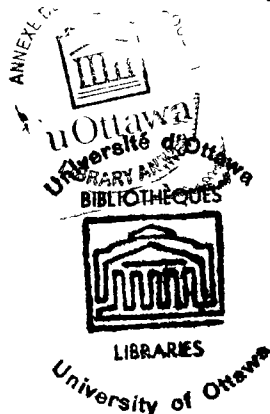


ADAPTATION OF THE HELLENIC LEGACY IN
THE POETIC ART OF OSIP MANDEL'SHTAM

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Thesis presented to the Department
of Slavic Studies at the University
of Ottawa as partial fulfillment of
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
INTRODUCTION	v
I. - THE FRENCH PARNASSIANS AS IMMEDIATE PRECURSORS OF THE RUSSIAN ACMEISTS	1
1. Théophile Gautier: theory of "l'art pour l'art"	2
2. The Hellenic Landscapes of Leconte de Lisle	9
3. Transmission of the Parnassian preoccupation with form and objectivity to the Russian Acmeists	27
4. Implementation of the Acmeist credo in the poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam	33
5. An Acmeist Counterpart of Leconte de Lisle: Nicolas Gumilyov	37
6. Significance of Greek antiquity for these neo-classicists	40
II. - MANDEL'SHTAM'S HELLENISM AS MANIFESTED IN HIS POETIC STYLE	42
1. Mandel'shtam as theoretician of the Acmeist credo	46
2. Classical structuring of Mandel'shtam's poetry: tone, genre, metre, verse-patterns, language	52
III. - GREEK THEMES AND MOTIFS IN MANDEL'SHTAM'S VERSE (representing):	100
1. Idea of man's impotence before fate and his constant striving for immortality	102
2. Reverence toward primeval beauty	106
3. Notion of the power of love and desire	111
4. Concept of perpetuity in life	113
5. Notion of the 'death-aspect' of spring	118
6. Love of human reason, liberty and justice	122
7. The joyous act of recognition and rediscovery in life	125
8. Notion of divination	127
9. Joy offered by the enduring work of art	128
10. Fear of death and oblivion	133
11. Perception of Time and Eternity	136
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	142
BIBLIOGRAPHY	154
Appendix	
1. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF RUSSIAN PASSAGES	173
2. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF GREEK PASSAGES	201
3. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF GERMAN PASSAGES	215
4. ABSTRACT of <u>Adaptation of the Hellenic Legacy in the Poetic Art of Osip Mandel'- shtam</u>	217

A Note on the Translations and
Transliteration in this Thesis

Quotations from texts have been presented, for the most part, in the original language (with translations supplied in Appendices 1 - 3, pages 173 to 216).

Where titles or excerpts of texts have been transliterated, this writer has adhered to the schema of the sources from which the quotations were taken.

The names of poets, e.g., Gumilyov, Annensky, etc., appear in a familiar form of orthography rather than in scholarly transliteration.

INTRODUCTION

"We are all Greeks", wrote Shelley, stressing that modern culture was largely formed by the rediscovery of the classical civilization. Hellenic art, anthropocentric in substance, was the origin of a long humanist tradition which was to endure up to the present time. To understand contemporary literature in depth, particular attention should be given to the antique sources which have constituted such an important organic element in the development of the modern arts.

The most striking characteristic of the ancient Greeks was their acute sense of beauty, consisting in harmony, symmetry, and moderation. This ran through the whole aesthetic texture of their existence: sculpture, architecture, literature, ethics, and philosophy. The luminous clarity and transparency of thought so characteristic of Hellenic poetry was generally the result of a most painstaking and fastidious use of literary devices and language, and it is this meticulous craftsmanship which was to inspire the creative efforts of neo-classical disciples.

The transience and sadness of human existence was made more bearable for the ancients through the splendour of their art. Consolation lay in human grace and beauty, and the Greeks expressed their ideals with balance and harmony, seeking sanity

and liberation through the artistic presentation of their spontaneous outlook on life. The barren limestone ridges of their native land were softened by descriptions of the lazy hum of bees among the clover, and of the breeze wafting through meadows of fragrant asphodel. Greek bards described, in immortal fashion, placid oxen grazing on hillsides and the subtle blending of grey mountain side and shimmering azure sea. The dazzling light and sombre shade which marked much of their landscapes presented an infinite variety of tones. In its natural, direct expression of human feelings and aspirations, the Greek lyric attained a vital and exquisite pathos.

The modern lyric, although more subjective in character than its ancient counterpart, and with a freer choice of metrical patterns, varied from the Hellenic lyric only in minor refinements or modifications. It was only through the skill and craftsmanship of later masters of the lyric style that Greek lyric utterance yielded continuing fresh and brilliant refractions.

An impeccable style was one of the more tangible legacies of the Hellenic period. Modern poetic language was enriched on the model of Pindar's odes, and many rhythmic and prosodic devices, as well as imagery, were adapted from the Greek Anthology. The classical influence brought into the modern lyric a grave spirit and a subtle simplicity, giving the lyric impulse fresh life, amplitude, and directness, free from diffuseness and ornamentation.

Greek rhythmical composition was a flexible art based on organic unity, with leit-motifs subtly woven into the poetic texture. In ancient poetry many different rhythms were employed which were allied to the emotional quality of the poetry which they accompanied. The Doric rhythm, for example, was felt to be the most Greek and war-like in spirit and was employed for the expression of courage and manliness; the Anacreontic was tender and pathetic; the Lydian, voluptuous and tender; the Paeonic and the Phrygian, wild and exciting. The musical Ionic mode was considered non-Greek because of its relaxed, effeminate quality. Midway between the Doric and the Ionic rhythms was the Aeolic, neither solemn like the Doric nor sweet and melancholy like the Ionic — reflecting turbulent chivalry, passion, or grace. Pindar wove all these Greek lyric rhythms into his musical designs, with each rhythm serving to throw into relief the changing emotional waves of his poetry.

Many of our present-day rhythms appear to have evolved from these ancient models in accordance with simple rhythmical laws. Like the ancients, the modernists viewed form as a vessel, and words as a vehicle of art. The incantatory power of words became all-important to emerging neo-classical writers, many of whom applied themselves particularly to the verbal aspect of their craft.

