

SOURCES

Listed here, with abbreviations, are sources referred to frequently or in more than one chapter. Others are detailed as they occur individually in the Notes.

TYUTCHEV'S WORKS

The standard edition of Tyutchev's works referred to is: F.I. Tyutchev, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy i pis'ma*, 6 vols., Moscow, 2002-2005. This contains all Tyutchev's verse (vols. I-II), his articles and other writings on politics in French, with Russian translations (vol. III), and a wide selection of his letters in the original, with Russian translations where appropriate (vols. IV-VI). All references to this edition are by volume and page number alone (e.g.: IV, 255).

For the texts of Tyutchev's poems and commentaries on them the six-volume edition is largely indebted to the work of previous scholars, in particular G.I. Chulkov, K.V. Pigaryov and A.A. Nikolayev in *PSS* (1933), *Lirika* and *PSS* (1987) respectively (full publication details listed below). These major editions are also referred to in the Notes.

Many of Tyutchev's letters not included in the six-volume edition are in a variety of other publications referred to individually. One of the earliest, 'Lettres' (full details below), is by far the most significant in terms of size, but suffers from editorial shortcomings. It has been quoted from only in cases where no alternative text is available.

ARCHIVES

AVPRI: Arkhiv vneshney politiki Rossiyskoy imperii (Archive for Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire), Moscow.

AVPRI (K): AVPRI, f. 133 (Kantselyariya Ministra inostrannykh del), op.469 (Ministerstvo inostrannykh del).

AVPRI (M): Missiya v Turine: AVPRI, f. 196, op. 530.

LAELKB: Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern (Archive of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Bavaria), Nuremberg.

Muranovo: Muzey-usad'ba 'Muranovo' imeni F.I. Tyutcheva (Tyutchev Museum), Muranovo.

RGALI: Rossiysky gosudarstvennyy arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), Moscow.

RGB: Rossiyskaya gosudarstvennaya biblioteka (Otdel rukopisey) (Russian State Library, Manuscript Department), Moscow.

SK: Schlossarchiv Köfering, conserved at the Staatsarchiv Amberg, Bavaria. Archive of the Counts von Lerchenfeld (uncatalogued: no archival references available). I am grateful to the present Count von Lerchenfeld for permission to quote from documents in the archive.

TAS: Turin: Archivio di Stato.

UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Bothmer: 'Nachrichten aus dem Leben des Grafen Karl von Bothmer, von ihm für seine Kinder geschrieben in Karlsruhe 1827'. Autobiographical account by the father of Tyutchev's first wife Eleonore (surviving 52-page typescript copy from the original manuscript lost in 1945). I am grateful to Frau Henriette von Bothmer, for many years custodian of the Bothmer family archive, for permission to quote from this.

Köckenberger: Typescript copies of letters from Amélie von Krüdener to the Krüdeners' steward (*Haushofmeister*) Georg Köckenberger. I am grateful to the latter's great-grandson Dr Karl Köckenberger for permission to quote from these.

I am also greatly indebted to Dr Ronald Lane for making available the following materials from his collection:

1. Copies made by him at Muranovo of Eleonore Tyutcheva's letters (in French).
2. Typewritten transcripts made under the direction of, and corrected by, the late K.V. Pigaryov of nearly all Tyutchev's letters (in French) to his second wife Ernestine for the period 1840-1853.
3. Typescript Russian translations of 34 of the 45 diplomatic despatches sent by Tyutchev in his capacity as Russia's Chargé d'Affaires at Turin, 1838-1839. The originals are held in AVPRI (K), No. 212 (despatches for 1838) and No. 207 (those for 1839).

(Where available, archival references are given in the Notes for any previously unpublished quotations from Dr Lane's collection.)

PERIODICALS

AZ: *Allgemeine Zeitung*

RA: *Russky arkhiv*

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

A number of these items can be accessed online via links at:

www.tyutchev.ru

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<http://community.livejournal.com/tiutchev/2806.html>

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- Tynyanov (1922): Yu. N. Tynyanov, 'Tyutchev i Geyne', in: Tynyanov, *Poetika. Istoriya literatury. Kino*, Moscow, 1977, 29-37. (Reference is made to this edition in preference to the less accessible first publication in *Kniga i revolyutsiya*, 1922, No.4, 13-16.)
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- Tyutcheviana: Tyutcheviana. Epigrammy, aforizmy i ostroty F.I. Tyutcheva* (ed. G.I. Chulkov), Moscow, 1922.
- Tyutchevy*: G.V. Chagin, *Tyutchevy*, St Petersburg, 2003.
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- Varnhagen: Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, *Aus dem Nachlaß Varnhagen's von Ense. Tagebücher* (ed. Ludmilla Assing), 15 vols., Leipzig, Zürich & Hamburg, 1861-1870, 1905. (Vol. XV, 1905, is the index.)
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- Yashin: M. Yashin, 'K portretu dukhovnogo litsa', *Neva*, 1966, No.2, 169-176; No.3, 186-199.
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- Zhizn'*: K.V. Pigaryov, *Zhizn' i tvorchestvo Tyutcheva*, Moscow, 1962.
- Zhukovsky (1903): V.A. Zhukovsky, *Dnevnik*, St Petersburg, 1903.
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NOTES

Abbreviations used

L.	—	Leningrad	Archival references:		
M.	—	Moscow			
Mu.	—	Munich	<i>f.</i>	—	<i>fond</i> (fonds, deposit)
SPb.	—	St Petersburg	<i>op.</i>	—	<i>opis'</i> (schedule)
Tu.	—	Turin	<i>yed. khr.</i>	—	<i>yedinitsa khraneniya</i> (item)
T.	—	Tyutchev	<i>l.</i>	—	<i>list</i> (folio, sheet)
El. T.	—	Eleonore Tyutcheva	<i>ob.</i>	—	<i>oborot</i> (verso)
Ern. T.	—	Ernestine Tyutcheva			

Frequently cited publications, archives, etc. are referred to in abbreviated form. For the full version of these see the foregoing 'Sources' section.

Chapter 1. Childhood and Youth

1. S.P. Shevryyov, 'Obozreniye Russkoy slovesnosti na 1827 g.', *Moskovsky vestnik*, 1828, I, 62 (quoted in Udolph, 104).
2. 'Graf Osterman-Tolstoy', *RA*, 1878, I, 362 (quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 104-105).
3. Based on two later accounts by T. of an apparently unchanging pattern of religious observances followed when leaving his mother in Moscow (letters to Ern. T. of 14/26 Aug. 1843 and 11/23 Sept. 1858. IV, 258; Lettres, XIX, 186). For a description of the chapel (later demolished) see Kelly, 162-165.
4. For a description of the book and the history contained in its inscriptions see: N.P. Belevtseva, 'Knigi, prinadlezhavshkiye Tyutchevu', *LN-2*, 636.
5. The doctrine of 'Moscow the Third Rome' was first formulated in 1510 by Filofey, a monk of the Lazarus Monastery at Pskov, in a missive to Grand Duke Vasily III of Moscow.
6. Aksakov, 6.
7. There is an account of the episode in N.M. Karamzin's *Istoriya Rossiyskogo gosudarstva* (Vol. V, SPb., 1817, 422-423), a work with which T. was familiar as a student (see Pogodin, 11-13 passim). For other accounts known at the time see *Zhizn'*, 7 (footnote 1).
8. Aksakov, 8; *Letopis'* (Ch.), 13.
9. *Zhizn'*, 7 (footnote 2).
10. B.O. Unbegaun, *Russkiye familii*, M., 1989, 293 (quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 6). For more on Russian names of Tatar origin see: Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance. A Cultural History of Russia*, London, 2002, 361-363.
11. This finds its clearest expression in lines 5-8 of the poem 'Vnov' tvoi ya vizhu ochi...' (I, 208).
12. *Tyutchevy*, 9.
13. *Ibid.*, 21
14. *Ibid.*, 17, 19.
15. *Ibid.*, 19-20; Florinsky, I, 573.
16. *Tyutchevy*, 21-22.
17. Aksakov, 8. The eyewitness account is quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 22-23.
18. *Tyutchevy*, 380.
19. *Ibid.*, 23, 380. Nikolay retired as 'sekund-mayor', equivalent to the later rank of Captain.
20. Ekshtut, 22-24.
21. *Ibid.*, 24; T. Tret'yakova, *Tyutchevy — myshkinskiye dvoryane*, Yaroslavl, 2003, 35.
22. *Tyutchevy*, 380-382.
23. *Ibid.*, 25-26.
24. *Ibid.*, 27; *Zhizn'*, 8.

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25. 1776, the year of birth given in *Letopis'* (Ch.), 68, has recently been corrected by G.V. Chagin on the basis of archival documentation (*Tyutchevy*, 32-33).
26. Aksakov, 8-9; *Zhizn'*, 8; Ekshtut, 24-26.
27. *Tyutchevy*, 47.
28. J.P. Fallmerayer, 'Graf Ostermann-Tolstoi', in: Fallmerayer, II, 364; Florinsky, I, 458.
29. *Tyutchevy*, 48; Florinsky, I, 514, 540.
30. Aksakov, 9.
31. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
32. *Zapiski, stat'i, pis'ma dekabrista I.D. Yakushkina* (ed. S.Ya. Shtraykh), M., 1951, 47-48.
33. 'Lyubeznomu papen'ke!' ('To Dear Papa!'), I, 11.
34. Aksakov, 9. T. himself refers to his mother's 'gratuitous lamentations' and 'fanciful apprehensions' in a letter to his second wife Ernestine dated 8/20 June 1861 (Lettres, XX, 185).
35. *Tyutchevy*, 384; *Letopis'-I*, 17. Tyutchev mentions the time of day when he was born in a letter written to Ernestine from SPb. on his 49th. birthday, 23 Nov./ 5 Dec.1852 (RGB. 308.1.20, I.70-71ob.).
36. Aksakov, 9.
37. *Letopis'-I*, 17.
38. Aksakov, 11.
39. *Tyutchevy*, 386.
40. E.g.: F.I.T. to Vaclav Hanke, Mu., 16/28 Apr. 1843. IV, 227.
41. Quoted in: James H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe. An Interpretative History of Russian Culture*, London, 1966, 1.
42. Charles Colville Frankland, *Narrative of a Visit to the Courts of Russia and Sweden in the Years 1830 and 1831*, 2 vols., London, 1832. II, 269.
43. Details from a mortgage deed for the property dated 1804: *Tyutchevy*, 49-50.
44. F.I.T. to Ern. T., M., 14/26 Aug. 1846. IV, 258.
45. *Letopis'-I*, 19, 20. For further relevant entries in the church's registers see *ibid.*, 18-20. The church has survived, and was restored to use in the early 1990s. The Ostermans' house still stands, much altered and extended, at what is now 8, Maly tryokhsvyatitel'sky pereulok (*Tyutchevy*, 49).
46. F.I.T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 17/29 June 1838. IV, 101.
47. F.I.T. to I.V. Sushkov, Mu., 21 June/ 3 July 1836. IV, 48.
48. Pogodin, 10 (diary entry for 9 Aug. 1820).
49. Reproduced in Dolgoplova & Tarkhov (1989b), 615, 619, with notes on the portraits (613-614).
50. Aksakov, 11.
51. See: *Letopis'-I*, 18, 19, 20, 328.
52. P.D. Tyutcheva to N.N. Sheremeteva, Znamenskoye, [late 1810]. IV, 482.
53. Aksakov, 11.
54. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 14/26 May 1846. TPD, 217.
55. Gregg, 174.
56. Aksakov, 17; *Tyutchevy*, 128.
57. Aksakov, 17.
58. F.I.T. to N.I. Tyutchev, SPb, 13/25 Apr. 1868. VI, 322.
59. Aksakov, 9-10.
60. Leo Tolstoy, who first met T. in the 1850s, recalled that he 'spoke and wrote more fluently in French than in Russian' (Gol'denveyzer, I, 182-183). In a letter to his daughter Anna dated 22 Oct./ 3 Nov. 1871 T. himself admitted that he found it easier to express his thoughts in French than in Russian (quoted in *Letopis'* [Ch.], 221). For more on the use of French and neglect of spoken Russian by the aristocracy in the early 19th. century see Figes (as note 10), 55-57.
61. Aksakov, 11.
62. *Ibid.*, 9.
63. Kozhinov, 28. On 25 August 1820 T.'s university friend Mikhail Pogodin noted in his diary: 'Conversed with Tyutchev and his parents about literature, about Karamzin, Goethe, Zhukovsky, about the university'. (Pogodin, 11. My italics.)
64. Osterman-Tolstoy's name appears in the records of Three Saints' Church as godfather to one of Anna's servants in February 1808 (*Tyutchevy*, 52-53).
65. Fallmerayer, 'Graf...' (as note 28), 364-366.
66. *Tyutchevy*, 212.

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67. *Letopis'-1*, 20.
68. *Ibid.*, 21; *Tyutchevy*, 55, 58-59.
69. *Tyutchevy*, 56-57. The print and a ground plan of the house are reproduced in *Kommentariy*, 96.
70. *Tyutchevy*, 58-59.
71. *Ibid.*, 56-57, 82-83.
72. At Ivan Nikolayevich's death in 1846 his personal estate numbered only 615 serfs, but to this must be added the 629 serfs, with land, which he had given to his sons three years previously (IV, 555-557). Similarly, in 1836 Yekaterina Lvovna settled the lands and 509 serfs she had received from Anna Osterman on her daughter Darya as a dowry (*Tyutchevy*, 211-212).
73. It has been estimated that in 1834 only 3% of landowners in Great Russia itself (i.e. excluding Ukraine and Belorussia) owned more than 500 male adult serfs each (Florinsky, I, 575). At the time Yekaterina was just above this limit, Ivan comfortably so.
74. Prince Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, London, 1899 (quoted without page reference in Kelly, 282).
75. *Tyutchevy*, 83.
76. *Ibid.*, 57-58.
77. *Ibid.*, 62-63; Kozhinov, 43; Kondrat'yev, 325-326.
78. Kozhinov, 35.
79. Benn & Bartlett, 114-115; *MAT*, 148.
80. Kozhinov, 42; Kondrat'yev, 323-324.
81. Benn & Bartlett, 43; *MAT*, 150.
82. Benn & Bartlett, 9-10, 25-26.
83. *MAT*, 148.
84. *Ibid.*; Kozhinov, 35; Robin Edmonds, *Pushkin. The Man and his Age*, London & Basingstoke, 1994, 37.
85. Kondrat'yev, 291-294; I.P. Mashkov (ed.), *Putevoditel' po Moskve. 1913, M., 1998* (reprint of the 1913 edition), 114, 120-122; Kozhinov, 37; *Tyutchevy*, 57; Tamara Talbot Rice, *A Concise History of Russian Art*, London, 1963, 134-135.
86. Kondrat'yev, 277-278; *Putevoditel'* (as note 85), 332-333.
87. *Putevoditel'* (as note 85), 201; *MAT*, 167 (No.41).
88. *Putevoditel'* (as note 85), 149-151; Kondrat'yev, 298-299.
89. Quoted (without reference) in Kozhinov, 38.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Accounts of the same journey can be found in T.'s letters to his wife Ernestine of 31 Aug./ 12 Sept. (Ovstug) and 13/25 Sept. (Moscow) 1846, by which time travelling conditions had not materially improved (IV, 365, 368-369). Further details are taken from two unpublished letters to Ernestine from Moscow dated 18/30 June and 21 June/ 3 July 1851 (RGB.308.1.19, l. 3-4, 1-2ob).
92. IV, 555.
93. G.V. Chagin, 'Rodina poeta', *LN-2*, 598-599.
94. F.I.T. to Ern. T., Ovstug, 31 Aug./ 12 Sept. 1846. IV, 365.
95. 'Itak, opyat' uvidelsya ya s vami...'. I, 204.
96. Aksakov, 12.
97. F.I.T. to Ern. T., Vienna, 13/25 June 1843. IV, 230.
98. Aksakov, 12.
99. 'Neman'. II, 60.
100. *Tyutchevy*, 37, 39.
101. Aksakov, 12.
102. Barsukov, I, 13-15.
103. Koshelyov, 4.
104. *Tyutchevy*, 384-386.
105. *Letopis'-1*, 22.
106. As note 95.
107. Kozhinov, 3; *Tyutchevy*, 68.
108. *Tyutchevy*, 64.
109. The figure quoted by Summerville in: General Count Philippe de Ségur, *Napoleon's Expedition to Russia* (ed. Christopher Summerville), London, 2003, 255.
110. *Tyutchevy*, 64.
111. Barsukov, I, 17.

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112. Koshelyov, 5.
113. See: Aksakov, 12; *Zhizn'*, 10-11; Kozhinov, 40-42.
114. *Materialy dlya istorii Lazarevskogo instituta vostochnykh yazykov*, Part I, Moscow, 1914, 2-3 (quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 62-63).
115. *Zhizn'*, 10; de Ségur (as note 109), 124.
116. K.A. Polevoy, *Zapiski*, SPb., 1888, 100 (quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 65-66). Apart from Raich, T. is known for instance to have been taught French literature by the translator Pierre d'Inocourt in 1815-1816 (Raich, 30; *Letopis'-I*, 317). No doubt other tutors were hired on an ad hoc basis to teach those subjects required for university entrance (e.g., German, maths, geography — see *Letopis'-I*, 29) which Raich is unlikely to have taught.
117. Aksakov, 13.
118. Raich, 22-27.
119. *Ibid.*, 31.
120. *Ibid.*, 27-29.
121. *Ibid.*, 29.
122. *Tyutchevy*, 63, 68.
123. Raich, 29.
124. *Ibid.*
125. *Ibid.*, 24-25, 30.
126. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Ovstug, 20 Aug./ 1 Sept. 1855. TPD, 276. Here Raich is not identified by name, but merely referred to (in the French original of Darya's letter) as T.'s '*menin*'. Pigaryov considered that this archaic term (formerly used for young noblemen appointed as companions to the Dauphin of France) could refer equally to Raich or Khlopov; he accordingly translates it into Russian as '*pestun, vospitatel'*', i.e. 'governor, tutor' (*Zhizn'*, 12). The Russian version of the letter given in TPD allows for no such doubt, boldly rendering '*menin*' as '*dyad'ka*' (i.e. Khlopov), a distortion repeated by later scholars (*Letopis'-I*, 20; *Tyutchevy*, 66). Only Kozhinov translates it as '*nastavnik*' ('tutor'), evidently believing the reference to be to Raich (Kozhinov, 15). This seems a more credible assumption all round. Unlike Khlopov (then well into his forties), Raich in his early twenties fits easily into the ironically assigned role of young nobleman; T.'s composition of a poem for the 'funeral' provides a further unmistakable pointer to his tutor's guiding presence.
127. 'Lyubeznomu papen'ke!'. I, 11. This has been dated to 1813 or 1814 (I, 277).
128. As note 126.
129. *Tyutchevy*, 68.
130. References to Ivan Nikolayevich in surviving church records tell the story of his brief pre-war civil service career. In February 1809 he is still referred to as 'Lieutenant Tyutchev' (i.e., the rank at which he had retired from the guards). By September 1810 he is 'Collegiate Assessor' (grade 8 in the Table of Ranks), but in January 1811 already 'Collegiate Assessor (retired)'. (*Letopis'-I*, 20-21.)
131. As note 129.
132. Raich, 29-30; *Letopis'-I*, 23. Raich claims to have passed his finals after six months and to have been awarded his Bachelor's ('*kandidat*') degree after some delay in 1817; in fact he officially graduated on 20 Feb. 1818 (*Dok.*, 430).
133. Kozhinov, 61-62. G.V. Chagin quotes a document attesting that Nikolay passed an entrance examination for Muravyov's academy in ten subjects (*Tyutchevy*, 68-69), which implies that he too must have received a thorough education at the hand of tutors.
134. *Tyutchevy*, 42.
135. Raich, 29.
136. *Tyutchevy*, 43-45.
137. *Letopis'-I*, 24-25.
138. Raich, 30.
139. *Ibid.*, 30-31; N.V. Sushkov, *Moskovsky blagorodny pansion*, Moscow, 1858, 92 (quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 24).
140. Raich, 30.
141. *Ibid.*
142. 'Na novy 1816 god'. I, 12-13.
143. Most of the others are occasional pieces composed to mark family events: 'Lyubeznomu papen'ke!'; 'Dvum druz'yam'; 'V den' rozhdeniya lyubezneyshego papen'ki!'; 'V den' rozhdeniya miloy mamin'ki' (I, 11, 15; IV, 480, 481). There is also a four-line epigram inscribed in T.'s own

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copy of *La Henriade*, defending the 'prodigious' Voltaire against attacks from envious critics: 'Puskay ot zavisti serdtsa zoilov noyut...' (I, 16). As shown by K.V. Pigaryov (*Lirika*, II, 327; *Zhizn'*, 30-32), this last piece is in fact heavily plagiarised from an epigram by I.I. Dmitriev.

144. *Tyutchevy*, 69.

145. A.F. Merzlyakov to P.A. Novikov, M., 3/15 July 1817. *Russkaya starina*, XXVI, 1879, No.10, 350 (quoted in *Letopis'-1*, 25).

146. *Tyutchevy*, 74-75.

147. Chulkov's suggestion, made in a note accompanying the first publication of 'Na novy 1816 god' (*Feniks*, M., 1922, Part I, 137) was subsequently endorsed by K.V. Pigaryov (*Zhizn'*, 13; *Lirika*, II, 325).

148. *Tyutchevy*, 76.

149. 'Poslaniye Goratsii k Metsenatu, v kotorom priglashayet yego k sel'skomu obedu'. I, 17-19.

150. Strémoukhoff, 31; *Zhizn'*, 16.

see *Letopis'-1*, 43, 55, 58.

152. Aksakov, 13. 151. For details of further readings and publications of T.'s poems by the SLRL in 1821 and 1822

153. *Letopis'-1*, 27.

154. *Ibid.*, 26; Mazour, 71; Kondrat'yev, 309.

155. Florinsky, II, 753, 879; Aksakov, 14.

156. Zhukovsky (1903), 52.

157. *Ibid.*, 55.

158. Aksakov, 14.

159. *Ibid.*, 16; '17-oye aprelya 1818'. II, 255.

160. 'Pamyati V. A. Zhukovskogo'. II, 55.

161. *Tyutchevy*, 92.

162. *Ibid.*, 42, 70-71; *Letopis'-1*, 26.

163. Writing to his wife from Ovstug on 20 August/ 1 Sept. 1846, T. stated that he had last been there 27 years before (IV, 359). (The figure of 26 years mentioned in a letter to his mother eleven days later [*ibid.*, 362] appears to be a slip of the pen, as the summer of 1820 was spent at Troitskoye: see *Letopis'-1*, 35-37.)

164. *Letopis'-1*, 29.

165. Kondrat'yev, 328; *MAT*, 166-167.

166. Ekshtut, 33. In 1824 Moscow University had 820 students, Kharkov 337, Kazan 118, and St Petersburg only 51 (Florinsky, II, 726).

167. *Letopis'-1*, 32-33, 45-46.

168. Yu.M. Lotman, *Besedy o russkoy kul'ture. Byt i traditsii russkogo dvoryanstva (XVIII - nachalo XIX veka)*, SPb., 1994, 323.

169. N.I. Pirogov, *Sobraniye sochineniy*, 8 vols., M., 1957-1962. VIII, 223-224 (quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 81-82).

170. Quoted in Ekshtut, 35.

171. M.A. Dmitriev, *Glavy iz vospominaniy moyey zhizni*, M., 1998, 121 (quoted in Ekshtut, 36).

172. Sverbeyev, I, 109.

173. N.V. Basargin, *Vospominaniya, rasskazy, stat'i*, Irkutsk, 1988, 305-306 (quoted in Ekshtut, 37-38).

174. Pirogov (as note 169), VIII, 223-224.

175. *Zhizn'*, 17; *Tyutchevy*, 101; *Letopis'-1*, 52.

176. *Letopis'-1*, 30-31, 32-33.

177. N.V. Sushkov, 'Oboz k potomstvu s knigami i rukopisyami', *Raut*, 1854, No.3, 263-264, 266, 270 (quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 77-78).

178. *Zhizn'*, 18.

179. N.I. Nadezhdin, in: *Teleskop*, Part II, 1831, No.5, 87 (quoted in *Zhizn'*, 18).

180. *Biografichesky slovar' professorov i prepodavateley imperatorskogo Moskovskogo universiteta*, Part II, M., 1855, 96 (entry by S.P. Shevyryov) (quoted in *Zhizn'*, 18-19).

181. Koshelyov, 6.

182. Pogodin, 11 (diary entry, 13 Oct. 1820).

183. *Tyutchevy*, 80.

184. Koshelyov, 6.

185. I.A. Goncharov, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, 9 vols., SPb., 1896. IX, 111-112 (quoted in *Zhizn'*, 19).

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186. *Letopis'*-I, 33-34.
187. Ekshtut, 34.
188. *Letopis'*-I, 34-35.
189. As pointed out by R.F. Brandt (Brandt, Part 2, 149), these lines closely echo Schiller's: 'Was wir als Schönheit hier empfunden/ Wird einst als Wahrheit uns entgegen gehn' ('What we have perceived here as Beauty/ Will one day approach us as Truth').
190. 'Uraniya'. I, 20-25.
191. *Letopis'*-I, 35.
192. M.N. Virolaynen, 'Molodoy Pogodin', in: M.P. Pogodin, *Povesti. Drama* (ed. M.N. Virolaynen), M., 1984, 3-18 (here: 4).
193. *Ibid.*, 6.
194. Barsukov, I, 58; F.I.T. to M.P. Pogodin (2 letters): Troitskoye, second half of July & 8 Aug. 1820 (OS). IV, 9; Pogodin, 10 (diary, 9 Aug. 1820).
195. Pogodin, 24.
196. Pogodin, 10 (diary, 9 Aug. 1820).
197. *Ibid.*, 11-12 (diary entries for 13 Oct., 26 Nov., 2 Dec. 1820)
198. *Ibid.*, 12 (diary, 2 Dec. 1820); see also *ibid.*, 18 (note 15).
199. See the entry from Pogodin's diary quoted (without date) in: Rogov, 99 (note 4). The diary page no. referred to suggests that the entry was made at some time in 1821.
200. Virolaynen (as note 192), 3.
201. Pogodin, 13 (diary, 30 Oct. 1821).
202. *Ibid.* (diary, 23 Jan. 1822).
203. Extract from Pogodin's unpublished autobiography. TPD, 182.
204. Rogov, 71 (Pogodin's diary, 9 Aug. 1820). (In the version of the same entry published in Pogodin, 10, this passage is omitted.)
205. F.I.T. to M.P. Pogodin, M., between 20 Feb. and 6 April 1821 (OS). IV, 10.
206. "«Ne day nam dukhu prazdnoslov'ya!»". I, 35.
207. Pogodin, 13 (diary, 6 Dec. 1821).
208. Mazour, 68, 71-72; Florinsky, II, 740-741.
209. Florinsky, II, 740; N. Chulkov, 'Moskva i dekabristy', in: *Dekabristy i ikh vremya*, 2 vols., M., 1927-1932. II, 295 (quoted in Ospovat [as note 210], 237).
210. A.L. Ospovat, 'O stikhotvorenii "14-oye dekabrya 1825". (K probleme "Tyutchev i dekabrizm")', *TS* (1990), 233-251 (here: 237).
211. Pogodin, 12 (diary, 1 Nov. 1820).
212. *Ibid.*, 7 (diary, 3 Oct. 1820).
213. *Ibid.*, 8 (diary, 13 April 1824).
214. *Ibid.*, 7 (diary, 24 Feb. 1821).
215. *Ibid.*, 12 (diary, 16 March 1821).
216. Barsukov, I, 56.
217. Pogodin, 9 (diary, 19 Feb. 1822).
218. As note 211.
219. *Zhizn'*, 27.
220. 'Liberty. An Ode' (transl. Walter Arndt). Pushkin, I, 269.
221. 'K ode Pushkina na vol'nost'. I, 27. (The word printed as 'bednye' in line 8 of this edition is a misprint for *blednye*.)
222. V.P. Gorchakov, 'Vyderzhki iz dnevnika moikh vospominaniy o A.S. Pushkine i yego drugikh sovremennikakh', *Moskvityanin*, 1850, Part 2, No.7, April, Book 1, 190-192, 194 (quoted in Ospovat [as note 223], 70-71).
223. *Zhizn'*, 28-29; A.L. Ospovat, 'Tyutchev i Pushkin', *Tynyanovsky sbornik. IV-ye tynyanovskiy chteniya*, Riga, 1990, 71-72.
224. Ospovat (as note 223), 71-72. The source quoted by Ospovat for Pushkin's remark is: A.F. Vel'tman, 'Il'ya Larin', *Moskovsky gorodskoy listok*, 1847, No.8 (10 Jan.), 30.
225. The allegation by the critic Yury Tynyanov of something approaching a feud between the two poets rests on very flimsy evidence. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.
226. As note 211.
227. From Pogodin's unpublished draft memoirs of student life quoted in N.V. Korolyova, 'Tyutchev i Pushkin', *Pushkin. Issledovaniya i materialy*, IV, M. & L., 1962, 187.
228. As note 211.
229. Pogodin, 3.

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230. 'Kharon i Kachenovsky'. I, 28.
231. *Lirika*, II, 332; *Zhizn'*, 20.
232. Pushkin, I, 283; *ibid.*, II, 38, 80.
233. 'Vesna' (Lyubov' zemli i prelest' goda...); 'A.N.M.'; 'Protivnikam vina'; 'Poslaniye k A.V. Sheremetevu'; 'Druz'yam pri posylke "Pesni radosti" — iz Shillera'. I, 29-30, 31, 36-37, 39, 44.
234. Strémooukhoff, 36.
235. *Dok.*, 430 (note 28); *Letopis'-1*, 29.
236. Raich, 33; A.N. Murav'yov, *Znakomstvo s russkimi poetami*, Kiev, 1871, 5; N. Putyaya, 'Zametka ob A.N. Murav'yove', *RA*, 1876, II, 357 (all quoted in Aronson & Reyser, 123-124).
237. K. Polevoy, *Zapiski*, SPb., 1888, 100-101 (quoted in Aronson & Reyser, 126-127); *Letopis'-1*, 278.
238. In addition to the three memoirs referred to in note 236, see: M.A. Dmitriev, 'Vospomnaniye o S.Ye. Raiche', *Moskovskiyе vedomosti*, 1855, No.141, Lit. otd.; Koshelyov, 11-12 (both quoted in Aronson & Reyser, 124, 125-126).
239. *Tyutchevy*, 96.
240. Toporov, 78-79; Koshelyov, 7; Udolph, 11; *Tyutchevy*, 94; Ye. Khin, 'V.F. Odoyevsky', in: V.F. Odoyevsky, *Povesti i rasskazy*, M., 1959, 3-38 (here: 5).
241. In a letter dated 16 April 1822 (OS) his cousin, the poet and future Decembrist Aleksandr Odoyevsky gently chided the seventeen-year-old Vladimir for his belief that in 'the incomprehensible Schelling's abstruse speculations is contained the sum total of human wisdom' (Khin [as note 240], 5). Not long afterwards Odoyevsky translated and read out to Raich's circle the chapter 'Nichts-Gott' ('Nothing-God') from Oken's *Lehrbuch der Naturphilosophie (Manual of Natural Philosophy)* of 1807 (*ibid.*, 6; Aronson & Reyser, 268). Pogodin also read out to the circle his own translation of Schelling's 1807 speech 'Über das Verhältnis der bildenden Künste zu der Natur' ('On the Relationship of the Fine Arts to Nature') (Aronson & Reyser, 268-269).
242. Koshelyov, 8-9; Toporov, 79.
243. The years of birth of the leading '*Iyubomudry*' are: 1804: Vladimir Odoyevsky and Nikolay Melgunov; 1805: Dmitry Venevitinov and Nikolay Rozhalin; 1806: Ivan Kireyevsky, Aleksandr Koshelyov and Stepan Shevryov; 1807: Vladimir Titov; 1808: Pyotr Kireyevsky. (Some reference works give the year of Odoyevsky's birth as 1803. However, according to more reliable sources he was born either on 30 July or 1 August 1804 [OS], making him eight months younger than Tyutchev. See: Khin [as note 240], 4; Alfred Rammelmayer, 'V.F. Odoevskij und seine "Russische Nächte"', in: V.F. Odoyevsky, *Russkiye nochi* / Vladimir F. Odoevskij, *Russische Nächte* [facsimile reprint of the Moscow 1913 edition], Mu., 1967, v-xxvi [here: vii].)
244. *Letopis'-1*, 32-33, 40-41. See also: F.I.T. to M.P. Pogodin, M. 23 June 1821(OS). IV, 12-13.
245. F.I.T. to M.P. Pogodin, June (before 21st., OS) 1821. IV, 12 (No.9).
246. V.N. Toporov claims to have found a reference to Schelling in Pogodin's diary record of discussions with T. on 9 Aug. 1820 (Toporov, 79). This is puzzling, as the published version of this entry makes no mention of Schelling (see: Pogodin, 10). One can only assume that Toporov misread 'Schiller' (who is mentioned) as 'Schelling'.
247. F.I.T. to M.P. Pogodin: three letters of June (before 21st.) and one of 23 June 1821 (OS). IV, 12-13.
248. Pogodin, 24.
249. *Letopis'-1*, 45-46.
250. G.V. Chagin has speculated that T.'s parents — in particular his mother — may have wanted to send him abroad in order to extricate him from what they saw as damaging political and/or amorous involvements (*Tyutchevy*, 97). However, no evidence is produced for either hypothesis, the second of which seems particularly unlikely. If (as also suggested by Chagin: see below, note 284) the supposed liaison was with a serf girl, the natural solution for T.'s parents would have been to send her away rather than their son. Apart from anything else, the time scale involved (over a year between T.'s second application to to graduate early and his eventual departure for Munich) would have been far too long to offer any effective remedy.
251. *Letopis'-1*, 24.
252. *Ibid.*, 323.
253. *Ibid.*, 44-45.
254. Florinsky, II, 638-641.
255. Zavalishin, 174 (quoted in *Dok.*, 53; see also 443, note 4); D.I. Zavalishin, 'Vselensky orden vosstanovleniya i otnosheniya moi k "Severnomu taynomu obshchestvu"', *Russkaya starina*, 1882, XXXIII, No.1, 20 (quoted in *Letopis'-1*, 54).

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256. G.V. Chagin (*Tyutchevy*, 98) points out Yelizaveta Alekseyevna's family connections to Aleksandr Nikolayevich Golitsyn, but confuses the issue by describing her as his sister ('*sestra*'), a relationship evidently precluded by their differing patronymics. Perhaps he intended to say she was his cousin ('*dvoyurodnaya sestra*').
257. Pogodin was given details of this visit by Tyutchev on 9 August. See Pogodin, 12 (diary, 9 Aug.), 18 (note 23).
258. *Letopis'-I*, 47.
259. Virolaynen (as note 192), 4.
260. *Letopis'-I*, 49.
261. Aksakov, 16.
262. *Letopis'-I*, 51-54.
263. *Ibid.*, 53.
264. As note 255.
265. Zavalishin, 19.
266. Lotman (as note 168), 368.
267. Zavalishin, 'Vselensky orden...' (as note 255), 20.
268. A.L. Ospovat cites an unpublished letter from Ya.N. Tolstoy to P.A. Vyazemsky (Paris, 24 Aug./ 5 Sept. 1853) as evidence that T. got to know Tolstoy in 1822 (Ospovat [as note 210], 236, 248 n.19). For biographical details of Tolstoy see Chereysky, 83.
269. Ospovat (1986), 351.
270. *Ibid.*, 350-351; *Letopis'-I*, 55.
271. *Letopis'-I*, 55, 58.
272. D.I. Zavalishin, 'Vospominaniye o gr. A.I. Ostermane-Tolstom', *Istorichesky vestnik*, 1880, II, No.5, 96 (quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 54).
273. The practice is described (relating specifically to the year 1818) by a character in Pushkin's 'A Novel in Letters'. The same character states that a decade later (i.e. after the Decembrist revolt) it had fallen into disuse. (Pushkin, IX, 94.)
274. V. Bazanov, *Vol'noye obshchestvo lyubiteley rossiyskoy slovesnosti*, Petrozavodsk, 1949, 16 (quoted in Lotman [as note 168], 340).
275. Zavalishin, 10, 40 (quoted with these page references to the 1908 edition of Zavalishin's *Zapiski dekabrista* in Lotman [as note 168], 336, 368).
276. 'Stanzas to Tolstoy'. Pushkin, I, 307.
277. Aksakov, 16. A likely informant for this period in T.'s life would have been Pogodin, who was still alive when Aksakov wrote his biography.
278. *Ibid.*, 41.
279. *Ibid.*, 47.
280. *Ibid.*, 16.
281. Tyutchev (F.F.), 235.
282. *Tyutchevy*, 25, 85-86.
283. Aksakov, 40.
284. The prominent Tyutchev scholar Gennady Chagin has claimed that documents from the church records of St Nicholas in Armenian Lane point to an affair with a certain Katya Kruglikova, a household serf two years older than T. who was in the employ of his parents. (*Tyutchevy*, 102-103). Chagin himself concedes that the evidence in question is circumstantial (*ibid.*, 102), and it is certainly open to more than one interpretation. It consists of two entries over a year apart (17 April 1821 and 25 May 1822) for christenings of serf children at which T. and Katya are named together as godparents (*ibid.*; see also *Letopis'-I*, 43, 56). In fact it was not unusual for masters to act as godparents to the children of serfs (the fourteen-year-old T. and his sister Darya, then eleven, are recorded as having done so in 1818: *Letopis'-I*, 26), nor that they should share the honours with a non-noble (this had been so when T. was put forward as godfather at the ages of three and five respectively: *Letopis'-I*, 19, 20). Moreover, in all these cases the initiative was clearly taken by T.'s parents, and the same no doubt applies to his nomination as godparent with Katya at the age of seventeen. That he and Katya were invited to be godparents again a year later could be seen as nothing more significant than the repetition of a satisfactory precedent. Proceeding from the supposed liaison, Chagin next examines an entry in the church register for the birth of twins on 25 March 1823, nine and a half months after T.'s departure for Munich. Katya's father Ivan Kruglikov is named as the father (the mother's name, as was standard practice for non-noble births, is not recorded). The twins were christened Nikolay and Darya, the godparents being (for Nikolay) Aleksey Sheremetev and T.'s aunt Nadezhda Zavalishina, and (for

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Darya T.'s brother and sister Nikolay and Darya (*Tyutchevy*, 102). Chagin finds it odd that the father of a twenty-two-year-old daughter should want to have more children, and that these should be named after their masters and have members of the latter's family as godparents. The underlying assumption of the first of these points (that pregnancies at that time were usually planned) is easily dismissed. As to the second, all that can be reasonably deduced from the facts as they stand is that Kruglikov and his family clearly enjoyed their masters' particular favour. This is indeed confirmed by a further fact established by Chagin: that some years later the Kruglikovs were granted their freedom from serfdom (*ibid.*, 103). Yet although this was usually a reward for services rendered, it is difficult to accept the implication that in Katya's case these included bearing T.'s children. Such a hypothesis would necessarily involve the following improbable chain of events: (1) the twins were fathered by T. on the very eve of his departure for Germany and were born somewhat overdue nine and a half months later; (2) on learning of Katya's pregnancy, T.'s parents agreed to let her give birth in their Moscow household, rather than send her away to the seclusion and anonymity of the country; (3) after the birth they persuaded Katya's mother and father to pose as the parents, and their parish priest to go along with this charade; (4) although the deception must have been immediately apparent to scores of people living in the house (family and relatives, servants, tenants), not to mention friends and neighbours, T. and Katya's secret remained safe. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary it would seem more reasonable to accept the facts as they stand and conclude that it was indeed Katya's mother (or stepmother) who gave birth to the twins.

285. *Letopis'-I*, 55. 'Embassy' is used throughout for simplicity (it was technically a Legation).

286. Zavalishin, 43, 50, 107-108 (quoted with these page references to the 1906 edition of Zavalishin's *Zapiski dekabrista* in: Strémooukhoff, 109).

287. Fallmerayer (as note 28), 373-375.

288. Although apparently already estranged from her husband, Countess Osterman-Tolstaya probably travelled with him to Germany in the summer of 1822. She is certainly known to have been living in Munich during the period 1824-1825 (see: I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 10/22 May 1825 [TPD, 183]). Osterman-Tolstoy himself went on to Italy, where he began (or had already begun) a long-term relationship with an Italian Countess, resulting in the birth of three children and eventually (after his wife's death in 1835) marriage in a Catholic ceremony which had no legal validity in Russia (*Tyutchevy*, 105 [an apparent misprint here gives the year of Countess Osterman-Tolstaya's death as 1853]).

289. F.I.T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., Oct. 1840. IV, 152.

290. Gregg, 54.

291. *Ibid.*, 55. To the examples quoted by Gregg could be added, for instance, letters from T. to his second wife Ernestine in which separation from her is explicitly or implicitly likened to an amputation (Weimar, 6/18 June 1842; SPb., 20 June/ 2 July 1855. IV, 194; 211-212). There is also his reported remark on the death of a close friend, the Slavophile Aleksey Khomyakov: 'One feels what one would after losing a vital organ' (quoted from a letter written by Yu.F. Samarin in: K.V. Pigaryov, 'Iz otklikov sovremennikov na smert' F.I. Tyutcheva', *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR. Seriya literatury i yazyka*, 1973, XXXII, No.6, 537).

292. Gregg, 55-56. The translation has been dated between 1820 (when Lamartine's poem first appeared in print) and March 1822 (*Lirika*, 333).

293. 'Odinchestvo (Iz Lamartina)', lines 19, 35 and 48. I, 33-34. Gregg (Gregg, 56) appears to have overlooked the instance in line 19, where the adjectival form 'siry' ('orphaned') is used.

294. 'Gektor i Andromakha (Iz Shillera)'. I, 32.

295. [Anon.], 'Pis'mo redaktoru' (dated Moscow, 25 March), *Otechestvennyye zapiski*, 1822, Part 10, No.25, 279. Snegiryov's authorship of this anonymous contribution was established by A.L. Ospovat (*Ospovat* [1986], 350).

296. Pogodin, 13 (diary, 27 May 1822). Pogodin meticulously preserved T.'s correspondence for the period 1820-1821 and again from 1850 onwards. The fact that no letters to him survive from T.'s years abroad strongly suggests that none were ever sent.

Chapter 2. A Golden Time

1. Custine, 586-587.

2. *Ibid.*, 43.

3. Pfeffel-Z, 33.

4. Heinrich Heine, 'Briefe aus Berlin', Heine (1968), II, 25-29.

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5. For details of T.'s itinerary see Dinesman (1999a), 282.
6. Golo Mann, *The History of Germany Since 1789*, Harmondsworth, 1974, 98-99.
7. Philipp Spitta, 'Carl Maria von Weber', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed. Stanley Sadie), 20 vols., London, 1980. XX, 247.
8. Dinesman (as note 5).
9. 'Utro v gorakh', 'Snezhnye gory', 'Al'py'. I, 64, 65, 129. T.G. Dinesman dates the first two between 1825 and 1829 (as above, note 5).
10. In 1818 Munich had some 60,000 inhabitants (Polonsky [1998], 92); by 1830 this had risen to 77,500 (Jesse, 180). In 1835 the population of Moscow was 300,000 (*Baedeker's Leningrad*, Basingstoke, n.d., 12).
11. P.V. Kireyevsky to Ye.P. Yelagina, Mu., between 4/16 and 14/26 Sept. 1829. RA, 1905, No.5, 115.
12. *Ibid.*, 116.
13. I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 13/25 July 1822. *Letopis'-1*, 57.
14. I.I. Vorontsov-Dashkov to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 10/22 May 1825. TPD, 183.
15. Pfeffel-Z, 33.
16. Lane (1994), 22.
17. Polonsky (1998), 93.
18. *Letopis'-1*, 59.
19. Binyon, 162.
20. *Ibid.*, 162-163, 321-323.
21. They are both still listed as Attachés at the Embassy at the beginning of 1828, Rzewuski with the rank of Titular Councillor and T. one grade lower as Collegiate Secretary. Both are also said to hold the court rank of *Kammerjunker* (Gentleman of the Chamber). *HSH*, 1828, 76.
22. F.I.T. to Ern. T., Warsaw, 2/14 Sept. 1853. *Lettres*, XVIII, 50-51.
23. Hümmert, 7.
24. *Zhizn'*, 49.
25. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 16/28 Oct. 1874. TM, 42.
26. H. Heine to K.A. Varnhagen von Ense, Mu., 1 April 1828. Heine (1970), XX, 322. (Also in: Heine, *Briefe*, I, 353.)
27. Pogodin, 13 (diary, 20-25 June 1825 OS).
28. Polonsky (1998), 95.
29. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 23 Oct./ 4 Nov. 1874 (first draft of letter). TM, 61.
30. Pogodin (as note 27).
31. Aksakov, 261-262.
32. TM (as note 25), 43.
33. Pfeffel-Z, 33.
34. Turgenev (A.I.), 83 (diary, 15/27 April 1834); A.I. Turgenev to I.S. Arzhevitinov, Mu., 15/27 April 1834. *Ibid.*, 93 (note 55).
35. Tyutchev (F.I. jr.), 192.
36. Aksakov, 18.
37. *Ibid.*, 17.
38. Dolgoplova & Tarkhov (1989a), 604.
39. F.I.T. to N.I. Tyutchev, SPb., 13/25 April 1868. VI, 322.
40. 'Poslaniye k A.V. Sheremetevu'. I, 39.
41. *Letopis'-1*, 59.
42. K.Yu. Rogov, 'K istorii moskovskogo romantizma: kruzhok i obshchestvo S.Ye. Raicha', *Lotmanovskiy sbornik*. 2, M., 1997, 523-576 (here: 536-537, 557, 562-564).
43. Dinesman (1999a), 277-278; Rogov, 100-101 (note 8).
44. 'Pesn' Radosti (Iz Shillera)'. I, 40-43.
45. 'Druzyam pri posylke "Pesni Radosti" — iz Shillera'. I, 44. T.G. Dinesman's dating of this to 1823 is convincing (Dinesman [1999a], 277-279).
46. 'S chuzhoy storony'; 'Drug, otkroysya predo mnoyu...' (translations of 'Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam...' and 'Liebste, sollst mir heute sagen...'). I, 47, 48
47. R. Lane, 'Pis'mo k P.B. Kozlovskomu', *LNI*, 549. (This is a revised and augmented version of Lane's earlier: 'An unpublished letter of F.I. Tyutchev to Prince P.B. Kozlovsky', *New Zealand Slavonic Review*, 1982, 17-23.)
48. Herzen, XVII, 69. Quoted in Lane, 'Pis'mo...' (as previous note), 550.
49. Custine, 47-54, 58-69.

