographs appears on the inside back cover of this issue.

‘Poisson’s Spot’: The Transfinite Principle of Light

We are in Paris, at the highpoint of the oligarchical restoration in Europe, the period leading up to and following the infamous, mass-syphilitic Congress of Vienna. Under the control of Laplace, the educational curriculum of the famous *Ecole Polytechnique* is being turned upside-down, virtually eliminating the geometrical-experimental method cultivated by Gaspard Monge and Lazard Carnot, and emphasizing mathematical formalism in its place. The political campaign to crush what remains of the republican faction at the *Ecole Polytechnique* reaches its highpoint with the appointment of the royalist Auguste Cauchy in 1816, but the methodological war has been raging since the early days of the *Ecole*.

With Napoleon’s rise to power and the ensuing militarization of the *Ecole* in 1799, Laplace’s power in the *Ecole* was greatly strengthened. At the same time, Laplace consolidated a system of patronage with which he and his friends could exercise increasing control over the scientific community. An important instru-

ment was created with the Societ  d’Arcueil, which was founded in 1803 by Laplace and his friend Berthollet, and financed in significant part from the pair’s own private fortunes. Although the Societ  d’Arcueil supported some useful scientific work, and its members included Chaptal, Arago, Humboldt, and others, in addition to Laplace and his immediate collaborators (such as Poisson and Biot), Laplace made it the center of an effort to perfect a neo-Newtonian form of mathematical physics, in direct opposition to the tradition of Fermat, Huyghens, and Leibniz. In contrast to the British followers of Newton, whose efforts were crippled by their own stubborn rejection of Leibniz’s calculus, Laplace and his friends chose a more tricky, delphic tactic: use the superior mathematics developed from Leibniz and the Bernoullis, to “make Newtonianism work.”

Poisson, whose appointment to the *Ecole Polytechnique* had been sponsored by Laplace and Lagrange, worked as a kind of mathematical lackey in support of this program. He was totally unfamiliar with experimental research, and had been judged incompetent as a draftsman in the *Ecole Polytechnique*. But he possessed considerable virtuosity in mathematics, and there is a famous quote attributed to him: “Life is good for only two things: doing mathematics and teaching it.” An 1840 eulogy of Poisson gives a relevant glimpse of his personality:

“Poisson never wished to occupy himself with two things at the same time; when, in the course of his labors, a research project crossed his mind that did not form any immediate connection with what he was doing at the time, he contented himself with writing a few

words in his little wallet. The persons to whom he used to communicate his scientific ideas know that as soon as he had finished one memoir, he passed without interruption to another subject, and that he customarily selected from his wallet the questions with which he should occupy himself.”

Mathematical Theory of Light

In the context of Laplace’s program, Poisson was put to work to elaborate a comprehensive mathematical theory of electricity on the model of Newton’s *Principia*. Coulomb had already proposed to adapt Newton’s “inverse square law” to the interaction of hypothetical “electrical particles,” adding only the modification, that like charges repel and opposite charges attract—the scheme which is preserved in today’s physics textbook as “the Coulomb law of electrostatics.” Poisson’s 1812 *Memoire* on the distribution of electricity in conducting bodies, was hailed as a great triumph for Laplace’s program, and a model for related efforts in optics.

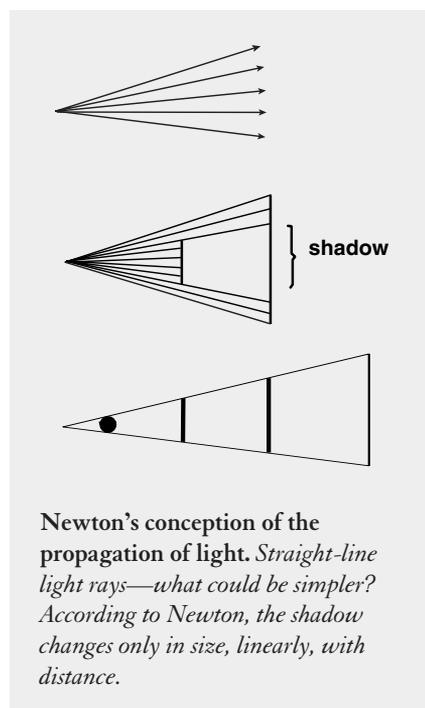
Indeed, between 1805 and 1815 Laplace, Biot, and (in part) Malus created an elaborate mathematical theory of light, based on the notion that light rays are streams of particles that interact with the particles of matter by short-range forces. By suitably modifying Newton’s