We are aware of the significant impact of the Greek lyric models upon two neo-classical schools in close succession: the French Parnassians and the Russian Acmeists. In these two

modern schools the literature of antiquity served both as an inner force and as a fertile seed for development. In considering the chief characteristics which linked the Russian Acmeists with their immediate classical precursors, the French Parnassians, it is evident that the significance of Greek antiquity for these two literary movements was not merely as a source of models to be slavishly imitated, but as a propagative source for inspiration and development in the creation of new, original works of art which were vibrant and innovative in their own right.

We see in the poems of both the Parnassian and the Acmeist schools a poetic universe where vigorous beauty, originating from implacable universal sources, is presented in such a way as to ameliorate to some extent the human condition. There existed in these modernists an unquenchable desire to triumph over the irrevocable and the transitory, and to these poets art represented a concrete means to that end. Their contact with the world was physical, but the particular euphoria induced in them through poetic intuitions of space and time is refracted endlessly in their chiselled verse.

The French Parnassian poets, in their return to antiquity, favoured the Hellenic tradition rather than the classical Latin. Striving to emulate the calmness and serenity of their Greek classical models, they often displayed what many critics termed a "cold and impassive detachment" in their classical imagery.

Between the neo-classical works of Clément Marot, du Bellay, and Ronsard of the sixteenth century, and those of the nineteenth-century Parnassians, André Chénier represented an important link in the French lyric trend. Leconte de Lisle, a leading Parnassian, took Chénier as one of his more immediate models, imitating with care the plasticity and magical transpositions in art of his great eighteenth-century predecessor.

Leconte de Lisle was the accepted guide and literary father of a new generation of classical writers. Along with his fellow-writer and theoretician Théophile Gautier, he laid down the Parnassian credo which sought perfection of form and aspired to the elimination of the subjective personal element. As in antique poetry, beauty was regarded as an independent value, divorced from moral judgement or utilitarian aims. The Hellenic dream of both Gautier and Leconte de Lisle consisted in the enshrinement in flawless form of the aesthetic ideals and the elevated themes of ancient Greece.

Gautier, as the formulator of the well-known theory of "l'art pour l'art", launched the poetic strivings of the Parnassians (and, subsequently, those of the Acmeists in Russia) toward the sculpture of verse in truly classical fashion — an exalted art, remote or detached from the material aspects of human existence. In the sculpturing of outward forms the poet was to be a sedulous craftsman, employing all the resources of verbal material (to be regarded as a difficult and recalcitrant material like marble) which would fix his ideas

in an enduring form, impervious to the inroads of time.

The plastic perfection of Gautier's own craftsmanship as a versifier of exterior form exerted a substantial impact on his fellow-Parnassians who proceeded to give close attention to form, line, and colour in their objectively-viewed descriptions of the exterior world. Greek exoticism in its double form, that is, by its separation in time and space, furnished new effects in poetic creativity — effects of relief, lines, colour, and light.

Leconte de Lisle, like Gautier, aspired to the complete submergence of the poet's personality in his art, as well as to artistic perfection in the deployment of poetic tools. Although the adjective 'impassive' was to cling to this poet throughout his life, he was in actual fact capable of profound feeling. The restraint of emotion apparent in his poetry did not lessen the emotive effect on the reader.

Like his Greek masters, Leconte de Lisle shared the universal sentiments of mankind. His philosophy was not abstract or indifferent, but represented a sympathetic understanding and love for living things. In addition to the traditionally classical reverence for human reason, liberty, justice, and glory, Leconte de Lisle knew how to express the intimate feelings of men, their interior longings, their despair and helplessness before the implacable mortal fate which awaits them.

Leconte de Lisle's poetry did not always reflect the Ionic grace of Chénier's, but more often revealed the austerity and power of the Doric rhythm. His was not the cloyingly sentimental manner of many neo-classical epigones, but a virile representation of life and humanity. This poet saw the Hellenic civilization as the unique conciliation of his ardent republican ideals and his gentler pastoral dreams.

The composition of his poetry was rigorous and painstaking, with a harmonious balance between line, colour and sound. With regard to the last-mentioned quality, Leconte de Lisle's acoustic effects are of particular interest: the long, sonorous vowels of his verse were lengthened to resound more strongly, and this euphonic deployment of sounds produced an effect vibrant with antique timbre.

The Parnassian group performed a service not only in the development of French lyric verse, but in their fundamental impact upon the twentieth-century Russian Acmeists. In the shaping of their programme, the Russian group was initially guided by the thriving traditions laid down by the French Parnasse, and it is for this reason that the first chapter of the present study is devoted to the French Parnassians as the direct precursors of the Russian Acmeists. Like their French forerunners, the Acmeists applied themselves to the shaping of 'resistant' material into works of art of an 'absolute' and 'timeless' perfection.

Following the artistic injunctions of Théophile Gautier, both Osip Mandel'shtam and Nicolas Gumilyov published articles stressing style and craftsmanship in the poetic art of the Acmeists. Mandel'shtam emphasized the intrinsically Hellenistic nature of the Russian language and asserted that Logos was an all-important element in the fashioning of poetry — the Word, that is, in its antique conception, as "a psyche, a live soul, freely choosing its own sweet body". Gumilyov, attributing to Théophile Gautier the revelation of earthly life presented in faultless artistic form, expounded with conviction the tenets of his Parnassian models. Striving, like Leconte de Lisle, to be consistently impersonal in his poetic creation, Gumilyov presented an objective world as the vehicle for expression of his innermost thoughts and feelings.

Like Leconte de Lisle, Gumilyov clung, in moments of existential despair, to the ideal of an art based on the beauty of visible nature. In his African cycle of poetry we see many parallels to the Poèmes barbares of Leconte de Lisle — a strong biological force directed toward earthly life, and a deep love of nature and all its creatures. Both poets engaged in a search for beauty and harmony through a return to the primitive stages of nature and man. Their poetic art is strongly reminiscent of the Sapphic attempt to confront nature directly and to reconcile all forms of life in their essential and spontaneous manifestations.

It was largely due to the inspiration of Innokenty Annensky, teacher and director of the Tsarskoselskoe Gymnasium and a poet in his own right, that Gumilyov was attracted to the newest current in Russian poetic art, namely, Acmeism. Emulating the classical technique of versification of Annensky, Gumilyov acclaimed the new Acmeist cult which insisted on a harmonic balance between content and form, thus enabling a precise embodiment of poetic experience. The most significant element of Acmeism implemented by Gumilyov in his own work was his approach to poetic 'moulding' as to an elevated craft. In this striving he was indebted not only to Annensky but also to the canons laid down for the Parnasse by his esteemed Gautier.