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50. F.I.T. to P.B. Kozlovsky, Mu., 16/28 Dec. 1824. IV, 15-16.
51. *Ibid.*, 15.
52. Sverbeyev, II, 136, 142-143, 146.
53. *Ibid.*, I, 249.
54. *Ibid.*, II, 143.
55. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 15/27 Nov. 1874. TM, 54-55.
56. Dewey, 18.
57. I am grateful to Mr Magnus Linder of Helsinki, a descendant of Amélie, for details of Princess Therese's illegitimate children from the Fürst Thurn und Taxis Zentralarchiv, Regensburg.
58. Dewey, 17. See also: Oertzen, 34; *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels*, LIX (*Freiherrliche Häuser A*, IX) (ed. Walter von Hueck), Limburg a. d. Lahn, 1975, 251. The statement in Oertzen, 34-35 (repeated in Polonsky [1998], 14) that the title granted in 1823 was Amalie von Lerchenfeld is contradicted by Hueck and other authoritative sources. The church record of Amélie's marriage two years later also gives her maiden name as von Sternfeld and describes her as the foster-daughter of the Countess von Lerchenfeld (LAELKB, Kirchenbücher: Pfarramt Regensburg [Obere Stadt], 6-12, Seite 70, No.12).
59. Polonsky (1998), 100.
60. F.I.T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Tegernsee, 2/14 July 1840. IV, 142.
61. The church record of Amélie's marriage on 31 Aug. 1825 is unusual in not giving the date of her birth, stating merely that she was then 'seventeen and a half years old' (Dewey, 15). As Princess Therese is known to have given birth to another illegitimate child (see above, note 57) on 10 June 1807, it is unlikely that Amélie would have been born before March of the following year. Taken together, these facts suggest a birth date in the early spring of 1808.
62. SK. For a more detailed outline of Max's diaries and letters (nearly all to his mother) and other relevant documents of the von Lerchenfeld family held in this archive see Dewey, 17-18. The collection is at present unsorted and uncatalogued.
63. Dewey, 19.
64. Diary ('Schreibkalender') of M. von Lerchenfeld, 1823. SK
65. Dewey, 19.
66. P.A. Vyazemsky to A.Ya. Bulgakov, 30 Aug./ 11 Sept. 1833. *Ospovat* (1994), 113-114.
67. Richard von Pfeil und Klein-Ellguth, *Das Ende Kaiser Alexanders II*, Berlin, 1903. Quoted (without page ref.) in Oertzen, 37.
68. Maximilian von Lerchenfeld to Maria Anna von Lerchenfeld, Köfering, 8 June 1826. SK.
69. Diary ('Schreibkalender') of M. von Lerchenfeld, 1826. SK. The 'little one' is feminine, as the German original (*kleine beynah traurig*) makes clear. In a letter to his mother of 12 Feb. 1825 Maximilian similarly refers to Amélie as '*notre bonne petite*'. SK.
70. Dewey, 20. The poem quoted is 'Slyozy' ('Lyublyu, druz'ya, laskat' ochami...'). I, 45. The indication 'Munich, 21 July 1823' printed beneath the poem on its first publication in *Severnaya lira* suggests a NS date.
71. 'Sey den', ya pomnyu, dlya menya...'. I, 131.
72. *Lirika*, I, 352; *Zhizn'*, 72.
73. See Appendix I (i).
74. As above, note 60. My italics.
75. 'K N.' ('To N.'). I, 46.
76. Lane (1983).
77. Aksakov, 17-18.
78. As described by T. (who later sent his own daughters there) in a letter to his parents from Mu. dated 18/30 Dec. 1842 (IV, 219). The name Max-Josef-Stift was established by A.E. Polonsky (see PTR, 54, note 4).
79. Dewey, 20.
80. *Ibid.*, 28-30.
81. J. Fendl, *Die Burg Donaustauf*, Donaustauf, 1990, 26-28, 30.
82. For an illuminating analysis of this aspect of the poem see: Yury Lotman, 'Poeticheskyy mir Tyutcheva', *TS* (1990), 136-138.
83. 'Ya pomnyu vremya zolotoye...'. I, 162. That the young girl in the poem was Amélie was well known in T.'s family. His second wife Ernestine confirmed it in a letter to one of her stepdaughters dated 19 June/ 1 July 1888 (Dolgoplova, 60).
84. Dewey, 20-22.
85. O.N., 79.

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86. 'K N.'. I, 46.
87. Chulkov (1928), 14; Kozhinov, 114-115; Chagin, 14.
88. *Tyutchevy*, 112.
89. I, 302. As the date is accompanied by no indication of place, readers in Russia will no doubt have taken it to be OS. However, even a NS date would allow for the possibility that T. made a proposal of marriage a few days before his formal coming of age.
90. Dewey, 23-25.
91. *Zhizn'*, 23-25. For a reproduction of Khlopov's icon (now in the Tyutchev Museum at Muranovo) see Dolgoplova & Tarkhov (1989a), 604-605.
92. *Letopis'-I*, 63.
93. *Ibid.*, 63-64.
94. *Ibid.*, 70.
95. Dewey, 25-26.
96. *Letopis'-I*, 63.
97. Maximilian von Lerchenfeld to Amalie von Sternfeld, Paris, 4 April 1825. Dewey, 26 (where through an oversight on my part the letter was incorrectly dated 4 March, prompting the unfounded assertion that Amélie was sent away to the country after the duel affair).
98. As above, note 14.
99. For a justification of this dating see Dinesman (1999a), 281.
100. S. Amfiteatrov [S. Ye. Raich], 'Rassuzhdeniye o didakticheskoy poezii (magisterskaya dissertatsiya)', *Vestnik Yevropy*, 1822, No.7, 205.
101. 'Problek' I, 52-53.
102. In his own copy of T.'s verse Tolstoy pencilled in the note 'T!!!!' (i.e., especially characteristic of T.) next to this poem and marked lines 23 and 24 ('To worthless dust it is not granted/ To breathe the sacred fire of gods'). (See I, 309-310.)
103. See A.A. Nikolayev's commentary on the poem in *PSS* (1987), 372.
104. *Letopis'-I*, 64.
105. Dewey, 15, 27.
106. F.I.T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 31 Dec. 1836/ 12 Jan. 1837. IV, 59-60.
107. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 2/14 July 1865. TPD, 375.
108. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 22 Apr./ 4 May 1847. TPD, 220.

Chapter 3. A Time of Destiny

1. Khlopov's icon notes, reproduced in Dolgoplova & Tarkhov (1989a), 604. (To avoid any confusion, for the period of T.'s leave in Russia dates are given according to both calendars, i.e. OS/NS.)
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Letopis'-I*, 64.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Dolgoplova & Tarkhov (1989b), 614.
6. The icon bears an inscription dating it to 1825 (see the reproduction in Dolgoplova & Tarkhov [1989a], 605). To exploit light conditions at their best it was long customary in Russia to paint icons during the summer months.
7. Raich, 33.
8. Pogodin, 13 (diary, 20-25 June/ 2-7 July 1825).
9. G.V. Chagin, 'Tyutchev v sledstvennom dele D.I. Zavalishina', *LN-2*, 440.
10. Barsukov, I, 58-59.
11. Diary entry for 20-25 June/ 2-7 July 1825. *Zhizn'*, 67. (This passage is omitted in Pogodin, 13).
12. As note 8.
13. Pogodin, 13 (diary, 17/29 Sept. 1825).
14. *Zhizn'*, 67.
15. Pogodin, 13 (diary, 17/29 July 1825), 24 ('Vospominaniye o F.I. Tyutcheve').
16. Kozhinov, 72.
17. M.P. Pogodin, 'Vospominaniye o Stepane Petroviche Shevyryove', Spb., 1869, 7 (quoted in A.A. Nikolayev, 'Sud'ba poeticheskogo naslediya Tyutcheva 1822-1836 godov i tekstologicheskiye problemy yego izucheniya', *Russkaya literatura*, 1979, No.1, 130). The other two poems were 'To Nisa' ('K Nise', I, 49) and a free translation of Herder's 'Morgengesang im Kriege' ('Pesn' skandinavskikh voynov', I, 50-51).

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18. *Zhizn'*, 67.
19. D.I. Zavalishin, 'Vospominaniya o Griboyedeve', *Drevnyaya i novaya Rossiya. Ilyustrirovannyi istoricheskiy sbornik*, 1879, No.4, 314. Quoted in *Dok.*, 52-53.
20. Quoted in Chereysky, 197.
21. V.I. Sakharov, 'Dmitry Venevitinov i yego poeziya (1805-1827)', in: D. Venevitinov, *Stikhotvoreniya*, M., 1982, 8.
22. *Ibid.*, 22.
23. 'Ty zrel yego v krugu bol'shogo sveta...'. I, 107.
24. *Lirika*, I, 345.
25. I.I. Gribushin, 'Zametki o Dmitrii Venevitinove', *Russkaya literatura*, 1968, No.1, 196-198.
26. *Ibid.*, 197-198.
27. A.I. Odoyevsky, *Polnoye sobraniye stikhotvoreniy i pisem*, M. & L., 1934, 460 (quoted in Gribushin [as note 25], 197).
28. D.V. Venevitinov, *Sochineniya*, Part 1, M., 1829, iv-v (quoted in Gribushin [as note 25], 197).
29. Gribushin [as note 25], 197.
30. 'V tolpe lyudey, v neskromnom shume dnya...'. I, 108.
31. Koshelyov, 13.
32. *Tyutchevy*, 115-116.
33. *Zapiski, stat'i, pis'ma dekabrista I.D. Yakushkina* (ed. S.Ya. Shtraykh), M., 1951, 47-48. My italics.
34. As note 8.
35. Zavalishin, 175. Also quoted in *Dok.*, 53-54.
36. Mazour, 155.
37. Koshelyov, 14-15.
38. Zavalishin, 176. Also quoted in *Dok.*, 54. Although Zavalishin's memoirs tend to be regarded as unreliable by historians because of the way they exaggerate the author's role in the Decembrist movement, there seems no reason to suspect his more personal recollections in which this motivation is absent. Even if it is argued that Zavalishin invented Osterman-Tolstoy's attribution of political 'harmlessness' to T. in order to emphasise his own 'dangerousness', the anecdote is still of value as evidence that Zavalishin himself considered T. 'harmless'.
39. *Letopis'-I*, 67.
40. Zavalishin, 176-177.
41. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 28 Oct./ 9 Nov. 1874. TM, 48.
42. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Mu., 18/30 March 1833. TPD, 187. I am grateful to Dr R. Lane for supplying his transcript of the French original in the Muranovo archive.
43. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 19 June/ 1 July 1854. V, 172.
44. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, Toepnitz, 31 July/ 12 Aug. 1870. VI, 387.
45. Dinesman (1999a), 286. D.D. Blagoy first suggested (in his *Tri veka: iz istorii russkoy poezii XVIII, XIX i XX vv.*, M., 1933, 207) that the poem was written as a reaction to the July Revolution of 1830, a supposition later taken up by Pigaryov (*Lirika*, I, 349) and other commentators. However, as the poem has since been firmly dated to no later than 1829, this can now be ruled out.
46. Pumpyansky, 27.
47. 'Tsitseron'. I, 122.
48. As note 1.
49. *Kommentariy*, 58.
50. *Letopis'-I*, 67.
51. V.I. Shteyngel' [Steingel], 'Zapiski', MD, 220.
52. *Ibid.*, 221.
53. A.Ye. Rozen, *Zapiski dekabrista*, Irkutsk, 1984, 128.
54. Shteyngel' (as note 51), 222.
55. *Ibid.*, 222-223.
56. *Ibid.*, 224.
57. Mazour, 179.
58. Shteyngel' (as note 51), 224.
59. MD, 362-363.
60. *Ibid.*
61. From the papers of M.M. Popov, quoted in MD, 363. The account is corroborated by Steingel (*ibid.*, 224).

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62. Mazour, 178.
63. I.S. Gagarin, to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 15/27 Nov. 1874. TM, 54.
64. A.S. Pushkin to P.A. Vyazemsky, Mikhaylovskoye, August 1826. A.S. Pushkin, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, 17 vols. (incl. final vol. of corrections and indexes), Leningrad, 1937-1959. XIII, 291.
65. *Zapiski [...] Yakushkina* (as note 33), 56.
66. *Ibid.*, 56-61.
67. *Tyutchevy*, 124-125.
68. *Ibid.*, 124; Zavalishin, 220.
69. S.D. Sheremetev, *Zapisnaya knizhka*, Part 1, M., 1903, 20-21 (quoted in *Tyutchevy*, 44).
70. See *Letopis'-1*, 69, where T.'s reported statement is dated to the beginning of January (OS).
71. Chagin (as note 9), 440.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Tyutchevy*, 115-116.
74. Chagin (as note 9), 440.
75. Dolgopolova & Tarkhov (1989b), 614. This cites N.I. Tyutchev's service record in the central military archive. *Letopis'-1*, 71, gives the date as 27 Feb./ 11 March on the basis of a separate document in the family archive at Muranovo.
76. N. Chulkov, 'Moskva i dekabristy', in: *Dekabristy i ikh vremya*, M., 1932. II, 295 (quoted in A.L. Ospovat, 'O stikhotvorenii "14-oye dekabrya 1825" (K probleme "Tyutchev i dekabrizm")', *TS* (1990), 237).
77. *Tyutchevy*, 71.
78. Shteyngel' (as note 51), 234.
79. *Tyutchevy*, 124; Chagin (as note 9), 440.
80. *Letopis'-1*, 73. Originally quoted (in a slightly variant version) in: Chagin (as note 9), 440.
81. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 2/14 July 1864. Lettres, XXI, 221.
82. Barsukov, I, 327-328; M.P. Pogodin, 'V pamyat' o Pavle Aleksandrovice Mukhanove', *Russkaya starina*, 1872, No.2, 337.
83. Barsukov, I, 327-329.
84. Pogodin, 'V pamyat'...' (as note 82), 337.
85. Barsukov, I, 329-334.
86. Zavalishin, 224.
87. *Ibid.*, 146 (footnote).
88. A. Glasse & N.Ya. Eydel'man, 'Tyutchev o vosstanii dekabristov', *LN-2*, 436, 438.
89. Zavalishin, 223.
90. *Ibid.*, 234.
91. Glasse & Eydel'man (as note 88), 436.
92. *Ibid.*, 436-438.
93. Heine (1968), II, 379.
94. *Letopis'-1*, 74.
95. '14-oye dekabrya 1825'. I, 56.
96. Ospovat, 'O stikhotvorenii...' (as note 76), 233-237.
97. *RA*, 1881, No.2, 340.
98. G.I. Chulkov, 'Stikhotvoreniye Tyutcheva "14-oye dekabrya 1825 goda [sic]"', *Uraniya*, 71-73.
99. *Ibid.*, 76-78.

Chapter 4. Great Festival of Wondrous Youth

1. Maximilian von Lerchenfeld to Maria Anna von Lerchenfeld, Paris, 11/23 Jan. 1826. SK.
2. Oertzen, 37.
3. Polonsky (1998), 95, 98. The building housing the Embassy at 3 Karolinenplatz no longer stands.
4. *Letopis'-1*, 69
5. Maximilian von Lerchenfeld to Maria Anna von Lerchenfeld, Paris, 24 Jan./ 5 Feb. 1826. SK.
6. *Letopis'-1*, 70.
7. *Ibid.*, 72, 76, 81.
8. Heine (1968), II, 320-325 (*Reisebilder*, Part 3, Chapter 3).
9. P.A. Vyazemsky to P.P. Vyazemsky, Mu., 27 Oct./ 8 Nov. 1834. Kauchtschischwili, 277-278; A.I. Turgenev to I.S. Arzhevitinov, Mu., 14/27 April 1834. Turgenev (A.I.), 63.

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10. *Tyutchevy*, 132; *Letopis'-I*, 66.
11. Eleonore had four sons, not three as sometimes claimed. See *Letopis'-I*, 80.
12. Polonsky (1998), 94.
13. *Letopis'-I*, 66.
14. *HSH*, 1824, 138-139; 1833, 101.
15. K. von Nesselrode to A. Peterson, 1/13 May 1817. Dinesman (1999b), 301 n.7).
16. *Letopis'-I*, 103.
17. *Ibid.*, 103-105, 324.
18. These and subsequent details of Karl von Bothmer's life are taken from his own autobiographical account (Bothmer).
19. German genealogical sources and Karl von Bothmer's own account (Bothmer, 10) agree on this date. Other dates from 1797 to 1801 given in Russian sources must be considered dubious. Some doubt remains as to Eleonore's birthplace. A. Polonsky (Polonsky [1998], 21) gives Kassel, whereas Karl von Bothmer's account, which is generally reliable, implies that his eldest daughter was born in Hanover (Bothmer, 9-11).
20. Polonsky (1998), 130-131.
21. Bothmer, 10.
22. *Ibid.*, 43.
23. Polonsky (1998), 21; Bothmer, 34.
24. Bothmer, 35.
25. *Ibid.*, 34.
26. *Letopis'-I*, 324.
27. According to Karl von Bothmer, Eleonore and Peterson were living in Nuremberg in April 1824 (Bothmer, 43). A. Polonsky quotes a document from the archives giving Nuremberg as the place of Peterson's death some eighteen months later (Polonsky [1998], 130 n.94).
28. Bothmer, 42, 47.
29. As note 5.
30. Aksakov, 24; *Zhizn'*, 54.
31. Heine, *Briefe*, I, 353; Ficquelmont, 137-138.
32. Gagarin, 118.
33. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 April 1837. IV, 63-64.
34. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 4/16 May 1846. TPD, 216.
35. Gregg, 174.
36. Aksakov, 11.
37. El. T. to N.F. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Jan. 1834; June-July 1833; 4/16 Feb. 1837. TPD, 193; 190; 196.
38. K.V. Pigaryov stated that T. and Eleonore were married on 5/17 March 1826, but gave no evidence for this (*Zhizn'*, 54). T.G. Dinesman reports a later conversation with Pigaryov in which he explained his reasoning. He apparently believed that the date on which Khlopov signed the dedication on his icon must refer to another significant date in T.'s life, which in 1826 could only be his marriage to Eleonore (Dinesman [1999b], 298). This appears to have been a long-standing assumption in the family, for in surviving rough notes for his biography of T. Aksakov too gives 5 April (evidently a slip for 5 March) as the date of the marriage (Dolgoplova, 62). However, it is now known that Khlopov remained in Moscow and could have learned of events in Munich only by letter, which would have taken about three weeks to arrive. Dinesman points out that in order for Khlopov to dedicate the icon on the same day as the wedding, T. would have had to write *within ten days* of his return to Munich on 5/17 February that he and Eleonore were planning to marry on 5/17 March (*ibid.*, 298-299). This is so improbable as to render Pigaryov's hypothesis untenable.
39. Aksakov, 24; IV, 64, 113.
40. Dinesman (1999b), 300. The main document is quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 74 and (more fully) in *Tyutchevy*, 135-136. On the evidence of another diplomatic document written and dated in T.'s hand, he appears to have been still in Munich on or about 26 July (Lane [1994], 40). He returned at the end of August, as shown by a further document dated 30 August (*Letopis'-I*, 74: all dates quoted NS). Dinesman claims that the Lutheran church in Bavaria made demands unacceptable to Tyutchev as a Russian subject regarding the religious upbringing of children, forcing him and Eleonore to marry outside the country (Dinesman [1999b], 300). This speculative interpretation is contradicted by the known facts. The 1803 edict on religious freedom, enshrined in later laws, allowed partners to mixed marriages in Bavaria to choose either a Catholic or Protestant cere-

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mony (or both, if desired) for the union to be legally valid, and to determine the religious upbringing of their children themselves (Jesse, 77, 101, 123). Social and religious pressure on parents by the dominant Catholic Church, which was opposed to these laws, meant that in practice only a minority of the offspring of such marriages were brought up as Protestants (*ibid.*, 124, 141). It is inconceivable that the Lutheran Church, depending as it did on the protection of these laws, would have demanded such an undertaking as a prerequisite for marrying Tyutchev and Eleonore. Dinesman further suggests on the basis of a speculative remark in one of Aksakov's letters that T. and Eleonore were married in Paris. This too must now almost certainly be discounted. Writing on 10 July 2001 in response to a query from me, Pastor Alain Joly of the Centre culturel luthérien in Paris stated that there is no record of such a marriage for 1826 and 1827 in the register of what was at the time the only Lutheran church in Paris. A letter from the Église Évangélique luthérienne de France (Synode régionale de Paris) dated 28 Sept. 2001 confirmed this, while pointing out that Lutheran weddings sometimes took place in the chapels of foreign embassies in Paris at that period. However, archival searches with reference to the two most likely Protestant states have also revealed no evidence for this. Despatches for 1826 and 1827 from Hanover's Ambassador in Paris were found to contain no indication of a marriage (Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Magazin Pattensen, Dep. 103, VI, Nos. 3250, 3251), and in an email to me dated 10 June 2002 Dr Moegle-Hofacker of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart confirmed that diplomatic documents of Württemberg's Embassy for the same period are similarly devoid of relevant information (Bestände E70a, E50/12).

41. Schmidt, 723-725; Jesse, 67-70, 180; Manfred Berger, 'C(K)aroline Friederike Wilhelmine, Königin von Bayern, Prinzessin von Baden und Hochberg, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Nordhausen, XXIII (2004), 199-207 (accessible online at: www.bautz.de/bbkl).

42. Jesse, 88.

43. Dinesman (1999b), 299.

44. LAELKB, Kirchenbücher: Pfarramt Burgfarnbach.

45. Schmidt, 725. That the Protestant church registers for Würzburg from 1802 on were destroyed towards the end of the Second World War was confirmed to me by Dr Jürgen König of the LAELKB in an email dated 20 March 2009. The Tyutchevs' copy of the marriage certificate was presumably lost together with all their other family papers during the fire which destroyed the Baltic steamer *Nicholas I* in 1838 (see Chapter 10). It is interesting that in his autobiographical account (dated Karlsruhe, April 1827) Eleonore's father makes no mention of her having remarried, despite going into some detail about her first marriage to Peterson in 1817 (Bothmer, 34-35) and referring to his daughter Louise's marriage to Count Ludwig von Pückler Limpurg in May 1824 (*ibid.*, 43). Similarly, Maximilian von Lerchenfeld's letters to his mother from Paris for 1826 and 1827 (SK) contain no allusion to a marriage, a matter which would surely have been commented on in their correspondence had either known about it. Clearly the secret was well kept, at least for the first year or so.

46. Polonsky (1998), 23.

47. Hippolyt, aged 14; Karl, 12; and Maximilian, 10 (*ibid.*, 130-131).

48. *Ibid.*, 105.

49. H. Heine to K.A. Varnhagen von Ense, Mu., 1 April 1828 (NS). Heine, *Briefe*, I, 353.

50. Despatch of A. Krüdener to Russian Foreign Ministry, Mu., 11/23 Aug. 1826. *Letopis'-1*, 74. Quoted more fully in *Tyutchev*, 135-136. Vorontsov-Dashkov left Munich for St Petersburg on 27 April 1826 and returned from leave only on or just before 20 March 1827 (both dates NS). *Letopis'-1*, 72, 76. Whether he spent this whole period in Russia is not known.

51. In his letter to Varnhagen von Ense (see note 49).

52. Diary of G.N. Olenin, Mu., 3/15 Aug. 1828. TPD, 183.

53. *Letopis'-1*, 79.

54. *Ibid.*, 80-81. The following account of the Orthodox marriage of T. and Eleonore and events leading up to it is based on Dinesman (1999b), 300-301, and *Letopis'-1*, 80-86.

55. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 26 Oct. 1853 (OS). Lettres, XVIII, 57 (here incorrectly dated 22 Oct.).

56. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Sept. 1842. IV, 198.

57. *Letopis'-1*, 86-87. For the later history of this house see Polonsky (1998), 106 (footnote). Polonsky's implication (*ibid.*, 96-97) that they lived at 1, Karolinenplatz from 1828 appears to result from a misinterpretation of one of Eleonore's letters. This is corrected in Polonsky (2003), 166-167.

58. *Letopis'-1*, 86-87.

59. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, entry for 4/16 May 1846. TPD, 216.

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60. G. Chulkov (*Letopis'* [Ch.], 213) asserts that Nikolay 'participated in the Turkish campaign of 1827-1828'. (In fact the war lasted from April 1828 to Sept. 1829.) However, Nikolay's service record shows that he retired from the army on 27 Feb./ 11 March 1826 and returned to active service only on 23 Jan./ 4 Feb. 1831 (*Letopis'-1*, 71, 107; Ekshtut, 291-292).
61. *Letopis'-1*, 87.
62. Pfeffel-Z, 33. See also: A.N. Bakhmeteva to I.S. Gagarin, 2/14 Nov. 1874. TM, 44 n.8).
63. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 23 Oct./ 4 Nov. 1874. TM, 45-46.
64. IV, 17, 465. For a photograph of the card see LN-2, 51.
65. Zhukovsky (1999) XIII, 272.
66. See *Letopis'-1*, 75-77; Lane (1994), 40-41.
67. The present 21, rue d'Artois (on the corner of rue Frédéric Bastiat) is a modern building; only its immediate neighbour at 23 looks as if it could date back to the period of T.'s and Eleonore's visit.
68. Zhukovsky (1999), XIII, 258-272, passim. At the time of Tyutchev's stay in Paris Nikolay Turgenev was in London. See also the note on Countess Razumovskaya (*ibid.*, 540-541).
69. In his diary Zhukovsky records going shopping with Aleksandr Turgenev on 9 July. *Ibid.*, 272.
70. N.M. Rozhalin to A.P. Yelagina, Mu., 27 April/ 9 May 1830. RA, 1909, No.8, 596 (quoted in *Letopis'-1*, 100).
71. 'Letniy vecher'. I, 62.
72. Lirika, I, 340. The date of composition given in I, 321 (12 June 1829) is clearly wrong, as that was the (OS) date of the censor's approval for the poem's first publication in the journal *Galateya*. T. could have sent the poem for publication at any time up to the spring of 1829, but must have written it during one of the previous summers. In the 1886 edition of T.'s poems prepared by his second wife Ernestine the poem is actually dated 1827 (I, 321).
73. Nesta Roberts, *The Companion Guide to Normandy*, London, 1980, 29; Imbert de Saint-Amand, *The Duchess of Berry and the Court of Charles X*, London, 1892, 266-267 (accessible online, without pagination, at www.gutenberg.org; see Chapter XXVII, 'Dieppe').
74. *Journal d'Annonces Judiciaires, Affiches et Avis divers de l'Arrondissement de Dieppe*, XIII (1827), No.26 (23 June), 3.
75. Imbert de Saint-Amand (as note 73), 270-273.
76. Although the *Journal d'Annonces [...] de Dieppe* (see note 74) lists arrivals and departures of vessels at the port, neither it nor the *Journal de Rouen et du département de la Seine-Inférieure* for that period provides details of visitors to the resort.
77. As note 59.
78. A.N. Nadarzhinskaya to D.I. Tyutcheva, M., 30 Jan./ 11 Feb. 1830. *Letopis'-1*, 97.
79. D.I. Sushkova to N.N. Sheremeteva, M., 6/18 June 1845. TPD, 214.
80. 'Itak, opyat' uvidelsya ya s vami...'. I, 204.
81. Gregg, 49.
82. 'Vesennyaya groza'. I, 60.
83. 'Vecher'. I, 55.
84. 'Vesenniye vody'. I, 134.
85. 'Cache-cache'. I, 59.
86. Note by P.V. Bykov in: F.I. Tyutchev, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (ed. P.V. Bykov; 8th. edition), SPb., 1913, 618.
87. 'K N.N.'. I, 61.
88. In 1836 Pushkin selected 29 of T.'s poems for publication in his journal *Sovremennik* (one of which was subsequently vetoed by the censor). A.A. Nikolayev has identified a further 19 which were rejected by Pushkin (Nikolayev [1989], 506). Seven of these 19 are known to have been in Raich's possession earlier (*ibid.*, 527-529), of which only 'K N.N.' and a translation from Goethe were not published by him.
89. It was first published in RA, 1879, No.5, 137.
90. Gregg, 59.
91. *Ibid.*, 70.
92. Aksakov, 104.
93. *Ibid.*, 16, 40, 23. My italics.
94. I.S. Aksakov to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Turovo, Sept. 1873 (OS). TPD, 430.
95. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Geneva, 8/20 Sept. 1864. VI, 76.
96. Tyutchev (F.F.), 234.
97. *Ibid.*, 235.

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98. Georgievsky, 108.
99. A. Sokolova, 'Imperator Nikolay I i vasil'kovye durachestva', *Istorichesky vestnik*, 1910, No.1, 109-110.
100. Georgievsky, 109.
101. Pfeffel-Z, 33 (footnote).
102. I.S. Gagarin to A.I. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 15/27 Nov. 1874. TM, 54. Quoted in the original French in: Lane (1994), 33.
103. V.S. Solov'yov, 'Iz vospominaniy. Aksakovy', in: (idem.), *Literaturnaya kritika*, M., 1990, 367. (Accessible online at: <http://lib.baikal.net>.)
104. Georgievsky, 125.
105. Ibid., 108.
106. H. Heine to F.I. T., Florence, 1 Oct. 1828 (NS). Heine, *Briefe*, 377.
107. Diary entry, 4/16 Sept. 1833. Kauchtschischwili, 20 (footnote).
108. Turgenev (A.I.), 72 (note 28).
109. Ibid., 73.
110. V. Veresayev, *Pushkin v zhizni*, 2 vols. (6th. ed.), M., 1936. II, 157 (quoted in Binyon, 398).
111. F.I. T. to K. von Nesselreode, Mu., 22 Oct./ 3 Nov.1835. IV, 33.
112. '[dass] sich der Kaiser recht aufrichtig auf dich freut'. Max von Lerchenfeld to Amalie von Krüdener, 27 Nov. 1835 (NS). SK.
113. *Letopis'-I*, 157.
114. Amalie von Krüdener to Georg Köckenberger, SPb., 20 March 1852 (OS). Köckenberger.
115. Oertzen, 36; O.N., 79.
116. Smirnova-Rosset, 8-9.
117. O.N., 79.
118. Smirnova-Rosset, 9.
119. O.N., 78-79.
120. Smirnova-Rosset, 9.
121. O.N., 79.
122. Ibid.
123. Amalie von Krüdener to Georg Köckenberger, SPb., 23 Feb. and 20 March 1852 (OS). Köckenberger.
124. Ibid. (letter of 20 March).
125. Polonsky (1998), 19.
126. O.N., 80.
127. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev & D.I. Sushkova, Mu., 31 Dec. 1836/ 12 Jan. 1837. IV, 59-60.
128. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 7/19 July 1836. IV, 51.
129. I.S. Gagarin to I.S. Aksakov, Paris, 30 Nov./ 12 Dec. 1874. TM, 57.
130. Pigaryov (1935b), 408.
131. As note 128.
132. Ibid.
133. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 10/22 July 1836. IV, 55-56.
134. Mende, 66.
135. As note 49.
136. F. Bobertag (ed.), *Ch.D. Grabbe, M. Beer und E. von Schenk*, Berlin & Stuttgart, 1899, 358.
137. In a letter sent to T. after leaving Munich in the summer of 1828 Heine mentions both Schenk and Lindner as acquaintances of T. (as note 106, pp.376-377).
138. *Letopis'-I*, 78.
139. *Ludolf Wienbarg's Wanderungen durch den Tierkreis*, Hamburg, 1835, 147 (quoted in Tynyanov [1977], 358).
140. As note 49.
141. H. Heine to R. Christiani, 26 May 1825 (NS). Heine (1970), XX, 199.
142. This was confirmed to Ivan Aksakov by T.'s second wife, Ernestine (see note 94).
143. Heine (1970), IV, 249.
144. Tynyanov (1922), 30-31; Tynyanov (1977), 361-362. Hans Rothe has suggested on the other hand (Rothe, 334n46), that the 'witty foreigner' was Count A.G. Stroganov, who is said to have popularised a similar description of Goethe he had heard from Byron. This is unconvincing. To begin with, it is by no means certain that the source quoted by Rothe (*Goethes Gespräche, ohne die Gespräche mit Eckermann* [ed. Flodoard von Biedermann], Leipzig, 1949, 647-657 [no. 489]) can be identified as Stroganov, as an editorial note makes clear (ibid., 785). Nor does Rothe offer

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any evidence that Heine ever met Stroganov or even heard the alleged comment. In any case, Byron's reported aphorism mocking Goethe's hypocrisy ('he is an old fox who never leaves his den, and from there preaches most virtuously' [ibid., 656]) bears little resemblance to that quoted by Heine.

145. Polonsky (1998), 113-114. Heine moved there in the middle of January: see his letter to Wolfgang Menzel of 12 Jan. 1828 (Heine, *Briefe*, I, 344).

146. As note 106, p.376.

147. 'S chuzhoy storony'. I, 47.

148. Liedtke, 48.

149. 'Zakralas' v serdtse grust' — i smutno...'. I, 90.

150. In G. Chulkov's article 'Tyutchev i Geyne', *Iskusstvo*, 1923, No.1, 356.

151. E.g.: 'I grob opushchen uzh v mogilu...'; 'Ya lyuteran lyublyu bogosluzhen'ye...'; 'I chuvstva net v tvoikh glazakh...'. I, 138; 156; 172.

152. 'Mogila Napoleona'. I, 67. For the dating see Dinesman (as note 154).

153. See the note on Lindner in: Heine, *Briefe*, IV, 160.

154. Dinesman (1999a), 282-283. Dinesman points out that T. could have read Scott's work in its French translation, which was also published in 1827.

155. 'Dva demona yemu sluzhili...' (item II in the cycle 'Napoleon'). I, 219. In the original version submitted to *Sovremennik* in 1836 the poem consisted only of lines 1-8, with slightly different readings for lines 2 and 7 (*Lirika*, I, 385-386; I, 260). The echoes of the description of Napoleon in Heine's article 'Französische Zustände' were first noted by Yury Tynyanov in his *Arkhaisty i novatory*, M., 1929, 390. T.G. Dinesman has suggested that the original eight-liner was written at the beginning of Feb. 1832, immediately after the first publication of Heine's article (Dinesman [1999a], 287). At the end of the 1840s the poem, with eight lines added, was included in a cycle of three under the general heading 'Napoleon' (*Lirika*, I, 386).

156. I, 511.

157. I, 219 (lines 9-16).

158. *Letopis'-I*, 79.

159. *Ibid.*

160. 'Olegov shchit'. I, 71.

161. 'Imperatoru Nikolayu I'. I, 72-73. See also: I, 333.

162. H. Heine, *Reisebilder. Dritter Teil*, in: Heine (1968), II, 379.

163. *Ibid.*, 380.

164. *Ibid.*, 380-381.

165. Tynyanov (1922), 31; G. Chulkov (as note 150), 363-364; Pigaryov (1935a), 181; F. Hirth, in: Heine, *Briefe*, IV, 185-187; R. Lane, 'Russia and the Revolution in Tyutchev's Poetry: Some Poems of 1828-1830', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, LI, No.123, April 1973, 217. Lane also points out a passage on Russia in Heine's prose fragments containing 'thoughts similar to those of the later Tyutchev' (Lane [1994], 26 n.24, quoting Heine [1970], XII, 247-248).

166. Pigaryov (1935a), 181.

167. H. Heine, 'Einleitung zu: Kahldorf über den Adel'. Heine (1968), II, 665.

168. Mende, 79. For details of the extracts published in newspapers see: Heine (1968), II, 855.

169. Heine (as note 162), 381-382.

170. '“Prekrasny budet den” — skazal tovarishch...'. I, 93-94.

171. 'Ty zrel yego v krugu bol'shogo sveta...'; 'V tolpe lyudey, v neskromnom shume dnya...'. I, 107,

108. Pigaryov (*Lirika*, I, 345) dates both to immediately after the publication of *Reisebilder. Dritter Teil* (mistakenly given as Dec. 1829), Nikolayev (*PSS* [1987], 117) more cautiously to the beginning of the 1830s.

172. 'Poeziya'. II, 9.

173. 'Dusha moya, Elizium teney...'. I, 142.

174. Heine (as note 162), II, 325-326.

175. Tynyanov (1977), 363 (quoting Ernst Elster, editor of: H. Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, 7 vols., Leipzig & Vienna, 1887-1890). According to Tynyanov, Elster identified ten poems addressed to Clotilde. More recent research puts the number of love poems thought to have been written in Munich in 1828 at eleven (see Klaus Briegleb's notes to *Neuer Frühling* in: Heine (1968), IV, 919-922).

176. She was born on 22 May 1809 (NS). See: Bothmer, 20; Polonsky (1998), 131.

177. I.S. Gagarin to A.I. Bakhmeteva, Paris, Oct. 1874 (first draft of letter). TM, 61.

178. 'Unterm weißen Baume sitzend...'. (*Neuer Frühling*, I). Heine (1968), IV, 298-299.

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179. 'Wenn du mir vorüberwandelst...' (N.F., XIV). Ibid., 304-305.
180. 'Wieder ist das Herz bezwungen...' (N.F., XIX). Ibid., 306-307.
181. 'Es haben unsre Herzen...' (N.F., XXIV). Ibid., 309.
182. Adolph Stahr, *Zwei Monate in Paris*, 3 vols., Oldenburg, 1851. II, 338.
183. G. Karpeles, *Heinrich Heine. Aus seinem Leben und aus seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1899, 115. Here Karpeles identifies the original painting as one by Rotari and the young painter who copied it as Heine's fellow-lodger Theophil Gassen. Although Karpeles states that the copy was given to 'the two beautiful Bothmer sisters', Heine's own account clearly indicates a single recipient. Yu. Tynyanov is surely right in identifying her as Clotilde (Tynyanov [1977], 369).
184. Tynyanov (1977), 369. See also: Heine (1968), IV, 895.
185. A. von Platen to F. von Fugger, 12 March 1828 (NS). August von Platen, *Briefwechsel* (ed. Paul Bornstein), Munich, 1931. IV, 394.
186. Ignaz Döllinger, 'Die neuen politischen Annalen und einer ihrer Herausgeber', *Eos. Münchner Blätter für Poesie, Literatur und Kunst*, 1828, Nos. 135 & 136 (23 & 25 Aug.). Reprinted in full in: Heine (1968), IV, 873-876.
187. As note 106, p.376.
188. Ibid., 377.
189. Mende, 77.
190. 'Schon wieder bin ich fortgerissen...' (*Neuer Frühling*, XXXIX). Heine (1968), IV, 316-317. Klaus Briegleb suggests in his commentary to the poem that it was written on Heine's departure for Italy in August 1828 (ibid., 921). However, it could equally mark his final departure from Munich in December.
191. *Letopis'-I*, 101.
192. There are no recorded instances of anti-Jewish remarks by Tyutchev, whether in his political articles, his published correspondence, or in private conversation as reported by contemporaries. The one small piece of evidence we have in this respect indicates that, on the contrary, he was later prepared to help the journal *Sion*, which represented the views of Russian Jewry, in its battles with the censorship (see: Georgievsky, 113).
193. H. Heine to K. Varnhagen von Ense, 21 June 1830 (NS). Heine, *Briefe*, I, 454.
194. Tynyanov (1977), 363 (footnote).
195. See: Heine (1968), IV, 931.
196. 'In welche soll' ich mich verlieben...'. Heine (1968), IV, 343.
197. 'V kotoruyu iz dvukh vlyubit'sya...'. I, 154. (For dating see: *Lirika*, II, 356).
198. M. Beer to H. Heine, 10 June 1831 (NS). Heine (1970), XXIV, 86.
199. H. Heine to F. Hiller, Paris, 24 Oct. 1832 (NS). Heine, *Briefe*, II, 24.
200. H. Heine to F. Lindner, Paris, 3 Nov. 1834 (NS). Heine (1970), XXI, 91.
201. 'Iz kraya v kray, iz grada v grad...'. I, 157.
202. 'Motiv Geyne'. II, 193.
203. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 7/19 July 1836. IV, 50-51.
204. Of the fifteen poems by Goethe known to have been translated by T., Pigaryov dates eleven within the period 1827-1830, and one ('Nochnye mysli', a translation of 'Nachtgedanken') to between the late 1820s and 1832 (*Lirika*, II, 343, 345-346, 350-351, 352-353). A.A. Nikolayev's subsequent textological researches have more or less confirmed these datings, while showing that 'Nochnye mysli' can have been written no later than 1829 (*PSS* [1987], 87; Nikolayev [1979], 134-135).
205. See, e.g.: N.A. Nekrasov, 'Russkiye vtorostepennyye poety. G. F. T-v i yego stikhotvoreniya (1836-1840)', *Dok.*, 100 (reprint of Nekrasov's original article in *Sovremennik*, 1850, XIX, No.1 [Jan.], 56-74); Tynyanov (1979), 388-389; Strémooukhoff, 56-57.
206. 'K.N.N.'. I, 61. The poem was written no later than 1829, and one of the two autographs is on a sheet watermarked '1827' (ibid., 319; *Lirika*, I, 342).

Chapter 5. Philosophical Intermezzo

1. G.L. Plitt (ed.), *Aus Schellings Leben. In Briefen*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1869-1870. I, 242, 243.
2. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 7/19 Oct. 1829. RA, 1905, No.5, 123.
3. Plitt (as note 1), III, 32.
4. Diary notes of A.I. Turgenev quoted in: Turgenev (A.I.), 71 (note 19).
5. F.I. T. to D.N. Bludov, SPb., [1860-1864]. VI, 66. The poem appears separately in: II, 100.
6. N.A. Melgunov to S.P. Shevryyov, Mu., 8/20 May 1839; S.P. Shevryyov, 'Khristianskaya filoso-

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- fiya. Besedy Baadera', *Moskvityanin*, 1841, No.6. Both quoted in: A.L. Ospovat, 'Tyutchev i stat'ya N.A. Mel'gunova o Shellinge', *LN-2*, 457 (note 13).
7. Hümmert, 41.
8. *Ibid.*, 42.
9. For more on T.'s attitude to the *Altkatholiken*, see Chapter 15.
10. D. Cyzevskij, 'Tjutcev und die deutsche Romantik', *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, 1927, IV, No.3, 309-310, 312-318.
11. See e.g. his diary entries for 28 March & 29 April 1834 (NS), Turgenev (A.I.), 73, 84. For Turgenev's friendship with Schubert in 1832 see: *ibid.*, 71 n.17).
12. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 9/17 Nov. 1829. TPD, 185; P.V Kireyevsky to A.P. & A.A. Yelagin, Mu., 5/17 Jan. 1830. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 130.
13. I.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. & A.A. Yelagin, Mu., 28 April/ 10 May 1830. *RA*, 1907, No.1, 81.
14. 'K N.'. I, 46. See the translation in Chapter 2.
15. The textual parallel is pointed out by A.A. Nikolayev in *PSS* (1987), 372. The corresponding passage in Schelling's work reads: 'that same light of life which shines in the depths of darkness in every single man grows in the sinner into a consuming fire' (Schelling, VII, 391).
16. *Letopis'-I*, 79.
17. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 23 Oct./ 4 Nov. 1874. TM, 45-46.
18. Pfeffel-Z, 33.
19. Victor Cousin, *Cours de philosophie. Introduction à l'histoire de la philosophie*, Paris, 1828.
20. Plitt (as note 1), III, 39.
21. P.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. & A.A. Yelagin, Mu., 5/17 Jan. 1830. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 130; P.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. Yelagin, Mu., 2/14 Feb. 1830. *RA*, 1894, No.10, 218.
22. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 12/24 Sept. 1829. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 121.
23. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 7/19 Oct. 1829. 'Otryvki iz chastnykh pisem', *Moskovsky vestnik*, 1830, Part 1, No.1, 115. The text of the same letter as published in *RA* (see next note) omits this phrase.
24. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 7/19 Oct. 1829. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 124-125.
25. A.I. Turgenev, *Khronika russkogo. Dnevniki (1825-1826 gg.)*, M. & L., 1964, 293 (diary entry for 24 Aug. 1825 [NS]); Turgenev (A.I.), 70 (note 12).
26. See: Turgenev (A.I.), 64 (diary entry for 30 July 1832 quoted); P.Ya. Chaadayev to F.W.J. von Schelling, M., 1832. M. Gershenzon (ed.), *Sochineniya i pis'ma P.Ya. Chaadayeva*, 2 vols., M., 1913 (repr. Hildesheim & New York, 1972). I, 167-170. Dated 'Moscow, 1832', Chaadayev's letter was sent (via Turgenev) only on 20 April/ 2 May 1833 (*ibid.*, 382).
27. *Letopis'-I*, 90.
28. As note 24, p.125.
29. I.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. & A.A. Yelagin, Mu., 21 May/ 2 June 1830. I.V. Kireyevsky, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, 2 vols., M., 1911. I, 43 (quoted in Toporov, 85).
30. Turgenev (A.I.) (as note 26).
31. *Ibid.*, 72-73 (entries for 30 & 31 July 1832).
32. Chaadayev to Schelling (as note 26), 168. Later in the letter Chaadayev identifies his informant as Turgenev (*ibid.*, 169).
33. Turgenev (A.I.), 76.
34. *Ibid.*, 92 (note 43).
35. Victor Cousin, *Über die französische und deutsche Philosophie. Aus dem Französischen von Dr. Hubert Becker. Nebst beurteilender Vorrede des Herrn Geheimrats von Schelling*, Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1834. Schelling's earlier version of the Introduction appeared as a supplement to the journal *Bayerische Annalen*, 1833, No.35 (7 Nov.).
36. Diary, 11 Apr. 1834 (NS). Turgenev (A.I.), 78.
37. Pfeffel-Z, 33.
38. Pfeffel-Laurentie, 319.
39. *Ibid.*
40. N. Mel'gunov, 'Shelling. (Iz putevykh zapisok)', *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1839, No.5, 120. Here Tyutchev is mentioned only as 'T.'. However, in a German translation of the article authorised by Melgunov and published later that year ('Besuch eines Russen bei Schelling', *Europa*, 1839, IV, 153) Tyutchev's name is given in full.
41. *Ibid.* (*Ot zapiski*, 124; *Europa*, 156).
42. N.A. Melgunov to S.P. Shevryyov, Mu., 31 Aug./ 12 Sept. 1836. Quoted in: A.L. Ospovat, 'Tyutchev i stat'ya N.A. Mel'gunova o Shellinge', *LN-2*, 454.