Augustin Fresnel



Andr -Marie Amp re



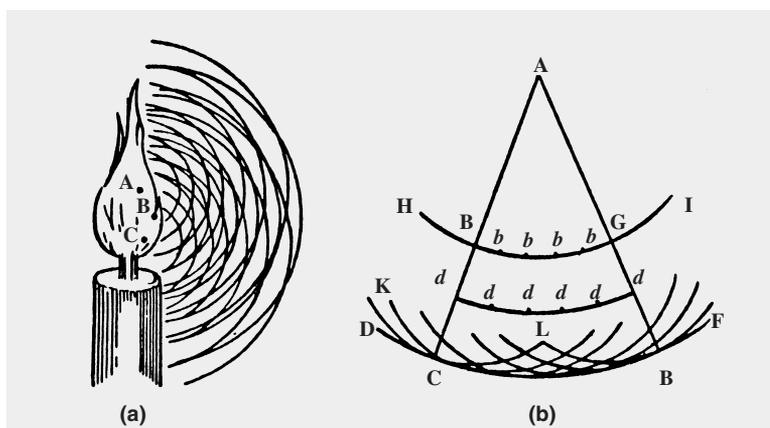
Newton’s conception of the propagation of light. *Straight-line light rays—what could be simpler? According to Newton, the shadow changes only in size, linearly, with distance.*

original “emission theory” of light and applying superior mathematical methods, they were able to “explain” most of the known optical phenomena, including the effect of double refraction, which had been the focus of Huyghens’ work. In 1817, expecting to soon celebrate the “final triumph” of their neo-Newtonian optics, Laplace and Biot arranged for the physics prize of the French Academy of Science to be proposed for the best work on the theme of *diffraction*—the apparent bending of light rays at the boundaries between different media.

In the meantime, however, Augustin Fresnel, supported by his close friend André-Marie Ampère, had enriched Huyghens’ conception of the propagation of light by the addition of a *new physical principle*. Guided by that principle—which we shall discover in due course—Fresnel reworked Huyghens’ envelope construction for the self-propagation of light, taking account of distinct *phases* within each wavelength of propagational action, and the everywhere-dense interaction (“interference”) of different phases at each locus of the propagation process.

In 1818, on the occasion of Fresnel’s defense of his thesis submitted for the Academy prize, a celebrated “show-down” occurred between Fresnel and the Laplacians. Poisson got up to raise a seemingly devastating objection to Fresnel’s construction: If that construction were valid, a *bright spot* would have to appear in the middle of the shadow cast by a spherical or disk-shaped object, when illuminated by a suitable light source. But such a result is completely absurd and unimaginable. Therefore Fresnel’s theory must be wrong!

Soon after the tumultuous meeting, however, one of the judges, François Arago, actually did the experiment. And there it was—the “impossible”



Huyghen’s envelope construction for light. *Light starting out from any point forms wave fronts, which are like expanding concentric spheres. In these figures taken from Huyghens’ “Treatise on Light,” the wave fronts from points A, B, and C of a candle flame are pictured in (a). In (b), Huyghens shows how these waves can cooperate to form an “envelope” along the wave front DF, and how, along a radial line such as AC, they could have the appearance of a straight ray.*

bright spot in the middle of the shadow! Much to the dismay of Laplace, Biot, and Poisson, Fresnel was awarded the prize in the competition. The subsequent work of Fresnel and Ampère sealed the fate of Laplace’s neo-Newtonian program once and for all. The phenomenon confirmed by Arago goes down in history with the name “Poisson’s spot,” like a curse.

The Subjectivity of Science

Before proceeding to work through the essentials of these matters, it is necessary to insist on some deeper points, which some may find uncomfortable or even shocking. Without attending to those deeper matters, however, most readers are bound to misunderstand everything we have said and intend to say in the future.