It should be noted, however, that although Gumilyov subscribed in theory to the literary credo of Acmeism, or 'Adamism', as it was also known, his poetry did not always present a clear-cut portrayal of the surrounding world. In his exotic poetry Gumilyov revealed many traces of a strong Romantic-Symbolist heritage, and, in fact, much abstract and mystical-religious imagery pervades his later verse. Despite these increasingly evident Symbolist traces throughout his creative path, Gumilyov remained, nonetheless, a consciously polished master of versification and poetic utterance.

The present study is concerned primarily with the more profound Hellenism discernible in the poetic art of Osip

Mandel'shtam. The antique influence was far from being an exterior form of hellenization in the creative work of this modernist. On the contrary, Mandel'shtam's poetry reveals the expression of a strong inner Hellenism similar to the spiritual integrity which characterized the creative work of the ancients.

Discovering within himself many enduring traits of antique models — in particular, vital Hellenic attitudes and an acute sense of proportion and harmony, — Mandel'shtam composed his early collection, Stone, preserving at all times an extraordinary rapport between content and form — a classical fusion of the 'ideal' and the 'real' (слово-плоть). The soul of ancient Hellas is resurrected in the poignant reveries and sonorous discourse of the writer, and we observe throughout his verses a Homeric unsentimentalized stateliness completely in keeping with their elevated spiritual and intellectual content. It was not, as was generally the case with the Parnassians, so much the colourful outward appearance of antiquity which found expression in Mandel'shtam's work, but, rather, its tragic emotional depth. Mandel'shtam was keenly aware of the darker dimensions of life — of the underlying transience and chaos which threaten to engulf man at every turn. Although Mandel'shtam's emotions are consciously masked by a classical restraint in tone, nevertheless his readers are moved by his trenchant presentation of the human condition.

A master of language, Osip Mandel'shtam handled the lyric genre with sureness and epigrammatic precision, arriving

at a blending of sound, rhythm and imagery which was completely integrated with his poetic ideas. With the Logos, or "conscious meaning of the word", as his chief creative tool, Mandel'shtam created synthetic word-structures which constituted palpable crystallizations of his intuitive poetic experience. It is the 'word-object' — embodied form itself — which is at the centre of this poet's Weltgefühl; we sense his reverence and love for the word-as-such. The very power of Mandel'shtam's art lies in its concreteness: his ideas are incarnated in the mythology of his poetry, wherein the thought is indissolubly linked with the image.

The slow, majestic movement of his verse is completely attuned to the emotional and spiritual intensity of his thought. Although his verses do not constitute in themselves faithful imitations of accepted ancient models, nevertheless his poetic rhythmic are linked in dynamic, organic fashion with these models. The quantitative nature of the stress element figures significantly in his poetry. Metre for Mandel'shtam consisted not of a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables but of an even stretch of separated groups in time. It is this Aeolic isochronism, in particular, which gives a strikingly antique flavour to his versification.

This pervasive antique quality is further intensified by his meaningful use of vocabulary derived from ancient mythology which augments the elevated tone already inherent in his rhythmic

and general manner of poetic expression. Invocations to ancient deities are never shallow embellishment in his verse but arise spontaneously from the emotion which has inspired the lyric. Much of Mandel'shtam's lexicon evokes clearly-etched visions of antiquity and each of his 'Word-Psyches' serves, consequently, as a dynamic structural element in the formation of organic word-syntheses.

The poet's ideas are externalized through many Greek-inspired leading and supplementary motifs. Apart from the lyrical 'I' (which, in Mandel'shtam's verse, is consciously restrained), his prevailing themes consist of such strikingly Hellenic notions as the impotence of man before fate, and his constant striving for immortality; a deep reverence for pristine beauty; the power of love and desire; the concept of perpetuity or self-renewal in life; the association of spring with death; love of human reason, liberty, and justice; the moment of intuitive recognition; the notion of divination; the eternal consolation and joy in the enduring work of art; and, finally, the acute perception of Time and Eternity.

All the above concepts are brought into focus through Mandel'shtam's wide range of evocative motifs, culminating in integral poetic creations — consummate mythological incarnations of his inner visions and ideas. The Hellenic view of poetry as an aesthetic medium by which one could attain the Absolute (as

developed in Plato's Phaedrus and Plotinus' The Enneads), played a similarly dynamic rôle in Mandel'shtam's intuitive approach. He viewed poetry, as did these Greek philosophers, as the key to privileged moments of recognition possible only through the poetic medium — through the 'word-soul', with its transcendental vision. In Mandel'shtam the spirit of Hellenism was focussed, above all, upon the use of the word as a creative tool. Placing stress on the word-as-such in poetical construction he attempted through its hard lucidity to transmute the temporal into the timeless.

Mandel'shtam's poems, with respect to both composition and subject-matter, reveal a distinctly polyphonic treatment. In his verse we see a subtle harmonizing of varying rhythms as well as a multi-dimensional interaction of emotional, intellectual and aesthetic elements. This 'orchestral' blending of metre, free verse, assonance and alliteration, on the one hand, with a wide variety of national and classical subjects, on the other, produces a complex but skilfully integrated effect. We see throughout Mandel'shtam's work a delicate balance of structure and movement, line and colour, ideas and motifs — in short, a marked affinity with the ancient Greek temper and artistic style.

In his article, "Culture and the Word", Mandel'shtam stressed that classical poetry was "a poetry of the revolution", that is, a medium in the interpretation of contemporary events. In a world of apocalyptic upheaval, Osip Mandel'shtam perceived art in its universal perspective, in the reappropriation of time and culture through its continuous reincarnation.

It is precisely the purpose of this dissertation to examine Mandel'shtam's individual adaptation of the Hellenic legacy to portray his own country and his own times — the moulding by a modernist poet of new plastic forms of distinctively national idiom, drawing all the while upon classical stylistic devices, thematics, motifs and imagery to assist him in the crystallization of his inner visions.

In the first chapter of this study, an appraisal is made of the implementation of the Greek heritage in the tenets and works of the French Parnassian school, and, in particular, the works of Gautier and Leconte de Lisle, its initial leaders and theoreticians. (The considerable influence of Heredia and Sully-Prudhomme, although felt beyond the borders of their own country, is not readily discernible in the formation of the Russian Acmeist credo and is therefore not examined in the scope of the present thesis). A strictly chronological approach has been implemented in this chapter in order to demonstrate the direct transmission of a concrete, plastic technique of handling verbal material through the French Parnassians to the Russian Acmeists. This particular ordering appeared to ensure the most logical progression to the problem, and, at the same time, would provide a framework for the juxtaposition of two of the main representatives of the Parnassian movement with two of their leading counterparts in the Acmeist school.