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43. As reported by the diplomat and scholar Karl von Bunsen, writing at the King's behest on 1 Aug. 1840 to offer Schelling the professorship. Quoted in: F.W.J. Schelling, *Philosophie der Offenbarung 1841/42* (unauthorised transcript of Schelling's lectures, ed. M. Frank), Frankfurt/Main, 1977, 408.
44. Jochen Kirchhoff, *Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1982, 56.
45. Pfeffel-Z, 34.
46. See, e.g.: K.M. Azadovsky & A.L. Ospovat (Introduction to:) Turgenev (A.I.), 65; Gregg, 25.
47. Diary entry for 6 July 1842 (NS). Quoted in: S. Jakobsohn, 'Ein unbekanntes Gedicht von Fedor Tjutcev', *Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie*, 1929, V, 409.
48. Kirchhoff (as note 44), 57.
49. Vladimir F. Odoevsky, *Russkiye nochí*, M., 1913, 45. (Facsimile reprint in the series *Slavische Propyläen* as: Vladimir F. Odoevskij, *Russische Nächte* (Introduction by Alfred Rammelmeyer), Mu., 1967.
50. See Appendix I (iv).
51. 'Kolumb' I, 194.
52. A. Schopenhauer, *Über die Grundlage der Moral*, in his: *Sämtliche Werke*, 12 vols., Stuttgart, n.d. [1894-1896]. VII, 291.
53. Heinrich Heine, *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, Stuttgart, 1997, 94-95.
54. 'La Russie et la Révolution'. III, 45.
55. Schelling, II, 56.
56. *Ibid.*, 362.
57. A. Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena* (tr. E.F.J. Payne), 2 vols., Oxford, 1974. I, 24.
58. Schelling, V, 321-322.
59. 'A.N.M.' ('Net very k vymyslam chudesnym...'). I, 31. The poem, addressed to his friend Andrey Muravyov, is dated 13 Dec. 1821 (OS) (*ibid.*, 289-290).
60. A. Bely, 'Vostok ili Zapad', in the almanach *Epokha*, M., 1918, 187.
61. Diary, 3 Dec. 1911 (OS). A.A. Blok, *Dnevnik*, M., 1989, 361-362.
62. Kozyrev, 97-108.
63. *Ibid.*, 98-99.
64. *Ibid.*, 99-104. Apart from quoting many examples of water imagery, Kozyrev finds Anaximander's abstract concept of *apeiron* most clearly expressed in the poems 'O chom ty voyesh', *vetr nochnoy?..*'; 'Smotri, kak na rechnom prostore...'; and 'Ot zhizni toy, chto bushevala zdes'...' (see I, 133; II, 34, 234).
65. *Ibid.*, 114. Some evidence that T. took an interest in the pre-Socratics comes in his report for the year 1865 as chairman of the Committee for Foreign Censorship, where he names Pythagoras and Thales as two of the earliest philosophers (Briskman, 574).
66. A.I. Neuslykhin, 'Tyutchev i Gyo'l'derlin', *LN-2*, 542-547.
67. Friedrich Hölderlin, *Hyperion, oder der Eremit in Griechenland*, Frankfurt am Main & Hamburg, 1962, 9. Compare e.g. T.'s poems 'Teni sizye smesilis...'; 'Vesna' ('Kak ni gnetyot ruka sud'biny...') (I, 159, 183-184).
68. *Hyperion*, 40. Compare 'Kak okean ob'yemlet shar zemnoy...'; 'Son na more' (I, 110, 151).
69. *Hyperion*, 37.
70. *Ibid.*, 10.
71. *Ibid.*, 65.
72. In his *System des transzendentalen Idealismus (System of Transcendental Idealism)*, published in 1800, Schelling gives what appears to be a somewhat ponderous paraphrase of Hölderlin's idea: 'If however it is art alone that can successfully objectify with general validity that which the philosopher is able to represent only subjectively, then it is to be expected (to draw this conclusion too from the foregoing) that just as in the childhood of human knowledge philosophy — and with it all those branches of knowledge brought to perfection through it — was born from and nurtured by poetry, so too after its completion philosophy will flow back as the same number of separate streams into the general ocean of poetry.' (Schelling, III, 629.) The corresponding passage in Part I of *Hyperion* was published three years earlier, in 1797.
73. *Hyperion* (as note 67), 95. Compare 'Silentium!' (I, 123).
74. 'Al'py'. I, 129.
75. 'List'ya'. I, 127-128.
76. 'Osenniy vecher'. I, 126.
77. 'Letniy vecher'. I, 62.

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78. 'Chto ty klonish' nad vodami...'. I, 136.
79. 'Ne to, chto mnite vy, priroda...'. I, 169-170.
80. Hans Rothe, "Nicht was ihr meint ist die Natur". Tjutcev und das Junge Deutschland', in: Hans-Bernd Harder & Hans Rothe (eds.), *Studien zu Literatur und Aufklärung in Osteuropa. Aus Anlaß des VIII. Internationalen Slavistenkongresses in Zagreb (Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slawen, 13)*, Giessen, 1978, 319-335. T. would most likely have read the suggested article as first published, one of a series by Heine under the general title 'État actuel de la littérature en Allemagne' which appeared (in French translation) in the Parisian journal *L'Europe littéraire* between March and May 1833. The original German text of Heine's articles was published in book form later that year (*Zur Geschichte der neueren schönen Literatur in Deutschland*, 2 vols., Paris & Leipzig, 1833). An alternative conjecture is offered by I. Shaytanov ('Zabyty spor', *Voprosy literatury*, 1980, No.2, 195-232), namely that 'Ne to, chto mnite vy, priroda...' was written during T.'s stay in Moscow in 1825 as a riposte to the view of nature expressed in Merzlyakov's poem 'Trud' ('Labour'). This is unlikely, given both the stylistic maturity of T.'s poem and the textual parallels (discussed below) with another piece composed on the death of Goethe in 1832. More persuasive is the suggestion of A. Nikolayev ('Khudozhnik-myslitel'-grazhdanin. (Chitaya Tyutcheva)', *Voprosy literatury*, 1979, No.1, 138) that it is directed against reactions by 'Right Hegelian' philosophers to Schelling's public attack on Hegel in his introduction to the work by Victor Cousin mentioned previously (see above, note 35). Unlike Rothe, however, Nikolayev is unable to point to any specific publication which might have sparked off T.'s poem.
81. 'Na dreve chelovechesta vysokom...'. I, 149.
82. In July 1800 Friedrich Schlegel wrote to his brother August Wilhelm after a conversation with Goethe that the latter 'always speaks with particular love of Schelling's *Naturphilosophie*'. A few months later Goethe himself wrote to Schelling that he felt a distinct affinity with his teaching, adding: 'I wish for a complete union, which I hope to achieve through a study of your writings, or even better through personal acquaintance with you'. (Both quoted in: Kuno Fischer, *Schellings Leben, Werke und Lehre* [4th. ed.], Heidelberg, 1923, 43.
83. Most notably, according to the Schelling scholar Jochen Kirchhoff, in the cycle of poems 'Gott und Welt' (Kirchhoff, 100).
84. D.D. Blagoy, *Literatura i deystvitel'nost'. Voprosy teorii istorii i literatury*, M., 1959, 446.
85. I.S. Gagarin to I.S. Aksakov, Paris, 29 Oct./10 Nov. 1874. TM, 50.
86. 'Bezumiye'. I, 120. A.A. Nikolayev dates this to no later than 1829 (*PSS* [1987], 86, 377).
87. 'A.A. Fetu' [2] ('Inym dostalsya ot prirody...'). II, 117.
88. F.I. Tyutchev, *Polnoye sobraniye stikhotvoreniiy* (ed. K.V. Pigaryov), L., 1957, 343 (repeated in *Lirika*, I, 348).
89. Berkovsky, 37-38.
90. V.A. Mil'china, 'Tyutchev i frantsuzskaya literatura (zametki k teme)', *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR, seriya literatury i yazyka*, XLV, No.5, 1986, 345-346. Mil'china's reference for the passage in question is: G. de Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, Paris, 1886, 191-192.
91. The title 'Rybak' ('The Fisherman') is included in a list made by Raich of poems sent to him by Tyutchev before 1830, although no poem of that title or fitting its description has survived (Nikolayev [1989], 514). A.A. Nikolayev, who first published Raich's list, surmises that this was a translation of Goethe's 'Der Fischer', and that the manuscript went missing during Ivan Gagarin's abortive preparations for an edition of T.'s verse in 1836 (*ibid.*, 512, note 18).
92. Mil'china (as note 90), 346.
93. François Cornillot, 'Tiouttchev: poète-philosophe' (dissertation), University of Paris IV, 1973, 254-255. For T.'s translation of Theseus's speech ('Lyubovniki, bezumtsy i poety...') see I, 106.
94. Cornillot (as previous note), 256-259
95. Liberman, 175.
96. Gregg, 104-105.
97. *Ibid.*, 25; Pumpyansky, 30.
98. Dudek.
99. *Ibid.*, 496.
100. *Ibid.*, 497.
101. 'Fontan'. I, 167.
102. *Faust, Zweiter Teil*, Act V (lines 12104-12105).
103. 'Kakoye dikoye ushchel'ye!...'. I, 160.
104. 'S polyany korshun podnyalsya...'. I, 161.

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105. Cyzevskiy (as note 10), 305-318; Toporov, 47-54, 66, 76.
106. 'Kak sladko dremljet sad temnozelyony...'. I, 158.
107. Cyzevskiy (as note 10), 322.
108. Pratt, 73.
109. 'Den' i noch' '. I, 185.
110. Pratt.
111. *Ibid.*, 74-75.
112. James Gutmann, (Introduction to:) F.W.J. Schelling, *Philosophical Inquiries into the Nature of Human Freedom* (tr. & ed. J. Gutman), Chicago, 1936, xlvii.
113. Pratt, 73.
114. *Ibid.*, 74.
115. *Ibid.*
116. 'Svyataya noch' na nebosklon vzoshla...'. I, 215.
117. Pratt, 77.
118. *Ibid.*
119. *Ibid.* Pratt's reference for the passage quoted is: Schelling, IV, 258.
120. Pratt, 75.
121. Schelling, *Philosophical Inquiries...* (as note 112), 34.
122. Pratt, 78.
123. 'Smotri, kak na rechnom prostore...'. II, 34.
124. Pratt, 79.
125. *Ibid.*, 80.
126. See, e.g.: Pumpyansky, 28-29; Gippius, 33-34; Wsewolod Setschkareff, *Schellings Einfluß in der russischen Literatur der 20er und 30er Jahre des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1939, 104-105; Nicolai von Bubnoff, 'Tjutcevs philosophische Dichtung', *Festschrift für Max Vasmer zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1956, 98-99; K.A. Afanas'yeva, "'Odizm" ili "tragizm"? Razmysshleniya na temu "Tyutchev i Derzhavin" ', *Tyutchev segodnya. Materialy IV Tyutchevskikh chteniy* (ed. Ye.N. Lebedev), M., 1995, 89-90.
127. Brian Magee, *The Philosophy of Schopenhauer*, Oxford, 1983, 379-380.
128. *Ibid.*, 238.
129. Pratt, 83-86. She singles out in particular 'Lebed' ' and 'Kak okean ob'yemlet shar zemnoy... ' (see I, 109, 110).
130. 'Teni sizye smesilis...'. I, 159.
131. Gol'denveyzer, I, 24-25 (diary, 7 Dec. 1899). Quoted in *Dok.*, 249.
132. Gregg, 219-220, note 40. See *War and Peace*, Vol. IV, Part 2, Chapter XIV. (N.B. in the older English translation still in circulation, which numbers chapters differently, the passage in question will be found at Book XIII, Chapter III.)
133. 'O veshchaya dusha moya!...'. II, 75.
134. Schelling, III, 628.
135. '29-oye yanvarya 1837'. I, 175.
136. 'Na dreve chelovechestva vysokom...'. I, 149.
137. 'A.A. Fetu' [2] ('Inym dostalsya ot prirody...'). II, 117.
138. 'Ne ver', ne ver' poetu, deva...'. I, 186.
139. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 20-21 Apr. / 2-3 May and 7/19 July 1836. IV, 42, 50.
140. Fet (1983), 296.
141. *Ibid.*, 383.
142. *Ibid.*, 385.
143. 'Silentium!'. I, 123. Pigaryov (*Lirika*, I, 354) dates this no later than 1830, Nikolayev (Nikolayev [1979], 135) on further evidence no later than 1829. The maturity of its style suggests it is unlikely to have been written much before 1828.
144. See Brandt, Part 2, 173.
145. Gol'denveyzer, II, 303 (not quoted in *Dok.*).
146. V.F. Bulgakov, *Lev Tolstoy v posledniy god yego zhizni. Dnevnik sekretarya L.N. Tolstogo*, M., 1957, 410 (quoted in *Dok.*, 252).

Chapter 6. *Anni Mirabilis*

1. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Mu., 16/28 Apr. 1842. IV, 188-189.
2. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 19 Apr. 1867 (OS). VI, 218.

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3. *Letopis'-1*, 86-87.
4. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 27 Sept. 1852 (OS). RGB. 308.1.20, *l.* 42-43ob.
5. F.I. T. to N.N. Sheremeteva, SPb., 26 Dec. 1845 (OS). IV, 328.
6. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 3/15 May 1847. TPD, 221.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Darya Tyutcheva, as reported by her nephew Fyodor. Tyutchev (F.I. jr.), 186.
9. Although appointed Second Secretary on 17/29 Apr. 1828, T. had to wait until 6/18 Oct. for his first salary payment, made in arrears (*Letopis'-1*, 82).
10. See, e.g.: F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 Apr. 1837. IV, 63.
11. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Tu., 13/25 Dec. 1837. IV, 89.
12. Despatch of I.A. Potyomkin to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 2/14 Feb. 1831. Dinesman (1999c), 147.
13. See: Lane (1984a), 228-231; Lane (1994), 41-42; Dinesman (1999c), 131, 145 (footnote).
14. Dinesman (1999c), 129-130.
15. *Ibid.*, 140-141.
16. Heine, *Briefe*, 160-161. That Lindner was a Russian subject from the Baltic provinces was reported by Potyomkin in a despatch to Nesselrode dated 5/17 Feb. 1829 (Dinesman [1999c], 193 n.66).
17. Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to I.A. Potyomkin, 24 Apr./ 6 May 1829. Dinesman (1999c), 141.
18. Despatch of I.A. Potyomkin to K.V. Nesselrode, 15/27 Oct. 1829. *Ibid.*, 141-142.
19. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 12/24 Sept. 1829. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 121-122 (Thiersch's reported comment on T.: 'a good intellect, a very educated man, and a diplomat', omitted here, is quoted in full in Ospovat [1986], 352).
20. F.I. T. to F. Thiersch, Mu., 20 Jan./ 1 Feb. 1830. IV, 21. See also: Lane (1984a), 227-230.
21. Despatch of I.A. Potyomkin to K.V. Nesselrode, 3/15 Feb. 1831. Lane (1984a), 231. See also: Dinesman (1999c), 145-146.
22. Raich, 34.
23. See: Nikolayev (1989), 513-516.
24. Raich's authorship (the article is signed '- i -') and the identification of T. as the 'friend abroad' were first established by K.V. Pigaryov in his article 'Poeticheskoye naslediyе Tyutcheva', *Lirika*, I, 278-279.
25. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 6, lines 851-853.
26. - i - [S.Ye. Raich], 'Pis'mo drugu za granitsey', *Galateya*, Part I, 1829, No.1, 40-42. (Italics added to indicate T.'s words.)
27. *Letopis'-1*, 87.
28. Maria Fairweather, *Pilgrim Princess*, London, 2000, 215.
29. *Letopis'-1*, 87.
30. I.V. Kireyevsky, 'Obozreniye russkoy slovesnosti 1829 goda', in the almanach: *Dennitsa*, M., 1830, xvi. Reprinted in: I.V. Kireyevsky, *Kritika i estetika*, M., 1979, 65.
31. Rozhalin informed Pyotr Kireyevsky of his wish to move to Munich when they met in Dresden later that year. See: P.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. Yelagina, Mu., 14/26 Sept. 1829. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 117. In May Rozhalin stayed in Dresden and did not, as stated by Maria Fairweather (Fairweather [as note 28], 220) accompany Princess Volkonskaya to Italy as a second tutor to Aleksandr. See: N.M. Rozhalin to A.P. Yelagina, Dresden, 11/23 May 1829. *RA*, 1909, No.8, 583 (quoted in *Letopis'-1*, 87).
32. See Rozhalin's letter of 11/23 May (as previous note), 585.
33. Udolph, 20.
34. S.P. Shevryov to M.P. Pogodin, Rome, 10/22 June 1829. TPD, 184. As shown by T.G. Dinesman (*Letopis'-1*, 88), Shevryov is referring here to meetings with T. in Munich, as at the time of writing T. had not yet reached Rome.
35. Dinesman (1999b), 303.
36. *Ibid.*
37. H. Heine, 'Reise nach Italien', *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, XXII, 1828, Nos. 288-293, 295, 297-298 (1-12 Dec.).
38. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., 25 March/ 6 Apr. 1856. TPD, 283 n.3.
39. 'Vnov' tvoi ya vizhu ochi...'. I, 208.
40. Much of what is now known is thanks to an impressive piece of literary detective work by T.G. Dinesman, involving identification of the handwriting of various copies of poems by T. See: Dinesman (1999a), 284-286; Dinesman (1999b), 302-304.
41. Dinesman (1999b), 303.

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42. Ibid., 302-303.
43. 'Rim noch'yu'. II, 11.
44. 'La question Romaine'. III, 55.
45. 'Tstitseron'. I, 122.
46. 'Mal'aria'. I, 130.
47. G.I. Chulkov, in *PSS* (1933), I, 344.
48. Udolph, 12.
49. Mme de Staël, *Corinne, ou l'Italie*, Paris, 1861, 110.
50. Gregg, 73-76.
51. Ibid., 75.
52. Ibid.
53. See Chapter 5.
54. Solovyov, 399.
55. Gregg, 76.
56. 'Priroda — sfinks. I tem ona verney...'. II, 208.
57. 'Ital'yanskaya villa'. I, 180.
58. 'O, kak ubiystvenno my lyubim...'. II, 35.
59. Dinesman (1999b), 304.
60. Dinesman (1999a), 284-285.
61. *The Tempest*, Act IV, lines 152-153. The parallel is pointed out by Ralph Matlaw in his 'The Polyphony of Tyutchev's "Son na more"', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXXVI, 1957-1958, No.86, 200; also by N.Ya. Berkovsky (Berkovsky, 50). The combination of Naples, a stormy crossing and safe arrival on the island could have sparked off associations with *The Tempest* in T.'s mind. His interest in Shakespeare at the time is attested by his translations of two extracts from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (I, 106), made according to A.A. Nikolayev no later than 1829 (*PSS* [1987], 93).
62. 'Son na more'. I, 151.
63. Gregg, 97.
64. Matlaw (as note 61), 198.
65. Ibid., 200-201; Pratt, 81-83.
66. Gregg, 98.
67. Ibid., 100.
68. Ibid., 99-100.
69. Ibid., 99.
70. In a comprehensive review of research on Tyutchev's sources published up to 1984 Ronald Lane also lists Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* and Fyodor Glinka's poem 'Son' as influences on 'Son na more' suggested by various scholars (Lane [1984b], 44, 45, 67). Of these, the play *Hernani* can almost certainly be ruled out, as its first performance and publication did not take place until February-March 1830 (I, 365).
71. Ibid., 66-68. Here Lane summarises 54 claimed examples of influence by 29 separate writers on 41 of T.'s poems. For seven of the poems multiple influences (between two and four) are cited.
72. Ibid., 59.
73. 'Dusha moya, Elizium teney...'. I, 142.
74. Udolph, 77-85.
75. E.g., two dating from 1828: 'Stansy' ('Kogda bezmolstvuyesh', priroda...); 'Noch' ' ('Kak noch' prekrasna i tikha...'). S.P. Shevryyov, *Stikhotvoreniya* (ed. M. Aronson), L., 1939, 54, 54-55. Another, also entitled 'Noch' ' ('Nemaya noch', primi menya...') was written in June 1829, probably in Rome (ibid., 65-66).
76. A.S. Pushkin, 'Dennitsa. Al'manakh na 1830 god, izdannyy M. Maksimovichem', *Literaturnaya gazeta*, I, 1830, No.8, (5/17 Feb.), 64.
77. Quoted in *Tyutchev*, 235-236, with ref. to Brokgaus & Yefron's *Entsiklopedichesky slovar'*, XXXIX (Part 77), SPb., 1903, 363.
78. 'Poslaniye k A.S. Pushkinu' [Rome, 14 July 1830, NS]. Shevryyov (as note 75), 86-90.
79. Ibid., 149.
80. Even much later, after settling in Russia, T. found it quite natural to discuss Russian literature in French. A letter to Vyazemsky dated Jan. 1851 suggesting improvements to one of the latter's poems is (apart from quotations) written entirely in French (V, 26).
81. 'K neprigozhney materi' [16 July 1829, NS]. Shevryyov (as note 75), 68-70.
82. 'Petrograd' [9 Aug. 1829, NS]. Ibid., 70-72.

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83. Dinesman (1999b), 303. These copies, in handwriting identified by Dinesman as that of Shevryov and Volkonsky, are cited by her — together with the maritime theme of two of the poems and other circumstantial evidence — as proof of T.'s visit to Ischia while in Italy.
84. 'Silentium!', written at the end of the 1820s, also deviates from metrical norms in two of its lines. Later editors in T.'s lifetime — notably Ivan Turgenev — arbitrarily amended these and other poems without consulting the author in an attempt to iron out what they saw as inadmissible irregularities. For a detailed analysis by K.V. Pigaryov of T.'s experiments in mixed metre see: *Zhizn'*, 276-292.
85. 'Kon' morskoy'. I, 111.
86. Dudek, 514.
87. 'Dusha khotela b byt' zvezdoy...'. I, 115.
88. Ye. Maymin, 'Poety-lyubomudry i filosofskoye napravleniye v russkoy lirike 20-30-kh gg. 19-ogo veka', *Instituto Universitario di Napoli. Annali. Sezione Slava*, IX, 1966, 93-94.
89. Dinesman (1999b), 285-286.
90. This includes an estimated half a dozen averaged out from the number of poems datable no more accurately than to the periods 1825-1829 and 1830-1835 respectively. The actual total was almost certainly higher, as T. later claimed to have accidentally destroyed a large number of his manuscripts towards the end of 1833 (see Chapter 7).
91. Dinesman (1999b), 304.
92. The evidence for this is a road map of Germany and northern Italy, preserved in the Muranovo museum, with the inscription: 'Tutchef. 6 Septembre. MILAN. MDCCCVIII.' The ever-practical Nikolay, in whose hand this appears to have been written, was evidently in charge of route planning (*Letopis'-1*, 89).
93. *Letopis'-1*, 90.
94. S.P. Shevryov to M.P. Pogodin, Rome, 15/27 Oct. 1829. TPD, 184.
95. Ern T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 15/27 Dec. 1870. TPD, 414.
96. Aksakov, 11.
97. D.F. Tyutcheva to A.F. Tyutcheva, Ovstug, 2/14 Aug. [1855]. TPD, 272.
98. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 31 Dec. 1836/ 12 Jan. 1837. IV, 59.
99. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 23 Nov./ 5 Dec. 1836. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 29-30*. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 167.)
100. According to G.V. Chagin this was 'apparently as a result of some family drama' (*Kommentariy*, 55). If so, it may have had something to do with a certain Miss Zurikova whom T. mentions in an unpublished letter to his second wife Ernestine as 'our sister-in-law *manquée*' (F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 21 June/ 3 July 1851. RGB. 308.1.19, *l. 1-2ob.*). As at that time Ernestine's only brother Karl Pfeffel had been married for over fifteen years (see Polonsky [1998], 134), the abortive marriage plans can only have involved Nikolay. In other letters T. hints at Nikolay's stubborn resistance to attempts by the family to interest him in marriage (see IV, 89; V, 9-10, 340n7).
101. 'K. B.'. II, 219. A.A. Nikolayev has shown that the poem is addressed to Clotilde Bothmer, as suggested by the title ('C' becoming 'K' in Cyrillic transliteration) (Nikolayev [1988]). Nikolayev's arguments are summarised in more detail in note 216 to Chapter 15.
102. 'Dvum syostram'. I, 116. In my translation I have in line 4 followed the variant '*svezhest'*' (for '*prelest'*') used in two of the autograph manuscripts and adopted by A.A. Nikolayev in his edition of the poems (*PSS* [1987], 82).
103. Key to this identification is the question of the poem's dating. G.I. Chulkov originally gave 1828-1830 on the basis of textological evidence then available (*PSS* [1933], I, 342). K.V. Pigaryov subsequently narrowed this down to 1830 (*Lirika*, I, 347), but on grounds disputed by later scholars (Nikolayev [1979], 133; Gregg, 218 n.88). Pigaryov went on to speculate without firm evidence that the poem was written during T.'s stay in SPb. in the summer of 1830 and that the older of the two sisters was a hypothetical old flame from his youth whom he encountered again at that time (*Lirika*, I, 347, 352). G.V. Chagin has recently taken this idea further, arguing that the poem refers to Yelizaveta and Yekaterina, sisters of the Decembrist Vasily Ivashov, the younger of whom, Yekaterina (but not her sister) T. does appear to have met in SPb. that summer (*Tyutchevy*, 140-146). Unfortunately both for Pigaryov's theory and Chagin's ingenious elaboration of it, the most recent textological research indicates that as an item in the so-called 'Raich collection' the poem could have been written *no later than Feb. 1830*, i.e. at the very least three months before T. left Munich for SPb. (For the Raich collection and its relevance to dating see: Nikolayev [1979], 134-135; Ospovat [1986], 351-352; *PSS* [1987], 361-362; Nikolayev [1989],

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- 504-507, 513-516; *Letopis'-1*, 96, 98-99). Now that Chulkov's original dating has been vindicated, Eleonore and Clotilde must be considered the only credible candidates for the two sisters, as argued independently by both R.A. Gregg and A.A. Nikolayev (Gregg, 59-60; Nikolayev [1979], 134; *PSS* [1987], 376).
104. Gregg, 60.
105. TM, 49 (note 5).
106. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 4/16 May 1846. TPD, 216.
107. 'V dushnom vozdukh mol'chan'ye...'. I, 135. For dating (1833) see Appendix I (iii).
108. Gregg, 64. See also *ibid.*, 63-67 for Gregg's discussion of this theme in other poems by T.
109. 'Chto ty klonish' nad vodami...'. I, 136. Written at much the same time as 'V dushnom vozdukh mol'chan'ye...' (see Appendix I [iii]). An intriguing further piece of indirect evidence for a relationship with Clotilde is found in a short collection of writings and aphorisms of Count Dmitry Bludov, published posthumously as a booklet by his daughter. This was circulated to Bludov's close friends, including T., whose poem on his death was appended to it (*Mysli i zamechaniya gr. D.N. Bludova*, SPb., 1866. See Liberman, 307-309). Bludov twice refers to a certain 'T.' (evidently Tyutchev), on one occasion quoting him as saying he had been 'passionately in love six times' (*Mysli...*, 9; quoted in Liberman, 308). By the time Bludov died in 1864, T. is known to have been 'passionately in love' with five women: Amélie, his first and second wives Eleonore and Ernestine, Hortense Lapp and Yelena Denisyeva. While the sixth could conceivably be a woman of whom we have no knowledge (including the purely hypothetical first love postulated by Pigaryov: see note 72 to Chapter 2; note 103 above), in view of the other evidence now available the most likely candidate is surely Clotilde.
110. Gregg, 66.
111. Letters of P.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. Yelagina (Mu., 14/26 Sept 1829) and to I.V. Kireyevsky (Mu., 10/22 Sept. 1829). *RA*, 1905, No.5, 116, 118-119.
112. A.P. Yelagina to V.A. Zhukovsky, M., June 1829 (OS). *LN*, LXXIX, 1968, 25.
113. See Aronson & Reyser, 158-161.
114. Toporov, 81-82 (footnote 97).
115. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 7/19 Oct. 1829. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 123.
116. As note 19.
117. P.V. Kireyevsky to I.V. Kireyevsky, Mu., 7/19 Oct. 1829. *Moskovsky vestnik*, 1830, Part I, No.1, 115. The text of the letter published in *RA* (as note 115, p.125) omits Schelling's actual words.
118. His brother refers in a letter to an unspecified 'warning' about T. which Pyotr received before leaving Moscow (I.V. Kireyevsky to A.A. & A.P. Yelagin, Mu., 21 May/ 2 June 1830. *RA*, 1907, No.1, 83).
119. As suggested by Pigaryov in *Zhizn'*, 69.
120. Letter of I.V. Kireyevsky (as note 118).
121. P.V. Kireyevsky to A.A. & A.P. Yelagin, Mu., 5/17 Jan. 1830. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 130-131.
122. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 20 May/ 1 June 1832. IV, 25. See also Polonsky (1998), 97.
123. Letter of P.V. Kireyevsky (as note 121), 130; P.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. Yelagina, Mu., 2/14 Feb. 1830. *RA*, 1894, No.10, 218.
124. Pyotr refers to these 'defects', of which he fears he will never be rid, in the letter to his mother and stepfather referred to in note 121 (p.131).
125. P.V. Kireyevsky to A.A. & A.P. Yelagin, Mu., 5/17 Jan. 1830. *RA*, 1905, No.5, 125. (Dated 'December 1829' in *RA*, in fact part of a letter written over several days. For the revised dating see *Letopis'-1*, 94, 95-96.)
126. P.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. Yelagina, Mu., 22 March/ 3 Apr. 1830. *RA*, 1894, No.10, 223.
127. *Letopis'-1*, 91.
128. *Tyutchevy*, 84.
129. N.V. Yakushkin, 'Nesostoyavshayasya poyezdka A.V. Yakushkinoy v Sibir', *Novy mir*, 1964, No.12, 154.
130. *MD*, 341 n.58).
131. F.I. T to N.N. Sheremeteva, Mu., 16/28 Dec. 1829. IV, 21.
132. Diary ('Schreibkalendar') of Maximilian von Lerchenfeld, 6 Oct. 1829 (NS). SK.
133. As note 131, p.20.
134. *Ibid.*
135. Quoted without source in Kozhinov, 103.
136. I.V. Kireyevsky to A.A. & A.P. Yelagin, Mu., 5/17 Apr. 1830. *RA*, 1907, No.1, 77.
137. *Ibid.*, 77-78.

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138. *Ibid.*, 78.
139. I.V. Kireyevsky to A.A. & A.P. Yelagin, Mu., 6/18 Apr. 1830. *RA*, 1907, No.1, 78-79.
140. N.M. Rozhalin to A.P. Yelagina, Mu., 27 Apr./ 9 May 1830. *RA*, 1909, No.8, 596.
141. N.M. Rozhalin, 'Al'manakhi na 1827-y god', *Moskovsky vestnik*, 1827, No.5 (21 Feb./ 8 March), 86.
142. *Zhizn'*, 69-70.
143. Quoted without source in Blagoy, 67.
144. Barsukov, IX, 118.
145. Chereyevsky, 184.
146. P.V. Kireyevsky to A.A. & A.P. Yelagin, Mu., (undated fragment). *Ospovat* (1986), 352. *Ospovat* dates the fragment 7/19 Oct. 1829 on questionable internal evidence. More recently T.G. Dinesman has shown this to be incorrect and has given persuasive reasons for considering the fragment to be more or less contemporaneous with a letter from P.V. Kireyevsky to S.P. Shevryov dated 21 Feb./ 5 March 1830 (*Letopis'-1*, 98-99).
147. Nikolayev (1979), 134.
148. ('un journal passablement niais'): F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 7/19 July 1836. IV, 51.
149. Kireyevsky (as note 30).
150. 'Na kamen' zhizni rokovooy...'. I, 38. First publ. in *Ateney*, 1829, No.1 (Jan.), 61-62.
151. Letter of I.V. Kireyevsky (as note 139).
152. *Letopis'-1*, 103-104.
153. *Ibid.*, 101.
154. I.V. Kireyevsky to A.A. & A.P. Yelagin, Mu., 21 May/ 2 June 1830. *RA*, 1907, No.1, 83.
155. See: L.G. Frizman, 'Ivan Kireyevsky i yego zhurnal "Yevropeyets"', *Yevropeyets. Zhurnal I.V. Kireyevskogo 1832* (ed. L.G. Frizman), M., 1989, 431-436.
156. *Ibid.*, 457-458.
157. 'Devyatnadsaty vek', in: I.V. Kireyevsky, *Kritika i estetika*, M., 1998, 92-93.
158. *Ibid.*, 99.
159. *Ibid.*, 95ff.
160. Potyomkin reported to Count Nesselrode that T. would be travelling to SPb. 'via Lübeck' (*Letopis'-1*, 101). That he and his family did so is clear from their visit to Heine near Hamburg. The only route to SPb. via Lübeck was by steamer.
161. Diary ('Schreibkalendar') of Maximilian von Lerchenfeld, 14 Sept. 1829 (NS). SK.
162. Custine, 77-78.
163. *Ibid.*, 80.
164. *Ibid.*, 83.
165. *Ibid.*, 89.
166. There seem to have been no plans to go to Moscow. The hope expressed by Ivan Kireyevsky in a letter to his mother and stepfather in Moscow (Mu., 30 May/ 11 June 1830. *RA*, 1907, No.1, 84) that they might meet T. in Russia can be taken as no more than wishful thinking. His brother Pyotr's apparently more specific statement in a letter to them that the Tyutchevs would 'probably stay in St Petersburg until the winter' and then 'perhaps come to you in Moscow' (Mu., 2/14 June 1830. *RA*, 1909, No.8, 598) is evidently misinformed (T. had been granted leave only until the end of Sept.) and must be considered equally doubtful.
167. C. Maltitz to A.F. Tyutcheva, 9/21 Dec. 1846. *Letopis'-1*, 102.
168. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 29 Aug./ 10 Sept. 1837. IV, 74.
169. See M. von Lerchenfeld's letters of 26 July/ 7 Aug., 5/17 Sept. and 12/29 Sept. 1830, quoted below (notes 177, 203, 204).
170. General P.N. Ivashov (father of the Decembrist Vasily Ivashov), quoted in: O.K. Bulanova, *Roman dekabrista*, M., 1933, 101-102.
171. A.S. Pushkin, 'The Bronze Horseman' (tr. J. Dewey), *Translation and Literature*, VII, Part 1 (1998), 60-61.
172. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Warsaw, 2/14 Sept. 1853. *Lettres*, XVIII, 5.
173. Custine, 123.
174. *Ibid.*, 105.
175. *Ospovat* (1986), 353.
176. Diary entry for 18/30 July 1830. Ficquelmont, 137-138.
177. 'Tutu est venu me voir hier — il est bien contrarié de ne pas trouver le C[om]te Ness[elrode] ici — et regarde pour ainsi dire son voyage comme entrepris sans but — et probablement sans résultat.' M. von Lerchenfeld to M.A. von Lerchenfeld, SPb., 26 July/ 7 Aug. 1830. SK.

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178. Diary of P.D. Durnovo, entry for 12/24 June 1837. R.Ye. Terebenina, 'Zapisi o Pushkine, Gogole, Glinke, Lermontove i drugikh pisatelyakh v dnevnike P.D. Durnovo', in: *Pushkin. Issledovaniya i materialy*, VIII, L., 1978, 257 (quoted in *Letopis'-1*, 174).
179. Ospovat (1986), 353. Ospovat hoped the diaries of Helena Szymanowska might contain material relevant to T.'s biography (*ibid.*, 354). These have since been published in full (Helena Szymanowska-Malewska, *Dziennik 1827-1857* [ed. Z. Sudolski], Warsaw, 1999), but unfortunately contain no references to T. or his family, apart from a few fleeting mentions of his daughters in the 1850s. References to others connected with him such as the Krüdeners and Lerchenfelds, or (much later) Yelena Denis'yeva, are similarly absent.
180. P.A. Vyazemsky, 'O moskovskikh zhurnalakh', *Literaturnaya gazeta*, I, 1830, No.8 (5/17 Feb.), 60.
181. Ospovat (1986), 354.
182. *Ibid.*
183. V. Veresayev, *Pushkin v zhizni*, M., 1984, 220, 224-225.
184. In March 1836 Gagarin wrote to T. from SPb.: 'You and I have often spoken of the place occupied by Pushkin in the poetic world'. *LN-1*, 502.
185. A.S. Pushkin (as note 76).
186. Yury Tynyanov famously claimed this, Pushkin's only reference to T. in print, as evidence for his thesis that Pushkin, as an 'innovator' in Russian literature, was hostile to T. as a member of Raich's 'archaistic' school (see: Yu.N. Tynyanov, 'Pushkin i Tyutchev', in: *Poetika. Sbornik statey. Vremennik otdela slovesnykh iskusstv*, L., 1926, 107-126. Reprinted in: Yu.N. Tynyanov, *Pushkin i yego sovremenniki*, M., 1969, 166-191). While it is undeniable that T. made use of archaisms in his poetry, so did Khomyakov and especially Shevyryov (also protégés of Raich), whose 'genuine talent' Pushkin praises in the same breath. And when a few years later a number of T.'s poems were brought to Pushkin's attention, he was impressed and immediately agreed to publish a substantial selection in his journal *Sovremennik* (see Chapter 8). Later scholars have had little difficulty in demolishing the uncharacteristically eccentric thesis of an otherwise perceptive and astute critic (see, e.g.: G. Chulkov, 'Stikhovoreniya, prislannyye iz Germanii', *Zven'ya*, II, 1933, 255-266; Kozhinov, 159-177). Even so its ghost returns to haunt the literary scene from time to time, most memorably perhaps in fictional form in Andrey Bitov's novel of 1978 *Pushkinsky dom* (*Pushkin House*).
187. A.I. Del'vig, *Moi vospominaniya*, 4 vols., M., 1912-1913. I, 107.
188. H. Heine to F. Hiller, 24 Oct. 1832 (NS). Heine (1970), XXI, 40.
189. 'Lettre à M. le Docteur Gustave Kolb, rédacteur de la "Gazette Universelle"'. III, 23.
190. Pfeffel-Laurentie, 317-318.
191. 'I did not know him at all until 1830 and became closely acquainted only in 1833' (Pfeffel-Z, 33).
192. F. Lindner to H. Heine, Stuttgart, 10 Nov. 1834 (NS). Heine (1970), XXIV, 280.
193. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 15/27 Nov. 1874. TM, 54.
194. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 28 Oct./ 9 Nov. 1874. TM, 45-46.
195. I.S. Gagarin to I.S. Aksakov, Paris, 14/26 Nov. 1874. TM, 53.
196. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 17/29 Feb. 1854. Lettres, XIX, 108.
197. O.K. Bulanova-Trubnikova, *Tri pokoleniya*, M., 1928, 37.
198. *Ibid.*, 36-38.
199. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Dresden, 15/27 Sept. 1841. IV, 179.
200. *Tyutchev*, 145.
201. Bulanova-Trubnikova (as note 197), 50; *Letopis'-1*, 318.
202. *Letopis'-1*, 104.
203. 'Je cherche depuis quelques jours une pièce de Malachite que je voudrais envoyer à Amélie par les Tutth[effs], ceux-ci n'attendant que le retour du C[om]te Ness[elrode] pour se mettre en route, et pour peu que le C[om]te tarde encore, ils seront forcés de quitter sans l'avoir vu. Car M[adam]e est de nouveau enceinte, et n'a plus que le tems nécessaire pour revenir à Munich. Je ne la voie presque jamais — parce qu'elle est souffrante, et ne dort pas, et qu'ils sont si modestement logés qu'ils n'ont jamais voulu me recevoir. Es mag eine schöne Casernen Wirtschaft seyn. Lui, vient presque tous les jours me voir et soupirer après le moment où il reverra les clochers de notre Dame.' M. von Lerchenfeld to M.A. von Lerchenfeld, SPb., 5/17 Sept. 1830. SK.
204. 'Tutu ne tardera plus maintenant de partir parce que le C[om]te Nessel[rode] est arrivé — et c'est cela seul qu'il attendait'. (Tutu will not delay his departure any longer now, because Count

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Nesselrode has arrived — and that is all he was waiting for'.) M. von Lerchenfeld to M.A. von Lerchenfeld, SPb., 12/24 Sept. 1830. SK.

205. *Letopis'-I*, 103.

206. *Ibid.*, 104.

207. 'Tutcheff part mercredi — il laisse ici les deux fils de Peterson'. ('Tyutchev is leaving on Wednesday — he is leaving Peterson's two sons here'.) M. von Lerchenfeld to M.A. von Lerchenfeld, SPb., 20 Sept./ 2 Oct. 1830. SK.

208. Clear evidence of this is a letter recently discovered by G.V. Chagin. Written by T.'s father, it is dated 'St Petersburg, 10 November 1830' (OS). See: *Tyutchevy*, 36.

209. Vyazemsky, 194.

210. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Mu., 4/16 Feb. 1837. TPD, 196.

211. For a discussion of transitional natural phenomena in T.'s poetry see: Liberman, 7.

212. Of the poem 'Brat, stol'ko let soputstvovavshy mne...' (II, 226) for instance, composed while travelling by train to SPb. after the funeral of his brother, T. wrote in a letter to his daughter Yekaterina that it 'came to me in a state of half-sleep, the night of my return from Moscow' (VI, 396).

213. 'Cherez livonskiye ya proyezzhal polya...'. I, 124.

214. See Appendix I (i).

215. 'Pesok sypuchy po koleni...'. I, 125.

216. See Dinesman (1999a), 282 for discussion of the overland travel options, in particular between Vienna and Munich.

217. 'Al'py'. I, 129.

218. N. Ammon, 'Neskol'ko mysley o poezii Tyutcheva', *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniya*, 1899, June, 463; Brandt, Part 2, 168-169 (both quoted in *Lirika*, I, 352-353). It is worth noting that on two occasions in his later political writings T. likened Russia to a great mountain (III, 12, 38). The symbolic representation of Russia as a massive granite cliff in the poem 'More i utyos' ('The Sea and the Cliff') (I, 197-198) appears to belong to the same cluster of images.

219. 'List'ya'. I, 127-128.

220. 'Osennyi vecher'. I, 126.

221. Gregg, 80.

222. *Ibid.*, 81.

223. *Letopis'-I*, 105.

224. *Ibid.*

225. P.V. Kireyevsky to A.P. Yelagina, Mu., [beginning of Nov.] 1830 (NS). *RA*, 1905, No.5, 144; N.M. Rozhalin to S.P. Shevryyov, Mu., 1/13 Nov. 1830. *RA*, 1906, No.2, 234.

226. N.M. Rozhalin to A.P. Yelagina, Mu., 21 Dec. 1830/ 2 Jan. 1831. *RA*, 1909, No.8, 600-601.

227. *Ibid.*, 601.

228. Ye.I. Safonov to I.N. Tyutchev, 5 May 1836 (OS). Muranovo. I am indebted to Dr Ronald Lane for bringing this to my attention and allowing me to make use of his transcript.

Chapter 7. A Chaos of the Mind

1. See: Dinesman (1999c), 149.

2. *Letopis'-I*, 112.

3. Liedtke, 93.

4. Dinesman (1999c), 149, 152.

5. *Ibid.*, 149.

6. *Ibid.*, 150.

7. 'Lettre sur la censure en Russie'. III, 96-106.

8. Dinesman (1999c), 152-153.

9. F.I. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 29 Oct./ 10 Nov. 1832. IV, 29-30.

10. See Chapter 4.

11. For the background to the publication of *Französische Zustände*, see: Liedtke, 92-94.

12. H. Heine, *Französische Zustände*, in: Heine (1968), III, 167.

13. *Ibid.*, 209.

14. *Ibid.*, 105.

15. 'Mogila Napoleona'. I, 67. (See Chapter 4.)

16. *Letopis'-I*, 111.