It is difficult, or even virtually impossible, in today’s dominant culture, to relive a scientific discovery, without first clearing away the cognitive obstacles reflected in the tendency to reject, or run away from, the essential *subjectivity* of science. Accordingly, as a “cognitive I.Q. test,” challenge yourself with the following interconnected questions:

(1) Identify the devastating, fundamental fallacies behind the following, typical textbook account:

“There were two different opinions about the nature of light: the particle theory and the wave theory. Fresnel and others carried out experiments which proved that the particle theory was wrong and the wave theory was right.”

(2) Asked to explain the meaning of “hypothesis,” a student responds:

“An hypothesis is a kind of guess we make in trying to explain something whose actual cause we do not know.”

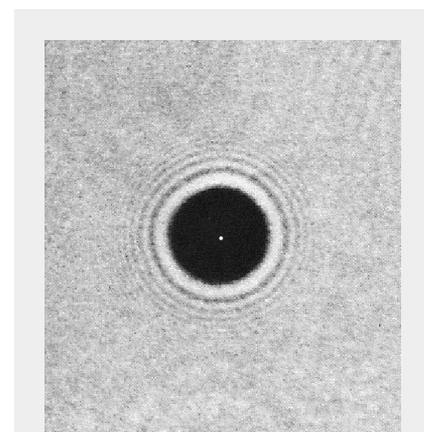
Is this your concept? Is it right?

(3) What is the difference between what

we think of as a property of some object, and a physical principle? Why must a physical principle, insofar as it has any claim to validity, necessarily apply to all processes in the Universe, *without exception*?

If you encounter any difficulty in answering the above, re-read in particular Lyndon LaRouche’s discussion of the “Parmenides paradox,” in his book-length essay, *Project A*.

—by Jonathan Tennenbaum



François Arago demonstrated experimentally that the “impossible” bright spot does, in fact, appear in the middle of the shadow cast by a spherical or disk-shaped object.

What you, the citizen, need to know, is how such seeming miracles have been brought about in past times, and such might occur, again, now. You must know how most among your neighbors, must each change his, or her own presently foolish opinions, and that radically, in order to help you make the much needed miracle possible now.

—LYNDON H. LAROCHE, JR.
June 24, 1999

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PETITION

For a Verdi Opera In the Verdi Tuning in 2001

In the year 2001, the whole world will commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Giuseppe Verdi (Jan. 30, 1901), in some cases by trying to recover his original operas.

Giuseppe Verdi himself, in the year 1884, proposed in a letter to the Music Commission of the Italian Government to adopt the Classical tuning of A=432 Hz (equal C=256 Hz, scientific pitch) in order to respect singing voices and Classical interpretation, asking the "whole music world" to adopt this tuning too, since "Music is an universal language, and why should an A in Paris be a B-flat in Rome?"

Giuseppe Verdi refused to conduct his own opera, *La Forza del Destino*, in Naples, because the orchestra was tuned as high as A=450 Hz, to which many opera theater orchestras, for example Berlin, Salzburg, and Florence, are tuned today.

Thousands of singers and musicians, among them the most famous opera stars from all over the world, endorsed in 1988 a petition of the Schiller Institute to go back to this "Verdi tuning," which was turned into a proposal for legislation in Italy the year after, but was

ignored by the music world until now.

Not only opera music, but the whole Classical repertoire can only be preserved by re-establishing the connection between science and music which is at the basis of scientific pitch, and reviving the *bel canto* tradition of singing also in instrumental music.

Historical orchestras with historically tuned instruments exist for the Renaissance and baroque music, but not for Eighteenth-century music (which includes not only opera, but also symphonic and chamber music, now systematically performed half a tone higher than the composer wrote it).

The undersigned would like to endorse, as an international honorary committee, the project of Maestro Arturo Sacchetti and tenor Carlo Bergonzi, to establish in Verdi's hometown of Busseto, Italy, a permanent orchestra and master-class for both instrumentalists and singers in the Verdi tuning, with the aim of performing for the first time in history Verdi's operas in the tuning, and color for which the composer wrote them, starting with the celebration year 2001.