Of particular relevance to this study are the under-noted bibliographical sources which give detailed assessments of the extent of the Hellenic inspiration among the Parnassian writers:

Fernand Desonay's Le rêve Hellénique chez les poètes parnassiens;

Jay Karl Ditchy's Le thème de la mer chez les parnassiens
Leconte de Lisle et Heredia;

Henri Maugis' La Poésie de Leconte de Lisle.

In order to consider the specific indebtedness of the Russian Acmeist literary programme to that of the French Parnasse, it was

necessary to turn to articles published by the Acmeists themselves. In the work of these Russian modernist poets, as well as in that of their immediate preceptors, the French Parnassians, poetic craftsmanship is one of the most tangible elements bequeathed to them by the Ancients.

Chapter II is devoted to the individual form or style of Mandel'shtam's poetry, which reflects the strong sense of proportion and harmony characteristic of the classics. Special attention is given to the organic structuring of Mandel'shtam's verse, namely, to the deployment of such essential compositional elements as tone, genre, metre, rhyme, and poetic language — all tensely linked in classical fashion.

Irina Bushman, in her "Поэтическое искусство Мандельштама", emphasizes that a strong kinship with ancient poetry is evident in Mandel'shtam's poetry — not only in his content and lexic, but also in the rhythmic and sound effects of his verse. This author's detailed analysis of Mandel'shtam's stylistic devices constituted a useful reference source and basic 'take-off' point for the preparation of the second chapter.

In Chapter III of the present study, the ancient Greek themes and motifs prevailing in Mandel'shtam's verse are traced back to similar thematics and topoi in ancient texts ranging through the Greece of various ages: a sampling of counterparts is furnished from a broad spectrum of Hellenic (epic and lyric), Hellenistic, Alexandrian, and Byzantine sources. These examples have been selected on the basis of some striking affinity with,

or parallelling of, the various themes and motifs represented in the present sampling of Mandel'shtam's verse. Although it has been established that Mandel'shtam studied the Greek language at St. Petersburg University, it is not known which texts were included in his programme of study nor to what extent he later read classical texts in the original. However, the predominance of Homeric thematics and imagery in his poetry suggests that he drew much of his classical material from the epic period of Greek literature.

With regard to the classical motifs and imagery occurring in Mandel'shtam's poetry, two extremely relevant articles have appeared: Gleb Struve's "Итальянские образы и мотивы в поэзии Осипа Мандельштама", in Studi in Onore di Ettore Lo Gatto e Giovanni Maver (Rome, 1962, 601-614, followed by a commentary in the 1964 edition); and an article by Victor Terras entitled: "Classical Motives in the Poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam", published in The Slavic and East European Journal (Vol. X, No. 3, 1966). While Professor Struve's work is concerned with the Roman cycle of Mandel'shtam's poems and does not pertain directly to this study, the second article considers both the Roman and Greek motifs employed by Mandel'shtam. The format and method of this latter article was of considerable assistance in the methodological approach to this problem, that is, in determining a system of rapprochement between the sampling of the modernist poet's verse and that of the ancient texts.

Victor Terras' article, "Classical Motives in the Poetry of Osip Mandel'stam", is chiefly concerned with the interpretation of certain poems by Mandel'shtam which contain classical thematics, vocabulary or imagery. At the same time he examines the poet's 'hellenistic' view of language, his 'philologism', that is, "love and respect for the word as such". However, stresses Terras, the language in which Mandel'shtam's visions of classical antiquity are expressed is authentically Russian, and not a hellenizing academic idiom. The main object of Mandel'shtam's 'hellenistic' vision is the word-soul — a frequently recurring motif in his poetry.

Terras does not deal with other aesthetic manifestations of Mandel'shtam's hellenism, judging these beyond the scope of this particular article. However, while constantly emphasizing that much of Mandel'shtam's style and thematics are distinctively 'Mandel'shtamian', he nevertheless observes: ". . . Mandel'shtam the modernist poet deserves to be called a hellenist. He deserves it for having stepped into the stream of time and retrieved from it . . . genuine fragments of the ancient world, visions of Hellas and Rome which are marvels of historical intuition in the Bergsonian sense. . ."

Certainly, and as the present study also reiterates, Mandel'shtam's adaptation of the Hellenic legacy is uniquely his own. As a closer examination of Mandel'shtam's style, thematics, motifs, and imagery will reveal, the significance

of Greek antiquity for this poet lies, not in its use as a direct model or pattern, but as a vitalizing focus for the development of his own particular aesthetic.

The present thesis proposes to demonstrate how classical antiquity constituted a "living seed" (to use a metaphor of Tadeusz Zielinski's) in the poetic art of Osip Mandel'shtam. A representative sampling of Mandel'shtam's poems will be scrutinized with a view to ascertaining how this fertile seed of Greek antiquity served in the creation of new and original works of art (which would, in their turn, serve as creative embryos for Mandel'shtam's literary descendants and heirs).

In the opinion of the writer of this dissertation, the continuing value of Mandel'shtam's contribution arises from his individual method of fashioning ancient ideas into new plastic moulds. Indeed, it is this modernist poet's keen intellectual and emotional intuition, combined with a skilled classical craftsmanship, which endow his verses with renewed Hellenic beauty and timelessness.

CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH PARNASSIANS AS IMMEDIATE PRECURSORS OF THE RUSSIAN ACMEISTS

The long shadows of the sixteenth century lyric poets Ronsard and du Bellay, and that of André Chénier (1762-1794), extended over all the neo-Hellenic tentatives of the nineteenth century French poets. The Parnassians, reacting against the "poésie intime" of their Romantic predecessors, sought in antique Greece loftier themes of 'eternal' essence, as well as balance and plasticity of form. The Parnassians owed chiefly to Chénier the revelation of a radiant Greece, and pleasure in the contemplation of its harmonious beauty. Indeed, the Parnassian poets felt that their own age was morally base and turned elatedly to the ancient world of Greece, with its tranquil grace and nobility of spirit. They maintained that the positive aesthetic and spiritual ideals of Hellas were the foundation of all civilization and remained perpetually true.