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17. Aksakov, 116.
18. 'Kak doch' rodnuyu na zaklan'ye...'. I, 145-146.
19. See: El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 20 May/ 1 June 1832. IV, 25; Polonsky (2003), 167.
20. Polonsky (2003), 167-168.
21. Ibid. (a contemporary architectural plan of the building is reproduced on p.168).
22. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev (as note 19).
23. Diary, 31 July 1832 (NS). Turgenev (A.I.), 73.
24. P.A. Vyazemsky to P.P. Vyazemsky, 27 Oct./ 8 Nov. 1834. Kauchtschischwili, 278.
25. Diary, 2 Aug. 1832 (NS). Turgenev (A.I.), 73.
26. Ibid., 74 (30 March 1834 [NS]).
27. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 Apr. 1833. Dinesman (1999c), 164.
28. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Jan. 1834. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 15-17.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 193.)
29. Dinesman (1999c), 162.
30. Ibid., 147.
31. Despatch of I.A. Potyomkin to K.V. Nesselrode, 3/15 Sept. 1832. *Letopis'-I*, 118.
32. I.A. Potyomkin to K.V. Nesselrode (personal letter), 4/16 Sept. 1832. Dinesman (1999c), 165. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 118.)
33. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 June 1833. Dinesman (1999c), 166. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 189.)
34. *Letopis'-I*, 113, 115.
35. Postscript by T. to: El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 20 May/ 1 June 1832. IV, 25.
36. Ibid., 24 (main section of letter, written by El. T.).
37. Ibid.
38. *Letopis'-I*, 107, 113; Ekshtut, 291 n.29).
39. As note 36.
40. Ibid.
41. *Letopis'-I*, 117.
42. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 Apr. 1833. Dinesman (1999c), 164.
43. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 29 Aug./ 10 Sept. 1833. Dinesman (1999c), 181.
44. K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Mu., 23 Oct. 1833 (NS). *Letopis'-I*, 134.
45. As note 42.
46. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 Apr. 1833. TPD, 187.
47. See: Dinesman (1999c), 163.
48. Ilyasova, 125.
49. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Jan. 1834. Muranovo, *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 15-17.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 193.)
50. Ibid.
51. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 June 1833. TPD, 188.
52. Ibid. For the original French text of the passage quoted see: Dinesman (1999c), 167.
53. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 15 or 16 June 1833 (NS). *Letopis'-I*, 125. (For the dating of this letter see: Dolgopolova, 63.)
54. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., second half of June 1833 (NS). Muranovo, *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 8-9ob.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 190.)
55. Ibid. (passage omitted in TPD; Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 125.)
56. *Letopis'-I*, 130.
57. First draft of letter from I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, [Oct.] 1874. TM, 61.
58. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 28 Oct./ 9 Nov. 1874 (final version of the draft referred to in the preceding note). TM, 48.
59. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 29 Aug./ 10 Sept. 1833. Muranovo, *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 10-12ob.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 191.)
60. Jamison (as note 61), 235.
61. See: K.R. Jamison, *Touched with Fire. Manic-Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament*, New York, 1994; A. Storr, *The Dynamics of Creation*, London, 1972. Eleonore's letters to her brother-in-law Nikolay testify not only to T.'s attacks of depression but also to those manic episodes of overexcited hyperactivity which characterise the other side of bipolar disorder. In one she writes of his 'cruelly overwrought excitement' (*cruelle exaltation*) and 'overheated imagination' (*imagination délirante*) which threaten to turn his whole life into 'an attack of high fever', and which she believes can be countered only by 'in everything you say, administer[ing] *tranquilliser*' (SPb., 15/27 Dec. 1837. Muranovo: Dr R. Lane's transcript). Elsewhere are refer-

ences to 'attacks of frenzied irritation, followed by listlessness, perpetual anxiety, depression' (Mu., 2/14 Apr. 1836. Muranovo: Lane transcript; Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 154) and to 'his insane irritability, his angry outbursts, his ideas which are almost absurd' (Mu., 14/26 Feb. 1837. Muranovo: Lane transcript; Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 171). Such *idées fixes* (delusional or paranoid thoughts), mentioned more than once by Eleonore in her letters, are recognised as being common to the manic experience (Jamison [as above], 13). In fact much in the behaviour of what Eleonore calls 'this extravagant nature' (*cette tête extravagante*) (Mu., 1/13 June 1833. Muranovo: Lane transcript; Ru. tr.: TPD, 188), many of 'the most extravagant eccentricities of character or mind' admitted to by Tyutchev himself (IV, 38), can be seen as part of the manic-depressive syndrome. His reckless pursuit of illicit romantic or sexual adventures is for instance recognizable as a common feature of mania or its milder manifestation, hypomania (Jamison, 13-14, 262-263), particularly as at least some of these liaisons appear to have begun as he emerged from a depressive phase. Much the same applies to the restlessness and nervous energy which frequently drove him to find diversion in social and intellectual activity. At such times, he once wrote, he led an existence 'of the most exhausting incoherence', which had 'no other aim, no other motive during eighteen hours out of twenty-four than to make me avoid at any price any serious encounter with myself' (V, 68). Similarly, the renewed energy, heightened creativity and increased speed and fluency of thought and speech associated with benigner forms of hypomania (Jamison, 13-14) may have some bearing on Tyutchev's legendary reputation for brilliant impromptu eloquence. It also no doubt explains why he found the mechanical process of writing so tiresome and frustrating. Quite simply, it seems his pen was unable to to keep up with the torrent of ramifying ideas inside his head. The relevance of all this to T.'s poetic output is clear. Jamison cites various statistical studies which show the incidence of bipolar disorder among creative artists to be much higher than in the general population, with poets scoring highest of all (Jamison, 75-89). In an illustrative and by no means comprehensive list she includes over eighty English-speaking and European poets from Torquato Tasso to Dylan Thomas who appear to have suffered from bipolar disorder, cyclothymia (its milder temperamental variant), or major depression (267-270). A detailed case study of Byron (Chapter 5) contains much that is applicable to Tyutchev. Jamison writes for instance of the genetic factors in Byron's illness (155-159); the 'Proteus-like' or 'chameleon' nature of his personality, and his rapid changes of mood (151); his periods of deep depression (154-155); and the 'erratic financial behaviour [...], episodic promiscuity, violent rages, impetuosity, restlessness, risk taking, poor judgment, and extreme irritability', all of which constitute 'a classic presentation of manic behaviour' (153). For many creative artists a correlation has been observed between the cycle of depression and mania or hypomania on the one hand, and patterns of creative energy on the other (the classic example being Robert Schumann). Jamison suggests that periods of heightened productivity may coincide with 'mixed' states, common during transitions from depression to mania and vice versa, when manic energies and melancholic mood combine and interact (Jamison, 118-119, 132-133, 144-146). In Tyutchev's case certain periods (1829-1830, 1834, 1848-1851) are particularly fruitful in terms of poetic output, while others (notably 1839-1847) are relatively fallow. We might conclude that these correspond to periods of high manic-depressive disturbance on the one hand, and of 'normality' on the other (although other factors were doubtless at work too).

62. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 11/23 Sept. 1833. Muranovo, f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 14. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 192.)

63. 'Kak nad goryacheyu zoloy...'. I, 117. Among other poems written in the second half of the 1820s, 'Bessonnitsa' ('Insomnia'), 'Za nashim vekom my idyom...' ('We strive to keep up with our age...') and 'Bezumiye' ('Madness') (I, 75, 83, 120) could be singled out for their pessimistic or depressive tone. Conversely, something of the manic can be felt in the strange visions of 'Son na more' ('Dream at Sea'), with its line 'Like a god, on the heights of creation I strode', in the exultant fatalism of 'Tsitseron' ('Cicero'), and in the potent energy charging such poems as 'V dushnom vozdukha molchan'ye...' ('In the air's oppressive silence...'), 'Kon' morskoy' ('Sea Stallion') and 'List'ya' ('Leaves') (I, 151, 122, 135, 111, 127-128); while others such as 'Kak sladko dremlet sad temnozelyony...' ('How tranquilly the darkly verdant garden...') and 'Teni sizye smesilis'...' ('Shadows fall, dove-grey, and mingle...') (I, 158, 159) bear witness to what Jamison calls 'the mystical merging of identities and experiences so common to the manic experience' (Jamison, 28).

64. As note 59.

65. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 2/14 Apr. 1836. Muranovo, f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 24-27ob. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 154.)

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66. Both quoted in Jamison (as note 61), 122, 123.
67. 'Poeziya'. II, 9.
68. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, SPb., 15/27 Dec.. 1837. Muranovo, f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 721, l. 32-32ob. (Partial Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 181.)
69. F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 22 Oct./ 3 Nov. 1835. IV, 33.
70. See Dinesman (1999c), 161-162.
71. This account of Thiersch's proposals is summarised from the letters to Eynard and King Ludwig referred to in the following two notes.
72. F.W. Thiersch to Ludwig I, Mu., 10 Sept. 1829 (NS). In: F.W. Thiersch, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce et des moyens d'arriver à sa restauration*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1833. I, 308-310.
73. F.W. Thiersch to J.G. Eynard, Mu., 10 Nov. 1829 (NS). Extracts from the French original are published in: Thiersch, *De l'état...* (as note 72), I, 311-313. It is published almost in full in German translation in: H.W.J. Thiersch, *Friedrich Thiersch's Leben*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1866, 352-356. See Lane (1984a), 226, for a summary and extract; also Dinesman (1999c), 135-137.
74. F.W. Thiersch to Ludwig I, undated [after 11 Dec. 1829, NS]. Dinesman (1999c), 137-138. Quoted in Engl. tr. in: Lane (1984a), 225.
75. F.I. T. to F.W. Thiersch, Mu., (1) [second half of Nov.], (2) 11 Dec. 1829 (NS). IV, 18-19.
76. This is suggested by T.G. Dinesman in: Dinesman (1999c), 139.
77. F.W. Thiersch to Nicholas I, 21 Nov./ 3 Dec. 1829. Thiersch, *De l'état...* (as note 72), 314-315. See also: Lane (1984a), 225-226, 227.
78. Despatch of A.I. Potyomkin to K.V. Nesselrode, 21 July/ 2 Aug. 1832. *Letopis'-I*, 116.
79. Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to G.I. Gagarin, SPb., 1/13 July 1833. Dinesman (1999c), 168-169.
80. Despatch of Baron Rouen (Fr. Ambassador in Nauplia), 19 Dec. 1833 (NS), which states that the French were working to persuade Otto to marry one of their royals. Lane (1988b), 268-269.
81. As note 79.
82. Despatch of G.I. Gagarin to K.V. Nesselrode, 15/27 July 1833. Lane (1988b), 268-269.
83. As note 74.
84. Despatch of Count Alfred de Vaudreuil to Duc de Broglie of 3 Aug. 1833 (NS). Lane (1988b), 266-267.
85. Despatch of Vaudreuil to Broglie, 25 Aug. 1833 (NS). *Ibid.*, 267.
86. See: Lane (1988b), 268.
87. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 16/28 Oct. 1874. TM, 42.
88. See: King Ludwig I to King Otto, (1) 27 July, (2) 14 Nov. 1833 (NS). Lane (1988b), 277 n.25, n.29; Despatch of G.I. Gagarin to K.V. Nesselrode, 15/27 July 1833 (with attached letter from King Ludwig to Gagarin of same date). *Ibid.*, 268-269; Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to G.A. Katakazi, 5/17 Aug. 1833. *Letopis'-I*, 131.
89. As note 87.
90. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 29 Aug./ 10 Sept. 1833. TPD, 191.
91. The day before T. left Munich the French Ambassador Vaudreuil reported that he 'speaks of travelling via Venice' (as note 84: Lane, 266). The Sardinian Ambassador confirmed this the following day, claiming that in Venice T. was to meet up with 'another Russian official, who will take [the despatches] to Greece; otherwise he will have to proceed to Napolie de Romanie [the French name for Nauplia] himself' (despatch of Count Bertou de Sambuy, 4 Aug. 1833 [NS]. Lane [1988b], 268). The reference to 'another Russian official' may be a garbled account of T.'s intention to meet Nikolay in Venice.
92. As note 90.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Despatch of Gasser (Bavarian Chargé d'Affaires at Nauplia), 7 Oct. 1833 (NS). Lane (1988b), 271; Glasse, 452 (note 12).
95. As note 90.
96. This is evident from a report by the French Consul in Trieste that T. stayed there for 'nearly three weeks'. See: Lane (1988b), 271.
97. Despatch of Gasser, 27 Aug. 1833 (NS). Glasse, 447. See also Gasser's despatch of 7 Oct. (as note 94).
98. As note 90.
99. By his own account he suffered seasickness 'for the first time in my life' on the Baltic in 1847. IV, 398.
100. The island, named 'Lusina' by Eleonore, is identified as Hvar by T.G. Dinesman and S.A.

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- Dolgopolova (*Letopis'-I*, 131). R. Lane suggests it could be present-day Lošinj (Lane [1988b], 278 n.37). However, this appears to be situated too far north of Dalmatia, and is only about 100 miles by sea from Trieste.
101. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 11/23 Sept. 1833. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 14.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 192.)
102. Gasser's despatch (as note 94: Lane, 272-273).
103. *Ibid.*, 272.
104. AZ, 8 Nov. 1833 (NS), No.312, Beilage, p.1248; despatch of G.A. Katakazi to G.I. Gagarin, 26 Sept./ 8 Oct. 1833. *Letopis'-I*, 132. The commander of the *Carolina* had told Gasser the journey from Trieste should take 'no more than fourteen days' (Gasser's despatch of 27 Aug.: as note 97).
105. Despatch of G.A. Katakazi to K.V. Nesselrode, 30 Sept./ 12 Oct. 1833. *Letopis'-I*, 132.
106. AZ, 12 Nov. 1833, No.316, Beilage, p.1264; Gasser's despatch of 7 Oct. (as note 94: Lane, 272).
107. Despatch of Vaudreuil, 21 Nov. 1833 (NS). Lane (1988b), 272. (As Lane points out, although sent from Munich, Vaudreuil's despatch undoubtedly relied on information supplied by Baron Rouen, the French Ambassador in Nauplia).
108. 'Iz pisem D.V. Polenova vo vremya poyezdki yego v Gretsuyu i sluzhby pri tamoshnem posol'stve. 1832-1835', RA, 1885, Part 3, 111-112. (The information that the letters are to Polenov's parents is given on p.99).
109. Tietz, II, 181-182.
110. *Ibid.*, 208-209.
111. *Ibid.*, 183.
112. *Ibid.*, 183-184.
113. *Ibid.*, 197-198.
114. *Ibid.*, 200.
115. Roswitha Armansperg, *Josef Ludwig Graf Armansperg. Ein Beitrag zur Regierungsgeschichte Ludwigs I von Bayern*, Munich, 1976, 208 (quoted in Glasse, 448).
116. Polenov (as note 108), 111.
117. Despatch of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, 27 March/ 8 April 1833. Glasse, 446 (in Ru. tr.).
118. Despatch of Gasser, 27 Oct. 1833 (NS). Glasse, 448.
119. Tietz, II, 198-199.
120. Polenov (as note 108), 122. (The letter in question is dated 15/27 Nov. 1833.)
121. Tietz, II, 190-191.
122. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Ovstug, 28 July/ 9 Aug. 1855. TPD, 271.
123. AZ, 9 Nov. 1833 (NS), No.313, Beilage, p.1252; 12 Nov. 1833 (NS), No.316, Beilage, p.1264.
124. Despatch of G.A. Katakazi to K.V. Nesselrode, 30 Sept./ 12 Oct. 1833. *Letopis'-I*, 133 (in Ru. tr.). Original French partially quoted in: Dinesman (1999c), 176.
125. Despatch of G.A. Katakazi to G.I. Gagarin, 26 Sept./ 8 Oct. 1833. Dinesman (1999c), 175-176.
126. As note 124.
127. Gasser's despatch of 7 Oct. (as note 94: Lane, 272-273).
128. As note 125.
129. Dinesman (1999c), 176-177.
130. As note 124.
131. Dinesman (1999c), 177.
132. Tietz, II, 221.
133. *Ibid.*, 281.
134. 'Tuttscheff hat vor Jahr und Tag eine Reise nach Griechenland gemacht, und ist begeistert von dem Anblick des Golfes von Lepanto'. F.L. Lindner to H. Heine, Stuttgart, 10 Nov. 1834 (NS). Heine (1970), XXIV, 280.
135. Byron, *Child Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto I, verse 60.
136. Despatch of G.A. Katakazi to G.I. Gagarin, 31 Oct./12 Nov. 1833. *Letopis'-I*, 134.
137. As note 107.
138. Despatch of Vaudreuil, 22 Nov. 1833. Lane (1988b), 274. The letter from Armansperg has never been traced.
139. As note 136.
140. AZ, 9 Nov. 1833 (NS), No.313, Beilage, p.1252.
141. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Jan. 1834. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 15-17.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 193.)
142. *Letopis'-I*, 135.

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143. Despatch of Gasser, 27 Oct. 1833. Lane (1988b), 274; Glasse, 450.
144. F.I. Tyutchev [grandson of the poet], 'Proyekt diplomaticheskoy depeshi po povodu grecheskikh del, sostavlenny F.I. Tyutchevym v 1833 godu', *Izvestiya otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Akademii nauk SSSR*, I, (1928), Part 2, 529. (The French text of the draft despatch is on pp.529-532).
145. *Ibid.*, 530.
146. *Ibid.*, 531-532.
147. *Ibid.*, 532.
148. As note 87.
149. G.I. Chulkov, 'Primechaniye k diplomaticheskoy depeshe', in: F.I. Tyutchev, *Stikhotvoreniya* (ed. G.I Chulkov), M., 1935, 359.
150. Kozhinov, 208.
151. K.V. Nesselrode to G.I. Gagarin, 1/13 July 1833. Barbara Jelavich, *Russia and Greece During the Regency of King Otton, 1832-1835. Russian Documents in the First Years of Greek Independence*, Thessaloniki, 1962, 74-75 (quoted in Glasse, 447).
152. Despatch of G.I. Gagarin (in T.'s hand) to K.V. Nesselrode, 14/26 Dec. 1833. *Letopis'-1*, 136.
153. Despatch of Rouen, 19 Dec. 1833 (NS). Lane (1988b), 267-268.
154. As note 136.
155. Tietz, II, 175-176.
156. Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto II, verse 88.
157. Tietz, II, 279.
158. *Ibid.*, 176.
159. As note 107 (Vaudreuil's despatch of 21 Nov.: Lane, 274).
160. As note 141 (French original quoted in: Lane [1988b], 274).
161. *Ibid.*
162. K.V. Pigaryov suggested that 'Son na more' ('Dream at Sea') might have been inspired by the storm during T.'s outward passage from Trieste to Patras (*Lirika*, I, 357). However, T.G. Dinesman has since shown conclusively that it was written during T.'s Italian journey in the summer of 1829 (Dinesman [1999a], 284-285). G.I. Chulkov's supposition (*PSS* [1933], I, 363) that the same storm inspired the poem 'Vsyo besheney burya, vsyo zleye i zley...' ('The storm grows more violent, its rage unappeased...') (I, 147) can also be discounted. In the style of a ballad, this clearly recounts imagined events rather than T.'s own experiences; its description of a storm appears in fact to be based on a literary antecedent, probably (as argued by R. Lane) A.A. Bestuzhev-Marlinsky's story 'Fregat "Nadezhda"' (Lane [1984b], 52-54).
163. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 7/19 July 1836. IV, 50-51.
164. Gregg, 30. For the relevant passage from T.'s letter to Gagarin of 20-21 April/ 2-3 May 1836 (referred to by Gregg on p.29) see: IV, 42.
165. Kozhinov, 214.
166. Pigaryov (1935b), 403.
167. 'Vostok belel. Lad'ya katilas'...'. I, 139.
168. 'Kak ptichka, ranneyu zarey...'. I, 140. See Appendix I (iii) for dating of this and the poem in the preceding note.

Chapter 8. Ernestine

1. Ernestine, 102.
2. *Ibid.*, 100-103; Polonsky (1998), 57.
3. Ernestine, 102.
4. Turgenev (A.I.), 82 (diary, 27 Apr. 1834 [NS]); Polonsky (1998), 116.
5. He died on 20 Feb. (NS) (*Letopis'-1*, 121).
6. Ernestine, 103.
7. Karl Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Mu., 18 March 1833 (NS). *Letopis'-1*, 122.
8. Karl Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Mu., 24 March 1833 (NS). TPD, 187.
9. Pfeffel-Z, 33.
10. Eduard von Schenk, 'Biographie und Charakteristik Michael Beer's', in: Michael Beer, *Sämmtliche Werke* (ed. E. von Schenk), Leipzig, 1835, xxvi.
11. *Ibid.*, xxix.
12. *Ibid.*, xxvi.
13. Karl Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Mu., 30 March 1833 (NS). *Letopis'-1*, 123.

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14. See Appendix I (iii).
15. 'I grob opushchen uzh v mogilu...'. I, 138. For dating see Appendix I (iii).
16. S.A. Dolgoplova, 'Stikhi k Ernestine Dyornberg', *Letopis'-I*, 294.
17. Dolgoplova ('Ya pomnyu...'), 63.
18. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 15 or 16 June 1833 (NS) Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 23*. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 125.) For the dating of this letter see Dolgoplova (as note 17).
19. As note 17. Dolgoplova's dating of 'Ya pomnyu vremya zolotoye...' is more convincing than my own earlier suggestion that it was written during a visit to Eglofsheim in July 1834 (Dewey, 30). K.V. Pigaryov had claimed the poem could have been written no earlier than 1834 on the grounds that the original manuscript version is on the same sheet as T.'s translation of a poem by Heine published that year in the collection *Neue Gedichte (Lirika, I, 359; ibid., II, 356)*. However, Dolgoplova shows that in fact the Heine poem first appeared in print in 1829 and could therefore have been translated by T. before 1834. This, together with her publication of Ernestine's album entry for 17 June 1833, must be considered conclusive evidence for her dating.
20. 'Tam, gde gory, ubegaya...'. I, 163-164. (See also note 63, below.)
21. *Letopis'-I*, 125.
22. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., [second half of June 1833, NS: later than the letter referred to in note 18]. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 8-9ob*. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 190.)
23. ('... a paru se réjouir beaucoup de Vous revoir'). K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, 13 July 1833 (NS). Muranovo. An entry in Ernestine's herbarium shows that she was in Bad Kissingen on 29 July (S. Dolgoplova & A. Yungren, 'Al'bom-gerbariy Ernestiny Fyodorovny Tyutchevoy kak istochnik komentariya', *TS-II*, 115). It is just possible that she travelled there from Eglofsheim via Munich, although this would have involved a considerable detour. A more likely scenario is that Eleonore joined T. at Eglofsheim at the end of June or beginning of July and met Ernestine there.
24. K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, 11 Sept. 1833. Muranovo. I am grateful to Dr R. Lane for details of both this letter and that referred to in the previous note.
25. Polonsky (1998), 115.
26. At an audience on 20 Oct. King Ludwig asked Gagarin if he had any news of T.'s mission, adding that he himself knew no more than that T. had arrived in Nauplia more than a month previously (despatch of G.I. Gagarin to K.V. Nesselrode, 9/21 Oct. 1833. Lane [1988b], 270; *Letopis'-I*, 133). News of T.'s departure from Nauplia on 8 Oct. is unlikely to have reached Munich through diplomatic channels before the end of the month. It was first published, together with that of his arrival in Trieste on 3 Nov., in the *AZ* on 9 Nov. (No.313, Beilage, p.1252).
27. K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Mu., 23 Oct. 1833 (NS). *Letopis'-I*, 134.
28. Despatch of G.I. Gagarin to K.V. Nesselrode, 25 Dec. 1833/7 Jan. 1834. *Letopis'-I*, 137.
29. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Jan. 1834. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 15-17*. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 193.)
30. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 19/31 Dec. 1853. V, 151-152.
31. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 18/30 Dec. 1842. IV, 220.
32. Turgenev (A.I.), 73 (diary, 27 March 1834 [NS]), 88 (note 10).
33. On 25 April (NS, as all following refs. from the diary) Turgenev noted: 'Yesterday Schelling's wife told me that her husband loves me as a son' (*ibid.*, 82).
34. *Ibid.*, 76 (diary, 4 April).
35. *Ibid.*, 79, 80-81 (diary, 17 and 21 April).
36. *Ibid.*, 79 (diary, 18 April).
37. *Ibid.*, 81 (diary, 22 April).
38. *Ibid.*, 80 (diary, 20 April).
39. *Ibid.*, 78 (diary, 12 April).
40. *Ibid.*, 84 (diary, 28 April).
41. *Ibid.*, 81 (diary, 23 April).
42. *Ibid.*, 81 (diary, 24 April).
43. *Ibid.*, 80 (diary, 21 April).
44. *Ibid.*, 82 (diary, 24 April).
45. Ernestine, 102.
46. Turgenev (A.I.), 82-85 (diary, 25, 27, 29 & 30 April. Ernestine's presence is also recorded for all these gatherings except 27 April).
47. A.I. Turgenev to V.A. Zhukovsky & P.A. Vyazemsky, M., 24 June/ 6 July 1834. *Ibid.*, 66.
48. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, Mu., 30 April 1834 (NS). *Ibid.*, 66.
49. *Ibid.*, 82 (diary, 25 April).

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50. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, Mu., 26 April 1834 (NS). Ibid., 66.
51. Ibid., 84 (diary, 30 April).
52. Ibid., 79 (diary, 19 April).
53. Ibid., 85 (diary, 30 April).
54. Ibid., 85 (diary, 1 May).
55. *Zhizn'*, 365.
56. See Dolgopolova, 'Stikhi' (as note 16), 291-297.
57. Ibid., 293.
58. 'Yeshcho zemli pechalen vid...'. I, 171. For dating see Dolgopolova, 'Stikhi' (as note 16), 293.
59. 'I chuvstva net v tvoikh ochakh...'. I, 172. For dating see Dolgopolova, 'Stikhi' (as note 16), 293-294.
60. 'Abschied' ('Es treibt dich fort von Ort zu Ort...'). First published in Heine's collection of poems and articles *Der Salon*, Vol. I, Hamburg, 1834. S.A. Dolgopolova points out (with ref. to Mende) that this volume left the press at the beginning of December 1833, and that the first review of it appeared already on 19 December. She considers that T.'s version was written at about the time of Ernestine's departure from Munich (Dolgopolova, 'Stikhi' [as note 16], 294).
61. 'Iz kraya v kray, iz grada v grad...'. I, 157.
62. K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Mu., 4 June 1834 (NS). TPD, 193.
63. 'Sizhu zadumchiv i odin...'. I, 165. According to Pigaryov, the manuscript (numbered 'V') is written on the same paper and in the same handwriting as 'Tam, gde gory, ubegaya...' (numbered 'VI'), indicating that they were composed within a relatively short time of each other (*Lirika*, I, 365). If we are correct in assuming that the second was written during T.'s visit to the Regensburg area in July 1834, 'Sizhu zadumchiv i odin...' most likely dates from earlier that year.
64. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 23 Apr./ 5 May 1834. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 19-20*. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 144.)
65. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Tegernsee, 24 June/ 6 July 1834. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 21-22*. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 144.)
66. Ibid.
67. All the letters written by T. to Ernestine before their marriage were later destroyed by her for reasons of discretion. There must have been 191 of them, for she had numbered his letters in chronological order, and those surviving begin at no.192. After his death she also destroyed all her letters to him. (*Zhizn'*, 365-366.)
68. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 14/26 Aug. 1846. IV, 353.
69. *Letopis'-I*, 144.
70. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 28 Oct./ 9 Nov. 1874. TM, 48.
71. K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Eglofsheim, 21 July 1834 (NS). TPD, 194.
72. K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Eglofsheim, 26-27 July 1834 (NS). Dinesman (1999c), 135. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 194.)
73. Gagarin, 93, 96.
74. *Letopis'-I*, 145.
75. F.I.T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Oct. 1840. IV, 150; Schmidt, 726. For details of public Lutheran services held at Schloss Tegernsee (to begin with under Queen Karoline's patronage, then under that of her stepson Prince Karl, who inherited the castle on her death in 1841) see Jesse, 112, 182.
76. 'Ya lyuteran lyublyu bogosluzhen'ye...'. I, 156. The autograph manuscript has the inscription: 'Tegernsee. 16/28 October 1834' (I, 432).
77. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 23 Oct./ 4 Nov. 1874. TM, 45.
78. Gregg, 117.
79. Heine's original German text was first published (with cuts by the censor) in his collection *Der Salon*, Vol. II, Hamburg, 1835.
80. 'La question Romaine'. III, 56.
81. Vyazemsky, 223-224.
82. P.A. Vyazemsky to P.P. Vyazemsky, Mu., 27 Oct./ 8 Nov. 1834. Kauchtschischwili, 277.
83. Ibid., 277-278.
84. Ibid., 278.
85. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 16/28 Oct. 1853.
86. Vyazemsky, 224 (entry dated 24-27 Oct./ 5-8 Nov. 1834).
87. Turgenev (A.I.), 76 (diary, 3 April 1834 [NS]).
88. For this and other entries in Ernestine's 'herbarium' (album of pressed flowers) see: Dolgopo-

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- lova & Yungren, 'Al'bom-gerbariy...' (as note 23), 115-120.
89. Polonsky (1998), 64.
90. Turgenev (A.I.), 85 (diary, 27 Feb. 1835 [NS]).
91. *Zhizn'*, 90.
92. The date of their marriage is from the anonymous and undated four-volume manuscript 'Geschichte der Familie von Lerchenfeld', IV, 213. SK.
93. *Letopis'-I*, 148.
94. M. von Lerchenfeld to A. von Krüdener, SPb., 20 Sept./ 2 Oct. 1835. SK. The reference could be to D.G. Bibikov, at that time Vyazemsky's chief at the Department of Foreign Trade.
95. F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 22 Oct./ 3 Nov. 1835. IV, 33.
96. *Letopis'-I*, 150; Dinesman (1999c), 199 (note 191).
97. Dinesman (1999c), 161.
98. *Ibid.*, 180.
99. As note 95, 33-34.
100. (Draft of letter from) K.V. Nesselrode to F.I. T., SPb., 21 Jan./ 2 Feb. 1836. PTN, 150. (Ru. tr.: IV, 474.)
101. *Letopis'-I*, 152.
102. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 Apr. 1833. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 3-4*. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 188.)
103. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 31 Dec. 1836/ 12 Jan. 1837. IV, 59.
104. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 20-21 Apr./ 2-3 May 1836. IV, 42.
105. Kozhinov, 238; PTN, 147-148.
106. M. von Lerchenfeld to A. von Krüdener, SPb., 15/27 Nov. 1835. SK. Here Lerchenfeld writes of T.: 'Ich glaube kaum, daß euere* Demarchen für ihn etwas fruchten werden, u[nd] kann wirklich auch die Ansicht nicht theilen, daß er Ansprüche habe, da sind alle Botschaftsräthe, Staatsräthe die sich um die Stelle bewerben u[nd] sicher mehr Rechte haben. Man avancirt ja nicht in einer Legation, wie in einem Regiment.' ('I hardly think that your* démarches will achieve anything for him, and am also really unable to share the view that he has any claim: there are all these Legation Councillors and State Councillors applying for the post and who are certainly more entitled to it. One does not rise through the ranks in a legation the same way as in a regiment, after all.' [*Plural form, referring to both Amélie and Krüdener.])
107. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 9/21 Nov. 1874. TM, 52.
108. I.S. Gagarin to I.S. Aksakov, Paris, 29 Oct./ 10 Nov. 1874. TM, 50.
109. R. Tempest, 'Mezhdu Reynom i Senoy', in: Gagarin, 16, 26.
110. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, Jan. 1875. TM, 59.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Ibid.*
113. As note 104, 39.
114. *Ibid.*, 42.
115. Tempest (as note 109), 34.
116. Gagarin, 131 (diary, 3/15 Nov. 1834).
117. As note 104, 38-39.
118. *Letopis'-I*, 148.
119. 'Reinhard, der hier ziemlich unbekannt ist, wurde ganz roth als ich ihm die Geburt des Hollenst[einschen] Sprößlings erzählte. Über die Tutcheffsche Niederkunft ist wohl sie allein roth geworden.' As note 106.
120. 'Lyublyu glaza tvoi, moy drug...' I, 173.
121. *Lirika*, I, 371-372.
122. *Letopis'-I*, 149.
123. 'Vchera, v mechtakh obvorozhonnykh...' I, 174.
124. Gregg, 72.
125. *Ibid.*, 73.
126. 'en vers, comme sous le masque, on peut dire à peu près tout impunément'. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 13/25 Sept. 1846. RGB. 308.1.18, l. 28-29ob. (In Lettres, XVIII, 17, this passage is incorrectly transcribed as: 'en vers comme en musique tout, a peu près, peut se dire impunément'.)
127. Reproduced in *LN-I*, 39. See also *Zhizn'*, 90, where only the entry for 20 March is quoted.
128. As note 104, 39.
129. *Letopis'-I*, 153-154.
130. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 2/14 Apr. 1836. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 24-27ob.*

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(Partial Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 152, 153, 154.)

131. Note by Dr R. Lane in his transcript of the letter.

132. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Mu., 4/16 Feb. 1837. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 721, l. 9-13ob.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 197.)

133. As note 104, 39.

134. *Ibid.*, 40-41.

135. *Ibid.*, 41.

136. Franz von Baader to Julie Lasaulx, Mu., 12 May 1836 (NS). *Lettres inédites de Franz von Baader*, Paris, 1957, 276.

137. Despatch of G.I. Gagarin to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 21 Apr./ 3 May 1836. Dinesman (1999c), 187. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 194.)

138. TPD, 195 (note 3 to Gagarin's despatch of 21 Apr./ 3 May); *Letopis'-I*, 314; despatch of G.I. Gagarin to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 4/16 Jan. 1837 (*ibid.*, 169-170).

139. *Letopis'-I*, 161, 164.

140. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 43. See also *Letopis'-I*, 162. The *chervonets* was a gold coin worth about three silver roubles.

141. Already on 3 May T. wrote to Ivan Gagarin: 'I wish for nothing more than to leave [Munich], but only at the price of a genuine promotion, otherwise...'. IV, 42.

142. I.N. Tyutchev to D.I. Sushkova, M., [May] & 12/24 May 1836. *Letopis'-I*, 156.

143. As note 104, 42.

144. *Ibid.*, 40-41.

145. Turgenev (A.I.), 86 (diary, 17/29 Dec. 1836).

146. *Ibid.*, 67 (Introduction by Azadovsky & Ospovat). It is not absolutely certain that the 'Prince Gagarin' referred to by Turgenev was Ivan, as the latter's cousin Grigory Grigoryevich Gagarin was also in SPb. at the time (see Yashin, 191 [footnote 6]). As son of the Ambassador in Munich, Grigory would of course have been an equally reliable source of information on events there.

147. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Farnbach [= Burgfarnbach], 22 June/ 4 July 1836. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 721, l. 1ob.-2ob.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 195.)

148. *Ibid.* (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 158.)

149. *Letopis'-I*, 159.

150. *Ibid.*, 162.

151. *Zhizn'*, 90.

152. See TPD, 195 (note 4 to passage no.20).

153. Yashin, 189.

154. I.S. Gagarin to F.I. T., SPb., March 1836. *LN-I*, 502 (Ru. tr., first published in 1899, of the French original, which has since been lost).

155. As note 104, 42.

156. I.S. Gagarin to F.I. T., SPb., 12/24 June 1836. L.A. Shur, 'Neosushchestvlyonnoye izdaniye stikhotvoreniiy F.I. Tyutcheva 1836-1837 gg. (Po materialam arkhiva I.S. Gagarina)', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XIX, 1986, 103. (Reprinted from the original publication in *RA*, 1879, No.5, 120-121. Ru. tr.: *LN-I*, 509.)

157. Nikolayev (1989), 506.

158. As note 156.

159. *Ibid.*

160. [Anon.], 'Literaturnye izvestiya', *Literaturnye pribavleniya k 'Russkomu invalidu'*, No.48 (26 Nov./ 8 Dec. 1838), 957. It has been suggested that the author (or at least the source of the information) was the editor of the journal in question, Andrey Krayevsky, who had previously worked on Pushkin's *Sovremennik* (K.V. Pigaryov in *Zhizn'*, 88, footnote 125, with an acknowledgement to Ye.P. Kazanovich; see also *Letopis'-I*, 319).

161. *Lirika*, I, 369-370.

162. As note 156.

163. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Mu., 7/19 July 1836. IV, 50-51.

164. Nikolayev (1989), 503, 505.

165. *Ibid.*, 512 n.29.

166. L.A. Shur, 'K biografii I.S. Gagarina', *Simvol*, 1984, No.12, 303; Yashin, 194.

167. Ospovat (1989), 499-500.

168. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 31 Dec. 1836/ 12 Jan. 1837. IV, 60.

169. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Geneva, 30 March/ 11 Apr. 1838. IV, 96-98.

170. As note 163, 51; see also T.'s letter to Gagarin, Mu., 10/22 July 1836. IV, 56.

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171. *Letopis'-1*, 158.
172. Quoted by T. in his letter to N.V. Sushkov, Mu., 21 June/ 3 July 1836. IV, 48.
173. Ye.L. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, Ovstug, 8/20 June 1836. *Letopis'-1*, 158-159.
174. As note 147.
175. *Letopis'-1*, 164.
176. *Ibid.*, 165.
177. As note 168, 58.
178. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Mu., 17/29 Nov. 1836. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 721, l. 3-4ob.* (Ru tr.: TPD, 196.)
179. As note 168, 58.
180. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Mu., 10/22 Dec. 1836. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 721, l. 5-6.* (Ru tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 167.)
181. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Mu., 4/16 Feb. 1837. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 721, l. 9-13ob.*
182. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 14/26 Feb. 1837. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 30-31ob.* (Ru tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 171.)
183. As note 181. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 170.)
184. ('cette fatale ornière'). As note 182.
185. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Mu., 26 Dec. 1836/ 7 Jan. 1837. TPD, 196 (where the date is incorrectly given as 7/19 Jan. 1837: see *Letopis'-1*, 168).
186. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 Apr. 1837. IV, 63-64.
187. As note 168, 58.
188. *Letopis'-1*, 170.
189. Despatch of F.A. von Maltitz to K.V. Nesselrode, 12/24 Feb. 1837. *Letopis'-1*, 171.
190. As note 186, 63.
191. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Farnbach [= Burgfarnbach], 9/21 May 1837. IV, 66.
192. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Farnbach [= Burgfarnbach], 4/16 May 1837. *Letopis'-1*, 173.
193. As note 191, 65-66.

Chapter 9. Fair Prospects

1. Despatch of 29 Jan./ 10 Feb. 1837. Quoted in Vitale (as note 2), 1.
2. The following account of events leading up to Pushkin's fatal duel is based largely on the following sources: Robin Edmonds, *Pushkin. The Man and his Age*, London, 1994, 183-227; Serena Vitale, *Pushkin's Button*, London, 2000; Binyon, 541-636.
3. 'Smert' poeta'. M.Yu. Lermontov, *Sobraniye sochineniy*, 4 vols., M., 1964. I, 21.
4. Laurence Kelly, *Lermontov. Tragedy in the Caucasus*, London, 1983, 63-65.
5. '29-oye yanvary 1837'. I, 175.
6. *PSS* (1933), I, 386. K.V. Pigaryov later stated (following an earlier suggestion by Ye.V. Petukhov) that T. is more likely to have written the poem in the summer of 1837 in SPb. 'under the immediate impression of gossip which disturbed him as to who was in the right, Pushkin or his killer' (he does not explain why T. should not have heard similar gossip in Munich) (*Zhizn'*, 92). This dating was adopted by Pigaryov in his standard edition of T.'s verse (*Lirika*, I, 372) and has been followed unquestioningly by subsequent editors and critics. For reasons given in the text, I consider Chulkov's dating more likely.
7. Kozhinov, 190ff., Yashin, 194.
8. They had left Travemünde on 22 May/ 3 June, and the voyage by steamer took 78 hours in fair conditions.
9. Yashin, 193, note 6.
10. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Tu., 1/13 Nov. 1837. IV, 81 (see also *ibid.*, 487 n.5).
11. F.I. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., 11/23 June 1837. IV, 67. The reference is to Chateaubriand's *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*.
12. *Zhizn'*, 93; Nikolayev (1989), 518, 522.
13. N.M. Smirnov, 'Iz pamyatnykh zapisok', *RA*, 1882, No.1, 235 (quoted in S. Vitale [as note 2], 155).
14. For a detailed analysis of the evidence see: P. Ye. Shchegolev, *Duel' i smert' Pushkina*, 2nd. ed., M., 1936 (and later editions). In more recent times there have been several tendentious and sometimes fanciful attempts by Soviet writers to resurrect the theory of Gagarin's guilt (usually on the basis that his Jesuit connections alone single him out as a prime suspect). The most substantial is Yashin (as detailed above under 'Sources'). Although this contains valuable new

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- archival material, Yashin's overall thesis of Gagarin's involvement in the 'diplomas' was convincingly refuted by A.S. Buturlin in 'Imel li I.S. Gagarin otnosheniye k paskvilyu na A.S. Pushkina?', *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR. Seriya literatury i yazyka*, XXVIII, 1969, 277-285.
15. F.I. T. to I.S. Gagarin, Geneva, 30 March/ 11 Apr. 1838. IV, 96-98.
16. I.S. Gagarin to A.N. Bakhmeteva, Paris, 28 Oct./ 9 Nov. 1874. TM, 48 (Ru. tr. of Gagarin's French original). For T.'s actual words as quoted by Gagarin — a mixture of French, German and Russian — see *Tyutcheviana*, 21. 'Heimweh' is German for 'homesickness'; 'Herausweh' is T.'s own coinage, roughly translatable as 'get-out-of-here-sickness'.
17. Gagarin to Bakhmeteva (as note 16). According to Gagarin, the conversation took place in March, just after the sentence on d'Anthès had been announced. As this was demonstrably over two months before T. arrived in SPb., K.V. Pigaryov has thrown doubt on the whole story (*Zhizn'*, 93, note 138). Yet the witticism rings true. It seems likely that — recalling the conversation nearly forty years later — Gagarin merely placed it in the wrong context.
18. Turgenev (A.I.), 86 (diary, 16/28 June 1837).
19. As note 9.
20. Turgenev (A.I.), 86 (diary, 11/23, 14/26, 15/27 and 16/28 June 1837). Pushkin and Chaadayeve were discussed on 15/27 June.
21. P.Ya. Chaadayeve, *Sochineniya i pis'ma* (ed. M. Gershenzon), 2 vols., M., 1913-1914. I, 198.
22. *Novoye slovo*, 1894, No.2, 39.
23. Quoted in Yashin, 190.
24. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Mu., 4/16 Feb. 1837. TPD, 196.
25. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Farnbach [=Burgfarnbach], 9/21 May 1837. IV, 65.
26. F.I. T. to I.N., Ye.L. Tyutchev & N.V. Sushkov, Lübeck, 15/27 Aug. 1837. IV, 71.
27. F.I. T. to N.V. Sushkov, Mu., 21 June/ 3 July 1836. IV, 48-49. Here T. thanks Sushkov for his 'friendly, fraternal letter'.
28. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 14/26 July 1843. IV, 242.
29. Ibid. Following his appointment as governor of Minsk in 1838 Sushkov had shown himself to be a man of principle, resigning three years later rather than carry out an official policy with which he disagreed. This effectively put paid to his career in public administration. See also: *Letopis'-I*, 327; F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 March 1842. IV, 186.
30. See above, note 178 to Chapter 6; Turgenev (A.I.), 86 (diary, 15/27 June 1837).
31. A.L. Ospovat, 'Tyutchev letom 1837 goda', *Literaturny protsess i razvitiye russkoy kul'tury XVIII - XX vv. Tezisy nauchnoy konferentsii*, Tallin, 1985, 71.
32. *Zhizn'*, 92.
33. *Letopis'-I*, 176.
34. See: *Letopis'-I*, 104, 324; IV, 329, 486 n.6, 536-537, 550 n.2.
35. *Tyutchevy*, 175; see also *Letopis'-I*, 301 n.8.
36. F.I. T. to I.N., Ye.L. Tyutchev & D.I., N.V. Sushkov, SPb., 8/20 Aug. 1837. IV, 68-69; *Letopis'-I*, 176-177.
37. As note 26, 69. All dates given from here on in Chapter 9 are NS unless stated otherwise.
38. Ibid., 71-72.
39. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 29 Aug./ 10 Sept. 1837. IV, 72.
40. Chereysky, 281.
41. Ospovat (1994), 113.
42. As note 39, 73.
43. N.I. Grech, *Putevye pis'ma iz Anglii, Germanii i Frantsii*, Part 3, SPb., 1839, 97; see also Ospovat (1989), 499-500.
44. As note 39, 73.
45. In his letter to his parents T. writes that he is planning to leave Munich for Switzerland 'in a few days from now' (ibid.).
46. *Letopis'-I*, 178.
47. As note 39, 73.
48. Ibid., 73-74. A grant equal to half of T.'s annual salary to cover removal expenses and 'in recognition of zealous service' was approved on 26 March/ 7 April 1838 (*Letopis'-I*, 184).
49. Despatch of A.N. Obrezkov, 18/30 Sept. 1837. *Letopis'-I*, 179.
50. F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Tu., 25 July/ 6 Aug. 1838. IV, 106.
51. K.V. Nesselrode, 'Projet d'instruction pour Mr de Kokosckine', 12/24 May 1839. TPN, 175, 178.
52. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Turin, 1/13 Nov. 1837. IV, 78, 80.
53. *Tyutchevy*, 175-176.

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54. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Tu., 13/25 Dec. 1837. IV, 89; as note 15, 97 (and see 489 *n*.1).
55. As note 52, 78.
56. See, e.g., IV, 80-81, 90.
57. As note 54 (letter to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev). According to Obrezkov in a letter to Count Solaro dated 7 Dec. 1837, the Sardinian customs were then still holding five trunks of T.'s containing clothing and books (mainly in Russian) for his personal use. TAS: Materie Politiche: Lettere Ministri Esteri: Russia: Lettere dell'Inviato al Ministero Esteri Sardo: Mazzo 2: 36954 71. I am grateful to Dr R. Lane for details of this and other material from TAS referred to in subsequent notes.
58. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Tu., 13/25 Dec. 1837. IV, 86.
59. As note 52, 81.
60. See note 57; also IV, 78-79, 81; 100 (T.'s letters to his parents of 1/13 Nov. 1837 & 17/29 June 1838).
61. As note 52, 81.
62. *Ibid.*, 78.
63. As note 58, 88-89.
64. *Ibid.*, 87; F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Tu., 25 July/ 6 Aug. 1838. IV, 107.
65. As note 52, 78.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, 81.
68. As note 58, 87-88.
69. *Ibid.*, 86-87.
70. Despatch of F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, 7/19 Nov. 1838. *Letopis'-I*, 200.
71. *Letopis'-I*, 180.
72. 'Ital'yanskaya villa'. I, 180. A copy of the poem made by Ernestine is dated 'December 1837' (I, 463).
73. Gregg, 69; Fet (1859), 136.
74. Gregg, 69.
75. As note 58, 87-88.
76. '1-oye dekabrya 1837'. I, 176. In all other examples of T.'s poems with a date as title the date is unambiguously that of the event referred to, not of the poem's composition. Here it clearly refers to their parting, when either T. or Ernestine left Genoa. Soon afterwards he informed his parents that he had returned to Turin from Genoa 'in the first days' of December (as note 58, 87).
77. As it happened, '1st December 1837' appeared in print about a month before Eleonore left the city, but 'Italian Villa' only some six weeks afterwards (*Letopis'-I*, 184, 189).
78. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., 15/27 Dec. 1837. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 32-32ob*. Brief extracts in Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-I*, 181; O. Pigaryova, 'Iz semeynoy zhizni F.I. Tyutcheva. 1832-1838 (Po neizdannym materialam)', *Zven'ya*, 1934, Parts 3 - 4, 284.
79. As note 58, 89-90.
80. Despatch no. 1556 of Solaro to Bertou de Sambuy, 9 Jan. 1838. TAS: Austria: Registri Lettere della Segreteria Estera: Mazzo 157. (Reference supplied by Dr R. Lane).
81. 'Davno l', davno l', o Yug blazhenny...'. I, 178-179. First published in *Sovremennik* in April 1838. K.V. Pigaryov considered it was written in Turin soon after T.'s return from Genoa, and dated it accordingly Dec. 1837 (*Lirika*, I, 374). However, T.G. Dinesman points out that the wintry mountainous scene depicted is inconsistent with the topographical and climatic features of the area around Turin (Dinesman [1999a], 288). Her conclusion — that the poem was written in Jan. 1838 during or just after T.'s journey across the Alps to Vienna — is altogether more convincing.
82. Despatch no. 122 of Marzano, 21 Jan. 1838. TAS: Lettere Ministri: Monaco: Serie 4: Mazzo 34.
83. Despatch no. 124 of Marzano, 4 Feb. 1838. (Ref. as preceding note; both supplied by Dr R. Lane).
84. The portrait is signed by the artist in the bottom left-hand corner: 'Fait d'après nature par Hippolite de Rechberg'. Beneath this has been added in pencil, in Ernestine's hand: '9 mars 1838' (Dolgoplova & Tarkhov [1989b], 615). It seems reasonable to conclude, as Dolgoplova and Tarkhov do, that Ernestine's dating refers to the completion of the portrait (*ibid.*, 615-616); however, their supposition that it was painted in Geneva (*ibid.*, 616) is doubtful, there being no evidence to place either T. or Hippolite von Rechberg there at that time. T.G. Dinesman and I.A. Korolyova suggest on the other hand that Ernestine's note refers to the date on which T. presented the portrait to her in Geneva, but again are unable to produce any evidence that T. was

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there on 9 March (*Letopis'-I*, 182). Against this must be set the fact that one diplomatic document places T. in Munich on 23 March: on that date the Sardinian Ambassador Marzano reported that T. would be leaving on a courier mission to Turin in the following days (despatch no. 131; ref. as note 82). It seems unreasonable to suppose (as required by both versions of the portrait's genesis) that T. returned to Munich not long after his supposed arrival in Geneva, then set out for Geneva a second time at the beginning of April (each journey between the two cities taking perhaps four to five days). The only explanation to fit the known facts with any degree of credibility is that the portrait was painted in Munich on 9 March, and that T. presented it to Ernestine in Geneva after arriving there about a month later.