SIGNED: _____

Print Name: _____

Position: _____

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'Chick's Candy Store,' Pitt Street, New York, 1938.

Homage To the Subject



Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum

Now almost eighty, Walter Rosenblum is one of those few photographers who has spoken eloquently, poetically, not only of where we have been in our century, but of where we need to go in the next.

Rosenblum's work was featured in May of this year at the Kathleen Ewing Gallery in Washington, D.C.

There is no adequate name for photography such as Rosenblum's. 'Documentary' sounds dry, 'photo-journalism' is not right, 'concerned' falls short. Rosenblum has been photographing people since he was a boy growing up in the poor Jewish

immigrant neighborhood of New York's Lower East Side. From New York, to World War II Germany and Spain's Civil War, to desperately impoverished Haiti and elsewhere, over more than half of this century he has portrayed something in his subjects that exceeds any label. Ironically, he has portrayed *optimism*.

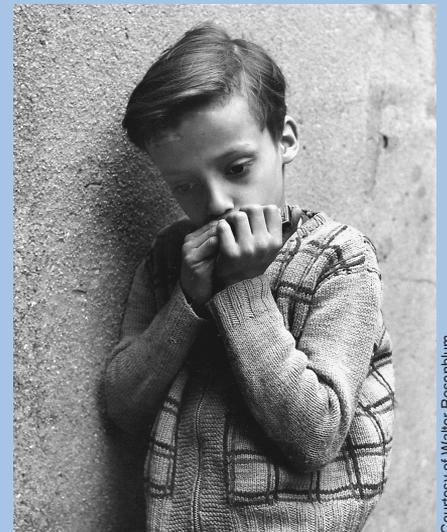


Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum



Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum

'Child with Basket,' 105th Street, New York, 1952.



Courtesy of Walter Rosenblum

'Boy with Harmonica,' East Harlem, New York, 1952.

Top, left: 'Street Shower,' Mullaly Park, South Bronx, 1980.

In This Issue



The Granger Collection, NY



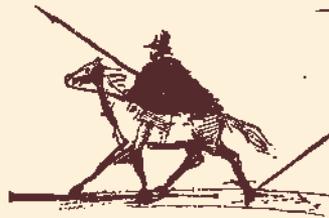
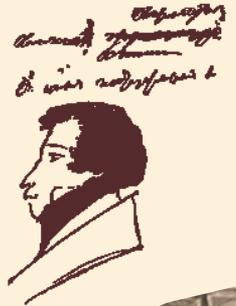
The Granger Collection, NY

How To Save a Dying U.S.A.

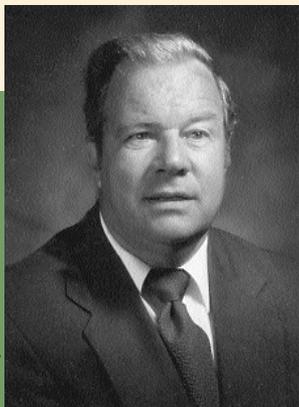
Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. proposes a revolution of *goodness*—requiring new leaders of exceptional qualities—to battle today’s civilizational crisis. Only a radical change in the foolish, ‘popular’ opinions of most Americans, can make the seeming miracle of survival possible.

Alexander Pushkin, Russia’s Poet of Universal Genius

The Russian nation is targeted for destruction by the London-centered oligarchy that runs the International Monetary Fund. Its defense lies in Russia’s ability to ally with other targeted nations, on the basis of universal principles of economic progress and the sanctity of the individual creative mind. In this groundbreaking symposium, Rachel B. Douglas, joined by Russian scholars E.S. Lebedeva and V.V. Kozhinov, presents the life and work of Alexander Pushkin, the premier poet and creator of modern Russian culture. In introduction, Helga Zepp LaRouche outlines the context of anti-republican reaction which dominated Pushkin’s immediate European horizon.



Culver Pictures



Courtesy of Peter Etter

“The entire community is involved”

Interview with Peter Etter, President, Wilhelm Tell Guild

The town of New Glarus, Wisconsin, has celebrated its annual Wilhelm Tell Festival for over sixty years, featuring performances of Schiller’s drama in both English and German. Take that, Hollywood!