As a group, the Parnassians (although differing individually in temperament) envisaged the essence of classical form not in the dogmatic use of traditional literary laws and fixed art forms, but in the acceptance of discipline and in the subordination of personal fancies to a supra-personal tradition. The members of this neo-classical movement stressed that although the expression in Greek poetry was laconic and

restrained, its intrinsic emotion was nonetheless genuine and intense. The Greek control of form and the consistent rejection of all that was vague, extravagant or unbalanced were impressive ideals, and the Parnassians set out resolutely to cultivate precision and clarity in verse patterns which were regular and traditionally classical. We observe in their work a marked striving toward perfection of form, as well as the cultivation of an impersonal art rather than a personal or mystical medium — an aesthetic art form, rather than a moral or utilitarian one.

In this neo-Greek epoch of transition, two writers played a most significant rôle: Théophile Gautier (1811 - 1872) and Charles-Marie-René Leconte de Lisle (1820 - 1894). In the work of these two theoreticians and poets we see the unfolding of the Parnassian neo-Hellenism which sought to enshrine in melodic verse the aesthetic ideals and sublime themes of ancient Greece. The Greek dream of both Gautier and Leconte de Lisle was founded on a vivid conception of the springtime of humanity — "l'image idéale de vie et de jeunesse". Paganism and exoticism were for them two important manifestations of a doctrine of "art for art's sake".

1. Théophile Gautier: theory of "l'art pour l'art".

It was under the aegis of Gautier that the French Parnassians were to launch their artistic strivings.

Gautier emphasized that the aesthetic sense by which we appreciate the beautiful is completely separate from our moral judgement and intellect. He opposed the concept of a utilitarian art and asserted that beauty in art should be an independent value like that manifested in antique poetry with its deployment of disinterested activity.^{1a} Accordingly the poets of the generation of "l'art pour l'art" chose ancient Greece as the ideal symbol of aesthetic beauty. It was not so much the antique soul, with all its nuances and subtle genius, which was the object of their preoccupation, but rather the exterior brilliance and glory of Greece. The Parnassians concentrated on exalted visions of this land of sculptured elegance: the white marble of temples, the ivory and gold of statues — all the dazzling effects of relief, lines, colours, and light.

In the preface to his Emaux et camées Théophile Gautier expressed his desire to achieve a transposition of art, that is, to give through the medium of verse the plastic effects of painting and sculpture:

Ce titre exprime le dessein de traiter sous
forme restreinte de petits sujets, tantôt sur
plaques d'or ou de cuivre, avec les vives couleurs
de l'émail, tantôt avec la roue du graveur de
pierres fines, sur l'agate, la cornaline ou l'onyx.¹

1 Théophile Gautier, Préface, Emaux et camées, Paris, G. Charpentier, 1881, xxvi.

1a The conception of art as "disinterested activity" was developed by Kant and then adopted by German idealist aesthetics in general.

The plasticity and colour of Gautier's verse reflect his competent artistic craftsmanship:

Dans le fronton d'un temple antique,
Deux blocs de marbre ont, trois mille ans,
Sur le fond bleu du ciel attique,
Juxtaposé leurs rêves blancs;²

The poet's preoccupation with the transposition of art from painting to verse is reflected in a flamboyant poetic palette:

Sur une gamme chromatique,
Le sein de perles ruisselant,
La Vénus de l'Adriatique
Sort de l'eau son corps rose et blanc.³

Comme un teint aristocratique
Noircit les fronts bruns de soleil,
De ses soeurs elle rend rustique,⁴
Le coloris chaud et vermeil.

In Gautier's "Symphonie en blanc majeur" we are presented with a juxtaposition of white on white — the white of marble, of flesh, of precious stones:

Le marbre blanc, chair froide et pâle,
Où vivent les divinités;
L'argent mat, la laiteuse opale,
Qu'irisent de vagues clartés;⁵

2 T. Gautier, "Affinités secrètes", Emaux et camées, Paris, Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1902, p. 1.

3 "Sur les lagunes", "Variations sur le Carnaval de Venise", II, Ibid., p. 25.

4 "La Rose-thé", Ibid., p. 154.

5 "Symphonie en blanc majeur", Ibid., p. 35.

Transpositions of art are plentiful throughout the Emaux et camées. In addition to the "Symphonie en blanc majeur", we find the "Poème de la femme" with its subtitle "Marbre de Paros", as well as other poems such as "Contralto" and "Lied". Gautier chiselled and polished his poetic miniatures, choosing such fragile subjects as music-boxes, guitars, Chinese porcelains, Russian furs, jewels, dragon-flies,^{7a} etc., and imprisoning these chimera of loveliness in felicitous verse forms. Taking as the chief aim of his poetry the faithful reproduction of shapes and colours, this skilful poet gave to the Parnassians finished models of artistic realism. He himself indicated the path of his disciples in the following verse:

Point de contraintes fausses!
Mais que pour marcher droit
Tu chausses,
Muse, un cothurne étroit.

6

This poem, entitled "L'Art", constituted in itself a paean to the durability of this craft: "Tout passe. — L'art robuste// Seul a l'éternité".⁷

We observe three distinct stages in the work of Gautier: the visual image at the outset; minutiose description; poetical interpretation as the literary parallel to engraving or etching. We may then distinguish a concrete realization of the poet's idea — its visible, palpable expression.

6 T. Gautier, "L'Art", op. cit., p. 223.

7 Ibid., p. 225.

7a The dragonfly was one of Mandel'shtam's favourite images also.

The image occupies the major position in the poem, with the poet's idea serving to justify the choice of the image. In other words, ideas came to Gautier when suggested by things. For example, love can cause heartbreak, just as a vigorously growing plant can shatter the pot which contains its roots:

C'est un grand aloès dont la racine brise
Le pot de porcelaine aux dessins éclatants.⁸

In his exaltation of outward forms, Théophile Gautier showed mastery both as sculptor and painter in verse. In his poem, "L'Art", he summed up his credo that the artist must be a painstaking craftsman who employs all the resources of language and verse. He must, in order to implement his technical skill, choose the most difficult and recalcitrant material in order to fix his ideas in a secure form resistant to the destructive character of time:

Oui, l'oeuvre sort plus belle
D'une forme au travail
Rebelle,
Vers, marbre, onyx, émail. 9

In the last verse of this same poem, he reiterates:

Sculpte, lime, cisèle;
Que ton rêve flottant
Se scelle
Dans le bloc résistant; 10

8 T. Gautier, "Le Pot de fleurs", Poésies complètes, t. 1, Paris Charpentier, 1910, p. 254.

9 Gautier, "L'Art", Emaux et camées, p. 223.

10 Ibid., p. 226.

Théophile Gautier concerned himself with two main themes: love and the fear of death. However, it is a markedly physical impression of these feelings which emerged in his verse. For example, he presents only in outline the portrait of his beloved:

Avec son collier d'or, avec sa robe blanche,
Et sa ceinture bleue, et la fraîche pervenche
De son chapeau de paille, et le sourire fin 11
Qui découvre ses dents de perle.