85. Polonsky (1998), 50.

86. Arkhipov, 314.

87. Heine (1968), IV, 968.

88. A. von Maltitz, *Vor dem Verstummen*, Weimar, 1858, 257-258, 268 (translations of 'Nedarm miloserdym Bogom...' and 'Vesennaya groza').

89. 'Ne ver', ne ver' poetu, deva...'. I, 186. Yu. Tynyanov first suggested that the poem was addressed to Clotilde, although his supposition that the poet she is being warned against is Heine must be discounted on grounds of chronology (Tynyanov [1977], 365-366). It now seems certain that the poem was written in the late 1830s when Maltitz was wooing Clotilde, long after her association with Heine.

90. In a letter to Ivan Gagarin from Geneva on 11 April T. mentions both the diplomatic crisis and personnel changes at the Turin Embassy (IV, 97). This information presumably reached him in correspondence from Obrezkov.

91. On the evidence of Ernestine's flower album, she was in Cannes on 20 Feb. and in the Jura mountains en route for Geneva on 1 March; she then stayed in Geneva throughout March and until at least the middle of April (*Letopis'-I*, 182-184). From a letter to her from Karl Pfeffel it is clear that she was already in Geneva on 5 March (Dolgopolova & Tarkhov [1989b], 616).

92. Despatch no. 262 of Solaro to Marzano, 24 Apr. 1838. TAS: Lettere Ministri: Baviera: Registri di Copia Lettere Spedite da Turino all'Inviato Sardo a Monaco: Mazzo 50. (Ref. supplied by Dr R. Lane).

93. 'Der Schwan'. *Gedichte von A. von Maltitz*, 2 vols., Munich, 1838. I, 245-246.

94. 'Lebed' '. I, 109. See: Lane (1984b), 49-50; Dinesman (1999a), 289-290.

95. I, 182. The autograph has T.'s inscription: 'Lindau. 4 avril 1838' (I, 465). Translation: 'Weary from the journey, we two were able to sit down for a moment by the roadside — to feel the same shade hang loosely on our brows, and to gaze towards the distant horizon. // But time runs its course: its relentless downward slope soon separates that which it once united — and beneath the whip of an invisible power man founders, despondent and alone, in the infinity of space. // And what remains to us now, friend, of those hours passed, of that life together? A look, an inflexion, fragments of thoughts... Alas, did that which is no longer ever exist?'

96. For a discussion of Pascalian elements in this and other French poems by T. see Lane (1982), 321-322.

97. IV, 96.

98. *Letopis'-I*, 183.

99. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 8/20 Aug. 1846. IV, 350.

100. 'Vesna' ('Spring') ('Kak ni gnetyot ruka sud'biny...'). I, 183-184. T.G. Dinesman and I.A. Korolyova consider the poem was written in March - April 1838 (NS) while T. was still in Munich (*Letopis'-I*, 183). Although this is possible, a slightly later date would seem more likely, implying that it was written in Geneva or during T.'s onward journey to Turin.

101. *Letopis'-I*, 184.

102. Solaro's despatch to Marzano of 24 April (as note 92) reports T.'s arrival in Turin.

103. Lane (1990), 80; *Zhizn'*, 100-101.

104. Despatch of Heldewier, 7 Aug. 1838. Lane (1990), 80.

105. F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Tu., 25 July/ 6 Aug. 1838. IV, 106.

106. Despatch of Heldewier, 28 May 1838. Lane (1990), 80.

107. Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to A.M. Obrezkov, 20 Apr./ 2 May 1838. *Letopis'-I*, 185.

108. He was officially accredited on 3 August (NS) (*Letopis'-I*, 190).

Chapter 10. The Hand of Fate

1. El. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, Mu., second half of June 1833. Muranovo: f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 723, l. 8-

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- 9ob. (For dating see *Letopis'-1*, 125-126.) Ru. tr.: TPD, 190.
2. According to one official document, T. was paid 2,252.87 roubles (paper) for the period May - Aug. 1838 (OS) (*Tyutchev*, 177). Although he was appointed Chargé d'Affaires from 22 July (OS), pay rises on promotion seem to have taken effect from the following month. On this calculation the sum quoted breaks down as 1,550.50 roubles for the three months May - July (his annual salary as First Secretary was 6,222 roubles: see *Tyutchev*, 175-176), plus 697.37 roubles for one month as Chargé. This implies an annual rate of 8,368.44 roubles (paper) as Chargé d'Affaires. At the exchange rate applied some months earlier for his salary as First Secretary (1 silver rouble = 4.148 paper roubles: see *Tyutchev*, 176) this would equate to 2,017 silver roubles. Allowing for minor fluctuations in the exchange rate and/or bankers' fees, the actual figure was almost certainly 2,000.
3. Despatch of Carrega, SPb., 14/26 May 1838. Lane (1990), 81.
4. T. later wrote to his parents that the *Nicholas I* had left port on 14/26 May (IV, 100). This is incorrect: all other sources (see below, note 8) give 15/27 May.
5. They are listed as among the passengers in *Sankt-Peterburgskiy vedomosti*, No.90, 26 Apr. 1838 (OS), repeated in Nos. 92 & 94.
6. Indisputable evidence for this is found in two letters written to Turgenev by his mother in Dec. 1838 and May 1839 in response to correspondence from him which has not survived. They are quoted in: Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Turgenev. The Man, his Art and his Age*, New York, 1959, 38; and in: *Turgenevsky sbornik I*, M. & L., 1964, 350.
7. Yarmolinsky (as note 6), 38; Gregg, 13, 211.
8. Details which follow of the fire on the *Nicholas I* and its aftermath are taken in part from Ivan Turgenev's two accounts of what happened. The better-known, 'Un incendie en mer', was dictated by him in French towards the end of his life, nearly half a century after the events in question (*Turgenev S*, XIV, 186-202). Lesser-known is a more immediate and factually more correct account taken down from Turgenev's own words just a month after the fire and shipwreck ('Turgenev v Geydel'berge letom 1838 g.: iz dnevnika Ye.V. Sukhovo-Kobylinoy', *LN*, LXXXVI, 1967, 338-340). Other sources drawn on are: (1) Vyazemsky, 238 (brief diary notes made by Vyazemsky after the disaster); (2) 'O pozhare na parokhode': an anonymous eyewitness account later found in the archive of T.'s aunt Nadezhda Sheremeteva (quoted in full in IV, 489-491); (3) a report of the disaster in the SPb. newspaper *Severnaya pchela*, 1838, No.117, 27 May (OS); (4) despatches of the British Consul in Hamburg, Henry Canning, of 1 & 5 June (London: Public Record Office: Foreign Office: 33: 85; I am grateful to Dr R. Lane for details of these).
9. Turgenev, 'Un incendie...' (as note 8), 190-191.
10. *Ibid.*, 193.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Before leaving she had told the Sardinian Ambassador in SPb. that she would be travelling via Paris. Despatch no. 713 of Carrega, 14/26 May 1838. TAS: Lettere Ministri: Russia: Serie IV: Mazzo 20 (details supplied by Dr R. Lane).
13. El. T. to D.I. Sushkova, Lübeck, 20 May/ 1 June 1838. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr.* 720. (Ru. tr.: *Zhizn'*, 97.)
14. This is mentioned by Carrega in his despatch no. 716 of 28 May/ 9 June 1838 (archival ref. as note 12).
15. Turgenev, 'Un incendie...' (as note 8), 189.
16. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 17/29 June 1838. IV, 100.
17. El. T. to I.N. Tyutchev, Mu., 16/28 June 1838. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr.* 722, *l. 3*. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 187.)
18. *Tyutchev*, 175-176.
19. She was carrying Carrega's despatch no. 713 (see note 12). Carrega sent a further copy of this with his despatch no. 716 (see note 14), correctly assuming that it had been lost in the flames.
20. El. T. to I.N. Tyutchev, Hamburg, 25 May/ 6 June 1838. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr.* 722, *l. 1-2*. (Ru. tr.: *Letopis'-1*, 187.)
21. As note 17.
22. As note 20 (not included in Ru. tr.).
23. As note 17.
24. As note 16, 100-101.
25. Polonsky (1998), 105.
26. As note 17. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 198.)
27. *Ibid.* (not included in either of the Ru. translations).

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28. As note 16.
29. As note 17. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 198.)
30. El. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, Tu., 4/16 Aug. 1838. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 721, l. 17-20ob.* (Ru. tr.: TPD, 198.)
31. As note 17. (Ru. tr.: TPD, 198.)
32. As note 25.
33. As note 30.
34. As note 25. Polonsky is however mistaken in asserting that the children stayed in Munich (see *Letopis'-I*, 189).
35. As note 30.
36. *Letopis'-I*, 190.
37. As note 17.
38. As note 30.
39. *Ibid.* (Ru. tr.: 199).
40. *Letopis'-I*, 190.
41. As note 30.
42. El. T. to S.N. Karamzina, Tu., 1/13 Aug. Muranovo: *f. 1, op. 1, yed. khr. 719.*
43. As note 30 (Ru. tr.: 199).
44. *Letopis'-I*, 191, 193.
45. Despatch no. 575 of Solaro to Carrega (Sardinian Ambassador in SPb.), 7/19 Sept. 1838. TAS: *Lettere Ministri: Russia: Copia Lettere del Ministero Esteri all'Inviato: 1817-1846: Mazzo 25.* (Ref. supplied by Dr R. Lane).
46. Polonsky (2003), 52 (footnote).
47. Despatch no. 65 of Rumigny (French Ambassador), Tu., 10 Sept. 1838. Paris: Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères: *Correspondance politique: Sardaigne: 313, p.46* (ref. supplied by Dr R. Lane). T. too wrote of Eleonore having died after 'the most atrocious suffering' (letter to K.V. Nesselrode, Tu., 6/18 Oct. 1838. IV, 114).
48. Tyutchev (F.F.), 236.
49. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 4/16 May 1846. TPD, 216.
50. Polonsky (2003), 52 (footnote).
51. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Tu., 10/22 Oct. 1871. TPD, 417.
52. As note 50.
53. Despatch of Olry, 7 May 1839. Lane (1987), 8.
54. F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Tu., 6/18 Oct. 1838. IV, 114.
55. *Letopis'-I*, 197; F.I. T. to V.A. Zhukovsky, Tu., 6/18 Oct. 1838. IV, 112-113.
56. *Ibid.*, 113.
57. Zhukovsky (1903), 428 (diary, 13/25 Oct. 1838).
58. *Letopis'-I*, 199.
59. 'Pamyati V.A. Zhukovskogo' ('To the Memory of V.A. Zhukovsky'). II, 55-56.
60. Zhukovsky (1903), 429-430 (diary, 14/26 Oct. 1838).
61. 'Den' i noch' . I, 185. This can be dated to no later than the beginning of 1839 (I, 468). I am indebted to Ronald Lane for suggesting to me that it can be seen as an immediate response to Eleonore's death, and that the thematically similar 'Svyataya noch' na nebosklon vzoshla...' (see note 77) marks the tenth anniversary of that event.
62. Liberman, 229-230.
63. Examples from T.'s letters are quoted in Lane (1982), 319-320. Other poems using the abyss image with these connotations are: 'Svyataya noch' na nebosklon vzoshla...'; 'Smotri, kak na rechnom prostore...'; 'Uvy, chto nashego neznan'ya...'; 'Ot zhizni toy, chto bushevala zdes'' (I, 215; II, 34, 65, 234).
64. Leo Tolstoy, who presumably knew nothing of the poem's biographical context, appears to have grasped this instinctively. S.A. Stakhovich recalled him once pointing out that the word 'noch' ('night') in the final line can appropriately be replaced with 'smert' ('death'). (Quoted in *Dok.*, 249.)
65. V.A. Zhukovsky to P.A. Pletnyov, Venice, 4/16 Nov. 1838. K.Ya. Grot, *Neskol'ko dopolneniy k rukopisyam V.A. Zhukovskogo*, SPb., 1903, 3 (quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 200).
66. V.A. Zhukovsky to N.N. Sheremeteva, Vienna, first half of March 1839 (NS). V.A. Zhukovsky, *Sochineniya*, VI, SPb., 1878, 502 (quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 212).
67. Despatch no. 10 of F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, 7/19 Nov. 1838. Gladkova & Lebedev, 'Razdalsya....' (as note 87), 136. See also Lane (1990), 82 (extract in Engl. tr.).

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68. *Letopis'-I*, 199.
69. N.I. Tyutchev to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Warsaw, 26 Oct./ 7 Nov. 1838. TPD, 200 n.2.
70. N.I. Tyutchev to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Warsaw, 16/28 Sept. 1838. TPD, 199.
71. *Letopis'-I*, 199.
72. N.I. Tyutchev to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Tu., 25 Dec. 1838/ 6 Jan. 1839. TPD, 200.
73. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Dec. 1839. IV, 126.
74. Gregg, 14.
75. Blagoy, 73-75.
76. 'Yeshcho tomlyus' toskey zhelaniy...'. I, 102. One of the two autograph manuscripts is dated '1848' in Ernestine's hand (*Lirika*, I, 379). For the suggestion that the poem was written to mark the tenth anniversary of Eleonore's death see Lane (1983), 127.
77. 'Svyataya noch' na nebosklon vzoshla...'. I, 215. Of the two surviving autograph manuscripts, K.V. Pigaryov dates the earlier to between 1848 and 1849 and the final version to no later than March 1850 (*Lirika*, I, 387-388). This is confirmed by A.A. Nikolayev (*PSS* [1987], 162).
78. As note 76.
79. Dolgopolova & Tarkhov (1989a), 609 n.49
80. N.I. Tyutchev to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Warsaw, 26 Oct./ 7 Nov. 1838. *Letopis'-I*, 197.
81. F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Tu., 25 July/ 6 Aug. 1838. IV, 104-106.
82. Lane (1990), 83.
83. Despatch no. 10 of F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Milan, 13/25 Feb. 1839. *Ibid.*
84. Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to F.I. T., SPb., 19/31 March 1839. *Ibid.*, 84.
85. Zhukovsky (1903), 468 (diary, 7/19 Feb. 1839).
86. *Ibid.* (diary, 8/20 Feb. 1839); *Zhizn'*, 106; S. Pellico to unknown addressee, 22 Feb. 1839. N. Kauchschischwili, *Silvio Pellico è la Russia. Un capitolo sui rapporti culturali russo-italiani*, Milan, 1963, 34-35 (quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 210).
87. T.'s despatches are listed, with brief synopses, in: R.C. Lane, 'An Index and Synopsis of Diplomatic Documents Relating to Tyutchev's Period in Turin (October 1837 - October 1839)', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 1989-90, 73-95. Further details and extracts are to be found in *Letopis'-I*, 190-224 *passim*. These sources tally, with two exceptions: (1) Lane (p.77) counts T.'s private letter of 25 July/ 6 Aug. to K.V. Nesselrode, then in Toeplitz, as his despatch no. 2 for 1838. *Letopis'-I* (p.192) clarifies that despatch no. 2 was in fact addressed to P.G. Divov, Nesselrode's deputy in SPb., on 18/30 Aug. (this item is omitted by Lane). (2) *Letopis'-I* (p.223) also gives details of T.'s final despatch for 1839 (no. 28, dated 1/13 July), which is omitted by Lane. Ten of the despatches have been published in full (in Russian translation) in: L.V. Gladkova, Ye.N. Lebedev, ' "Razdalsya nash natsional'ny gimn na russkom yazyke". Pis'ma diplomata F.I. Tyutcheva k K.V. Nesselrode', *Moskva*, 1994, No.10, 132-146. A further three are published (in the original French, with Russian translations) in PTN, 162-174
88. Despatch no. 12 of F.I. T., Genoa, 23 Nov./ 5 Dec. 1838. AVPRI (K), 1838, No.212, I. 150-152. (Quoted in part in: *Zhizn'*, 105; *Letopis'-I*, 201.)
89. Despatch no. 22 of F.I. T., Genoa, 4/16 June 1839. AVPRI (K), 1839, No.207, I. 69-70ob. (Quoted in part in *Letopis'-I*, 222.)
90. Despatch no. 21 of F.I. T., Genoa, 4/16 June 1839. *Zhizn'*, 105.
91. For instance in his despatch no. 11, Genoa, 7/19 Nov. 1838. AVPRI (K), 1838, No.212, I. 147-148.
92. Despatch no. 12 of F.I. T., Tu., 4/16 Apr. 1839. Dinesman (2004), 120-121 (quoted in the original French); *Letopis'-I*, 215 (in Ru. tr.).
93. Binyon, 190 (footnote).
94. Dinesman (2004), 118. The foregoing account of Sardinia's internal politics is taken from T.'s despatches: no. 15, Genoa, 23 Nov./ 5 Dec. 1838; no. 9, Milan, 13/25 Feb. 1839; no. 13, Tu., 4/16 Apr. 1839. AVPRI (K), 1838, No.212, I. 159-159ob.; Gladkova, Lebedev, 'Razdalsya...' (as note 87), 144-145 (quoted in part in the original French in Dinesman [2004], 118); AVPRI (K), 1839, No.207, I. 49.
95. Despatch no. 4 of F.I. T., Tu., 5/17 Oct. 1838. Dinesman (2004), 102. Dinesman notes the similarity of this passage to the overall theme of T.'s article 'La question Romaine', written more than a decade later.
96. Despatch no. 14 of F.I. T., Tu., 4/16 Apr. 1839. AVPRI (K), 1839, No.207, I. 51-52.
97. Despatch no. 2 of F.I. T., Tu., 9/21 Jan. 1839. *Letopis'-I*, 205.
98. Florinsky, II, 778, 785-786.
99. Despatch no. 25 of F.I. T., Tu., 24 June/ 6 July 1839. *Letopis'-I*, 223.

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100. *Letopis'-1*, 223.
101. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 28 Aug./ 9 Sept. 1843. IV, 267.
102. *Letopis'-1*, 200.
103. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 1/13 Sept. 1858. *Letopis'-2*, 299.
104. This is evident from his reply of 12 Dec. (her letter has not survived). *Letopis'-1*, 202.
105. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Weimar, 7/19 Sept. 1841. IV, 174.
106. 'S kakoyu negoyu, s kakoy toskoy vlyublyonnoy...'. I, 177. The poem was first published in *Sovremennik* in Oct. 1840 (*Letopis'-1*, 238). On the basis of internal evidence K.V. Pigaryov suggested it could have been written immediately after T. and Ernestine parted in December 1837 (*Lirika*, I, 374). In her article 'Stikhi k Ernestine Dyornberg (1834-1838)', *Letopis'-1*, 291-297 (here: 295), S.A. Dolgopolova posits an even earlier occasion: their parting in the summer of 1836, after Eleonore's suicide attempt. Neither suggestion explains why T. should have waited for up to three or even four years before submitting the poem for publication. All the other poems known to have been written between the spring of 1836 and the spring of 1838 that were published in *Sovremennik* appeared in that journal in 1838 and 1839 (the last — 'Lebed' — in July 1839 [*Letopis'-1*, 224]). More convincing for this reason alone is A.A. Nikolayev's dating of the poem to after Eleonore's death (*PSS* [1987], 145, 388).
107. Despatch no. 14 of F.I. T., 23 Nov./ 5 Dec. 1838. AVPRI (K), 1838, No.212, l. 154-155ob.
108. As note 72; see also *Letopis'-1*, 203.
109. *Letopis'-1*, 212. I am grateful to Dr R. Lane for the information that Karl Pfeffel's letters to Ernestine from Florence dated 2, 9, 16, 21 March and 1, 16 April (preserved in the Muranovo archive) are all addressed to her at Turin.
110. Polonsky (1998), 50; F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Tu., 1/13 March 1839. IV, 118.
111. *Ibid.* (IV, 118).
112. Lane (1987), 11; *Letopis'-1*, 224.
113. *Letopis'-1*, 216. T. reported Miklashevsky's departure in a letter to Ivan Gagarin from Geneva dated 30 March/ 11 Apr. 1838 (IV, 97).
114. *Letopis'-1*, 213, 216.
115. Despatch no. 16 of F.I. T., Tu., 19 Apr./ 1 May 1839. *Letopis'-1*, 216 (see also Lane [1990], 84); despatch of Solaro to Rossi, 19 Apr./ 1 May 1839. Lane (1990), 84.
116. Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to F.I. T., SPb., 1/13 Apr. 1839. *Letopis'-1*, 214. This reached Turin on 27 or 28 April (T. informed Solaro of the appointment in a letter dated 28 Apr., while three letters which he sent Solaro the day before make no mention of it [*ibid.*, 218]). Although the text of Nesselrode's despatch is not quoted in *Letopis'-1*, that it refers to Kokoshkin's arrival in the near future is clear from other sources, for instance Nesselrode's own later despatch of 15/27 April (*ibid.*, 218) and, before that had even reached Turin, a report by the Bavarian Ambassador von Olry on 7 May (see note 117) that T. expected 'the arrival soon' ('*la prochaine arrivée*') of the new Ambassador. The source for Kokoshkin's previous post in Florence is Nesselrode's 'Projet d'instruction pour M. de Kokosckine', No.1718, of 12/24 May 1839 (PTN, 175).
117. Despatch no. 393 of Olry, Tu., 7 May 1839. Munich: Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Ministerium des Äusseren: Sardinien, 2883. Quoted from 'if this diplomatic agent...' on in Lane (1987), 8. I am grateful to Dr Lane for making available a copy of the complete despatch.
118. Despatch no. 20 of F.I. T., Tu., 19 Apr./ 1 May 1839. *Letopis'-1*, 217. (Partially quoted in the original French in Dinesman [2004], 124.)
119. *Letopis'-1*, 217, 218.
120. Despatch no. 16 of F.I. T., Tu., 19 Apr./ 1 May 1839. *Letopis'-1*, 216, 217.
121. Despatch of Grouchy, Tu., 25 Apr. 1839. Lane (1990), 85.
122. Despatch no. 21 of F.I. T., Genoa, 4/16 June 1839. AVPRI (K), No.207, l. 66-67.
123. This is evident from Pfeffel's reply to her of 27 April. See *Letopis'-1*, 217.
124. Ernestine, 100.
125. *Letopis'-1*, 217.
126. *Ibid.*, 220.
127. These were the excuses he gave Nesselrode for his protracted silence in his despatch no. 21 from Genoa of 4/16 June 1839. *Letopis'-1*, 222.
128. Ernestine, 100.
129. Entries in Ernestine's flower-album for 11, 21 and 29-30 May respectively. *Letopis'-1*, 220.
130. Writing to Ernestine from Florence on 23 April, Pfeffel refers to 'the hotel which I have chosen for you'. *Ibid.*, 216.
131. K. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Florence, 12 June 1839. *Ibid.*, 221.

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132. In his letter to Ernestine of 12 June (*ibid.*) Pfeffel says he hopes T. will find letters with this information awaiting him *poste restante* in Lucca or Genoa.
133. See T.'s undated reply to Anna (Tu., early summer 1839). IV, 122.
134. These are T.'s plans as reported (presumably on the basis of correspondence with him) by Nikolay in a letter to their parents from Warsaw dated 21 July/ 2 Aug. 1839. TPD, 203.
135. *Letopis'-1*, 220.
136. Entries in Ernestine's flower-album for 8 and 9 June. *Ibid.*, 221.
137. Ernestine, 100.
138. *Letopis'-1*, 221.
139. Despatches nos. 21 and 22 of F.I. T., Genoa, 4/16 June. AVPRI (K), No.207, I. 66-67, 69-70*ob*. Quoted in part in *Letopis'-1*, 222.
140. *Letopis'-1*, 222.
141. Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to F.I. T., SPb., 15/27 Apr. 1839. Lane (1987), 7.
142. Their daughter Maria was born in Munich on 6 March 1840. *Letopis'-1*, 234.
143. Despatch no. 24 of F.I. T., Tu., 20 June/ 2 July 1839. AVPRI (K), No.207, I. 73. Quoted in part in *Letopis'-1*, 223.
144. *Tyutchevy*, 184. The Foreign Ministry compiled a common dossier on the resignations of T. and Bogayevsky: 'Ob otzvanii sekretarey missii v Turine starshego, nadvornogo sovetnika Tyutcheva, i mladshogo, kollezhskogo assessora Bogayevskogo ot sikh mest [...]'. *Ibid.*; see also *Letopis'-1*, 230, 308.
145. *Letopis'-1*, 224
146. Despatch no. 22 of Meysenbug, Tu., 15 July 1839. Vienna: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv: Staatenabteilung Sardinien: Karton 77, p.112. Referred to in Lane (1987), 11. I am grateful to Dr Lane for providing a copy of the complete despatch.
147. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 20-22 Jan./ 1-3 Feb. 1840. IV, 130.
148. Kazanovich, 132. K.V. Pigaryov suggested (*Zhizn'*, 107) that Kazanovich's informant was probably Sergey Petrovich Frolov (b. 1850), who as a young man knew and corresponded with T.
149. Despatch no. 18 of F.I. T., Tu., 19 Apr./ 1 May 1839 (but written before 16/28 Apr.). *Letopis'-1*, 217.
150. Despatch no. 28 of F.I. T., Tu., 1/13 July 1839 (written before 25 June/ 7 July). *Ibid.*, 224.
151. Dinesman (2004), 128.
152. *Letopis'-1*, 224.
153. *Ibid.*, 225.
154. C. Pfeffel to E. von Dörnberg, Florence, 6 Aug. 1839. *Ibid.*
155. *Ibid.* Here, as in some other sources, Paul Ludwig is confused with Amélie's husband Alexander. For details of Paul Ludwig's diplomatic career see Polonsky (2003), 152-160.
156. Lane (1987), 10; *Letopis'-1*, 227.
157. *Letopis'-1*, 225.
158. Lane (1987), 13.
159. Despatch of Chatry, Tu., 8 Aug. 1839. *Ibid.*, 11.
160. *Letopis'-1*, 227.
161. There is some doubt as to the exact date of Kokoshkin's arrival in Turin in September. According to the British envoy it was on the 23rd, while the Austrian Ambassador reported it as being on the 27th. (Despatch no. 27 of the British envoy [Foster?], Tu., 23 Sept. 1839: London: Public Record Office: Foreign Office: 67: 108; despatch no. 32 of Schwarzenberg, Tu., 4 Oct. 1839: Vienna: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv: Staatenabteilung Sardinien: Karton 77. I am grateful to Dr R. Lane for these details.)
162. Although the Munich police register of aliens indicates that Ernestine arrived in the city on 6 September, it is not absolutely clear from the record whether T. was with her at the time. (The register entry for T. and his family, no. 38461, is reproduced in Polonsky [2003], 175.) A reference to T. in a letter from Maltitz to Shevryov dated 26 September (NS) makes it clear that he was already settled in Munich by then (*Letopis'-1*, 228). Writing to his parents on 1/13 December, T. claimed that he *and Ernestine* had arrived in Munich 'at the end of September' — presumably OS, as he goes on to say that he had written his letter of resignation to Nesselrode, dated 6/18 October, 'on arriving here' (IV, 125). However, this date is clearly contradicted by the police aliens record in the case of Ernestine, and apparently so by Maltitz's letter as far as T. is concerned. The misinformation may have been deliberate. Knowing that the Third Section routinely opened letters to and from Russia, T. was no doubt anxious not to alert the authorities to his unauthorised premature abandonment of the Turin Embassy.

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163. F.I. T. to K.V. Nesselrode, Mu., 6/18 Oct. 1839. IV, 123.
164. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Dec. 1839. IV, 125.
165. *Tyutchevy*, 184-185; *Letopis'-1*, 230-231.

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1. Polonsky (1998), 105.
2. *Ibid.*, 106.
3. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Dec. 1839. IV, 125.
4. *Ibid.*, 126; Polonsky (1998), 107 (this states that three of the Bothmer brothers lived in Munich, but gives the addresses of four).
5. As note 3, 126; F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 3/15 Apr. 1837. IV, 63.
6. F.A. von Maltitz to S.P. Shevryov, Mu., 26 Sept., 29 Sept. & 8 Oct. 1839. *Letopis'-1*, 228-229.
7. A.L. Ospovat, 'Tyutchev i stat'ya N.A. Mel'gunova o Shellinge', *LN-2*, 454-456 (Melgunov's letter from Hanau of 27 Oct. 1839 is quoted on p.456); *Letopis'-1*, 230.
8. F.A. von Maltitz to S.P. Shevryov, Mu., 4 Oct. 1839. *Letopis'-1*, 229.
9. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Dec. 1839 & 20-22 Jan./ 1-3 Feb. 1840. IV, 125, 130-131.
10. Polonsky (1998), 106.
11. *Letopis'-1*, 234.
12. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 14/26 Apr. 1840. IV, 136-137.
13. *Letopis'-1*, 231-232. The description of the service decoration is from: L.Ye. Shepelyov, *Chinovny mir Rossii: XVIII - nachalo XX v.*, SPb., 1999, 337-338 (quoted in Ekshtut, 100).
14. *Letopis'-1*, 233.
15. *Ibid.*, 234-236.
16. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 8/20 July 1841. IV, 161.
17. *Ibid.*, 161-162.
18. *Letopis'-1*, 241-242.
19. See the correspondence between K.V. Nesselrode, Minister of the Imperial Court Prince P.M. Volkonsky and *Oberhofmeister* Prince N.V. Dolgorukov, 3/15 - 6/18 July 1841, quoted in IV, 516-517. These documents also show that Aleksey Bogayevsky was punished together with T.: he too was dismissed from the service for 'protracted failure to return from leave' and deprived of his court rank (in his case, that of *Kammerjunker*).
20. *Letopis'-1*, 242.
21. Kozhinov, 237-238.
22. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 58.
23. Ekshtut, 98.
24. See: F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 14/26 - 15/27 July 1843. IV, 248.
25. Pfeffel-Z, 34.
26. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Weimar, 10/22 Sept. 1841. IV, 164-165.
27. Darya and Kitty entered the Institute on 2 Oct. 1842 (*Letopis'-1*, 252). Anna, who had been living with the Maltitzes in Weimar, joined them the following spring at her own insistence (F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 18/30 March 1843. IV, 223-224).
28. From 6 Ottostrasse they moved to 54 Karlstrasse on 15 Oct. 1840, and from there to 7 Ludwigstrasse (their final address in Munich) on 27 Oct. 1842 (Polonsky [1998], 108, 110).
29. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 6/18 Dec. 1840. IV, 156.
30. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 March 1842. IV, 185.
31. See, e.g.: as note 24, 246.
32. As note 30, 185-186.
33. Writing later to T.'s sister Darya of problems with her stepdaughters, Ernestine freely admitted: 'there is no-one less capable than I am of playing the part of mother to a family. You know how averse I am to lecturing or indeed to speaking at all, and you will understand the overwhelming compulsion I feel to *throw in my hand*' (Ern. T. to D.I. Sushkova, SPb., 17/29 Sept. 1845. *Letopis'-2*, 29).
34. Tyutchev (F.I. jr.), 210-211.
35. From a letter from F.A. von Maltitz to Franz von Schober, quoted without indication of date in: Arkhipov, 319.
36. As note 26.
37. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Weimar, 19 Sept. 1841. IV, 175.

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38. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Weimar, 18 June 1842. IV, 194.
39. As note 26, 165.
40. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Dresden, 27 Sept. 1841. IV, 178.
41. As note 26, 166.
42. As note 40, 179.
43. Letters to Ernestine of (in chronological order) 13, 27 Sept. 1841; 18 June, 7 Oct. 1842; 13, 11/23 June 1843. IV, 172, 178, 194, 205, 228-229, 236.
44. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Weimar, 11 June 1842. IV, 191.
45. I, 192. The poem appears to date from between 1840 and 1842, the autograph having been placed with a batch of T.'s letters to Ernestine covering that period (IV, 518). Translation: 'How unreal man is, how easily he is effaced! —/ So little when present, and nothing when far away!/ His presence is but a point, / And his absence — the whole of space.'
46. As note 26, 166.
47. F.I. T. to Vaclav Hanka, Mu., 28 Apr. 1843. IV, 227.
48. 'La Russie et la Révolution'. III, 51.
49. 'K Ganke'. I, 188-189.
50. T. argued the case for raising such forbidden topics in the Western press in a memorandum submitted to Tsar Nicholas in 1845 (understandably enough omitting to mention on this occasion the likely effects inside Russia). [Zapiska]. III, 39.
51. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Mu., 31 Aug., 3 Sept. 1840. IV, 146, 148; F.I. T. to N.I. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., c. 8/20 Oct. 1840. IV, 151 (with date 'Oct. 1840': for more precise dating see *Letopis'-I*, 239).
52. This is evident from a letter she wrote to P.A. Pletnyov, the editor of *Sovremennik*, on 20 Nov./ 2 Dec. 1840. See: Grot & Pletnyov, I, 183, 184 (quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 239).
53. 'Zhivym sochuvstviiem priveta...'. I, 187. Here it is printed immediately after 'Ne ver', ne ver' poetu, deva...' (186); comparison of these two poems on a similar theme is informative, revealing a marked decline in T.'s poetic powers since 1838.
54. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 3/15 Sept. 1852. *LN-I*, 521.
55. F.I. T. to N.I. & Ye.L. Tyutchev: Tegernsee, 2/14 July 1840; Mu., c. 8/20 Oct. 1840. IV, 142, 151 (see note 51).
56. Smirnova-Rosset, 9.
57. See: 'Iz zapisok barona (vposledstviu grafa) M.A. Korfa', *Russkaya starina*, 1899, No.12, 488-489 (quoted in *Ospovat* [1994], 135 n.22).
58. [Anon.], *Die europäische Pentarchie*, Leipzig, 1839.
59. P.S. Squire, 'The Metternich - Benkendorff Letters, 1835-1842', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1967, No.105, 383-386; *Ospovat* (1994), 117-118, 121. *Ospovat* (p.121) produces convincing evidence that Aleksandr Turgenev's informant for his account of this episode (as quoted from his letter to his brother of 7 July 1842) was T., who in turn was repeating what he had heard from Amélie during their meetings at Tegernsee and Munich in the summer of 1840.
60. 'Lettre à M. le docteur Gustave Kolb'. III, 21-22.
61. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 30 March/ 11 Apr. 1866. VI, 132-133.
62. *Ospovat* (1994), 110-113; *Ospovat* (1999), 230.
63. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, Bad Kissingen, 25 June 1839. *Ospovat* (1994), 116.
64. *Ospovat* (1994), 123; *Ospovat* (1999), 229-230.
65. *Ospovat* (1994), 122; *Letopis'-I*, 267-269.
66. Contribution of Heine from Paris (dated 31 Jan. 1841) in *AZ*, quoted in *Ospovat* (1994), 119.
67. J.P. Fallmerayer, 'Die deutschen Publicisten und die europäische Pentarchie', Fallmerayer, II, 157-179 (here: 167-168). The article was originally published in *AZ*, then as a separate brochure (Augsburg, 1840).
68. N. Nadezhdin, 'Pis'mo iz Veny o serbskikh pesnyakh', *Moskvityanin*, 1841, Part 3, No.6, 515.
69. Thiersch published two related articles concerning Russia on consecutive days, 12 and 13 Dec. 1840 (*AZ*, No.347, Beilage, 2761-2763; No.348, Beilage, 2769-2770). See Lane (1984a), 231-233. In Dec. 1840 T. and Thiersch both lived in Karlstrasse, T. at No.54, Thiersch at No.11 (Polonsky [1998], 175).
70. Quoted in Lane (1984a), 232.
71. F.I. T. to F. Thiersch, Mu., 13 Dec. [1840]. IV, 218. (The dating of the letter here to 1842, following an earlier supposition of K.V. Pigaryov [*Pis'ma*, 73, 373], is rejected by other scholars. See: Lane [1984a], 231-233; *Ospovat* [1994], 118, 137 n.45; *Letopis'-I*, 239).
72. As note 70.
73. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, Bad Kissingen, 25 June 1842. *Ospovat* (1994), 121.

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74. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, Bad Kissingen, 7 July 1842. *Ibid.*, 122.
75. See the summary with extracts in Ospovat (1999), 229-230, of K.F. Schweizer's report of 31 May 1841 on his discussions with Cotta. As publisher, Cotta was more aware than the politically free-thinking journalists who worked for him of the need to placate the Holy Alliance powers. He knew that repressive measures against his newspaper could deprive it of commercially vital markets, particularly in Austria.
76. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, Bad Kissingen, 7 & 9 July 1842. Ospovat (1994), 122-123.
77. J.P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters: ein historischer Versuch*, 2 vols., Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1830-1836 (accessible online at: www.literature.at).
78. For details of Fallmerayer's biography see: Kazanovich, 154-160; Ernst Molden, 'Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer. Eine Lebensskizze', in: J.P. Fallmerayer, *Schriften und Tagebücher* (ed. Hans Feigl & Ernst Molden), 2 vols., Munich & Leipzig, 1913. I, ix-xxxii; Herbert Seidler, *Jakob Philipp Fallmerayers geistige Entwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1947.
79. As note 67 (further page references given in the text).
80. Details of these approaches are given by Varnhagen von Ense in his diaries for 1840-1841 (Varnhagen, I, 199, 210, 354).
81. S. Jakobsohn, 'Ein unbekanntes Gedicht von Fedor Tjutcev', *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, 1929, V, 409.
82. 'Znamya i slovo'. I, 190.
83. *Letopis'-1*, 249-250.
84. *Ibid.*, 246. According to his file in the Munich police register of aliens (Stadtarchiv München, Polizeikartenregister Nos. 48708 & 49753), Nikolay arrived in the city on 19 April, accompanied by his servant 'Johann' (Ivan?) Strelkov (no doubt related to Vasily Strelkov, the Tyutchevs' estate manager), and stayed at various addresses that spring and autumn, including T.'s old first-floor apartment at 1 Karolinenplatz (from 10 May). The file gives his religion as Catholic — presumably a misunderstanding on the part of the recording officer. (Information supplied by Dr R. Lane).
85. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Sept. 1842. IV, 198.
86. *Ibid.*; Ern. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Ostend, 29 July 1842. *Letopis'-1*, 250.
87. As note 85, 197.
88. N.I. Tyutchev to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, London, 4/16 Aug. 1842. TPD, 204-206.
89. Ern. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Ostend, 20 Aug. 1842. TPD, 206.
90. As note 85, 197.
91. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, Bad Kissingen, 3 July 1842. Ospovat (1994), 122. As Ospovat points out (*ibid.*, 121), the letter was written on a day when Turgenev's diary records him as having conversed with T. on a variety of topics (see Turgenev [A.I.], 86). The information in question is presented by Ospovat as part of the material 'undoubtedly deriving from Tyutchev' (*ibid.*).
92. *Ibid.*, 124.
93. Kazanovich, 157-158.
94. Fallmerayer's diary entry for 9 Nov. 1842. *Ibid.*, 145-146. The Tyutchevs had moved to 7 Ludwigstrasse on 27 Oct. (Polonsky [1998], 110).
95. Fallmerayer's diary entry for 12 March 1843. Kazanovich, 150-151. The newspaper article referred to — 'Das geographische Element im Welthandel mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Donau' (Fallmerayer, II, 441-449) — was published in the *AZ* on 11 March 1843. In it Fallmerayer predicts Germany's re-emergence as an entrepôt for trade between Europe and Asia for the first time since Vasco da Gama's discovery of the Cape route. He expects this to be achieved in part through an expansion of railway communications in Russia, but more importantly through development of the Danube as a major waterway for steam traffic.
96. Kseniya Kostenich [= K. Kosciencz], '[Adamu Mitskevichu]', *LN-1*, 174-175.
97. 'Ot russkogo, po prochtenii otrivkov iz lektsiy g-na Mitskevicha'. I, 191.
98. *Letopis'-1*, 257.
99. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Vienna, 13 June 1843. IV, 228-229 (here misdated 13/25 June: T.'s date is NS).
100. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Warsaw, 11/23 - 12/24 June 1843. IV, 234-235 (here misdated 23 June/ 6 July - 24 June/ 7 July).
101. A. de Custine, *La Russie en 1839*, 4 vols., Paris, 1843; Turgenev (A.I.), 86 (diary, middle of June 1843).
102. As note 99, 230.

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103. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 29 June/ 11 July, 2/14 July and 14/26 - 15/27 July 1843. IV, 239, 241 (misdated 14/26 July), 247; *Tyutchevy*, 195, 386; Ilyasova, 125.
104. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 14/26 - 15/27 July 1843. IV, 249.
105. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 2/14 July 1843. IV, 240-241 (here misdated: see note 103); *Tyutchevy*, 194.
106. *Letopis'-I*, 262.
107. A.P. Yelagina to M.P. Pogodin, M., undated [summer 1843]. Barsukov, VII, 134 (quoted in *Letopis'-I*, 262).
108. As note 104.
109. S.P. Shevryov to M.P. Pogodin, Vyazema, 19/31 July 1843. Rogov, 80-81.
110. In the summer of 1844 Aleksandr Turgenev recorded a conversation in which T. told him of various meetings he had had in Russia the previous year: 'Tyutchev about Moscow, about Chaadayev: *il a de l'esprit, mais une vanité ridicule* [he has a sharp mind, but is ridiculously vain]. About Khomyakov, etc. About Petersburg: Benckendorff [...]'. TPD, 87 (diary, 4 June 1844 [NS]).
111. As note 109. Shevryov left the Boarding School for the Nobility (*Moskovsky Blagorodny pansion*) to enter Moscow University only in 1822 (*Tyutchevy*, 94).
112. Rogov, 80-83.
113. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Berlin, 27 Sept. 1843. IV, 274.
114. Pogodin, 24-25.
115. *Ibid.*, 28.
116. A.V. Koshelyov, 'Vospominaniya o Khomyakove', in: Khomyakov, VIII, 126.
117. As note 104, 248.
118. *Tyutchevy*, 211-212.
119. As note 105, 242. A deed dated 4/16 Aug. 1843 shows that Ivan Nikolayevich Tyutchev made over to his sons a total of 629 male serfs together with the lands on which they were settled in Bryansk district (IV, 523).
120. As note 104, 248.
121. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14/26 Aug. 1843. IV, 258.
122. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 25 Oct./ 6 Nov. 1870. *Lettres*, XXII, 291.
123. As note 121.
124. Kozыrev, 91-92.
125. As note 121; F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, 11/23 Aug. 1843. IV, 255; *Tyutchevy*, 197.
126. As note 121, 257-258, 260. In the text as printed here (p.257) Ernestine's letter is said to be 'une récompense' ('a reward') for the long and uncomfortable journey ahead. I have preferred the reading 'un réconfortatif' ('a pick-me-up'), given in the letter transcripts made under the direction of K.V. Pigaryov. (The same source supplies the word given as indecipherable on p.257 as 'nommé'.)
127. *Letopis'-I*, 263.
128. As note 121, 258-259.
129. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Reval, 3/15 Sept. 1843. IV, 269-270.
130. IV, 530-531.
131. As: note 121, 257; note 129, 269.
132. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 28 Aug./ 9 Sept. 1843. IV, 265-266; as note 129, 268-269.
133. *Letopis'-I*, 265. Aksakov refers to a 'memorandum' by T. submitted to Tsar Nicholas via Benckendorff in 1843 (Aksakov, 28). However, there is no evidence for this in the surviving correspondence or other documents, and it may simply be that Aksakov confused the alleged memorandum with that submitted in 1845. This unfounded claim has been repeated by others, most recently A.L. Ospovat (Ospovat [1992], 89) and B.N. Tarasov (III, 288).
134. As: note 129, 268; note 113, 273-274. See also T.'s reported comment to A.I. Turgenev in Paris the following summer that Benckendorff had encouraged him to 'write about Russia abroad' (as note 110).
135. As note 113, 272-273; F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Oct. 1843. IV, 276. The date for T.'s arrival in Berlin given in *Letopis'-I*, 265 (28 Sept.) is based on a misdating of the first of these letters in *Lettres*, XVIII, 10.
136. Varnhagen, II, 216-217.
137. In his 'Lettre à M. le Docteur Gustave Kolb' of 1844 T. dismisses Custine's book as 'one more testimony to that shamelessness of spirit, that intellectual demoralisation [which are] the characteristic feature of our age' (III, 11-12), while in a private memorandum submitted to Nicho-

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las I in 1845 he accuses its author of having viewed Russia through a distorting lens of 'hatred compounded by ignorance' (III, 34).

138. K.M. Azadovsky & A.L. Ospovat, 'Tyutchev i Varnngagen fon Enze (K istorii otnosheniy', *LN-2*, 460-461. The authors note that Varnhagen's published diaries contain no references to further meetings with T. or indeed comments on his later political articles, although he will undoubtedly have read these. In explanation they offer a suggestion originally made in an unpublished article by Ye.P. Kazanovich: that such references probably are to be found in the original diaries, but were omitted by the editor of the published version as too unflattering or embarrassing to T., then still alive and fairly prominent in SPb. society.

139. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 1/13 Oct. 1843. IV, 276-277.

140. *Ibid.*, 276.

141. Diary, 11 Oct. 1843. Kazanovich, 152.

142. Kazanovich, 153.

143. Diary, 14 Nov. 1843. *Ibid.*

144. Diary, 2 March 1845. *Ibid.*, 166.

145. J.P. Fallmerayer, *Fragmente aus dem Orient*, 2 vols., Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1845. I, xiv. (Accessible online at: www.literature.at).

146. *Ibid.*, xiii.

147. As note 74.

148. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, Mu., 10/22 March 1844. IV, 280.

149. *Ibid.*; F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 27 Oct./ 8 Nov. 1844. IV, 300.

150. As note 148.

151. Reporting in a despatch dated 9/21 March 1844 on T.'s first known publication in the *AZ*, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Munich L.G. Viollier stated that the author, 'prompted by zeal, [...] has already more than once published in the German press articles combining passion and sound views in equal measure' (*Letopis'-I*, 269). Ronald Lane also points to speculation by the French Ambassador in Munich in a despatch of 24 Dec. 1842 that *De la Russie. Par un Inconnu. Entretiens politiques et sociaux*, a book published anonymously in Paris earlier that year, could have been by T. Although Lane considers this unlikely, he finds it significant that T. should have been singled out as possible author. (Lane [1971], 206-207 [footnote].) Dr Lane has informed me that he subsequently searched German newspapers (mainly the *AZ*) as far back as 1839, but was unable to find any anonymous articles that could be attributed to T. with any degree of reliability.

152. [Anon.], 'Die russische Armee im Kaukasus', *AZ*, 1844, Nos. 76-78 (16-18 March), Beilage, 602-603, 609-611, 617-619.

153. Lane (1988a), 232.

154. ['Pis'mo russkogo']. III, 9-10. This is the German text of T.'s letter (translated from the French original, now lost) as it appeared in the *AZ*, 1844, No.81 (21 March), Beilage, 646-647.

155. *Ibid.*, 646.

156. *AZ*, 1844, No.158 (6 June), 1260-1261. Quoted in Ru. translation in Lane (1988a), 232.

157. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Mu., 9 Oct. 1841. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 57-58.

158. The point is well made in Lane (1988a), 232.

159. *Ibid.*, 232-233.

160. 'Lettre à M. le Docteur Gustave Kolb, rédacteur de la "Gazette Universelle" '. III, 11-28. Further page references are given in the text.

161. [Anon.], *Lettre à Monsieur le D-r Gustave Kolb, rédacteur de la Gazette Universelle*, Mu., 1841.

162. Lane (1988a), 233.

163. As note 149, 300-301.

164. *Letopis'-I*, 270, 273-274. Ernestine's plan to consult specialists in Paris is already mentioned by T. in a letter to her from SPb. of 14/26 Aug. 1843 (IV, 261).

165. Heine (1968), II, 601.

166. Heine was in Paris throughout May, June and the first half of July; he departed for Hamburg on 19 July (Mende, 221-223). T. arrived in Paris on 15 May and left apparently a few days after Heine, joining Ernestine at Vichy on or about 25 July (*Letopis'-I*, 270, 274).

167. For details of Heine's close friendship with Marx during the latter's time in Paris (Oct. 1843 to Feb. 1845) see Liedtke, 122-123.

168. Turgenev (A.I.), 87 (diary entries, 20 May - 9 June 1844).

169. A.I. Turgenev to P.A. Vyazemsky: Paris, 28 May/ 9 June 1844; Bad Kissingen, 24 June/ 6 July 1844. *OA*, 286, 290.

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170. Turgenev (A.I.), 87 (diary, 4 June 1844).
171. A.I. Turgenev to P.A. Vyazemsky: Bad Kissingen, 24 June/ 6 July 1844; Champrosay, 16/28 Oct. 1844. *OA*, 290, 301.
172. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Paris, 2 June 1844. TPD, 207.
173. As note 148, 281.
174. As note 172.
175. TPD, 207-208. Some two years later Ernestine outlined her ongoing financial concerns in a letter to her brother Karl from SPb. dated 14/26 Aug. 1846 (*ibid.*, 218).
176. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Paris, 2 June 1844. *Letopis'-1*, 271-272.
177. As note 148, 281.
178. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Paris, July 1844. IV, 285-286.
179. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Vichy, 4 Aug. 1844. TPD, 209.
180. *Letopis'-1*, 274-275.
181. See Chapter 14.
182. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 26 Sept./ 8 Oct. 1844. TPD, 209-210; *Ospovat* (1994), 130-131.

Chapter 12. The Return

1. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., between 12 and 16 Oct. 1844 (OS). IV, 295-296. (All dates henceforth are OS unless otherwise indicated).
2. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 10 Oct. 1844. IV, 292.
3. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 27 Oct. 1844. IV, 300.
4. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 14/26 Nov. 1844. TPD, 211.
5. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 7 Dec. 1844. IV, 308.
6. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 14/26 Oct. 1844. TPD, 211.
7. As note 4.
8. *Ibid.*; F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 2 March 1845. IV, 316; Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 21 May/ 2 June 1845. TPD, 213.
9. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 29 Dec. 1844. IV, 311. For T.'s meetings with Grand Duchess Maria Nikolayevna at Tegernsee and Munich in the autumn and winter of 1841 see *Letopis'-1*, 238-241.
10. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 2 March 1845. IV, 316; Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 21 May/ 2 June 1845. TPD, 213.
11. P.A. Vyazemsky to A.I. Turgenev, SPb., 2 Oct. 1844. *OA*, 298.
12. P.A. Vyazemsky to A.I. Turgenev, SPb., 29 Jan. 1845. *OA*, 309.
13. V.A. Sollogub, *Vospominaniya*, SPb., 1887, 215-216 (quoted in *Dok.*, 83).
14. F.I. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., Nov.-Dec. 1844. IV, 305-306.
15. Grot & Pletnyov, II, 327.
16. 'Glyadel ya, stoya nad Nevoy...'. I, 193.
17. 'Ty znayesh' kray, gde mirt i lavr rastyot...'. II, 45. This appears to date from 1851 (II, 382).
18. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 7 Dec. 1844. IV, 308-309.
19. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 2 March 1845. IV, 317.
20. 'Kolumb'. I, 194. (See also Appendix I [iv]).
21. '[Zapiska]'. III, 29-41. Further page references are given in the text.
22. See: *Ospovat* (1992), 115, note 5; III, 310.
23. *Letopis'-2*, 20-22.
24. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, M., 27 July/ 8 Aug. 1845; SPb., 8/20 Apr. 1846. TPD, 214, 215.
25. *Letopis'-2*, 23-24.
26. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, M., 27 July/ 8 Aug. 1845. Separate extracts are quoted in TPD, 214, and *Letopis'-2*, 24.
27. Pogodin, 14 (diary, 15 June 1845).
28. P. Ya. Chaadayev to P.A. Vyazemsky, M., 26 Apr. 1846. *Letopis'-2*, 38.
29. A.I. Turgenev to P.A. Vyazemsky, M., 8 Oct. 1845. *OA*, 326.
30. A.I. Turgenev to N.I. Turgenev, M., 17/29 Sept. 1845. *Ospovat* (1992), 90.
31. Quoted by A.I. Turgenev in a letter to P.A. Vyazemsky, 14 Nov. 1845. *OA*, 333.
32. A.I. Turgenev to P.A. Vyazemsky, M., 6 Oct. 1845. *OA*, 324.
33. F.I. T. to N.N. Sheremeteva, SPb., 26 Dec. 1845. IV, 329.
34. *Letopis'-2*, 28.
35. Ern. T. to D.I. Sushkova, SPb., 16 Sept. 1845. IV, 548-549.

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36. F.I. T. to: A.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., July-Aug. 1845; I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 25 Nov. 1845. IV, 321-322; 325.
37. *Pri dvore-1*, 61.
38. *Letopis'-2*, 36.
39. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 11 Apr. 1845. IV, 319.
40. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 14/26 May 1846. TPD, 217.
41. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel: SPb., 8/20 Apr. 1846; SPb., 14/26 May 1846. TPD, 215, 217.
42. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 14/26 Aug. 1846. TPD, 218. The Tyutchevs stayed in the apartment (now 3, Marsovo pole) until the summer of 1847 (*ibid.* n.3).
43. F.I. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, SPb., beginning of May 1846. IV, 337.
44. F.I. T. to P.V. Muravyova, SPb., May 1846. IV, 334.
45. As note 43.
46. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 4 May 1846. TPD, 216.
47. As: note 43, 338; note 44, 335.
48. *Letopis'-2*, 41.
49. *Ibid.*, 44; F.I. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva, SPb., 26 June 1846. IV, 347.
50. *Letopis'-2*, 43; F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 8 Aug., 14 Aug. 1846. IV, 350, 355.
51. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 20 Aug. 1846. IV, 358-359. In subsequent letters to his mother (31 Aug.) and daughter Anna (14 Sept.) he corrected the figure of 27 years to 26 (*ibid.*, 362, 374).
52. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Ovstug, 31 Aug. 1846. IV, 364-365.
53. *Ibid.*; F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, M., 14 Sept. 1846. IV, 373.
54. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 13 Sept. 1846. IV, 368-369, 370.
55. The deed regulating the division of the estate between T. and Nikolay, confirmed by court order on 26 Feb. 1847, is quoted in full in IV, 555-557. Already the previous summer T. had written of Nikolay's insistence that 'in view of my family' he (T.) accept land with more than a hundred serfs in excess of the inheritance due to him (F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 20 Aug. 1846. IV, 358-359). A comparison of this with the figures in the deed suggests that T. was legally entitled to only one third of the residual estate.
56. IV, 552 (note 1 to letter 120); PTR, 57 n.2. Revealing in this context is a note concerning Vasily Strelkov addressed by T. to his sister Darya soon after their father's death: 'I should also [...] like you to tell our good Vasily from me that I know very well and feel most deeply what Papa was for him and what he was for Papa... [...] he can of course be in no doubt that one who loved our late father with filial affection as he did will meet with the most kindred of friendship from myself and my brother'. (F.I. T. to Ye.L. Tyutcheva and D.I. Sushkova, SPb., 30 May 1846. IV, 345.)
57. Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, Hapsal, 5 Aug. 1847. IV, 569.
58. As note 40.
59. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 14 Aug. 1846. IV, 354.
60. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., c. 25 March/ 6 Apr. 1847. TPD, 219.
61. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 19 June 1847. IV, 389-390 (and see *ibid.*, 563, note 1 to letter 135).
62. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Frankfurt am Main, 17/29 Aug. 1847. IV, 428.
63. As note 57, 567-568.
64. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Hapsal, 25 June/ 7 July 1847. TPD, 222.
65. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, Baden-Baden, 8/20 July 1847. IV, 400-401.
66. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 21 June 1847. IV, 394-396; Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, Hapsal, 14 July 1847. IV, 564; *Letopis'-2*, 59, 60-61. Details of T.'s itinerary in the subsequent account have been taken from his letters at the time (IV, 394-435), supplemented by published extracts from Anna Tyutcheva's diaries (TPD, 222-224; *Letopis'-2*, 70) and entries detailing arrivals and departures of spa visitors in the official published registers for Baden-Baden and Bad Ems (*Badeblatt für die großherzogliche Stadt Baden*, No.106, 19 July 1847 [NS]; *Emser Kurliste der anwesenden und durchreisenden Fremden*, No.13, 14 Aug. 1847 [NS]).
67. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Berlin, 25 June/ 7 July 1847. IV, 399.
68. Arkhipov, 317.
69. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Baden-Baden, 10/22 July 1847. IV, 404.
70. *Ibid.*, 406.
71. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Karlsruhe, 17/19 July 1847. IV, 412.
72. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Frankfurt am Main, 29 July/ 10 Aug. 1847. IV, 419-420.
73. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Frankfurt am Main, 17/29 Aug. 1847. IV, 428.
74. *Ibid.*, 427.
75. *Ibid.*, 429.

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76. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Weimar, 4/16 Sept. 1847. IV, 434.
77. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 20 Sept./ 2 Oct. 1847. *Letopis'-2*, 70.
78. As note 69.
79. *Ibid.*, 403.
80. *Ibid.*, 406.
81. As note 72, 420.
82. *Ibid.*, 421.
83. As note 69.
84. *Ibid.*, 403.
85. As note 71, 413.
86. *Ibid.*
87. F.I. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, Frankfurt am Main, 28 July/ 9 Aug. 1847. IV, 417.
88. As note 69.
89. As note 87.
90. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, Baden-Baden, 8/20 July 1847. IV, 401.
91. J.H. Lapp to L.N. Tolstoy, Vienna, 4/17 Oct. 1900. Moscow: Muzei L.N. Tolstogo: Otdel rukopisey (Tolstoy Museum: Dept. of Manuscripts): T.S./225/45. Details of the letter and some extracts in Russian translation were published in Chulkov (1928), 30-34. Subsequent scholars and biographers have largely ignored this publication, presumably on the grounds that (as conceded by Chulkov) Hortense was clearly mentally disturbed at the time of writing to Tolstoy (she makes for instance the bizarre accusation that Tyutchev's widow was using hired agents to persecute her — bizarre if for no other reason than that Ernestine was already six years dead). Yet her central claim cannot be dismissed so easily. To do so one would have to explain how she knew, more than half a century after the event, that Tyutchev had been in Germany in 1847. What is more, Chulkov is able to produce independent evidence in corroboration of her claim. He himself concludes (p.33) that an affair definitely took place.
92. Strasbourg: Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin: AD67: 5Mi482/294 (birth certificate of Joséphine Hortense Romer). (In Chulkov [1928], 30 her maiden name is incorrectly given as 'Romes'.)
93. *Ibid.*: AD67: 5Mi482/363 (marriage certificate of Laurent Lapp and Joséphine Hortense Romer).
94. *Ibid.*: AD67: 5Mi482/310 (birth certificate of Jules Lapp).
95. Archival searches for evidence of Hortense's presence in those German towns where T. stayed for any length of time in 1847 all proved negative or inconclusive. She is not listed among the spa visitors to Baden-Baden and Bad Ems; records for Bad Wildbad, Frankfurt am Main and Weimar were either destroyed in the Second World War or have otherwise gone missing.
96. Chulkov (1928), 33.
97. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Mu., 28 Sept./ 10 Oct. 1842. IV, 210.
98. Chulkov (1928), 32-33.
99. *Ibid.*, 33. The letter from Darya Tyutcheva to Yekaterina Tyutcheva, dated Tsarskoye Selo, 10 Aug. 1873 (OS), is preserved in the Muranovo archive.
100. Note made by Darya in her album of verse. *Letopis'-2*, 70-71.
101. 'Un rêve'. I, 195-196. Translation of the verses quoted: 'And consulting with your beloved hand many a sweet and cherished page of your flower album, you reawaken in its fragrant bed a whole Past of love which had been slumbering...// A whole Past of youth and life, a whole Past which cannot be forgotten... and whose ashes when gathered up gleam once more in this faithful album...// [...] When a flower — that frail, sweet splendour — loses its colour, wilts and fades, one has only to hold its stem to the glowing fire for the poor flower to bloom again instantly...// And so it is that on that fateful day dreams and destinies are always fulfilled... When memories fade within our hearts, Death makes them blossom once again in his hands...'
102. Of the biographies published since Chulkov's monograph, *Zhizn'*, Kozhinov, Chagin and *Tyutchevy* make no mention of Hortense Lapp. Richard Gregg in his biographical chapter and Semyon Ekshtut in his recent account of T.'s life limit themselves to a brief summary of Chulkov's findings, adding nothing new (Gregg, 17; Ekshtut, 148-150).
103. *Letopis'-2*, 71.
104. *Ibid.*, 85.
105. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Ovstug, 25 Aug./ 6 Sept. 1857. TPD, 292.
106. P.S. Usov, 'Iz moikh vospominaniy', *Istorichesky vestnik*, VII, 1882, Jan., 126.
107. See: *Zhizn'*, 158-160.

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108. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 15/27 March 1848. IV, 438.
109. Ibid.
110. P.A. Vyazemsky to D.P. Severin, SPb., 1848. *Russkaya starina*, LXXXVI, 1896, No.1, 91.
111. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 15/27 March 1848. IV, 439.
112. F.I. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., March 1848. IV, 443. (The phrase printed here as 'le plus grand silence' is clearly a misreading for 'le plus grand service', as indicated both by the context and the Russian translation on p.445.)
113. 'La Russie et la Révolution'. III, 42-54. Further page references are given in the text.
114. Quoted in: III, 319.
115. 'More i utyos'. I, 197-198. The final stanza was printed in the army newspaper *Russky invalid* in Sept. 1848, but the poem was published in full only three years later (I, 484). Various critics have detected thematic and lexical borrowings from Zhukovsky, Benediktov and Boratynsky (see, respectively: D.D. Blagoy, *Tri veka*, M., 1933, 217-220; Gregg, 150, 228; Lane [1984b], 54-56). A further possible influence which appears to have gone unnoticed is Pushkin's depiction of the St Petersburg flood of 1824 in his narrative poem 'Medny vsadnik' ('The Bronze Horseman').
116. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 18/30 May 1848. TPD, 225. Here Ernestine also claims that Nicholas I 'greatly approved' the memorandum. Shevryov too wrote to Pogodin on 22 July that the Tsar 'wanted it [the memorandum] to be published' (Barsukov, IX, 273). On the other hand Vyazemsky claimed to have heard reports that the Tsar was 'very displeased' by it (as note 110, p.90). No doubt Nicholas did have reservations, but decided nevertheless that publication would be in Russia's interest. Support for this interpretation is provided by Ernestine's comment later that year regarding the memorandum: 'The Emperor is prepared to accept his [T.'s] point of view in theory, but certainly not in practice' (Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 19 Sept./ 1 Oct. 1848. TPD, 229). In any case it seems unlikely that T. would have attempted to have the document published abroad without authorisation at the highest level.
117. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 18/30 May 1848. TPD, 225.
118. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Tegernsee, 30 Aug./ 11 Sept. 1848. TPD, 228.
119. P.Ya. Chaadayev to F.I. T., M., July (?) 1848. NPTT, 589.
120. S.P. Shevryov to M.P. Pogodin, M., 22 July 1848. Barsukov, IX, 273.
121. P. de Bourgoing, *Politique et Moyens d'Action de la Russie*, Paris, 1849. See also the following note.
122. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Mu., 16/28 May 1849. TPD, 231-232.
123. As note 121, iv, v.
124. Ibid., i, vii, xvi.
125. E. Forcade, 'Chronique de la Quinzaine', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1849, 2/14 June, 1053-1056.
126. 'Denkschrift, dem Kaiser von Rußland nach der Februar-Revolution übergeben von einem höheren Beamten im Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten', *AZ*, 1849, No.175 (12/24 June), 2707-2709.
127. As note 125, 1053.
128. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Mu., 15/27 June 1849. TPD, 232.
129. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Ovstug, 13/25 - 16/28 July 1849. TPD, 233. For a comprehensive survey of Western reaction to T.'s political publications, including this memorandum, see: Lane (1971); Lane (1988a).
130. Kazanovich, 159-160.
131. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 22 Jan./ 3 Feb. 1851. Lettres, XXII, 283.
132. Quoted in: K.V. Pigaryov, 'F.I. Tyutchev o frantsuzskikh politicheskikh sobytiyakh 1870-1873 gg.', *LN*, XXXI-XXXII, 1937, 758.
133. The surviving materials comprise: 'La Russie et l'Occident'. III, 75-94; '[Otryvok]' (a further note referring to the work). III, 95; 'La question Romaine' (Chapter 2 of the planned work, published separately). III, 55-74. Further page references are given in the text. For an earlier publication of some of this material with commentary see also: K.V. Pigaryov, V.V. Kozhinov, L.R. Lansky, 'Nezavershonnyy traktat "Rossiya i Yevropa"', *LN-I*, 183-230. Two of the three surviving plans of chapter headings have 'La Russie et la Révolution' as Chapter 8 (the other, apparently earlier, draft omits it). This would evidently have been the revised and updated version of T.'s 1848 memorandum eventually published in Russia under that title in 1873 (*RA*, 1873, No.5, 895-912 [French original], 912-931 [Russian translation]). Reprinted: III, 42-54).
134. See: as note 118.
135. F.I. T. to L.V. Tengoborsky, SPb., 3 Dec. 1849. IV, 447.

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136. III, 19.

137. Aksakov, 215; Kozhinov, 286; B.N. Tarasov's commentary in: III, 481.

138. A.V. Meshchersky, 'Iz moyey stariny. Vospominaniya', RA, 1901, No.2, 473 (quoted in Ospovat [1999], 242).

139. Smirnova-Rosset, 5.

140. See Chapter 14.

141. It has been pointed out by B.N. Tarasov in his commentary to 'La Russie et l'Occident' (III, 460) that T. cannot have been aware at this time of the doctrine of 'Moscow the Third Rome' as formulated most fully by the monk Filofey in epistles written at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as these documents were published only in the 1860s. However, later versions of the doctrine from the reign of Ivan IV and in the act instituting the patriarchate of Moscow in 1589 were certainly in the public domain by then. They are discussed for instance in a work well-known to T.: N.M. Karamzin's *Istoriya Rossiyskogo gosudarstva (History of the Russian State)*, published 1816-1818 (VIII, Chapter 3; X, Chapter 2).

142. F.I. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., end of March 1850. V, 13.

143. 'Russkaya geografiya'. I, 200.

144. 'Prorochestvo'. II, 14.

145. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 9/21 Oct. 1849. TPD, 235.

146. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 1/13 Jan. 1850. TPD, 240-241.

147. Lane (1988a), 236.

148. *Ibid.*, 238.

149. *Ibid.*, 236.

150. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 19/31 Jan. 1850. TPD, 242.

151. For a detailed survey of the critical response to T.'s article see Lane (1988a), 236-247.

152. F. Buloz to K. Pfeffel, [Paris?], 22 Dec. 1849/ 3 Jan. 1850. *Zhizn'*, 129.

153. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Mu., 15/27 June 1849. TPD, 232.

154. As note 146, 242.

155. As note 150.

156. F.I. T. to L.V. Tengoborsky, SPb., 3 Dec. 1849. IV, 446-447.

157. As note 146, 240.

158. Vadim Kozhinov has argued (in his Introduction to 'Nezavershonny traktat...': as note 133, 185-187) that T. hoped his planned book *La Russie et l'Occident* would initiate a 'peaceful dialogue' with the West, and that he abandoned it because the first critical responses to the sections published abroad convinced him that such a dialogue was no longer possible. Yet Western responses to Bourgoing's publication of his memorandum (which in revised form would undoubtedly have formed the basis of the chapter 'La Russie et la Révolution') were already known to him when he embarked on the book in the autumn of 1849, and nothing had been added to these by the time he abandoned work on it at the end of the year (the first Western reviews of 'La question Romaine' reached SPb. only after the middle of Jan. 1850 [OS]: see: Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, as note 150; Lane [1988a], 237-239). Nor does the polemical tone of his work suggest a desire for 'peaceful dialogue'. It is curious that Kozhinov, who elsewhere (Kozhinov, 202-213, 272-273, 332-333, 338-341) develops something approaching a conspiracy theory from the differences over foreign policy between Nesselrode and T., should have overlooked such differences as a likely factor in this instance.

159. As note 150.

160. 'Net, karlik moy! trus besprimerny!'. II, 16. The poem was written in May 1850 (*ibid.*, 349).

161. See: 'La question Romaine'. III, 68; 'La Russie et l'Occident'. III, 83, 85-86.

162. *Zhizn'*, 130.

163. Solovyov, 408; *idem*, *O khristianskom yedinstve*, Brussels, 1967, 320; G. Florovsky, 'The Historical Premonitions of Tyutchev', *Slavonic Review*, III, 1924, No.8, 347; D.S. Merezhkovsky, *V tikhom omute. Stat'i i issledovaniya raznykh let*, M., 1991, 469.

164. 'La Russie et la Révolution'. III, 42.

165. Lane (1971), 230. (See also Lane [1988a], 249.)

Chapter 13. Poetic Rebirth, Last Love

1. See Chapter 5.

2. *Lirika*, I, 387-388.

3. Gregg, 102-104, 106.

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4. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel: SPb., 5/17 Jan. 1849; SPb., 23 March/ 4 Apr. 1849. TPD, 230.
5. *Letopis'-2*, 87-89.
6. 'Neokhotno i nesmelo...'. I, 203. Autograph versions bear the note 'Groza dorogoy' ('Thunderstorm on the journey') and the date '6 June 1849' (ibid., 489-490). T. and his family arrived in Ovstug the following day (*Letopis'-2*, 89).
7. 'Itak, opyat' uvidelsya ya s vami...'. I, 204. Dated '13 June 1849' in the autograph (ibid., 491).
8. The reference to Eleonore appears to have been first pointed out by K.V. Pigaryov (*Lirika*, I, 381).
9. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Ovstug, 13-16/ 25-28 July 1849; A.Ya. Bulgakov to P.A. Vyazemsky, M., 23 Aug. 1849. TPD, 233, 235.
10. Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, Ovstug, 5/17 July 1852. TPD, 251-252.
11. 'Tikhoy noch'yu, pozdnim letom...'. I, 205. The autograph is dated '23 July 1849' (ibid., 494).
12. See Chapter 4.
13. As notes 9 and 11; *Letopis'-2*, 91.
14. Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., 19/31 Oct. 1849. TPD, 236.
15. D.V. Grigorovich, *Literaturnye vospominaniya*, M., 1961, 113 (quoted in *Dok.*, 89). Grigorovich's testimony appears to relate to a year or so previously, for according to him Wielhorski (1788-1856) was then 'getting on for sixty'.
16. As note 14.
17. Ibid.
18. G.V. Chagin, 'Zapiski literaturoveda. "Vnov' tvoi ya vizhu ochi..."', *Russkaya slovesnost'*, 1997, No.5, 31, 58. Chagin's suggestion that T. may have heard Grisi perform on a previous occasion in western Europe can almost certainly be discounted in view of the known facts of her singing career. This in no way invalidates his basic hypothesis, however. It is clear from Ernestine's testimony of 19 Oct. (see note 14) that T. had by then already attended more than one of Grisi's performances in SPb. that autumn. This (together with likely meetings in a social setting) would adequately account for the previous encounter or encounters implied by the poem.
19. I, 497.
20. 'Vnov' tvoi ya vizhu ochi...'. I, 208.
21. Kozyrev, 94.
22. Aksakov, 84.
23. 'Slyozy lyudskiy, o slyozy lyudskiy...'. I, 211. The English translation, by Peter Tempest, is from: *Russian 19th-Century Verse. Selected Poems by Pushkin, Baratynsky, Tyutchev, Koltsov, Lermontov, Tolstoy, Fet, Nekrasov* (ed. Irina Zheleznova), Moscow, 1983, 199. It is reproduced here by kind permission of Raduga Publishers, Moscow.
24. 'Russkoy zhenshchine'. I, 209.
25. The poem appeared with this title ('Moyey zemlyachke') on its first publication in the journal *Kievlyanin*, 1850, No.3, 191 (see: I, 499).
26. 'Dva golosa'. II, 25.
27. The borrowing seems first to have been noted by N.V. Aleksandrovskaia in: 'Dva golosa (Tyutchev i Gyote)', *Possev. Odessa-Povolzh'yu: Liter.-kritich. i nauchno-khud. al'manakh*, Odessa, 1921, 96.
28. A.I. Neuslykhin, 'Tyutchev i Gyo'l'derlin', *LN-2*, 542-547.
29. Kozyrev, 92-93.
30. E.g.: 'Svyataya noch' na nebosklon vzosbla...'; 'Ne rassuzhday, ne khlopochi...'; 'Smotri, kak na rechnom prostore...'. I, 215; II, 18, 34.
31. 'Vesna' ('Spring') ('Kak ni gnetyot ruka sud'biny...'). I, 183-184.
32. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Weimar, 30 May/ 11 June 1842. IV, 191.
33. N. N[ekrasov], 'Russkiye vtorstepennye poety. I', *Sovremennik*, 1850, XIX, No.1 (Jan.), section 6, 56-74. Reprinted in *Dok.*, 90-109 (page references from which are given in the text).
34. Pigaryov (1965), 292.
35. A.S. Khomyakov to A.N. Popov, M., Jan. 1850. Khomyakov, VIII, 200.
36. F.I. T. to M.P. Pogodin, SPb., March 1850. V, 12.
37. *Letopis'-2*, 110, 112-113, 121, 133, 137.
38. *Moskvityanin*, 1850, Part 2, No.7 (Apr.), 162.
39. *Zhizn'*, 136.
40. P.A. Pletnyov to V.A. Zhukovsky: 3 Jan., 4 March 1850. P.A. Pletnyov, *Sochineniya i perepiska*, 3 vols., SPb., 1885. III, 621, 640.
41. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Nice, 3/15 Feb. 1865. VI, 96.

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42. Georgievsky, 107, 159 n.9. Although Georgievsky became a close friend of T. and Yelena only a decade after the events in question through his marriage to her half-sister Marie, his memoir (first published in 1989) provides a well-informed and balanced account of the affair. This is fortunate, as apart from T.'s poems and letters it remains practically our only source of information on the matter.
43. *Ibid.*, 107, 125.
44. *Ibid.*, 107.
45. F.I. T. to I.N. & Ye.L. Tyutchev, SPb., 25 Nov. 1845. IV, 325.
46. The first known reference to Yelena in the Tyutchev family correspondence occurs in a letter from Ernestine to Anna dated 14 Nov. 1846 stating that Yelena and her aunt would be coming to dinner the following day (*Letopis'*-2, 51). Returning from abroad in 1847, Anna wrote in her diary that she was looking forward to seeing again 'the elegant Lyolya', Anna Dmitrievna and another of her aunts (entry for 20 Sept./ 2 Oct. 1847. *Ibid.*, 70).
47. Georgievsky, 107, 112. There is a reproduction of Yelena's portrait in water colours (c. 1850) in II, after p.224; the three surviving photographs of her (all from the late 1850s and early 1860s) are reproduced in: V, after p.352; VI, after p.384; *Lirika*, I, opp. p.145.
48. Georgievsky, 107-108.
49. 'Bliznetsy'. II, 13. K.V. Pigaryov was able to date this no more precisely than to before the beginning of 1852 (*Lirika*, I, 400). More recent examination has found autographs of 'Bliznetsy' and 'Poeziya' to be written on matching halves of a single sheet of torn paper. As 'Poeziya' was submitted for publication in *Moskvityanin* before the end of March 1850, the likely date of composition for 'Bliznetsy' can be moved back to 1849 or the earlier part of 1850 (see: II, 345).
50. Kozyrev, 107; Gregg, 180 (and footnote).
51. 'Poshli, Gospod', svoyu otradu...'. II, 19.
52. 'Nash vek', II, 40.
53. ' "Ne day nam dukhu prazdnoslov'ya!"...'; 'I grob opushchen uzh v mogilu...'; 'Ya lyuteran lyublyu bogosluzheniye...'; 'I chuvstva net v tvoikh ochakh...'. I, 35, 138, 156, 172.
54. See, from the earlier period: 'Olegov shchit' and 'Ot russkogo po prochtenii otrыvkov iz lektsiy g-na Mitskevicha' (I, 71, 191). Examples from more recent times (1848-1850) are: 'Russkaya geografiya'; 'Rassvet'; 'Prorochestvo'; 'Uzh tretiy god besnuyutsya yazyki...' (I, 200, 218; II, 14, 15).
55. Apart from the previously mentioned 'Nash vek' (note 52), some of the more striking examples from the 1850s are: 'Pamyati V.A. Zhukovskogo'; 'Eti bednye selen'ya...'; 'O veshchaya dusha moyal...'; 'Vsyo, chto berech' mne udalos'...'; 'Nad etoy tyomnoyu tolпой...' (II, 55-56, 71, 75, 78, 83).
56. Kozyrev, 95-97.
57. See: 'K N.', lines 15-16; 'V dushnom vozdukh molchan'ye...', lines 9-12; 'Ital'yanskaya villa', lines 27-28; 'O, kak ubiystvenno my lyubim...', lines 9-12 (I, 46, 135, 180; II, 35). To these images can be added the conflagration depicted in 'Plamya rdeyet, plamya pyshet...' (II, 69), which threatens the sense of serene fulfilment enjoyed by the poet and his lover with intimations of loss and deprivation.
58. Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., 7/19 May 1850. TPD, 245.
59. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 29 June/ 11 July 1850. TPD, 245-246 (note 1 to passage 93).
60. Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., 2/14 July 1850. TPD, 245.
61. Georgievsky, 108.
62. As note 60.
63. '15 iyulya 1865 g.'. II, 147.
64. 'Kak ni dyshit polden' znoyny...'. II, 21.
65. Petrova, 58; Pigaryov (1965), 298; D.S. Merezhkovsky, *Dve tayny russkoy poezii. Nekrasov i Tyutchev*, Petrograd, 1915, 110.
66. Georgievsky, 111.
67. *Ibid.*
68. 'O, kak ubiystvenno my lyubim...'. II, 35.
69. Georgievsky, 108.
70. *Ibid.*, 125.
71. 'Na Neve'. II, 20.
72. A.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, SPb., 10 Aug. 1850. TPD, 246-247.
73. 'Pod dykhan'yem nepogody...'. II, 22.
74. Georgievsky, 110, 125.
75. 'Chemu molilas' ty s lyubov'yu...'. II, 53.

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76. Georgievsky, 110.
77. Ibid.
78. 'Ya ochi znal, — o, eti ochi!..' II, 51.
79. Although no autograph manuscript survives, the existence of a copy in the 'Sushkov notebook' dates it reliably to before the beginning of 1852. According to Chulkov, 'It must be assumed that the poem refers to Ye. Denis'yeva; however, the past tense introduced by the poet in the first lines of the piece and maintained until the end gives some cause for doubt' (Chulkov [1928], 98). Chulkov's remarks are quoted and endorsed by the compilers of all subsequent major editions: *Lirika*, I, 399; *PSS* (1987), 396; II, 388-389.
80. Tyutchev (F.F.), 237.
81. *Zhizn'*, 148.
82. Georgievsky, 125.
83. As note 68, 35-36.
84. Chulkov (1928), 37.
85. Georgievsky, 111-112.
86. 'Ne raz ty slyshala priznan'ye...'. II, 39.
87. Chulkov (1923), 15.
88. 'Des premiers ans de votre vie...'. II, 28.
89. *Lirika*, I, 394-395; *Zhizn'*, 149-150.
90. 'Ne znayu ya, kosnyotsya l' blagodat'...'. II, 37.
91. *Letopis'*-2, 121.
92. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 18 June 1851. RGB.308.1.19, l. 3-4. (Here he also writes of being treated for haemorrhoids.)
93. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 2 July 1851. V, 33-34.
94. Tyutchev (F.F.), 227.
95. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 16/28 Nov. 1853. V, 146-147.
96. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 6 July 1851. V, 36-37.
97. *Letopis'*-2, 125. Foreign Ministry records show that on 5 June T. had been granted 28 days' leave (*ibid.*, 121).
98. Georgievsky, 112, 126.
99. 'Predopredeleniye' ('Predestination'). II, 50.
100. 'O, ne trevozh' menya ukoroy spravedlivoy...'. II, 42.
101. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Geneva, 8/20 Sept. 1864. VI, 75.
102. 'Ne govori, menya on, kak i prezhde, lyubit...'. II, 52.
103. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M.: 29 June; 25 June 1851. V, 28, 29; RGB.308.1.19 (page ref. unavailable).
104. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 31 July 1851. V, 60.
105. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 3 Aug. 1851. V, 67.
106. 'V razluke yest' vysokoye znachen'ye...'. II, 44.
107. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 6 Aug. 1851. V, 74.
108. *Letopis'*-2, 136.
109. 'Den' vechereyet, noch' blizka...'. II, 46. No autograph manuscript has survived, but a copy in Ernestine's album bears the date '1851'. The first publication (in *Sovremennik*, 1854, XLV, No.5, 13-14) is dated more precisely '1 November 1851'. (See: II, 382; *Lirika*, I, 397.)
110. This is particularly apparent in the Russian texts of the poems. 'Ya pomnyu vremya zolotoye...' has: 'den' vecheref' ('day was turning to evening'); 'kray neba dymno gas' ('the edge of the sky grew hazily dark'); 'nad nami proletala ten'' ('above us the shadow flew by') (I, 162, lines 3, 18, 24). Compare in 'Den' vechereyet, noch' blizka...': 'den' vechereyet' ('day is turning to evening'); 'na nebe gasnut oblaka' ('in the sky the clouds grow dark'); 'dlinney s gory lozhitsya ten'' ('the shadow from the mountain grows [lit. "falls"] longer') (II, 46, lines 1, 3, 2).
111. A.P. Auer, notes to the poem in: II, 383.
112. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 28 Aug. 1851. V, 94.
113. A.A. Blok, *Sobraniye sochineniy*, 8 vols., M. & L., 1962. VII, 32.
114. Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., 19/31 May 1852. TPD, 250; *Letopis'*-2, 125, 141.
115. A.F. Tyutcheva, *Pri dvore dvukh imperatorov. Vospominaniya i dnevniki*, M., 2004 [not to be confused with *Pri dvore-I, -2*], 88-89 (diary, 16 Aug. 1852).
116. Ern. T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, Ovstug, 5/17 July 1852. TPD, 251-252.
117. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 7/19 Sept. 1850. TPD, 247 (and see 248 n.1); *Letopis'*-2, 141-143. The new railway link had been opened for public use on 1 Nov. 1851 (*Letopis'*-2, 133).
118. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb.: 2 July; 9 July 1852. RGB.308.1.20, l. 3-4; Lettres, XVIII, 34.

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119. 'Siyayet solntse, vody bleshchut...'. II, 57 (and see *ibid.*, 394).
120. Kozyrev, 94.
121. 'Ty, volna moya morskaya...'. II, 54.
122. Kozyrev, 112-114.
123. 'Poslednyaya lyubov' '. II, 59 (for dating see *ibid.*, 396).
124. 'K N.'; 'Sey den', ya pomnyu, dlya menya...'. I, 46, 131.
125. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb.: 27 Sept.; 1 Nov. 1852. Lettres, XVIII, 41; RGB.308.1.20, *l. 58-59ob.*
126. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 31 July 1851. V, 60.
127. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Kamenny Ostrov, 9 July 1852. RGB.308.1.20, *l. 5-6ob.*; A.F. Tyutcheva (as note 115).
128. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Kamenny Ostrov, 2 Aug. 1852. V, 113.
129. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 17 Dec. 1852. V, 128.
130. F.I. T. to Grand Duchess Maria Nikolayevna, SPb., 31 Aug. 1852. V, 116-117; F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 27 Sept. 1852. RGB.308.1.20, *l. 42-43ob.* (summarised in *Letopis'-2*, 152).
131. Writing to Ernestine on 26 Nov. 1852, T. gives a 'timetable' of his typical round of engagements, including invitations to soirées (often two at a time) for every day of the week. 'To this accumulation of soirées' (he continues) 'add invitations to dinner, and then the Italian opera, the French theatre, morning concerts' (*Letopis'-2*, 158).
132. N.I. Tyutchev to Ern. T., M., 3 Dec. 1852. *Ibid.*, 159.
133. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Paris, 10/22 Sept. 1852. *Ibid.*, 151.
134. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 27 Sept. 1852. *Ibid.*, 152.
135. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 26 Dec. 1852. Lettres, XVIII, 44-45.
136. 'Charodeykoyu zimoyu...'. II, 58. The autograph is dated '31 December 1852' (*ibid.*, 395).
137. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 1 & 2 Jan. 1853. TPD, 252-253.
138. *Ibid.*, 253 (diary, 2 Jan.); letters to A.F. Tyutcheva from Ovstug of Ye.F. Tyutcheva (5 Jan.), D.F. Tyutcheva (5 Jan.) and Ern. T. (7 Jan.) 1853. TPD, 253.
139. Ye.F. Tyutcheva to A.F. Tyutcheva, Ovstug, 11 Jan. 1853. *Letopis'-2*, 164.
140. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Roslavl, 22 Jan. 1853. RGB.308.1.21, *l. 1-2.*
141. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 25 Feb. 1853. V, 133.
142. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14 Feb. 1853. RGB.308.1.21, *l. 9-10ob.*
143. *Ibid.*; F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 18 Feb. 1853. *Letopis'-2*, 168.
144. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 22 March 1853. V, 138; Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 11/23 May 1853. *Letopis'-2*, 172.
145. *Pri dvore-1*, 116-117, 118.
146. Details of the Tyutchevs' travels abroad up to this point have been taken from Anna's and Ernestine's letters from 15/27 June to 5/17 July in: TPD, 256; *Letopis'-2*, 174.
147. See the eyewitness accounts quoted in Liedtke, 135-136.
148. Varnhagen von Ense's diary for 26 Oct. 1853 (NS) records the receipt of a letter from Maltitz in Weimar containing 'greetings via Tyutchev from Heine in Paris [...] Tyutchev found Heine still full of life' (Varnhagen, X, 323).
149. R. Leyn [= R. Lane], 'Zagranichnaya poyezdka Tyutcheva v 1853 g.', *LN-2*, 468-469.
150. Heine (1970), XXIII, 291-292. For a list of the books sent with the letter see Lane (as note 149), 470 *n.42*.
151. *Letopis'-2*, 176.
152. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Weimar, 27 Aug./ 8 Sept. 1853. RGB.308.1.21, *l. 21-22.*
153. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14/26 Sept. 1853. *Ibid.*, *l. 27-30ob.*
154. *Ibid.* In the transcripts made under the direction of K.V. Pigaryov the place-name is given as 'Soldau', evidently a misreading for 'Goldau'. The same letter also mentions the Rigi and Lake Lucerne (incorrectly given as 'Lake Léman' in the extract published in Lettres, XVIII, 52).
155. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 27 July 1854. V, 182. See also his recollection of having ascended the Rigi-Kulm (the highest peak of the massif) in a letter to Ernestine of 18 Aug. 1855 (V, 190).
156. Ern. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Lindau, 21 Aug./ 2 Sept. 1853. *Letopis'-2*, 177; F.I. T. to Ern. T.: Weimar, 27 Aug./ 8 Sept.; Warsaw, 2/14 Sept. 1853. RGB.308.1.21, *l. 21-22, 25-26* (published with omissions in: Lettres, XVIII, 49-51).
157. Ern. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Lindau, 6/18 Sept. 1853. *Letopis'-2*, 178.
158. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 18/30 Sept. 1853. RGB.308.1.21, *l. 31-32ob.*
159. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14/26 Sept. 1853. Lettres, XVIII, 51.
160. 'Neman'. II, 60-61. For an account of the poem's composition and publication history see *ibid.*, 397-399. A translated extract from the poem is quoted in Chapter 1.

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161. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Warsaw, 2/14 Sept. 1853. Lettres, XVIII, 51.
162. As note 153 (and see note 154 re the misreading of 'Lake Lucerne' in Lettres).
163. As note 153. (The text as printed in Lettres [XVIII, 52] does not make it clear that the reference is to *silver* roubles)
164. As note 153 (this section is omitted in Lettres).
165. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., undated, 1853. Quoted (in Russian translation) with the date 29 Sept./ 11 Oct. in Kozhinov, 382. The same letter is quoted in a different translation in *Letopis'-2*, 183, where it is dated 14/26 Oct. on the basis of its supposed context among other letters. Kozhinov's dating is more convincing. In the archive the letter is preserved (presumably in the order in which Ernestine received it — and she is known to have been careful about such matters) between two others dated 27 Sept./ 9 Oct. and 3/15 Oct. respectively (see the archival references in *Letopis'-2*, 181, 182, 183). In the letter dated 27 Sept./ 9 Oct. T. writes of the 'feeling of incredible pity' which he had experienced on reading her 'long awaited letter': 'You tell me that our present separation is more important for us than that of last year... Who are you telling? Do you think I see it any differently?' (*ibid.*, 181). The undated letter would appear to be a second response to the same letter from Ernestine after its impact had had time to sink in. It is marked 'Wednesday' (*ibid.*, 183), allowing us to date it 30 Sept./ 12 Oct. 1853 (Kozhinov's dating of it a day earlier must be assumed to reflect an error in calculation).
166. Kozhinov, 377-378.
167. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 27 Sept./ 9 Oct. 1853. *Letopis'-2*, 181.
168. 'When you tell me that I have plenty of strings to my bow, etc., etc., it all has an air of mockery,' he writes to Ernestine on 16/28 Oct. in response to one of her letters (V, 143).
169. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 10/22 Oct. 1853. RGB.308.1.21, l. 41.
170. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 26 Oct./ 7 Nov. 1853. *Ibid.*, l. 44-45ob.
171. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Tsarskoye Selo: 26 Oct.; beginning of Nov. 1853. *Letopis'-2*, 184; TPD, 258.
172. See: Ern. T. to A.F. & D.F. Tyutcheva, Mu., 18/30 Nov. 1853; Ern. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Mu., 9/21 Jan. 1854. TPD, 258, 259-260.
173. As note 172 (letter of 9/21 Jan.).
174. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb.: 23 July; 27 July 1854. V, 177, 182.
175. Ern. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Mu., 17/29 Apr. 1854. TPD, 262. The French and British declarations of war against Russia came into effect on 15 and 30 April (NS) respectively (Florinsky, II, 868-869).
176. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 9 June 1854. V, 163; A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., May (after the 11th) 1854. TPD, 263.
177. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., (between 3 and 10) May 1854. TPD, 262 (see also note 2 to the letter).
178. *Pri dvore-1*, 138 (diary, 26 May 1854); F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 9 June 1854. V, 163.
179. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 104, states on the basis of one of T.'s unpublished letters that Ernestine left Ovstug on 5 October. *Letopis'-2*, 220, suggests a later date, pointing out that according to Anna's diary (*Pri dvore-1*, 165) Darya was still 'in the country' on 8 November. It may simply be that Darya stayed on at Ovstug after Ernestine left with the younger children.
180. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 23 July 1854. V, 175-176.
181. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 27 July 1854. V, 181.
182. 'Pominki (Iz Shillera)'. II, 29-33.
183. *Raut na 1852 god* (ed. N.V. Sushkov), M., 1852, 201. The poems were: 'Grafine Ye.P. Rostopchinoy (v otvet na yeyo pis'mo)'; 'Pervy list'; 'Volna i duma'; 'Ne ostyvshaya ot znoyu...'; 'Ty znayesh' kray, gde mirt i lavr rastyot...' (a translation of Goethe's 'Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn...'). II, 26-27, 38, 41, 43, 45.
184. *Zhizn'*, 138.
185. Pigaryov (1935b), 377-379; K.V. Pigaryov, 'Stikhotvoreniya Tyutcheva v "Biblioteke Poeta"', in: *Izdaniye klassicheskoy literatury. Iz opyta 'Biblioteki Poeta'*, M., 1963, 179.
186. A.F. Tyutcheva to D.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 11 March 1853. TPD, 254.
187. N.V. Sushkov, 'Obozh k potomstvu s knigami i rukopisyami', *Dok.*, 111 (first publ. in *Raut*, III [ed. N.V. Sushkov], M., 1854, 350-351).
188. See his review of *Raut na 1852 god* in: *Sovremennik*, 1852, XXXII, No.4 (April), section 4, 77-78 (reprinted in: N.A. Nekrasov, *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy i pisem*, 12 vols., M., 1948-1953. IX, 664-665).
189. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 10 Dec. 1852. V, 124.