When he is preoccupied with the thought of death, he is haunted by macabre images in which his conception of death is presented in precise visions of reality:

Le sang quitte tes jambes roides,
Les ombres gagnent ton cerveau,
Et sur ton front les perles froides 12
Coulent comme aux murs d'un caveau.

Gautier loved the minutiae of details:

Pour les petites pâquerettes,
Sournoisement lorsque tout dort,
Il repasse des collerettes 13
Et cisèle des boutons d'or.

11 T. Gautier, "Elégie I", Poésies (1830), Poésies complètes, Paris, Charpentier, 1896, p. 11.

12 Gautier, "Les Affres de la Mort", "España", Poésies nouvelles, Poésies complètes de Théophile Gautier, Paris, Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1932, p. 318.

13 Gautier, "Premier sourire du printemps", Emaux et camées, p. 47.

His meticulous scrutiny noted even the rosy tint of the
strawberry concealed in the grass, the wispy smoke issuing
from the chimney of a hovel:

Sous l'herbe, pour que tu la cueilles, 14
Il met la fraise au teint vermeil,

Un tire-bouchon de fumée,
Tournant son mince filet bleu, 15

Although the poems in Emaux et camées (with the
exception of the last three) are written in a simple metrical
form, namely, the octosyllabic quatrain with alternating
rhyme, the poet achieves variety through an extensive
arsenal of poetic tools such as the adroit juxtaposition of
words, luminous images, sonorous language, and vibrant
colours.

The almost flawless perfection of Gautier's craftsmanship
as a versifier of exterior form had a profound bearing
on the development of the poetry of his Parnassian contemporaries.
Moreover, Gautier's consistent emphasis upon his
conception of "l'art pour l'art" was to be reflected not only
in the poetic aspirations of the French Parnassians, but was
also to figure significantly in the formation of the poetic
credo of the Russian Acmeists of the twentieth century.

14 T. Gautier, op. cit., p. 49.

15 Ibid., p. 104.

2. The Hellenic Landscapes of Leconte de Lisle.

Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle (1820-1894) was hailed as the esteemed guide and literary father of the developing Parnassian generation of "l'art pour l'art". Many of his poems, particularly the collections Poèmes antiques (1852) and Derniers poèmes (1895), influenced the poets of the contemporary and succeeding generations with regard to attention given to form, line and colour in the manifestations of an objective world, as well as in relation to the poet's intense feeling for the varying nuances of words.

a. The Hellenic Muse of Leconte de Lisle.

It was love of beauty which directed Leconte de Lisle toward a philosophic conception of pagan antiquity and hellenic pantheism. Beauty is not simply an illusion of our senses, stressed Leconte de Lisle, but the most substantial of all realities — the only thing on earth which can give us consolation in the anguish of vulnerable mortality:

Depuis Homère, Eschyle et Sophocle, qui représentent la poésie dans sa vitalité, dans sa plénitude et dans son unité harmonique, la décadence et la barbarie ont envahi l'esprit humain. 16

16 Leconte de Lisle, Préface, Poèmes antiques, Paris, Librairie Alphonse Lemerre, 1929, p.1.

Eternal beauty above all is celebrated in the poetry of Leconte de Lisle. He sought in his 'antique' verses the splendour of the models furnished him by Hellenic genius. For him the religion of beauty was not an artificial cult. He found perfection in Hellenic dance and sculpture, inspiration and discipline in Greek temples and statuary:

Que ta douleur est belle, ô marbre sans pareil!
Non, jamais corps divins dorés par le soleil,
Dans les cités d'Hellas jamais blanches statues
De grâce et de jeunesse et d'amour revêtues,
Du sculpteur inspiré songes harmonieux,
Muets à notre oreille et qui chantent aux yeux;¹⁷

Leconte de Lisle was a strong advocate of Gautier's theory of "l'art pour l'art". In whatever he wrote, he aimed at submergence of his personality in his art and at artistic perfection. Poetry for him was a matter of labour and erudition, with its own rules of harmony, colour, and counterpoint. In describing the beauties in nature, he manifested an acute sensitivity for subtle nuances and an ability to fix his thought through appropriate figures of speech. Observing things with the eye of both sculptor and painter, he presented them in realistic fashion, without deformation or exaggeration.

17 Leconte de Lisle, "Niobé", Poèmes antiques, Oeuvres de Leconte de Lisle, Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, 1929, p. 159.

b. Philosophy and themes of Leconte de Lisle.

Although the adjective 'impassive' was applied to Leconte de Lisle early in his career and clung to him throughout his life, nevertheless this poet was capable of intense feeling. He was 'impassive' only in the manner in which he pursued his cult of plastic art and the way in which he conceived his work in the aspect of eternity. It is true that he did not display his passions obviously, but the fact that his emotion was contained did not mean that it was less profound.

This poet interested himself not so much in individual (in the sense of egoistically orientated) emotion, but in collective emotions which he shared with the rest of mankind. His philosophy was not abstract or indifferent, but a warm presentation of his love for living things. He shared the emotions of his heroes and his beasts of prey. Niobé and Cain alike represent the poet himself, welcoming the dawn of better days when man would be liberated from the oppression of established religions and theocracies:

O stupide vainqueur du divin Prométhée,
Puisse, du ciel, ta race avec toi rejetée,
De ton règne aboli comptant les mornes jours,
Au gouffre originel descendre pour toujours!
J'ai honte de ton sang qui coule dans mes veines...
Mais toi-même as brisé ces détestables chaînes,
O Zeus! toi que je hais! Dieu jaloux, Dieu pervers, 18
Implacable fardeau de l'immense Univers!