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190. *Ibid.*; Ern T. to P.A. Vyazemsky, Ovstug, 10/22 Dec. 1852. TPD, 252.
191. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 28 Dec. 1853. TPD, 259 (see also note 2 to the letter). Already in Jan. 1853 Turgenev had written that the poetry of T. and Fet would 'find an echo in the heart' of their readers (I. T[urgenev], 'Zapiski ruzheyenogo okhotnika Orenburgskoy gubernii S. A[ksakov]-a, M., 1852', *Sovremennik*, 1853, XXXVII, No.1 [Jan.], section 3, 43. Reprinted in: Turgenev S, V, 420).
192. I.S. Turgenev to S.A. Aksakov, SPb., 10 Feb. 1854. Turgenev P, II, 216-217. The earliest documented reference to plans by the *Sovremennik* editors to publish T.'s poetry is a diary entry by the literary historian and bibliophile G.N. Gennadi dated 5 Jan. 1854 (Ospovat [1989], 500). It is not clear from this whether T. had by then agreed to the proposal.
193. A.A. Fet, *Moi vospominaniya*, M., 1890, Part 1, 134-135.
194. P.A. Pletnyov to P.A. Vyazemsky, SPb., [Feb.] 1854. Ospovat (1980), 42.
195. Pigaryov (1935b), 377-378.
196. 'Stikhotvoreniya F. Tyutcheva', *Sovremennik*, 1854, XXXIV, No.3 (March), and XXXV, No.4 (Apr.); *Stikhotvoreniya F. Tyutcheva*, SPb., 1854 (censor's approval dated 30 May).
197. I. T[urgenev], 'Neskol'ko slov o stikhotvoreniyakh F.I. Tyutcheva', *Sovremennik*, 1854, XXXV, No.4 (April), section 3, 23-26. Reprinted in *Dok.*, 112-115, page references for which are given in the text.
198. At the beginning of Sept. 1848 T., Vyazemsky and Pletnyov met to read and discuss a manuscript copy of Zhukovsky's poem 'K russkomu velikanu' ('To the Russian Giant'), in which Russia is compared to a granite cliff standing firm against the tempestuous waves of revolution. While admiring the poem as a whole, they found the ending somewhat weak. The following day T. showed the other two his suggested rewriting of the final lines, together with a short poem of his own on the same theme (subsequently reworked and expanded as 'More i utyos' ['The Sea and the Cliff']). They all agreed that Zhukovsky's poem should be published in T.'s amended version, and a few days later it appeared (together with T.'s own poem) in the newspaper *Russky invalid*. When Zhukovsky (then abroad) learned of this, he expressed his displeasure at such unauthorised meddling with his verse. See: V.A. Zhukovsky to A.Ya. Bulgakov, Frankfurt, 27 Sept./ 9 Oct. 1848. Zhukovsky (1999), II, 733-734; P.A. Vyazemsky to V.A. Zhukovsky, SPb., 18/30 Oct. 1848. *Perepiska P.A. Vyazemskogo i V.A. Zhukovskogo (1842-1852)* (ed. M.I. Gippel'son), L., 1980, 61. (Both letters are also quoted in *Letopis'-2*, 80-81, 82.)
199. Quoted in: G.I. Chulkov, 'Ob izdaniy stikhotvoreiy Tyutcheva', *PSS* (1933), I, 71-72.
200. See Ivan Aksakov's first-hand account of his experiences as editor of the 1868 edition of T.'s verse (Aksakov, 323-324), also T.'s own comments on the latter publication after it had appeared (F.I. T. to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 26 March 1868. VI, 316-317; 'Mikhailu Petrovichu Pogodinu'. II, 191).
201. G.S. Gagarin to P.V. Bykov, Bordighera, 14 Nov. 1912 (NS?). A.A. Nikolayev, 'Ob izdaniy "Polnogo sobraniya sochineniy" Tyutcheva (1912)', *LN-2*, 537. T. first met Kovalevsky at the very end of the 1850s (*ibid.*, 540 n.29).
202. A.A. Fet, *Vecherniye ogni*, M., 1888, Part 3, 242.
203. For a full review of this evidence see: Pigaryov (1935b), 380-383.
204. *Ibid.*, 383.
205. For a survey of the reviews in 1854 see: Ospovat (1980), 50-56; *Zhizn'*, 140-143.
206. Ospovat (1980), 64-65.
207. *Vsemirnaya illyustratsiya*, 1873, No.244, 155 (quoted in: Ospovat [1980], 73).
208. Fet (1859), 121.
209. Ospovat (1980), 59.
210. *Ibid.*, 58.
211. 'Na knizhke stikhotvoreniy Tyutcheva'. A.A. Fet, *Stikhotvoreniya i poemy*, L., 1986, 331.

Chapter 14. New Beginnings

1. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 16/28 Nov. 1853. V, 148.
2. *Pri dvore-1*, 128 (diary, 14 Nov. 1853).
3. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 3 July 1855. Lettres, XIX, 141. The reference is to Mozart's *Don Giovanni*.
4. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 2/14 Feb. 1854. *Ibid.*, 104, 105.
5. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 10/22 Feb. 1854. *Ibid.*, 106.
6. See: Pogodin, 14 (diary entries for June and Nov. 1854, Aug. 1855); D.I. Sushkova to N.V. Sush-

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kov, M., 5 Aug. 1855. TPD, 272.

7. *Pri dvore-1*, 132-133.

8. See: Pogodin, 14 (entries for 1854 and 1855, *passim*). Writing to Pogodin after the war (on 13 Oct. 1857), T. made it clear that he fully endorsed Pogodin's articles and advised him to have them printed abroad (V, 265-266). Pogodin eventually followed this advice; the letters and articles appeared as: *Pis'ma i stat'i M. Pogodina o politike Rossii v otnoshenii slavyanskikh narodov i zapadnoy Yevropy*, published in the series: *Russky zagranichny sbornik*, IV, Nos. 2-4, Leipzig, 1860-1861. (The letters addressed to T. are numbered 18 and 23.)

9. *Pri dvore-2*, 52.

10. In a document dated 18 Jan. 1854 the Executive Director of the Third Section, L.V. Dubelt, wrote of the Slavophiles: 'Expressing themselves in a declamatory and ambiguous fashion, they have not infrequently given cause for doubt as to whether behind their protestations of patriotism are not concealed aims inimical to our government' (quoted in: M.K. Lemke, *Nikolayevskiy zhandarmy i literatura 1826-1855 gg. Po podlinnym delam Tret'yego otdeleniya sobst. ye. i velichestva kantselyarii*, SPb., 1908, 217). For testimony of Slavophiles to harassment and surveillance by the government, including the interception of mail, see for instance: Koshelyov, 87; Yury Samarín, *Sochineniya* (ed. D. Samarín), 12 vols., M., 1877-1911. XII, 151, 281.

11. Yury Samarín and Ivan Aksakov, for instance. See: V.N. Kasatkina, 'I.S. Aksakov — biograf Tyutcheva', *Kommentariy*, 10.

12. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Mu., 13/25 March 1855. TPD, 269.

13. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 26 Oct./ 8 Nov. 1853. Lettres, XVIII, 57 (here incorrectly dated 22 Oct.: see *Letopis'-2*, 184).

14. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 17 Feb./ 1 March 1854. Lettres, XIX, 107.

15. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 23 Nov./ 5 Dec. 1853. Lettres, XVIII, 60.

16. As note 13.

17. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 11/23 Dec. 1853. Lettres, XVIII, 62.

18. Florinsky, II, 870.

19. As note 14, 108.

20. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 8/20 Apr. 1854. Lettres, XIX, 113.

21. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 19 June 1854. V, 172.

22. Lane (1971), 224; Lane (1988a), 243.

23. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb.: 21 Apr./ 3 May; 5 Aug. 1854. Lettres, XIX, 114; *Letopis'-2*, 216. For further comments by T. on the publications see his letters to Ernestine of 29 June and 25 Aug. 1854 (Lettres, XIX, 122-123; V, 195).

24. See: K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Baden, 16/28 Oct. 1855. TPD, 278.

25. Lane (1971), 224-226; Lane (1988a), 243.

26. Quoted in Lane (1971), 224, 225.

27. Quoted in: *ibid.*, 226. Although Lane suggests here that the article in question could be by Forcade, in a subsequent publication (Lane [1988a], 243) he is positive in identifying the author as Mazade.

28. E. Forcade, 'L'Autriche et la politique du cabinet de Vienne dans la Question de l'Orient', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1854, VI, 1 June, 870-893.

29. Lane (1971), 225; Lane (1988a), 243. See also: Lettres, XIX, 104-105, 112.

30. See: K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Mu., 28 May/ 9 June 1854. TPD, 263.

31. *Ibid.*

32. See T.'s letters to Ernestine of 29 June and 5 Aug. 1854 (Lettres, XIX, 123, 127).

33. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 9 June 1854. V, 165.

34. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 23 July 1854. V, 177.

35. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 10/22 March 1854. V, 161.

36. As note 20, 112.

37. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 27 July 1854. V, 182.

38. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 19 June 1854. V, 172.

39. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 13 June 1854. Lettres, XIX, 118.

40. See *Pri dvore-1*, 174-184 (diary, 19 Feb. 1855) for Anna's detailed account from inside the palace of Nicholas's last days and death. The facts as laid out here contradict later rumours that the Emperor committed suicide.

41. *Ibid.*, 185. (See also *Tyutcheviana*, 26, where T.'s comment is quoted in the original French.)

42. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 20 Feb./ 4 March 1855. V, 203.

43. *Pri dvore-1*, 197 (diary, 27 Feb. 1855).

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44. 'Po sluchayu priyezda avstrijskogo ertsgerstsoa na pokhorony imperatora Nikolaya'. II, 68.
45. Copies were even circulating in Moscow within a few days, as is clear from diary entries by Pogodin on 6 March (Pogodin, 14) and Vera Aksakova on 8 March (V.S. Aksakova, *Dnevnik. 1854-1855*, SPb., 1903, 81).
46. As note 42, 203-204.
47. Florinsky, II, 871.
48. *Pri dvore-2*, 16 (diary, 15 March 1855).
49. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 21 May 1855. V, 207.
50. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 20 June 1855. V, 213.
51. 'Vot ot morya i do morya...' ('From one sea unto the other...'). II, 72.
52. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 9 Sept. 1855. V, 219.
53. *Pri dvore-2*, 49-50 (diary, 3 Sept. 1855).
54. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 17 Sept. 1855. V, 225.
55. As note 24.
56. 'Ne Bogu ty sluzhil i ne Rossii...'. II, 73. K.V. Pigaryov considers the poem to have been written soon after the fall of Sevastopol (*Lirika*, I, 408).
57. F.I. T. to M.P. Pogodin, SPb., 11 Oct. 1855. V, 231.
58. Florinsky, II, 871.
59. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 10/22 Jan. 1856. TPD, 282 (here the letter is said to have been sent from Munich: clearly an error).
60. Fisher, II, 1034.
61. G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, London, 1942, 548.
62. For evidence that the term originated with T., see: I.S. Aksakov to S.T. Aksakov, M., 8 Apr. 1855. *I.S. Aksakov v yego pis'makh*, 4 vols., M., 1888-1896. III, 115; Aksakova (as note 45), 102 (diary, 10 Apr. 1855).
63. See: F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 5 June 1858. V, 267-268.
64. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 13/25 Nov. 1861. TPD, 326.
65. F.I. T. to A.D. Bludova, SPb., 28 Sept. 1857. *Pis'ma*, 250-252.
66. See D.F. Tyutcheva's account in letters from Ovstug in Aug. 1858 to A.I. Kozlova (15 Aug.) and A.F. Tyutcheva (17 Aug.). TPD, 273-274.
67. Most notably in *The Brothers Karamazov* (in the chapter 'The Grand Inquisitor'); he also quoted it in his 1880 speech on Pushkin.
68. 'Eti bednye selen'ya...'. II, 71.
69. 'Nad etoy tyomnoyu tolпой...'. II, 83.
70. Aksakov, 275-276.
71. 'Aleksandru Vtoromu' ('To Alexander II'). II, 108.
72. Empress Maria Aleksandrovna to D.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., end of March (after the 25th) 1861. TPD, 323.
73. Ye.M. Feoktistov, *Vospominaniya. Za kulisami politiki i literatury. 1846-1896*, L., 1929, 188.
74. Tyutchev (F.F.), 230.
75. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 27 Feb. and 6 March 1861. TPD, 322.
76. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 23 July 1854. V, 177. (The text as printed in *Lettres*, XIX, 124 appears on this occasion to be more accurate. It includes immediately after 'dans le moment donné' the phrase 'une vive jouissance', omitted in V, 177 yet clearly required by the sense.)
77. *Tyutchevy*, 305.
78. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 18/30 Apr. 1856. TPD, 283. T.'s letter to Ernestine of 19 June 1854 (V, 172) implies that he was then already well acquainted with Gorchakov. It is quite possible that they met in the 1830s when Gorchakov was serving on the staff of the Russian Embassy in Vienna.
79. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 25 May 1857. *Lettres*, XIX, 163.
80. Kozhinov, 210-211.
81. T. was widely credited in SPb. circles with describing Gorchakov as 'le Narcisse de l'écrivain' ('The Narcissus of the inkwell') (quoted from the unpublished notebook of B.A. Kozlov in: *Tyutcheviana* [2nd. ed., revised and augmented by G.V. Chagin], M., 1999, 23). However, in a letter to Ernestine dated 31 Aug. 1867 T. denied authorship of the aphorism (VI, 262; see also *ibid.*, 513-514, n.1).
82. As note 79, 163-164.
83. *Letopis'-2*, 262.
84. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 25 May 1857. *Ibid.*, 266. For details of T.'s salary that year see: Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel (as note 85).

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85. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Ovstug, 25 Aug./ 6 Sept. 1857. TPD, 292.
86. Aksakov, 266-267.
87. 'Lettre sur la censure en Russie'. III, 96-106. Further page references are given in the text. See also: D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 27 Oct. 1857; N.I. Tyutchev to Ern. T., M., 6 Dec. 1857; D.I. Sushkova to S.D. Poltoratsky, M., 16 Jan. 1858. TPD, 293.
88. Timashov's memo, dated 8 Nov. 1857, is quoted in: I.V. Porokh (ed.), *Iz istorii obshchestvennoy mysli i obshchestvennogo dvizheniya v Rossii*, Saratov, 1964, 128.
89. *Letopis'-2*, 284-285; Aksakov, 274.
90. A.Ye. Yegorov, 'Stranitsy iz moyey zhizni', *Dok.*, 243 (reprinted from: *Istorichesky vestnik*, 1912, CXXVII, No.1 [Jan.], 59-66).
91. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel: Ovstug, 19/31 May 1862; Nice, 29 Jan./ 10 Feb. 1865. TPD, 329, 369.
92. F.I. T. to P.K. Shchekalsky, SPb., [1861-1863?]. NPTT, 584.
93. *Letopis'-2*, 284, 360.
94. *Ibid.*, 306.
95. D.I. Sushkova to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, M., 28 Apr. 1858; Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 20 Oct./ 1 Nov. 1858. TPD, 295, 297.
96. M.L. Zlatkovsky, *Apollon Nikolayevich Maykov. 1821-1897. Biografichesky ocherk* (2nd., revised ed.), SPb., 1898, 61.
97. *Ibid.*, 85.
98. For details of the Committee of Foreign Censorship's working methods and organisation see: Zlatkovsky (as note 96); Yegorov (as note 90), 241-243. (Yegorov began work at the Committee's head office only in the autumn of 1872: *ibid.*, 241, 466-467 [note].)
99. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb.: 16 June 1860; 18 Aug. 1862. Lettres, XXI, 175, 176.
100. 'O nekotorykh izmeneniyakh v poriyadke tsenzurnogo rassmotreniya inostrannykh knig' (unsigned memorandum, drawn up under T.'s direction and submitted to Minister of Education A.V. Golovnin in 1862). Printed in full in *Tyutchevy*, 316-318 (here: 316-317).
101. *Zhizn'*, 165.
102. Briskman, 567; 'O nekotorykh...' (as note 100), 318.
103. Nikitenko, II, 37 (diary, 5 Oct. 1858).
104. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 17 Sept. 1858. Lettres, XIX, 189.
105. Nikitenko, II, 12-13, 16-20, 24-27, 36-37, 50, 59-60, 65, 75; F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14 Sept. 1858. *Letopis'-2*, 302.
106. P.V. Dolgorukov to N.V. Putyata, 21 Dec. 1858. *Muranovsky sbornik*, Muranovo, 1928, 112-114.
107. Briskman, 568.
108. *Ibid.*, 571.
109. *Zhizn'*, 162-164.
110. 'O nekotorykh...' (as note 100), 317.
111. 'Velen'yu vysshemu pokornyy...'. II, 222.
112. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 1 June 1857. Lettres, XIX, 165.
113. F.I. T. to Ye.P. Kovalevsky, Wiesbaden, 25 July/ 6 Aug. 1860. VI, 9-10.
114. F.I. T. to Ern. T.: Berlin, 1/13 June; Mu., 15/27 June 1859. Lettres, XXI, 157, 159; F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Bad Reichenhall, 3/15 June 1859. V, 294.
115. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 4 Jan. 1860. TPD, 309. The image is biblical in origin: see Proverbs, XXVI, 11; Second Epistle of Peter, II, 22.
116. F.I. T. to A.M. Gorchakov, SPb., 21 Apr. 1859. V, 284-286. For evidence of T.'s frequent meetings with Gorchakov at this time see TPD, 300 (note 1 to passage 220).
117. *Pri dvore-2*, 193 (diary, 16 Apr. 1859). Here Anna states that the pro-Austrian party at court included several government ministers (Sukhozanet, Chevkin, Panin) and the Head of the Third Section, Vasily Dolgorukov.
118. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 5 Sept. 1858. Lettres, XIX, 185.
119. T. acknowledged Khomyakov as his intellectual equal (V, 38) and described his theological writings as 'the most intelligent glorification of the Orthodox Church and doctrine' (VI, 360); of Samarin he asserted that none could match his intellect (TPD, 287 [passage 186]); while the political writings of Ivan Aksakov displayed in his opinion a 'superiority to everything without exception written and printed in our country' (VI, 13).
120. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 6 June 1858. V, 276.
121. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 27 Apr. 1859. V, 289.
122. F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 23 Oct. 1861. VI, 13 (my italics). For later references to 'your

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- teaching' and 'your belief' in letters to Aksakov see: VI, 197, 364; *LN-1*, 355.
123. Aksakov, 61.
124. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 1 Aug. 1863. Lettres, XXI, 207.
125. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Tsarskoye Selo, 8 June 1863. *Ibid.*, 202.
126. R. Lane, 'Tjutcev's Role as Mediator Between the Government and M.N. Katkov (1863-1866)', *Russian Literature*, XVII, 1985, 116-117; V.A. Tvardovskaya, 'Tyutchev v obshchestvennoy bor'be poreformennoy Rossii', *LN-1*, 143, 146-147; Florinsky, II, 915-916.
127. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 19 May 1863. Lettres, XXI, 198-199.
128. F.I. T. to Ye. F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 18 May 1863. Summarised in *Letopis'* (Ch.), 151-152; F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 1 June 1863. Lettres, XXI, 200.
129. 'Uzhasny son otyagotel nad nami...'. II, 121.
130. See diary entries by Maria Tyutcheva for 17 March 1863 (TPD, 335) and A.V. Nikitenko for 21 May 1863 (Nikitenko, II, 333).
131. TPD, 339 (note 10 to passage 310.).
132. Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.F. Tyutcheva, Novoye, 16 June 1863. TPD, 337.
133. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 1 Aug. 1863. Lettres, XXI, 207-208.
134. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, M., 25 June 1863. Pigaryov (1935a), 222.
135. A.M. Gorchakov to F.I. T., SPb., 25 July 1863. Unpublished, but summarised with brief quotations in Tvardovskaya (as note 126), 143, and VI, 438 *n.1*.
136. Georgievsky, 116. Georgievsky recalls Gorchakov praising him later that year for some of his editorials on the Polish question in *Moskovskiye vedomosti* (*ibid.*, 118). He also states that while working as a journalist for another newspaper in 1863-1864 he received from T. 'information and pointers' relating to foreign affairs and found these 'of great use' (*ibid.*, 117). Of a somewhat later period Georgievsky writes that Tyutchev 'was not averse to sharing his views with the wider public through the medium of myself and *Moskovskiye vedomosti*; sometimes he was expressly authorised to do this by Prince Gorchakov and even Valuyev — the latter on matters concerning the press. As far as I could, I made use in my articles of his reports and even some of his particularly felicitous expressions' (*ibid.*, 146).
137. Tvardovskaya (as note 126), 143-144, 168 *n.56*; VI, 438-439, *n.3*.
138. As note 134.
139. F.I. T. to A.M. Gorchakov, M., 11 July 1863. VI, 24-25; see also 430-431, *n.1*
140. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 6 Nov. 1863. Lettres, XXI, 214.
141. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 13 Nov. 1863. *Ibid.*, 215. See also II, 483.
142. 'Yego svetlosti knyazyu A.A. Suvorovu' ('To His Grace Prince A.A. Suvorov'). II, 122.
143. Ye.A. Denisyeva to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., Oct. 1863. Chulkov (1928), 115.
144. *Kolokol*, 1 Jan. 1864 (NS), 1452. Herzen's editorial comments on the poem are quoted in II, 483.
145. F.I. T. to Ya.P. Polonsky, Nice, 8/20 Dec. 1864. VI, 84.
146. Georgievsky, 138.
147. *Pri dvore-2*, 85 (diary, 24 Nov. 1855).
148. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 23 Apr. 1855. TPD, 269.
149. From 1 June 1863, for instance, they rented a dacha in the Chornaya Rechka district, to the north of the Islands. See: Ye.A. Denisyeva to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 29 May 1863. Chulkov (1928), 118.
150. 'Plamya rdeyet, plamya pyshet...'. II, 69.
151. Gippius, 40; Kozyrev, 122-123.
152. Gregg, 159.
153. *Lirika*, I, 405.
154. 'Tak, v zhizni yest' mgnoven'ya...'. II, 70.
155. Kozyrev, 120; *Faust I*, 'Studierzimmer II', line 1700.
156. 'O veshchaya dusha moyaya...'. II, 75.
157. *Faust I*, 'Vor dem Tor', line 1112; *Hamlet*, Act I, scene 5, line 40.
158. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 13 May 1857. V, 254.
159. D.F. Tyutcheva to A.F. Tyutcheva, Ovstug, 19 Aug. 1855. TPD, 275.
160. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Ovstug, 20 Aug. 1855. TPD, 276-277.
161. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, M., 24 Aug. 1857. TPD, 290.
162. II, 436-437. (Here, as earlier in *Lirika*, I, 411, T.'s travelling companion is incorrectly stated to have been his daughter Marie.)
163. 'Yest' v oseni pervonachal'noy...'. II, 84. For my translation I have followed not the auto-

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graph variant for line 3 printed here (*Prozrachny vozdukh, den' khrustal'ny'*), but that preferred by the editors of all previous major editions (Chulkov, Pigaryov and Nikolayev): '*Ves' den' stoit kak by khrustal'ny'*'.

164. Gol'denveyzer, I, 315 (diary, 1 Sept. 1909) (quoted in *Dok.*, 249).

165. *L.N. Tolstoy v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*, 2 vols., M., 1955. I, 413 (quoted in *Zhizn'*, 140).

166. V.F. Lazursky, *Vospominaniya o L.N. Tolstom*, M., 1911, 46 (quoted in *Dok.*, 250).

167. Gol'denveyzer, I, 182-183 (diary, 24 Aug. 1906) (quoted in *Dok.*, 248-249).

168. *Tyutchevy*, 222-225.

169. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 29 Aug. 1858. *Lettres*, XIX, 184-185.

170. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Tsarskoye Selo, 19 May 1860. TPD, 317.

171. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 11 Sept. 1858. *Lettres*, XIX, 186-187.

172. '*V chasy, kogda byvayet...*' II, 88. We have it on Kitty's authority that the poem was addressed to her mother (*ibid.*, 441).

173. Kozhinov, 119.

174. For a detailed discussion of the arguments for and against the various putative addressees see Appendix I (v).

175. R.C. Lane, 'The Life and Work of F.I. Tyutchev' (unpublished dissertation), University of Cambridge, 1970, 280-282.

176. '*Ona sidela na polu...*' II, 89.

177. *Pri dvore*-2, 150, 163 (diary, 10 Aug., 10 Sept. 1858).

178. Feoktistov (as note 73), 348.

179. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 3 July 1855. *Lettres*, XIX, 141-142.

180. Aksakov, 40-41, 261-262; Tyutchev (F.F.), 227.

181. A.F. Tyutcheva to D.F. Tyutcheva, Peterhof, 11 July 1856. TPD, 284.

182. Tyutchev (F.F.), 228-229.

183. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 13 May 1857. V, 254-255.

184. Tyutchev (F.F.), 228.

185. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Tsarskoye Selo, 4 Sept. 1862. TPD, 331.

186. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 5 June 1858. V, 270-271.

187. He left SPb. on 9/21 May and returned on 2/14 Nov. (*Letopis'*-2, 322, 340). The following account of T.'s travels abroad in 1859 is based on his letters of the time (V, 292-329; *Lettres*, XXI, 156-173), and on documents quoted in TPD, 302-308, and *Letopis'*-2, 322-340. For details of the *Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten* in Munich see Polonsky (1998), 116-117.

188. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Vevey, 8/20 Sept. 1859. *Lettres*, XXI, 168, 169.

189. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Vevey, 27 Sept./ 9 Oct. 1859. *Ibid.*, 170.

190. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Berlin, 24 Oct./ 5 Nov. 1859. *Ibid.*, 172.

191. '*Na vozvratnom puti*'. II, 92-93.

192. T. left SPb. on 20 June/ 2 July (*Letopis'*-2, 364) and returned on 4/16 Dec. (Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 13/25 Dec. 1860. TPD, 321).

193. *Letopis'*-2, 364-377.

194. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Wiesbaden, 7/19 July 1860. *Letopis'*-2, 354 (and in the original French, with omissions, in *Lettres*, XXI, 178).

195. Georgievsky, 111.

196. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Nice, 13/25 Dec. 1864. VI, 88-89.

197. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Geneva, 19 Sept./ 1 Oct. 1860. *Letopis'*-2, 372.

198. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Geneva, 6/18 Oct. 1864. VI, 81. See also: *LN-I*, 384 n.3 (according to this Petrov was attached to the Russian Embassy 'at Geneva'; in fact it was situated in the Swiss capital, Berne).

199. F.I. T. to D.I. Sushkova, Geneva, 8/20 Oct. 1860. *Letopis'*-2, 374.

200. *Zhizn'*, 147 (footnote).

201. Georgievsky, 106-107, 111.

202. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 147-148; K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Mu., 29 June/ 11 July 1862. TPD, 331; F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, [Lake Geneva, mid-July (OS)/ end July (NS) 1862]. VI, 18. The notes to T.'s letter to Darya in VI (428) repeat word for word the claim made in notes to the first publication (*LN-I*, 448-449) that the letter was written from Geneva, where T. is said to have returned on 25 July (presumably, NS) from his tour of the Bernese Oberland as described therein. This is puzzling, as the source quoted for the information (*Letopis'* [Ch.], 147-148) makes no reference to his having been in Geneva on that date or indeed at any other time in 1862. Moreover, in his letter T. gives

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no indication of date and states quite clearly that he has returned, not to Geneva itself, but to 'the shores of *Lake Geneva*' (VI, 18; my italics). The dating suggested for the letter in *LN-1* and VI ('end of July - beginning of August') fits the known facts on the assumption that it is NS (i.e., mid-July OS). On 23 June/ 5 July T. had still not left Vernex (see below, note 204), and he was away on his tour for two weeks (VI, 16-17), so he cannot have returned earlier than about 8/20 July. The letter appears to have been written soon afterwards.

203. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva (as note 202).

204. T. is known to have left Wiesbaden immediately after 17/29 June (TPD, 331 *nn.2, 3*). On 19 June/ 1 July he wrote to his daughter Darya from Montreux (*Letopis'* [Ch.], 148) and on 23 June/ 5 July to Ernestine from Vernex (see note 206).

205. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva (as note 202), 19.

206. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Vernex, 23 June/ 5 July. *Lettres*, XXI, 195.

207. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva (as note 202), 16-17.

208. 'Khot' ya i svil gnezdo v doline...'. II, 103.

209. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva (as note 202), 17-18.

210. As note 206, 195-196.

211. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 12 May 1862. *Lettres*, XXI, 189; Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Ovstug, 19/31 May 1862. TPD, 329.

212. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 18 Aug. 1862. *Lettres*, XXI, 196. T.'s own testimony here is presumably more reliable than that of his daughter Marie (then at Ovstug) that he returned on 11/23 Aug. (quoted in *Letopis'* [Ch.], 148). T. had been granted three months' leave on 20 May/ 1 June and had left SPb. five days later (*ibid.*, 146, 147).

213. Kozhinov, 371.

214. Georgievsky, 104, 106-107, 112-114.

215. Indirect evidence of Yelena's presence is Ivan Snegiryov's statement in his diary that on 19 Oct. he met T. and 'a female relative' of his in the Kremlin (*RA*, 1903, No.2, 303). Anna's guarded reply from Tsarskoye Selo at the end of Oct. to comments made to her about their father by Kitty in a letter (now lost) from Moscow may also be indicative: 'I well understand everything you say to me about him. There is nothing of comfort in any of our family relationships' (TPD, 332).

216. Georgievsky, 114-115.

217. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Tsarskoye Selo, 6 May 1863. TPD, 337; Ye.A. Denisyeva to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb.: 8, 29 May 1863. Chulkov (1928), 116-117, 117-118.

218. As note 132.

219. F.I. T. to A.M. Gorchakov, M., 11 June 1863. VI, 25; *MAT*, 155.

220. Georgievsky, 117; Ye.A. Denisyeva to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 29 May 1863. Chulkov (1928), 118.

221. Georgievsky, 115-116.

222. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Nice, 10/22 - 11/23 Dec. 1864. VI, 87.

223. As note 221.

224. F.I. T. to M.A. Georgievskaya, M., 14 July 1863. *DN*, 220. This undated note in pencil is quoted by Georgievsky in his account of T.'s two visits to Moscow in 1865 (Georgievsky, 142). However, it must be assumed that G.V. Chagin's precise dating in *DN* is based on sound evidence.

225. F.I. T. to M.A. Georgievskaya, M., 14 July 1865. VI, 105. See also Georgievsky, 162 *n.84*.

226. D.I. Sushkova to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, M., 1 July 1863. TPD, 338. (Darya states that T. was due to leave for the monastery the following day, but does not say if anyone would be accompanying him.)

227. See his sister Darya's letters to Kitty during this period (TPD, 337-341).

228. D.I. Sushkova to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, M.: 20 June, 15, 28 July 1863. TPD, 337, 340, 341.

229. *Ibid.* (letter of 28 July).

230. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 16 Aug. 1863. *Lettres*, XXI, 208.

231. Georgievsky, 117.

232. Earlier in the year Ernestine had indicated her intention to return 'not before November' (Ern. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Ovstug, 10 Aug. 1863. TPD, 341). T.'s last known letter to her that year is dated 13 Nov. (see: *Letopis'* [Ch.], 156-157; VI, 59-61), suggesting that she returned towards the end of the month.

233. Georgievsky, 118. Even before this Yelena had regularly read and discussed Georgievsky's newspaper articles with T. and corresponded with Georgievsky on T.'s behalf. See letters from her to the Georgievskys in: Chulkov (1928), 113-114, 115, 116, 117.

234. Georgievsky, 112.

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235. Chulkov (1928), 37.
236. Diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 10/22 May 1864. TPD, 349.
237. F.I. T. to Ern. T.: SPb., 1/13 June; M., 22 June/ 4 July 1864. Lettres, XXI, 218, 219.
238. Ye.A. Denisyeva to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 5 June 1864. Chulkov (1928), 124-125.
239. Ye.A. Denisyeva to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb.: 31 May; 1 June 1864. *Ibid.*, 122, 123.
240. F.I. T. to Ern. T.: SPb., 25 May/ 6 June 1864. Lettres, XXI, 217.
241. Ye.A. Denisyeva to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 31 May 1864. Chulkov (1928), 123. See also *ibid.*, 39, for the relevant passage quoted in the original French.
242. As note 238, 125.
243. As note 241, 122.
244. Ye.A. Denisyeva to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 1 June 1864. Chulkov (1928), 124.
245. F.I. T. to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 12 June 1865. *DN*, 208; Ya.P. Polonsky to Ye.A. Shtakenshneyder, SPb., 30 May 1865. TPD, 373.
246. F.I. T. to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 29 June 1865. *DN*, 208. Documented addresses of Yelena and her aunt Anna for the period 1862-1864 are, in chronological order: (i) 1862: Kirochnaya ul. (now 14, ul. Saltykova-Shchedrina) (Georgievsky, 112; Kozhinov, 371); (ii) from late 1862: unknown address, opposite (iv), below (Chulkov [1928], 120); (iii) from 1 June 1863: dacha in the Chornaya Rechka district (*DN*, 118); (iv) from Oct.(?) 1863: flat 19, Matushevich's house, corner of Ivanovskaya and Kabinetnaya (Kabinetnaya?) ul. (now 12, ul. Pravdy) (Chulkov [1928], 120; Chagin, 136 [photograph]); (v) from 29 June 1864: new, unknown address (*DN*, 208).
247. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 2 July 1864. Lettres, XXI, 221.
248. Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, Königsberg, 20 July/ 1 Aug. 1864. TPD, 350.
249. Chulkov (1923), 17; *Zhizn'*, 169. The first sanatorium for the then still experimental treatment of tuberculosis with a régime of fresh air and healthy diet had been established by Hermann Brehmer at Gorbersdorf (Silesia) only ten years previously.
250. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Geneva, 15/27 Sept. 1864. VI, 78.
251. 'Ves' den' ona lezhala v zabyti...' II, 129.
252. As note 250; F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 8 Aug. 1864. VI, 73; Chulkov (1928), 35 (footnote).

Chapter 15. The Final Years

1. Georgievsky, 122. As late as 4 Aug. Darya Sushkova reported the Georgievskys to be 'calm and unperturbed' about Yelena's health (D.I. Sushkova to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, M., 4/16 Aug. 1864. TPD, 350).
2. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 8 Aug. 1864. VI, 73-74.
3. Georgievsky, 124; Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, Arcachon, 19/31 Aug. 1864. TPD, 350-351, 351 *nn.2*, 4.
4. F.I. T. to Ya.P. Polonsky, Nice, 8/20 Dec. 1864. VI, 83; Fet (1983), 384-385.
5. Fet (1983), 385. On p.383 Fet incorrectly remembers this visit as having taken place in Jan. 1864; on p.384 he makes it clear that it was in fact after T.'s 'fateful loss'.
6. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 13 Aug. 1864. VI, 74.
7. Georgievsky, 124-126; diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 14/26 Aug. 1864. TPD, 350; Ye.F. Tyutcheva (as note 3), 351.
8. Ern. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, 25 Nov./ 7 Dec. 1874. *Zhizn'*, 170.
9. D.I. Sushkova to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, M., 23-24 Aug./ 4-5 Sept. 1864. TPD, 351.
10. Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, Arcachon: 19/31 Aug.; 2/14 Sept. 1864. TPD, 351, 354.
11. Ye.F. Tyutcheva (as note 3), 350-351; D.I. Sushkova (as note 9), 351-352; A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. & D.F. Tyutcheva (as note 15), 354.
12. On 6/18 Oct. T. wrote to Marie Georgievskaya from Geneva that he had recently met Grand Duchess Yelena Pavlovna, 'who even promised me her support [*appui*] for my little Loele [i.e. Lyolya], whom she will see at Mad[emoiselle] Trouba's on her return to Petersb[urg]' (VI, 82).
13. On 15 Aug. T. wrote to Polonsky that he intended to go abroad 'almost a week' from then, and suggested that Polonsky might like to accompany him (VI, 75). The invitation was not taken up.
14. Ye.F. Tyutcheva (as note 3), 351.
15. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. & D.F. Tyutcheva, [Jugenheim, end Aug. (OS) 1863] (quoted in: Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, Arcachon, 2/14 Sept. 1864). TPD, 353-354; diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, quoted (without date) in: Chulkov (1928), 63.

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16. Diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 4/16 and 5/17 Sept. 1864. TPD, 355.
17. Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova (quoting a letter from A.D. Bludova), Arcachon, 8/20 Sept. 1864. TPD, 355.
18. Diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 8/20 Sept., 22 Sept./ 4 Oct., 26 Sept./ 8 Oct., 27 Sept./ 9 Oct. 1864. TPD, 355, 357; Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, Geneva, 2/14 Oct. 1864. TPD, 358.
19. Diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 13/25 Sept., 6/18 and 8/20 Oct. 1864. TPD, 357-359; F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Geneva, 6/18 Oct. 1864. VI, 81.
20. F.I. T. (as note 19), 80-81.
21. Diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 7/19 and 15/27 Sept. 1864. TPD, 355, 357; A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. & D.F. Tyutcheva (as note 15), 354.
22. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Geneva, 15/27 Sept. 1864. VI, 78.
23. Diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 12/24 Oct. 1864. TPD, 360.
24. 'Utikhla biza... Legche dyshit...' (The wind has dropped... Now breathes more freely...). II, 128. See also diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 11/23 Oct. 1864. TPD, 359.
25. Diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 7/19 Oct., 24 Oct./ 5 Nov. 1864. TPD, 358, 360.
26. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva (as note 15), 63-64.
27. Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.I. Sushkova, Geneva, 28 Sept./ 10 Oct., 2/14 Oct. 1864. TPD, 358.
28. F.I. T. (as note 4), 84.
29. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Nice, 13/25 Dec. 1864. VI, 88.
30. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Nice, 10/22 - 11/23 Dec. 1864. VI, 87.
31. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Nice, 3/15 Feb. 1865. VI, 95-96.
32. Quoted by his and Yelena's son Fyodor from an otherwise unpublished letter in: Tyutchev (F.F.), 237. As the letter is said to have been in French, it was most likely addressed to Marie Georgievskaya.
33. As note 30, 86.
34. F.I. T. (as note 4), 84.
35. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Nice, 11/23 Dec. 1864. TPD, 363.
36. As note 30, 86.
37. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Paris, 17/29 March 1865. VI, 97.
38. 'O, etot yug, o, eta Nitstva...' II, 131.
39. As note 29, 88-89. A misreading first occurring in *Pis'ma*, 275 is repeated here. Lines 16-17 on p.89 should in fact read: 'pochemu zhe eti bednye, nichtozhnye virshi, i moyo polnoye imya pod nimi' (my italics). This is the version given in the first publication of the letter (Chulkov [1923], 26), which comparison with the autograph has since shown to be correct (see: Georgievsky, 161, n.57).
40. F.I. T. to the editors of *Russky vestnik*, Nice, 1/13 Feb. 1865. VI, 94.
41. 'Kak khorosho ty, o more nochnoye...' ('How you enchant me, O sea, in the darkness'). II, 135.
42. As note 29, 88-89.
43. As note 31, 96-97. See also Georgievsky, 128-131, for the background to the poems' publication.
44. I.S. Aksakov to A.F. Tyutcheva, M., 2 Oct. 1865. Chulkov (1923), 27. Already on 22 Jan. Aksakov had published in *Den'* an earlier, incomplete draft of 'Kak khorosho ty, o more nochnoye...', sent to him by Darya without T.'s knowledge and incorrectly copied. It was T.'s anger at this 'mutilated' version that prompted him to send the completed poem to Katkov to add to the other three (see note 40). Georgievsky comments that Aksakov found the whole episode 'highly embarrassing' (Georgievsky, 130).
45. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Nice, 20 Jan./ 1 Feb. 1865. TPD, 367.
46. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Nice, 27 Nov./ 9 Dec. 1864. TPD, 363.
47. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 11/23 July 1872. VI, 412.
48. A.D. Bludova to unidentified recipient, Nice, 12/24 Jan. 1865. TPD, 366.
49. A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Nice, 10/22 Jan. 1865. TPD, 364.
50. Ya.P. Polonsky to Ye.A. Shtakenshneyder, SPb., 30 May 1865. TPD, 372-373; diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, 19 Apr./ 1 May 1864. TPD, 349.
51. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 12/24 Jan. 1866. Lettres, XXI, 223.
52. TPD, 366 n.3.
53. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Nice, 29 Jan./ 10 Feb. 1865. TPD, 369-370 (and notes). For the date of the Tyutchevs' departure see TPD, 371 (note 1 to passage 369).
54. As note 30, 86-87.
55. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, Paris, 17/29 March 1865. VI, 98.

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56. Turgenev's account of the meeting is quoted in: Fet (1983), 385.
57. A.I. Herzen to N.P. Ogaryov, Paris, 9/21 & 11/23 March 1865. Herzen, XXVIII, 48, 50.
58. Herzen, XI (*Byloye i dumy*), 494-495, 645.
59. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 167; I.D. Delyanov to M.N. Katkov, SPb., 22 Apr. 1865. TPD, 372.
60. Georgievsky, 137-138; A.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Nice, 24 Feb./ 8 March 1865. TPD, 370-371.
61. Chulkov (1928), 37-38.
62. Georgievsky, 137.
63. Ya.P. Polonsky (as note 50), 372-374.
64. F.I. T. to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 29 June 1865. *DN*, 208.
65. F.I. T. to M.A. Georgievskaya, SPb., 2 June 1865. *DN*, 207. T.'s welcoming of painful memories as an antidote to his numbness of spirit is expressed in one stanza of the poem 'There are in my stagnation of the spirit...'; written just after his return from abroad in March 1865: 'Lord, let me feel the pain of desolation;/ Dispel this deadness of the heart in me — / Her Thou hast taken: leave as consolation/ The living torment of her memory.' ('Yest' i v moyom stradal'cheskom zastoye...'. II, 137.)
66. '15 iyulya 1865'. II, 147.
67. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 107.
68. D.I. Sushkova to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, M., 12 July 1865. TPD, 375; diary of M.F. Birilyova, 22 June 1865. TPD, 374.
69. V.P. Alekseyev, *Tyutchevsky Ovstug. Ocherk-putevoditel'*, Bryansk, 2000, 140-141, 151-155.
70. F.I. T. to M.A. Georgievskaya, Ovstug, 16 Aug. 1865. VI, 106; Georgievsky, 141-142; *Letopis'* (Ch.), 170-173.
71. The date can be inferred from the fact that they arrived at Ovstug on the evening of 6 Aug. (diary of M.F. Tyutcheva, TPD, 376).
72. Kozhinov, 425. I have used Kozhinov's convincing reconstruction of the poem's genesis (*ibid.*, 424-425) as the basis of my own account.
73. 'Nakanune godovshchiny 4 avgusta 1864 g.'. II, 149.
74. Florinsky, II, 1055-1056; VI, 461 n.2.
75. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 172.
76. F.I. T. to M.N. Katkov, SPb., 13 Oct. 1865. VI, 110-111; V.P. Bezobrazov to M.N. Katkov, SPb., Oct. (after the 13th) 1865. TPD, 379; F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 25 Oct. 1865. VI, 112.
77. A.V. Nikitenko, *Zapiski i dnevniki (1804-1877)*, 2 vols., SPb., 1905. II, 265-266 (diary, 19 & 23 Dec. 1865) (quoted in NPTT, 595 n.1); F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 8 Dec. 1865. VI, 118.
78. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 4 Apr. 1866. VI, 134-136, 470-471 (n.1).
79. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 8 May 1866. VI, 150; Ye.M. Feoktistov to M.N. Katkov, SPb., 8 May 1866. TPD, 381; V.P. Meshchersky, *Moi vospominaniya*, 2 vols., SPb., 1897-1898. II, 48-49; Nikitenko, III, 35.
80. F.I. T. to A.M. Gorchakov, SPb., 24 Apr. 1866. Pigaryov (1935a), 228.
81. Nikitenko, III, 29.
82. *Dnevnik P.A. Valuyeva, ministra vnutrennikh del, 1861-1876 gg.*, 2 vols., M., 1961. II, 133-134.
83. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 2 July 1866. *Lettres*, XXI, 225.
84. For remarks critical of Katkov and his newspaper in T.'s letters, see: VI, 144, 394; Pigaryov (1935a), 241, 242. In April 1866 Nikitenko reported T. as 'displeased' with Katkov's refusal to print the official caution in *Moskovskiye vedomosti* (Nikitenko [1905 edition: as note 77], II, 283). And in 1870 Marie Birilyova wrote of her father that 'Katkov's articles annoy him more and more' (letter to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 20 Nov. 1870. TPD, 413).
85. Diary of A.F. Tyutcheva, 2 July 1865. TPD, 375; I.S. Aksakov to A.F. Tyutcheva, M., 3 Sept. 1865. TPD, 378.
86. Nikitenko, II, 540; F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 25 Feb. 1866. VI, 129.
87. N.I. Tsimbayev, *I.S. Aksakov v obshchestvennoy zhizni poreformennoy Rossii*, M., 1978, 128-134.
88. F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 4 Jan. 1868. VI, 303-304. Enclosed with the letter was a copy of a report from a Russian secret agent in Paris. This gave details of the French government's attitude to the Eastern question as outlined in private conversation by the Foreign Minister Léonel de Moustier (*ibid.*, 525-526).
89. For evidence see, e.g.: F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 13 Feb. 1867. VI, 206; B.M. Markevich to M.N. Katkov, SPb., 17 Oct. 1867. TPD, 385.

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90. Tsimbayev (as note 87), 140.
91. B.M. Markevich to M.N. Katkov, SPb., 3 Oct. 1867. TPD, 391.
92. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 22 Jan. 1867. VI, 200.
93. VI, 490 (note 1 to letter 102).
94. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 24 Aug. 1867. VI, 259.
95. In Dec. 1865 for instance T. encouraged Aksakov to express solidarity in *Den'* with the left-wing journal *Sovremennik*, which had just received an official caution for attacking Aksakov's newspaper and Slavophile doctrine in general. Aksakov followed this advice. See: G. Chulkov, 'Tyutchev i Aksakov v bor'be s tsenzuroyu', *Muranovskiy sbornik*, Muranovo, 1928, 10-12; I.S. Aksakov to A.F. Tyutcheva, M., 3 Dec. 1865. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 174; F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 8 Dec. 1865. VI, 117-118.
96. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 3 Apr. 1870. VI, 381.
97. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, Nice, 2/14 Jan. 1865. VI, 91.
98. F.I. T. to Ye.F. Trubetskaya, SPb., 15/27 July 1872. Aksakov, 163 (Aksakov does not name the recipient; this information is given in a later publication of the letter: Pigaryov [1937], 765-768).
99. As note 31, 94-95; F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 16 Apr. 1866. VI, 146.
100. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 1 Dec. 1870. Pigaryov (1935a), 246.
101. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 4 Jan. 1872. *Pis'ma*, 357.
102. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 16 Apr. 1866. VI, 145.
103. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb.: 8, 13 & 20 July 1871. *Lettres*, XXII, 272-273.
104. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 17 July 1871. VI, 400-401, 555 (note 3 to letter). See also: as note 103 (letter of 8 July), 272.
105. F.I. T. to M.F. Birilyova, SPb., mid-Aug. 1867. VI, 254-255. (The well-known line, attributed by T. to Hamlet, is spoken by Marcellus in Act I, scene 4.)
106. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 5 Dec. 1870. *LN-I*, 474.
107. Aksakov, 76.
108. 'Umom — Rossiya ne ponyat'...'. II, 165.
109. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 6/18 Feb. 1867. TPD, 387.
110. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 30 March 1866. VI, 132-133; F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 28 July 1866. *Lettres*, XXI, 229.
111. F.I. T. to Alexander II, July (?) 1866. Pigaryov (1935a), 206.
112. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 21 July 1866. VI, 163. At this time, as on previous occasions (see note 136 to Chapter 14), T. used his contacts with the press to publicise his views on the European situation. Already in April his analysis of the Austro-Prussian conflict in a letter to Georgievsky was used by the latter as the basis for an article in *Moskovskiy vedomosti* (VI, 469; note 4 to letter 68). On 2 July T. wrote to Ernestine that articles on foreign affairs currently appearing in Katkov's 'journal' had been 'inspired' by himself (*Lettres*, XXI, 225). The French term could refer either to the newly reinstated daily *Moskovskiy vedomosti* or the monthly *Russky vestnik*, both edited by Katkov. Ronald Lane has identified articles in the July-August issue of *Russky vestnik* which closely echo T.'s views (Lane [1985], 118-120), while in his memoirs Georgievsky refers to an article reflecting those views published in *Moskovskiy vedomosti* on 12 July (Georgievsky, 151).
113. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 3 July 1866. VI, 158.
114. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 16 Aug. 1866. VI, 176-177.
115. F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 5 Jan. 1867. VI, 195. In the text as printed here T. puzzlingly describes Solovyov's article as 'satisfactory' (*ibid.*, 194-195). The editor of the letter's first publication (*LN-I*, 281) points out that in the manuscript a gap has been left before that word and that the sense clearly requires this to be filled with 'not'.
116. F.I. T. to A.I. Georgievsky, SPb., 15 Feb. 1866. VI, 126.
117. Most of the details of the Slavonic Congress in the subsequent account are taken from: N.K. Zhakova, *Tyutchev i slavyane*, SPb., 2001, 13-25.
118. Fisher, II, 1130.
119. F.I. T. to V.I. Lamansky, SPb., 7 May 1867. VI, 225.
120. F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 10 May 1867. VI, 227; Zhakova (as note 117), 16.
121. *Ibid.*, 20-21.
122. 'Slavyanam' ('Privet vam zadushevny, brat'ya...'). II, 176-178.
123. *Sankt-Peterburgskiy vedomosti*, 12 May 1867 (quoted in Zhakova [as note 117], 18).
124. F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 16 May 1867. VI, 230. Here T. is referring to his second poem 'To the Slavs' (see note 131).

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125. Aksakov, 116.
126. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 6 Oct. 1871. *LN-1*, 370-371.
127. F.I. T. to Ya.F. Golovatsky, SPb., 12 May 1867. VI, 229.
128. VI, 505-506.
129. F.I. T. to Yu.F. Samarin, SPb., 15 May 1867. *Pis'ma*, 300 (first publ. in: Pigaryov [1935a], 236).
130. F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 10 May 1867. VI, 228.
131. 'Slavyanam' ('Oni krichat, oni grozyatsya...'). II, 179-180.
132. Zhakova (as note 117), 23.
133. K. Pfeffel to Ern. T., Wildbad, 9/21 July 1867. TPD, 389.
134. F.I. T. to Yu.F. Samarin, SPb., 24 Nov. 1867. VI, 295.
135. N.Ya. Danilevsky, *Rossiya i Yevropa*, SPb., 1871.
136. F.I. T. to V.I. Lamansky, [SPb., 1869]. *Pis'ma*, 341. V.V. Kozhinov has speculated that T. came to disagree with Danilevsky's book as further chapters appeared in *Zarya* because of its over-emphasising of ethnic or racial ('plemenny') factors. In evidence Kozhinov cites the lack of any further documented links between T. and Danilevsky (Kozhinov, 463). The following objections can be made to his thesis: (i) As T.'s letter to Lamansky praising Danilevsky is undated, it is impossible to say at what stage of his acquaintance with *Russia and Europe* it was written. (ii) As evidence for T.'s alleged antipathy to 'ethnic/racial' factors Kozhinov points to the inclusion of non-Slavs such as the Hungarians in his proposed Graeco-Slavonic empire (ibid., 282-283). However, this is also true of Danilevsky's scheme, the role envisaged for the Hungarians by both men being in any case unambiguously that of a subject people. (iii) Other 'national' or Slavophile figures for whom evidence of links with T. after 1869 is similarly lacking include Samarin and Lamansky. Even for such an old friend as Pogodin only one piece of evidence has survived (*LN-1*, 425). To conclude from this that there was a cooling of relations between T. and any or all of these representatives of the 'national' movement would clearly be misguided. The same must be true for Danilevsky.
137. Georgievsky, 152, 153, 155-157, 161 n.47; *Tyutchev*, 325.
138. Georgievsky, 158. See also letters from T. to Marie Georgievskaya for the period 1866-1871: *DN*, 220-221 (nos. 23, 24, 28, 29; the year 1861 given for the last of these is evidently a mistake for 1871).
139. Tyutchev (F.F.), 231-232.
140. Ye.F. Tyutcheva to D.F. Tyutcheva, M., 4 Sept. 1868. TPD, 399.
141. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 19 Oct. 1870. VI, 391.
142. Tyutchev (F.F.), 230-231.
143. 'Iyun' 1868 g.' ('Opyat' stoyu ya nad Nevoy...'). II, 188. This is the last poem to refer directly to Yelena. Despite this Irina Petrova names 'Dve sily yest' — dve rokovye sily...' ('There are two forces — two momentous forces...'), written the following year, as the last in the 'Denisyeva cycle' (Petrova, 59). In the poem T. identifies two forces that rule our destinies 'from birth unto the grave', namely 'the Judgement of the World, and Death'. Of these Death is the more honest: 'He cuts down all with sword unswerving, zealous/ To reap both the rebellious and the meek', whereas the World, 'selective in its scything', 'culls but the best ears, torn out at the root'. Beauty in particular 'must surely come to woe' when she ventures forth against the Judgement of the World, and, 'Scorning the guise of insincere excuses,/ Her head held high, with fearless dignity,/ Shakes from her youthful locks, like dust, the curses,/ The threats, and the inflamed contumely... // Yes, woe to her — and harsher the detraction/ The less she has of falsehood and pretence.../ Such is the world: inhuman in exaction/ Where manifestly human the offence.' (II, 198-199). Although the poem is couched in general terms and makes no specific reference to Yelena, it seems fairly obvious that T. must have had society's treatment of her in mind. It would certainly be reasonable to include it as a general epilogue to the cycle (rather in the same way as 'Poshli, Gospod', svoyu otradu...') ['Lord, grant to him Thy consolation...'] can be seen as a prologue).
144. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 12 Jan. 1866. VI, 122.
145. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 25 Feb. 1866. VI, 128-129.
146. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Tsarskoye Selo, 31 July 1866. VI, 172.
147. Meshchersky (as note 79), I, 441-442 (also in: *Dok.*, 145).
148. F.I. T. to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 3 Jan. 1869. *Pis'ma*, 332; S.D. Sheremetev, 'Knyaz' P.A. Vyazemsky', *RA*, 1891, No.4, 499 (quoted in *Letopis'* [Ch.], 199).
149. See Dostoyevsky's letters to Kh.D. Alchevskaya (9 Apr. 1876) and S.Ye. Lur'ye (17 Apr. 1877) in: F.M. Dostoyevsky, *Pis'ma*, 4 vols., M., 1928-1959. IV, 206, 264.

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150. V.P. Botkin, I.S. Turgenev, *1851-1869. Neizdannaya perepiska*, M. & L., 1930, 264.
151. 'Dym' ('Smoke'). II, 174-175.
152. K.P. Pobedonostsev to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 2 March 1871. TPD, 415.
153. Aksakov, 324.
154. *Stikhovvoreniya F. Tyutcheva*, M., 1868. The print-run figure of 1,800 is quoted from a contemporary source in: Ospovat (1989), 501. For comparison, in recent times editions of 100,000 have not been unusual (e.g., K.V. Pigaryov's popular 1984 two-volume *Sochineniya*, comprising poems and letters, or the volume *Izbrannoye*, edited by A.N. Petrov and published in Moscow in 1985). Even Pigaryov's scholarly *Lirika* edition was printed in 40,000 copies.
155. I.A. Korolyova, A.A. Nikolayev, K.V. Pigaryov, *F.I. Tyutchev. Bibliografichesky ukazatel' proizvedeniy i literatury o zhizni i deyatelnosti. 1818-1973*, M., 1978, 7.
156. Aksakov, 324.
157. M.F. Birilyova to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 25 March 1868. TPD, 392.
158. F.I. T. to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 26 March 1868. VI, 316-317.
159. VI, 530 n.3.
160. 'Mikhailu Petrovichu Pogodinu' ('Stikhov moikh vot spisok bezobrazny...'). II, 191.
161. Publication details of the two reviews are given in Korolyova et al. (as note 155), 8; for an extract from the longer of these illustrating the reviewer's crude attempt to make T.'s poetry fit the utilitarian aesthetic criteria of the 1860s see Ospovat (1980), 71-72. Details of book sales are from Pigaryov (1935b), 385.
162. Quoted in *Lirika*, II, 396.
163. Gregg, 185-186, 203-207.
164. 'Motiv Geyne'; 'Radost' i gore v zhivom upoyen'ye...'. II, 193, 215. Translations (the first fairly free) of Heine's 'Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht...' and of the song 'Freudvoll und leidvoll...', sung by Klara in Goethe's play *Egmont*.
165. Ern. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 3/15 June 1865. TPD, 374.
166. *TPBF*, 9-11.
167. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
168. *Ibid.*, 18-34 (eighteen letters to her, written between 1866 and 1870).
169. *Ibid.*, 33 (no.17), 26 (no.11).
170. *Ibid.*, 22 (no.7).
171. *Ibid.*, 20 (no.3), 29 (no.15).
172. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb.: 30 Aug.; 5 Sept. 1868. Lettres, XXII, 250-251; VI, 342-343.
173. See the letters in *TPBF*, 2-40 passim (in particular nos. 3, 5, 11-15).
174. *Ibid.*, 18 (no.1), 21 (nos. 5,6), 24 (no.9), 26 (no.11), 29 (no.15), 35 (no.19), 38 (no.22).
175. *Ibid.*, 27 (no.12).
176. Eight of T.'s letters to this son, Sergey Frolov, are published in: *ibid.*, 35-40 (nos. 19-26).
177. 'Kak nas ni ugnelay razluka...' ('Though separation may torment us...'). II, 209.
178. 'Khotel by ya, chtoby v svoyey mogile...' ('I wish that I might lie once in my coffin...'). II, 245.
179. F.I. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, SPb., 8 June 1867. VI, 233.
180. Ern. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 11 May 1868. TPD, 395.
181. F.I. T. to S.P. Frolov, Staraya Russa, 23 June 1868. *TPBF*, 36-37.
182. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, Staraya Russa, 27 June 1868. VI, 334.
183. *Ibid.*; F.I. T. to Ern. T., Staraya Russa, 26 June 1868. Lettres, XXII, 246-247.
184. As note 181: 36, 74 (note to letter no.21).
185. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 7 June 1869. *LN-1*, 356.
186. Ern. T. to A.F. Aksakova, Ovstug, 18 Aug. 1869. TPD, 404 (note 1 to passage 433).
187. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Kiev, 4 Aug. 1869. Lettres, XXII, 257.
188. F.I. T. to A.N. Maykov, Ovstug, 12 Aug. 1869. VI, 374-375.
189. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, Ovstug, 1/13 Sept. 1869. TPD, 405.
190. 'Andreyu Nikolayevichu Murav'yovu'. II, 203 (and note, 565-566).
191. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 21 June 1867. VI, 238.
192. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 2 Sept. 1871. *LN-1*, 367.
193. 'Osenney pozdneuy poroy...' II, 91.
194. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 22 May 1869. Lettres, XXII, 254.
195. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 8 Oct. 1867. VI, 280.
196. Ern. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 9/21 Apr. 1868. TPD, 394; Fet (1983), 424-425, 489-490 (n. 167).
197. F.I. T. to A.D. Bludova, Ovstug, 17 July 1869. *Pis'ma*, 334. The lines quoted by T. are from

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- 'I grob opushchen uzh v mogilu...' ('And now the coffin has been lowered...') (I, 138).
198. 'Priroda — Sfinks. I tem ona verney...' II, 208.
199. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 220.
200. 'Ot zhizni toy, chto bushevala zdes'...' II, 234.
201. F.I. T. to Ern. T., M., 22 Aug. 1871. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 220.
202. L.N. Tolstoy to N.N. Strakhov, 13 Sept. 1871. Tolstoy, XVII, 347; L.N. Tolstoy to A.A. Fet, 24-26 Aug. 1871. L.N. Tolstoy, *Perepiska s russkimi pisatelyami* (ed. S.A. Rozanova), 2 vols., M., 1978 (2nd. ed.). I, 414. (Both letters are also quoted in *Dok.*, 246.)
203. T. predicted that Napoleon III's policies would lead to armed conflict between France and the German states in a letter to Marie Georgievskaya from SPb. on 13 July 1866 (VI, 161).
204. Ern. T. to A.F. Aksakova, Ovstug, 8/20 July 1870. TPD, 408-409 (and notes).
205. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Warsaw, 6/18 July 1870. Lettres, XXII, 259-260.
206. A.F. Aksakova to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 7/19 July 1870. TPD, 408.
207. F.I. T. to A.V. Pletnyova, Berlin, 7/19 July 1870. VI, 384. A.A. Nikolayev (Nikolayev [1988], 196) states without citing further evidence that although police records show T.'s date of arrival in Karlsbad as 10/22 July, he actually got there a day earlier.
208. The content of T.'s unpublished letter to Ernestine is summarised in: M.F. Birilyova to I.F. Tyutchev, Ovstug, after 27 July/ 8 Aug. 1870. Nikolayev (1988), 196.
209. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Toeplitz, 1/13 Aug. 1870. *Pis'ma*, 346.
210. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Karlsbad, 21 July/ 2 Aug. 1870. Lettres, XXII, 260-261.
211. Writing to Yelena Bogdanova from Toeplitz on 27 July/ 8 Aug., T. states quite explicitly that he had spent twelve days at Karlsbad (*TPBF*, 30). As he is known to have arrived at that resort on 9/21 or 10/22 July, he must have left it either on 21 July/ 2 Aug. or the following day.
212. The poem 'K.B.' (see note 216) is dated '26 July, Karlsbad' (II, 580). This is evidently OS (on 14/26 July T. would almost certainly have been too distressed to write the poem, having only the previous day learnt of the death of his son Dmitry). On 30 July/ 11 Aug. he wrote to Ernestine from Toeplitz that he had been there for four days (VI, 385). This is confirmed by police registration documents showing his date of arrival as 27 July/ 8 Aug. (Nikolayev [1988], 196).
213. Nikolayev (1988), 196.
214. *Ibid.*; N.M. Mikhaylova, 'Rodovoy arkhiv Tyutchevykh v Muranove', LN-2, 655.
215. As note 206.
216. 'K.B.' ('Ya vstretil vas — i vso byloye...'). II, 219. It was A.A. Nikolayev who deciphered the initials 'K.B.' as 'Clotilde Bothmer' ('C' becoming 'K' in Cyrillic transliteration) (Nikolayev [1988], 193). Despite her married name, this is how T. would have remembered her from the 'golden time' of his youth. Nikolayev comprehensively demolishes a claim advanced in 1912 by Pyotr Bykov that the poem was addressed to Amélie von Krüdener (or Adlerberg, as she then was). Other critics before Bykov had noted the echo of the earlier 'Ya pomnyu vremya zolotoye' (lit.: 'I remember a golden time'), dedicated to Amélie, in this poem's 'Ya vspomnil vremya zolotoye' (line 3; lit.: 'I remembered a golden time'), and had wondered whether this might possibly be a clue to the addressee rather than just a general evocation of lost youth and lost love. On its own, however, such a stylistic parallel was clearly insufficient proof. Bykov's 'contribution' was an evidently contrived explanation of the initials 'K.B.' as standing for 'Baroness Krüdener' reversed (*Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy F.I. Tyutcheva* [ed. P.V. Bykov], SPb., 1913 [8th. ed.], 638). In answer to this Nikolayev shows that nowhere else in T.'s writings is such an example of cryptic reversal to be found; that elsewhere T. consistently abbreviates 'baron' and 'baroness' as 'bar.', never as 'B.'; and that whenever he uses two initials they invariably stand for a first name and surname (Nikolayev [1988], 192-193). Nikolayev also cites evidence that in the summer of 1870 Amélie was nowhere near Karlsbad, but stayed in Russia (*ibid.*, 191), and points out that whereas it is clear from the poem that T. and the woman in question had met for the first time in many years, he and Amélie had had frequent occasion to do so in SPb. (*ibid.*, 192). On the other hand his last meeting with Clotilde had been in 1859 (see V, 326) (not in fact 1847 as claimed by Nikolayev [p.195], although this in no way negates his thesis). To lend added weight to his claim that the poem was addressed to Amélie, Bykov alleged that he had been assured of this by T.'s close friend Yakov Polonsky (*Polnoye...*, 638). Unfortunately (or conveniently), Polonsky had died fourteen years previously, making Bykov's claim impossible to verify. Bykov has so often been exposed as an unreliable and even untrustworthy informant on other matters relating to T. (most notably by K.V. Pigaryov in his 'Tyutchev v memuarakh, dnevnikakh i pis'makh sovremennikov', *Dok.*, 9-10; see also commentaries by G.V. Chagin in *Dok.*, 459-460, and A.A. Nikolayev in *PSS* [1987], 423), that there is no compelling reason to believe him in this instance.

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217. F.I. T. to Ye.K. Bogdanova, Toeplitz, 3/15 Aug. 1870. *TPBF*, 32.
218. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Toeplitz, 30 July/ 11 Aug. 1870. VI, 385-386.
219. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Toeplitz, 14/26 Aug. 1870. *Lettres*, XXII, 263; *Letopis'* (Ch.), 209-210.
220. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, Toeplitz, 31 July/ 12 Aug. 1870. VI, 387.
221. As note 217, 32-33.
222. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, Toeplitz, 10/22 Aug. 1870. *Lettres*, XXII, 288-289.
223. As note 220, 389.
224. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, Karlsbad, 19/31 July 1870 (unpublished: see the summary given by Anna in her letter to Kitty of 30 July/ 11 Aug. 1870. TPD, 409).
225. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 15 Oct. 1870. *Lettres*, XXII, 267-268.
226. T.'s characterisation of the Prussians as 'des Huns qui ont fait leurs classes' was noted by A.A. Kireyev in his diary for 4 Oct. 1870 (TPD, 410). The other quotations are from: F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., Feb. 1873. *Lettres*, XXII, 392.
227. 'Dva yedinstva' ('Two Unities'). II, 221.
228. F.I. T. to A.M. Gorchakov, SPb., 3 Nov. 1870. VI, 393; 'Da, vy sderzhali vashe slovo...' ('Yes, you have kept your sacred promise...'). II, 224.
229. *Pri dvore-2*, 205, 206-207 (diary, 5 & 10 Nov. 1870).
230. Florinsky, II, 967-970.
231. *Pri dvore-2*, 207-219; Pigaryov (1935a), 213-214.
232. Pigaryov (1935a), 214-215; F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 1 Dec. 1870. *Ibid.*, 245-246; *Pri dvore-2*, 213 (footnote).
233. F.I. T. to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 5 Dec. 1870. *LN-1*, 474.
234. 'La question Romaine'. III, 59-60.
235. 'Encyclica'; 'Vatikanskaya godovshchina' ('Vatican Anniversary'). II, 132, 232-233.
236. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14 Sept. 1871. *Lettres*, XXII, 276; F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb., 2 Oct. 1871. *LN-1*, 369-370; [I.S. Aksakov], *Brief an Döllinger von einem Laien der russischen orthodoxen Kirche aus Moskau*, Berlin, 1872.
237. F.I. T. to I.S. Aksakov, SPb.: 13 March 1870; 16 Oct. 1871. Aksakov, 185-186; VI, 408.
238. This was reported to have been the general verdict of several figures sympathetic to the Slavophile cause (they included Aleksandr Gilferding, Aleksandr Kireyev, Apollon Maykov and Georgievsky) who had gathered in SPb. on 16 Oct. 1871 to hear Aksakov's article read out. (Diary of A.A. Kireyev. TPD, 418-419).
239. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 4 Jan. 1872. *LN-1*, 373; Aksakov, 186.
240. F.I. T. to N.I. Tyutchev, SPb., 13 Apr. 1868. VI, 322.
241. TPD, 406 (note 2).
242. F.I. T. (as note 239), 373, 374-375 (n4).
243. F.I. T. to Ern. T., Spasskoye, 10 June 1871. *Lettres*, XXII, 270.
244. Aksakov, 50; Tyutchev (F.F.), 230; Ya.P. Polonsky, 'F.I. Tyutchev. Nekrolog', in: *Dok.*, 273 (reprinted from: *Vsemirnaya illyustratsiya*, 1873, X, No.244, 155); A.P. Pletnyov, 'F.I. Tyutchev', in: *Sovremenniki o F.I. Tyutcheve*, Tula, 1984, 89 (reprinted from: A. Pletnyov, *Sobraniye sochineniy*, III, Odessa, 1913, 13-16).
245. Pogodin, 24.
246. Aksakov, 49-50.
247. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14 Sept. 1871. *Lettres*, XXII, 275.
248. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb.: 28 Feb. 1870; 17 July 1871. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 206; VI, 399-400; F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 8 July 1871. *Lettres*, XXII, 271-272.
249. A.F. Aksakova to D.F. Tyutcheva, Abramtsevo, 18 May 1866. TPD, 382.
250. F.I. T. to Ye.E. Trubetskaya, SPb., 3 May 1867. VI, 222, 503 n.1; F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 22 Oct. 1867. VI, 286.
251. As note 179.
252. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 15/27 Dec. 1870. TPD, 414-415.
253. 'Brat, stol'ko let soputstvovavshy mne...'. II, 226. He later told Kitty that the poem 'came to me in a state of half-sleep, the night of my return to Moscow' (F.I. T. to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 31 Dec. 1870. VI, 396).
254. *Ibid.*, 395.
255. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 12 Apr. 1872. TPD, 419; I.S. Aksakov to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Turovo, 18 June 1872. *Ibid.*; Aksakov, 308; *Letopis'* (Ch.), 223.
256. F.I. T. to A.V. Pletnyova, SPb., 10 Feb. 1872. VI, 410.
257. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 20 May 1872. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 223.

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258. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 11/23 Dec. 1872. TPD, 420; D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 18/30 Dec. 1872. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 225.
259. 'Napoleon III'. II, 243-244.
260. Ern. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., 6/18 Jan. 1873. TPD, 421-422; Meshchersky (as note 79), II, 194-195 (also in *Dok.*, 146); I.S. Aksakov to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 3 Jan. 1873. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 226-227.
261. Ern. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 16 Feb. 1873. TPD, 424.
262. I.S. Aksakov to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 6 Jan. 1873. TPD, 423.
263. 'Vsyo otnyal u menya kaznyashchy Bog...'. II, 251.
264. A.V. Pletnyova to K.K. Grot, SPb., 27 Jan. 1873. *LN-1*, 564.
265. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., 7 Feb. 1873. VI, 415.
266. A.V. Pletnyova to K.K. Grot, SPb., 31 March 1873. *LN-1*, 565.
267. As recalled by T.'s daughter Darya (*Tyutcheviana*, 39-40). One is unavoidably reminded of the dying Disraeli's reluctance to be visited by Queen Victoria: 'She would only ask me to take a message to Albert' (Robert Blake, *Disraeli*, London, 1969, 747).
268. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., Feb.-March 1873. Aksakov, 312.
269. F.I. T. to K. Pfeffel, SPb., Feb. 1873. *Lettres*, XXII, 292-293.
270. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 28 Apr. 1873. Chulkov (1928), 68.
271. F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, April 1873. Aksakov, 313. Similar sentiments are expressed in another letter to Anna from this period (*ibid.*, 311).
272. F.I. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 1 Apr. 1873. VI, 416.
273. Aksakov, 301.
274. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 14 Sept. 1871. *Lettres*, XXII, 275-276.
275. 'O tsenzure v Rossii. Pis'mo F.I. Tyutcheva odnomu iz chlenov gosudarstvennogo soveta', *RA*, 1873, No.4, 607-632.
276. F.I. T. to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., Apr. 1873. *LN-1*, 479-480; F.I. T. to A.F. Aksakova, SPb., Apr. 1873. *Pis'ma*, 359-360 (extracts in the French original: Aksakov, 313).
277. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, SPb., 28 Apr. 1873. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 230; Diary of Ern. T., 19 May 1873. TPD, 425.
278. Diary of Ern. T., 26 & 28 May 1873. *Letopis'* (Ch.), 231; Ern. T. to D.F. Tyutcheva, Tsarskoye Selo, 3/15 June 1873. TPD, 425.
279. D.F. Tyutcheva to Ye.F. Tyutcheva, Bad Kissingen, 9/21 June 1873. Chulkov (1928), 69.
280. A.V. Nikitenko to Ye.K. Bogdanova, Pavlovsk, 31 May/ 12 June 1873. *TPBF*, 7 (also, without the final sentence quoted: TPD, 425).
281. I.S. Aksakov to Yu.F. Samarin, Tsarskoye Selo, 18 July 1873. *Ospovat* (1980), 84 (reprinted in *Dok.*, 257). Aksakov's dating here of the first of the two strokes to 13 June — later changed to 11 June in his biography of T. (Aksakov, 315) — is confirmed by Ernestine's diary (TPD, 426).
282. Aksakov to Samarin (as note 281), 79 (*Dok.*, 253).
283. Aksakov, 316.
284. Aksakov to Samarin (as note 281), 79 (*Dok.*, 253).
285. L.N. Tolstoy to A.A. Tolstaya, end Jan. — beg. Feb. 1873. Tolstoy, XVII, 363.
286. Tolstoy's description of T. as his 'favourite poet' was recorded by Anna Chertkova, the wife of Tolstoy's friend and disciple V.G. Chertkov (A.K. Chertkova, 'Iz vospominaniy o L.N. Tolstom', in: *Tolstoy i o Tolstom. Novye materialy*, II, M., 1926, 97-98). For a survey of Tolstoy's attitude to T.'s poetry see: D. Blagoy, 'Chitatel' Tyutcheva — Lev Tolstoy', *Uraniya*, 224-256.
287. 'Nekrolog', *Grazhdanin*, 1873, No.30 (23 July), 842. (Quoted in full in: Bel'chikov [as note 293], *Dok.*, 420).
288. F.M. Dostoyevsky to S.Ye. Lur'ye, 17 Apr. 1877. Dostoyevsky (as note 149), III, 264.
289. I.S. Turgenev to A.A. Fet, Bougival, 21 Aug. 1873. Turgenev *P*, X, 143.
290. Fet (1983), 383.
291. Nikitenko, III, 287, 289 (diary, 17 & 18 July 1873).
292. Aksakov to Samarin (as note 281), 80-82 (*Dok.*, 254-255). The poem remembered by Aksakov at the graveside is 'I grob opushchen uzh v mogilu...' ('And now the coffin has been lowered...') (I, 138).
293. V.P. Meshchersky, 'Svezhey pamyati F.I. Tyutcheva', *Dok.*, 279. This first appeared in *Grazhdanin*, 1873, No.31 (30 July), 846-848. Meshchersky was the publisher and editor of *Grazhdanin*, and his article is known to have been fairly heavily amended by his co-editor, Dostoyevsky. In his article 'Dostoyevsky o Tyutcheve' (*Byloye*, 1925, No.5, 155-162; reprinted in *Dok.*, 420-425) N.F. Bel'chikov attempted to show that whole sections of the article (including that containing the phrase 'the mirror of his soul': *ibid.*, 161/424) had been completely rewritten

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by Dostoyevsky. More recently Richard Gregg attributed the same phrase to Dostoyevsky, citing Bel'chikov's arguments in support (Gregg, 31). Since then, however, those arguments have been disputed by A.V. Arkhipova. While conceding that certain phrasings may be Dostoyevsky's, she concludes that in general his corrections do not appear to have far exceeded customary editorial practice, and that Meshchersky's authorship must therefore be considered beyond dispute. (A.V. Arkhipova, 'Dostoyevsky o Tyutcheve (K attributsii odnoy stat'ye v "Grazhdanine")', *Russkaya literatura*, 1975, No.1, 172-176.) On balance it would seem more likely that the formulation in question was Meshchersky's.

294. Gregg, 29-30.

295. F.I. T. to Ern. T., SPb., 3 Aug. 1851. V, 68.

296. Fet (1859), 125.

Appendix I

1. Nikolayev (1989), 526; I, 385-395.

2. *Zhizn'*, 72; *Lirika*, I, 352; *ibid.*, II, 439.

3. A manuscript version is included in the so-called 'Raich collection' of poems sent by Tyutchev to S.Ye. Raich at various times before the beginning of March 1830 (NS) (see below, note 6).

4. See above, pp.64-65.

5. Dinesman (1999a), 287.

6. For the Raich collection as a tool for dating certain poems, see: Nikolayev (1979), 134-135; Ospovat (1986), 351-352; *PSS* (1987), 361-362; Nikolayev (1989), 504-507, 513-516; *Letopis'-1*, 96, 98-99.

7. *Lirika*, I, 346; *ibid.*, II, 439.

8. *PSS* (1987), 377

9. I, 401; *Lirika*, I, 361.

10. *Lirika*, I, 361.

11. Despatch of K.V. Nesselrode to G.I. Gagarin, SPb., 27 June/ 9 July 1833. *Letopis'-1*, 127.

12. F.I. T. to A.F. Tyutcheva, M., July-Aug. 1845 (OS). IV, 322.

13. I am grateful to Herr Oelschläger of the LAELKB for this information.

14. As for example at the Protestant funeral in Munich some years previously of the Ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Hessen, despite an appeal by the Papal Nuncio Serra Cassano to Catholic diplomats not to attend (Jesse, 102).

15. LAELKB, Pfa München, Beerdigungen 1832-1843, Sign. 024-41, S. 53. I am grateful to Dr Jürgen König of LAELKB for supplying details of this record.

16. *Letopis'-1*, 124.

17. Schmidt, 725. A case in point is the dedication ceremony on 25 August 1833 for the first Lutheran church in Munich, the Matthäuskirche. A contemporary account describes the Dean of Munich, Friedrich Boeckh (see next note) taking the leading role, assisted by other named pastors and curates. Although Queen Karoline attended the ceremony, Schmidt is not mentioned as having taken any active part (Jesse, 106).

18. Jesse, 132-133; Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, 'Boeckh, Friedrich von', in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Nordhausen, I (1990), 656 (accessible online at: www.bautz.de/bbkl).

19. *PSS* (1933), I, 401.

20. S.S. Dudyshkin first remarked on the poem's general similarity to Schiller's 'Kolumbus' in an article published anonymously in the journal *Otechestvennye zapiski* in 1854 (quoted in: I, 483). The more specific parallel was pointed out by R.F. Brandt in 1911 (Brandt, Part 3, 45-46).

21. Gregg, 121.

22. III, 17.

23. Gregg, 122.

24. III, 17-18.

25. III, 17.

26. Ospovat (1999), 238; B.N. Tarasov, 'Kommentarii', in: III, 270-271.

27. Ye.Yu. Khin, 'V.F. Odoyevsky', in: V.F. Odoyevsky, *Povesti i rasskazy*, M., 1959, 22.

28. *Tyutchevy*, 95.

29. Vladimir F. Odoyevsky, *Russkiye nochi*, M., 1913, 416-423 (reprinted with same pagination as: Vladimir F. Odoevskij, *Russische Nächte*, Munich, 1967 [in the series *Slavische Propyläen*, XXIV]).

30. *Ibid.*, 45-46.

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31. See: 'Kak okean ob"yemlet shar zemnoy...'; 'Son na more'; 'Vesna' ('Kak ni gnetyot ruka sud'biny...'); 'Smotri, kak na rechnom prostore...'; 'Volna i duma' (I, 110, 151, 183-184; II, 34, 41).
32. See: 'Kak okean ob"yemlet shar zemnoy...'; 'O chom ty voyesh', vetr nochnoy...'; 'I grob opushchen uzh v mogilu...'; 'Son na more' (I, 110, 133, 138, 151). The words in question are used in other poems, but without any recognisably metaphysical connotation.
33. II, 440, 442.
34. *Lirika*, I, 413.
35. *Zhizn'*, 365.
36. *Ibid.*, 366.
37. *Ibid.*, 90.
38. The case for Yelena seems first to have been advanced by G.A. Gukovsky (in his article 'Nekrasov i Tyutchev', *Nauchny byulleten' Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo ordena Lenina Universiteta*, Nos. 16-17 [1947], 59), followed by R.A. Gregg (Gregg, 171-172) and N.Ya. Berkovsky (Berkovsky, 73).
39. Tyutchev (F.F.), 226-227.
40. R.C. Lane, 'The Life and Work of F.I. Tyutchev' (unpublished dissertation), Cambridge University, 1970, 281-282.
41. *Zhizn'*, 365. For T.'s note to Eleonore (appended to a letter to his parents from Turin dated 13/25 Dec. 1837. IV, 89-90) see above, pp.238-239.
42. N.M. Mikhaylova, 'Rodovoy arkhiv Tyutchevykh v Muranove', *LN-2*, 653.
43. *Zhizn'*, 365.
44. See: Lane (1983).
45. II, 441.
46. II, 90.
47. Lane(1983), 127-129.
48. The image of a tapestry or carpet is borrowed from Yury Lotman's illuminating analysis of the time-scales in 'Ya pomnyu vremya zolotoye...' (Yu.M. Lotman, 'Poetichesky mir Tyutcheva', *TS* [1990], 136-138).

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 1st December 1837, 237-238, 482nn76/77
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 29th January 1837, 144, 227-8, 229,
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RUSSIAN TITLES/FIRST LINES, WITH THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

References in brackets are to the six-volume 'Klassika' edition of Tyutchev's works (Moscow, 2002-2005)

A.A. Fetu (II, 117): To A.A. Fet
 A.N.M. (I, 31): A.N.M.
 Aleksandru Vtoromu (II, 108): To
 Alexander II
 Al'py (I, 129): The Alps
 Bessonitsa (I, 75): Insomnia
 Bezumiye (I, 120): Madness
 Bliznetsy (II, 13): Twins
 'Brat, stol'ko let soputstvovavshy mne...'
 (II, 226): 'Long my companion on life's
 thoroughfare...'
 Cache-cache (I, 59): Cache-cache
 'Charodeykoyu zimoyu...' (II, 58):
 'Spellbound by that dark magician...'
 'Chemu molilas' ty ty s lyubov'yu...' (II, 53):
 'That which you gave your adoration...'
 'Cherez livonskiye ya proyeczhal polya...'
 (I, 124): 'Across Livonia's fields I
 journeyed on my way...'
 'Chto ty klonish' nad vodami...' (I, 136):
 'Why, O willow, to the river...'
 'Da, vy sderzhali vashe slovo...' (II, 224):
 'Yes, you have kept your sacred
 promise...'
 'Davno l', davno l', o Yug blazhenny...'
 (I, 178-9): 'O blessed South, was it but
 lately...'
 Den' i noch' (I, 185): Day and Night
 'Den' vecherayet, noch' blizka...' (II, 46):
 'Day turns to evening, dusk draws nigh...'
 Druz'yam pri posylke 'Pesni Radosti' — iz
 Shillera (I, 44): To my Friends, on
 Sending Schiller's 'Ode to Joy'
 'Dusha khotela b byt' zvezdoy...' (I, 115):
 'My soul aspires to be a star...'
 'Dusha moya, Elizium teney...' (I, 142):
 'My soul is an Elysium of shades...'

Dva golosa (II, 25): Two Voices
 Dva yedinstva (II, 221): Two Unities
 'Dve sily yest' — dve rokovyie sily...'
 (II, 198-9): 'There are two forces — two
 momentous forces...'
 Dvum syostram (I, 116): To Two Sisters
 Dym (II, 174-5): Smoke
 Encyclica (II, 132): Encyclica
 'Eti bednye selen'ya...' (II, 71): 'Villages of
 mean appearance...'
 Fontan (I, 167): The Fountain
 'Glyadel ya, stoya nad Nevoy...' (I, 193):
 'I stood beside the broad Nevá...'
 'I chuvstva net v tvoikh ochakh...'
 (I, 172): 'There is no feeling in your eyes...'
 'I grob opushchen uzv h mogilu...' (I, 138):
 'And now the coffin has been lowered...'
 'Itak, opyat' uvidelsya ya s vami...' (I, 204):
 'And so once more I find myself
 confronted...'
 Ital'yanskaya villa (I, 180): Italian Villa
 Iyun' 1865 g. (II, 188): June 1865
 'Iz kraya v kray, iz grada v grad...' (I, 157):
 'From place to place, from here to
 there...'
 K.B. (II, 219): K.B.
 K Ganke (I, 188-9): To Hanka
 K N. (I, 46): To N.
 K N.N. (I, 61): To N.N.
 K ode Pushkina na vol'nost' (I, 27): To
 Pushkin's Ode on Liberty
 'Kak doch' rodnuyu na zaklan'ye...' (I, 145-
 6): 'As Agamemnon gave his daughter...'
 'Kak khorosho ty, o more nochnoye...'

(II, 135): 'How you enchant me, O sea, in the darkness...'
 Kak nad goryacheyu zoloy... (I, 117): 'Just as when laid on glowing coal...'
 Kak nas ni ugetay razluka... (II, 209): 'Though separation may torment us...'
 'Kak ni dyshit polden' znoyny... (II, 21): 'Though the sultry heat of midday...'
 Kak ptichka, ranneyu zarey... (I, 140): 'Just like a bird at break of day...'
 Kak sladko dremlet sad temnozelyony... (I, 158): 'How tranquilly the darkly verdant garden...'
 'Kakoye dikoye uschel'ye!...' (I, 160): 'What a wild place this mountain gorge is!...'
 Kharon i Kachenovsky (I, 28): Charon and Kachenovsky
 'Khot' ya i svil gnezdo v doline... (II, 103): 'Although my home is in the valley...'
 'Khotel by ya, chtoby v svoey mogile... (II, 245): 'I wish that I might lie once in my coffin...'
 Kolumb (I, 194): Columbus
 Kon' morskoy (I, 111): Sea Stallion
 Lebed' (I, 109): The Swan
 Letniy vecher (I, 62): Summer Evening
 List'ya (I, 127-8): Leaves
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 'Lyublyu glaza tvoji, moy drug... (I, 173): 'I love your eyes, their look supreme...'
 Mal'aria (I, 130): Mal'aria
 Mogila Napoleona (I, 67): Napoleon's Grave
 More i utyos (I, 197-8): The Sea and the Cliff
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 Na Neve (II, 20): On the Neva
 Na novy 1816 god (I, 12-13): On the New Year, 1816
 Na vozvratnom puti (II, 92-3): On the Return Journey
 'Nad etoy tyomnoyu tolпой... (II, 83): 'This crowd of the obscure, low-born...'
 Nakanune godovshchiny 4 avgusta 1864 g. (II, 149): On the Eve of the Anniversary of 4 August 1864
 Napoleon (I, 219-20): Napoleon
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 Nash vek (II, 40): Our Age
 'Ne Bogu ty sluzhil i ne Rossii... (II, 73): 'Throughout your reign you served nor God nor Russia...'
 '“Ne day nam dukhu prazdnoslov'ya”!...' (I, 35): '“Help us forswear all empty

chatter”!...'
 'Ne govori: menya on, kak i prezhde, lyubit... (II, 52): 'Do not say that his love for me is undiminished...'
 'Ne raz ty slyshala priznan'ye... (II, 39): '“I am unworthy of your loving”...'
 'Ne to, chto mnite vy, priroda... (I, 169-70): 'Nature is not what you would have it...'
 'Ne ver', ne ver' poetu, deva... (I, 186): 'O maiden, do not trust the poet...'
 'O, etot yug, o, eta Nitstva... (II, 131): 'This Nice, this fabled southern winter...'
 'O, kak ubiystvenno my lyubim... (II, 35-6): 'O, how our love breeds ruination...'
 'O, ne trevozh' menya ukoroy spravedlivoy! (II, 42): 'Though I have earned them, spare me from your shafts of rancour...'
 'O veshchaya dusha moyaya... (II, 75): 'O my prophetic soul! O heart...'
 Olegov shchit (I, 71): Oleg's Shield
 'Ona sidela na polu... (II, 89): 'To sort a pile of letters, on...'
 'Osenney pozdneyu poroy... (II, 91): 'I love, when autumn shades are falling...'
 Osenniyy vecher (I, 126): Autumn Evening
 Ot russkogo po prochtenii otryvkov iz lektsiy g-na Mitskevicha (I, 191): From a Russian, on Reading Extracts From the Lectures of Mr Mickiewicz
 Ot zhizni toy, chto bushevala zdes'... (II, 234): 'Of all the life that raged so violently...'
 Pamyati V.A. Zhukovskogo (II, 55-6): To the Memory of V.A. Zhukovsky
 'Pesok sypuchy po kolenu... (I, 125): 'Knee-deep in sand our horses flounder...'
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 Poeziya (II, 9): Poetry
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 Poslaniye Goratsii k Metsenatu, v kotorom priglashayet yego k sel'skomu obedu (I, 17-19): Missive From Horace to Maecenas, in Which he Invites Him to Dinner in the Country
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 Poslednyaya lyubov' (II, 59): Last Love
 Predopredeleniye (II, 50): Predestination

'Priroda — Sfinks. I tem ona verney...'
(II, 208): 'Nature, just like the Sphinx,
contrives to set...'
Problek (I, 52-3): A Gleam
Prorochestvo (II, 14): Prophecy

Rim noch'yu (II, 11): Rome at Night
Russkaya geografiya (I, 200): Russian
Geography
Russkoy zhenshchine (I, 209): To a
Russian Woman

'S kakoyu negoyu, s kakoy toskoy
vlyublyonnoy...'
(I, 177): 'With what
sweet tenderness, what lovesick
melancholy...'

'S polyany korshun podnyalsya...'
(I, 161):
'Here where the forest thins, a kite...'
'Sey den', ya pomnyu, dlya menya...'
(I, 131): 'That day remains in memory...'

Silentium! (I, 123): Silentium!
'Siyayet solntse, vody bleshchut...'
(II, 57):
'The sun gleams brightly, waters
sparkle...'

'Sizhu zadumchiv i odin...'
(I, 165): 'I sit
alone and contemplate...'

Slavyanam [1] (II, 176-8): To the Slavs [1]
Slavyanam [2] (II, 179-80): To the Slavs
[2]

Slozy (I, 45): Tears
'Slozy lyudskiye, o slozy lyudskiye...'
(I, 211): 'Tears of humanity, tears of
humanity...'

'Smotri, kak na rechnom prostore...'
(II, 34): 'See on the trackless river,
riding...'

Son na more (I, 151): Dream at Sea
'Svyataya noch' na nebosklon vzoshla...'
(I, 215): 'Now holy night has claimed the
heavenly sphere...'

Tak, v zhizni yest' mgnoven'ya...'
(II, 70):
'How rarely we encounter them...'

Tam, gde gory, ubegaya...'
(I, 163-4):
'Where the mountains, as if fleeing...'

Teni sizye smesilis'...'
(I, 159): 'Shadows
fall, dove-grey, and mingle...'

Tikhoy noch'yu, pozdnim letom...'
(I, 205):
'On a still night, late in summer...'

Tsitseron (I, 122): Cicero
'Ty, volna moya morskaya...'
(II, 54): 'You,
my wave upon the ocean...'

'Ty zrel yego v krugu bol'shogo sveta...'
(I, 107): 'At glittering soirées you saw
him mainly...'

'Umom — Rossiyu ne ponyat'...'
(II, 165):
'Who would grasp Russia with the
mind?..'

Uraniya (I, 20-25): Urania
'Utikhla biza... Legche dyshit...'
(II, 128):

'The wind has dropped... Now breathes
more freely...'
'Uzhasny son otyagotel nad nami...'
(II, 121): 'A fearful, gruesome nightmare
weighs upon us...'

'V chasy, kogda byvayet...'
(II, 88):
'At those times when the bosom...'
'V dushnom vozdukhha mol'chan'ye...'
(I, 135): 'In the air's oppressive silence...'
'V razluke yest' vysokoye znachen'ye...'
(II, 44): 'There is a higher truth in
separation...'

'V tolpe lyudey, v neskromnom shume
dnya...'
(I, 108): 'Amidst the throng, in
uncouth din of day...'

Vatikanskaya godovshchina (II, 232-3):
Vatican Anniversary

'Vchera, v mechtakh obvorozhonykh...'
(I, 174): 'Last night, in reverie
enchanted...'

Vecher (I, 55): Evening
'Vecher mglisty i nenastny...'
(I, 137): 'Such
a wet and gloomy evening...'

'Velen'yu vysshemu pokornyy...'
(II, 222):
'Commanded at the highest level...'

'Ves' den' ona lezhala v zabyti...'
(II, 129):
'All through the day unconscious she had
lain...'

Vesenniye vody (I, 134): Spring Waters
Vesennaya groza (I, 60): Thunderstorm in
Spring

Vesna (I, 183-4): Spring
'Vnov' tvoiy ya vizhu ochi...'
(I, 208): 'Once
again my eyes encounter...'

'Vostok bele... Lad'ya katilas...'
(I, 139):
'Pale showed the east... Our craft sped
gently...'

'Vot ot morya I do morya...'
(II, 72): 'From
one sea unto the the other...'

'Vso besheney burya, vsyo zleye i zleye...'
(I, 147): 'The storm grows more violent,
its rage unappeased...'

'Vsyu otnyal u menya kaznyashchy Bog...'
(II, 251): 'Of so much — sleep, health,
will-power, even air...'

'Ya lyuteran lyublyu bogosluzhen'ye...'
(I, 156): 'I love the Lutheran service,
with its simple...'

'Ya ochi znal, — o, et ochi!..'
(II, 51): 'Those
eyes... I loved them to distraction...'

'Ya pomnyu vremya zolotoye...'
(I, 162):
'A golden time still haunts my senses...'

Yego svetlosti knyazyu A.A. Suvorovu
(II, 122): To His Grace Prince A.A.
Suvorov

'Yeshcho tomlyus' toskoy zhelaniy...'
(I, 201): 'Still love torments me with a
vengeance...'

'Yeshcho zemli pechalen vid...'
(I, 171):

'The earth still wears a sombre air...'
'Yes' i v moyom stradal'cheskom zastoye...'
(II, 137): 'There are in my stagnation of
the spirit...'
'Yes' v oseni pervonachal'nom...' (II, 84):
'There comes with autumn's first
appearance...'
'Za nashim vekom my idyom...' (I, 83): 'We
strive to keep up with our age...'
'Zhivym sochuvstviyem priveta...' (I, 187):

'With gracious, heartfelt recognition...'
Znamya i slovo (I, 190): The Banner and
The Word

1-oye dekabrya 1837 (I, 176): 1st December
1837
14-oye dekabrya 1825 (I, 56): 14th
December 1825
15 iyunya 1865 g. (II, 147): 15 June 1865
29-oye yanvarya 1837 (I, 175): 29th
January 1837