In addition to love of human reason, liberty and justice, Leconte de Lisle knew how to express the intimate sentiments of mankind, his interior world, and particularly his anguish before the implacable onslaught of time:

La Jeunesse nous quitte, et les Grâces aussi.
Les Désirs amoureux s'envolent avec elles,
Et le sommeil facile. A quoi bon le souci
Des espérances éternelles? 19

Jules Lemaitre, in his Les Contemporains, avers that one does not find in the poetry of Leconte de Lisle the Ionic grace of Chénier's poetry but rather a cold and severe beauty. De Lisle's poetry, he asserted, contains more of the Doric element: virile, austere, powerful — without exaggerated or laboured forms — and couched in a language fashioned by the poet himself, replete with bold and vivid metaphors and epithets.²⁰

The poetry of Greek antiquity was in itself often rough and realistic (rather than idyllic), as illustrated by the scenes of carnage in Homer and Aeschylus — scenes of cruel vengeance, violence and blood. For example, not content with disgorging his enemies with sword and lance, Achilles crushes their bodies under the hooves of his horses until blood spurts up from the rims of the chariot wheels:

19 Leconte de Lisle, "Etudes latines", Ibid., p. 247.

20 Jules Lemaitre, Les Contemporains, t. II, Paris, Boivin et Cie, 1903, p. 30.

ὥς ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου μώνυχες ἵπποι
στεῖβον ὁμοῦ νέκυάς τε καὶ ἀσπίδας· αἶματι δ' ἄξων
νέρθεν ἔπας πεπάλαντο καὶ ἄντυγες αἶ' περὶ δῖφρον,²¹
(II, 498-499)

Similarly, in "Le Vase", "Les Plaintes du Cyclope", "Le Retour d'Adonis", and "Symphonie" (which are almost direct translations from ancient models), we discern in Leconte de Lisle a hard, clipped tone which is far removed from that of the conventional idyll:

Sur ce roc, où le pied parmi les algues glisse,
Trainant un long filet vers la mer glauque et lisse,
Un pêcheur vient en hâte; et, bien que vieux et lent,
Ses muscles sont gonflés d'un effort violent.²²

However, in the Poèmes antiques, Leconte de Lisle celebrated the Greece of various ages: prehistoric Greece with "Niobé", Hellenic Greece with "Khirôn", Alexandrine Greece with "Hypatie". His "L'Apollonide" is a eulogy dedicated to the intelligence and artistry of Greece — an apotheosis of art and beauty revealing this poet's inner contemplation of the Greek ideal.

The Alexandrine period, of course, was characterized by pastoral and bucolic genres, and to Theocritus, for example, everything was rose-coloured, gentle, idealized. (However, even the visions of Theocritus are much superior to the puerile 'bergeries' of the eighteenth century).

21 Homer, The Iliad, Vol. II, Books XIII- XXIV, ed. by Walter Leaf, Second Edition, Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, Publisher, 1960, p. 381.

22 "Le Vase", Poèmes antiques, p. 172.

The idylls of Leconte de Lisle, like those of the Syracusan poet, proceeded from a sentimental, but not honeyed or shallow conception of Greece. There is little of the austere Doric style in "Thyoné", where he portrays the indolent, dreamy life of the shepherd. The rhythm itself is languorous and redolent of Ionic grace:

. Je suis jeune, et ma main
Ne s'est pas exercée au combat inhumain;
Mais, sur la verte mousse accoudé dès l'aurore,
J'exhale un chant sacré de mon roseau sonore; 23
Les tranquilles forêts protègent mon repos;

Furthermore, in reading "Kléarista", one may well ask in what consists the purported rude Doric harshness of Leconte de Lisle? This charmingly serene work moves with slow and gracious mien:

L'Aube divine baigne au loin l'horizon clair;
L'alouette sonore et joyeuse, dans l'air,
D'un coup d'aile s'envole au sifflement des merles; 24

In the manner of Theocritus, Leconte de Lisle extolled in fresh, beauteous idylls Nature herself, without stressing any philosophy apart from that of peaceful happiness. The poet admires the maidens frolicking on the verdant river banks and envies the shepherds who have no unsatisfied desires and experience none of the stresses of modern life. The poet is persuaded that the Hellenic civilization enjoyed a wonderful

23 "Thyoné", op. cit., p. 72.

24 "Kléarista", ibid., p. 238.

harmony — the unique conciliation of his own republican ideals and pastoral dreams. He envisioned Greece as a land of beauty, reason and liberty:

Au sol de notre Hellas notre âme est enchaînée,
Et la terre immortelle où dorment nos aïeux
Est trop douce à nos coeurs et trop belle à nos yeux.
Les vents emporteront ta poussière inféconde,
Ilios! Mais Hellas illumine le monde! 25

Thus, in fleeing the ugliness of contemporary conditions, the poet sought refuge in the "eternally pure" sources of Greek antiquity. For him art was not an amusement but a religion, capable of being understood and practised by only a few.

Leconte de Lisle adhered rigidly to his cult of Beauty — a Beauty containing in itself also Truth and Good. 26 He insisted that the poet, as a creator of Ideas, must realize Beauty in the measure of its force through a complex synthesis of lines, colours and sounds. The poet should, moreover, employ all the resources of fantasy, passion, reflection, and science. Finally, he maintained, any work which was lacking in sensitive beauty could not be considered a work of art.

25 "Hélène", Poèmes antiques, p. 100.

26 Hellenism itself could be defined as an attitude toward life in which an acute sense of beauty melds with a love of freedom, humanism, moderation, and many-sidedness. In the study of Hellenism entitled: Hellenic Influence on the English Poetry of the Nineteenth Century, author Johanna Gutteling presents the Hellenic spirit and temperament as a "sane and harmonious conception of the relation between man and God".

Leconte de Lisle preferred to the ardent and voluptuous Greece of some of his fellow-Parnassians (e.g., Gautier and Banville) a picturesque and chaste Greece, a Greece of tranquil riverbanks and hills where young men and maidens resembling gods and goddesses appear to be frozen in harmonious and plastic attitudes. Hence, for this poet, Venus de Milo was not the "joyous Aphrodite", nor the "amorous Kythérée", nor an eloquent Muse, nor "la molle Astarté", but, rather, the Goddess of Harmony and Serenity:

Du bonheur impassible ô symbole adorable,²⁷
Calme comme la Mer en sa sérénité,

It is indeed the classical sea of the Greeks which the poet sings in his Poèmes antiques. It is the southern sea, blue and calm, sympathetic toward man (whereas the northern seas were considered by Leconte de Lisle to be hostile toward man, often perfidious, and violently cruel).²⁸

In "Le Réveil d'Hélios" we observe a classical landscape in the purest Parnassian style:

Et Sélénè pâlit, et les Heures divines
Font descendre l'Aurore aux lointaines collines.
Le Dieu s'écrie! Il part, et dans l'ampleur du ciel
Il pousse, étincelant, le quadrigé immortel.
L'air sonore s'emplit de flamme et d'harmonie;
L'Océan qui palpite, en sa plainte infinie,
Pour saluer le Dieu murmure un chant plus doux;

²⁷ Leconte de Lisle, "Venus de Milo", Poèmes antiques, p. 135.

²⁸ In his Poèmes tragiques the sea plays a fatal rôle, finally engulfing humanity.

Et semblable à la vierge en face de l'époux,
La Terre, au bord brumeux des ondes apaisées,
S'éveille en rougissant sur son lit de rosées. 29

Leconte de Lisle's own translations of Homer's Iliad
breathe a truly placid quality:

ἥελιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας,
ἔξ ἀκαλαρρεῖταιο βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο
οὐρανὸν εἰσανιών· 30

(Iliad, VII, 421-423)

Hélios, à son lever, frappait les campagnes de
ses rayons, et, montant dans l'Ouranos, sortait 31
doucelement du cours profond de l'Okéanos . . .

Similarly serene passages are to be found throughout
his collection Derniers Poèmes:

Sous les nappes d'azur de la mer d'Ionie
Qui soupire au matin sa chanson infinie,
Quand le premier rayon du ciel oriental
Etincelle en glissant sur l'onduleux cristal,
Puissons-nous contempler, o chères Néréides,
Vos longs yeux d'émeraude et vos beaux corps fluides! 32

It is interesting to compare the following passage
from Leconte de Lisle with Homer's own images of a "rosy-
fingered" Dawn or Morning, emerging from a cradle of sea-mist:

29 Leconte de Lisle, "Le Réveil d'Hélios", Poèmes antiques, p. 138.

30 Homer, The Iliad, Vol. I, Books I - XII, ed. by Leaf, Second Edition, Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1960, p. 326.

31 Homère, Illiade, Traduction nouvelle par Leconte de Lisle, Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, Editeur, 1884, p. 130.

32 Leconte de Lisle, "Parfum des Néréides", Derniers Poèmes, Oeuvres de Leconte de Lisle, t. 4, Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, 1929, p. 23.

Du limpide horizon, dans l'air tout embaumé,
l'Aurore, fleur céleste, et récemment éclore,
Semblait s'épanouir sur le monde charmé. 33

Ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, 34

(Iliad XXIV, 788)

Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ρόων ὤρνυθ', 35

(Iliad, XIX, 1-2)

οὐδέ μιν ἦως
φαινομένη λήθεσκεν ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα τ' ἡϊόνας τε, 36

(Iliad, XXIV, 12-13)

Descriptions of Poseidon and Aphrodite arising from
the sea foam are frequently to be found among the images of
Leconte de Lisle:

Pour braver Poseidôn et les flots écumants . . . 37

O Fille de l'Ecume, ô Reine universelle,
Toi dont la chevelure en nappes d'or ruisselle, 38

Déesse, qui naquis de l'écume des mers . . . 39

33 Leconte de Lisle, "L'Enlèvement d'Européia",
Derniers Poèmes, p. 31.

34 Homer, The Iliad, ed. by W. Leaf, Vol. II, Books
XIII - XXIV, p. 593.

35 Ibid., p. 538.

36 The Iliad of Homer, by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E.
Myers, London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., New York, St. Martin's
Press, 1965, p. 430.

37 "Khirôn", Poèmes antiques, p. 189.

38 "Parfum d'Aphrodite", Derniers Poèmes, p. 20.

39 "Hélène", Poèmes antiques, p. 99.

In "Nox", the sea is described in an austere, almost cold fashion, characteristic of the 'impassive' Parnassian style:

Mais sur le sable au loin chante la Mer divine,
Et des hautes forêts gémit la grande voix,
Et l'air sonore, aux cieux que la nuit illumine,
Porte le chant des mers et le soupir des bois.⁴⁰

In "Khirôn we see many references to the sea:

"Déjà d'un voile épais couvre les flots d'Aigée"⁴¹

"Au delà des flots noirs par l'orage troublés" ⁴²

"Du sein des flots féconds les humides vallées" ⁴³

"Et l'écume baisait ses pieds immaculés" ⁴⁴

"sur le sable où la Mer vient bruire" ⁴⁵

"Et sur le bord des mers j'entends Hellas en pleurs"⁴⁶

.... and many others.

The poet's poem "Dies irae" shows his resentment toward a triumphant Christianity and his sympathy for the vanquished classical gods:

⁴⁰ "Nox", Poèmes antiques, p. 294.

⁴¹ "Khirôn", Ibid., line 6, p. 184.

⁴² Ibid., line 12 on page 190.

⁴³ Ibid., line 1 on page 196.

⁴⁴ Ibid., line 16 on page 196.

⁴⁵ Ibid., line 4 on page 197.

⁴⁶ Ibid., line 13 on page 212.

L'harmonieuse Hellas, vierge aux tresses dorées,
A qui l'amour d'un monde a dressé des autels,
Gît, muette à jamais, au bord des mers sacrées,
Sur les membres divins de ses blancs Immortels. 47

He searches, also, for a symbol of the sorrow which he feels
in seeing the muses of antiquity disappear:

Les Muses, à pas lents, Médiantes divines,
S'en vont par les cités en proie au rire amer.
Ah! c'est assez saigner sous le bandeau d'épines,
Et pousser un sanglot sans fin comme la Mer! 48

In this passage, the endless sob of the sea symbolizes the
pain felt by the poet at the disappearance of this classic
beauty.

Leconte de Lisle's antique landscapes are focussed on
many learned myths and legends: Pan and Kybèle, the death of
Hercules, the amorous rivalry of Alkmène and Héra, the fable
of the kidnapping of Europe, Hélène, Niobé, La Mort de Pentée,
Khirôn, Ekhidna. Allusions are also made to the myths of
Leda, the judgement of Paris, Artemis' surprise, and others.

"Niobé" presents us not only with a picture of a
primitive life or of a history of conflict between two reli-
gious traditions, but is in itself the symbol of human reason
which has long been constrained by religious doctrine — and
which is now confident that its day will come.

47 Leconte de Lisle, "Dies Irae", Poèmes antiques,
p. 312.

48 Ibid., p. 314.

The poem "Plaintes du Cyclope" clearly expresses Leconte de Lisle's view that poetry is the sole remedy for the troubles of mankind, a view which was to be re-echoed by many Parnassian and Acmeist writers.⁴⁹

In the verse of Leconte de Lisle, three layers of ideas come to light: a mission to supersede modern society (inspired by early Fourierist orientation of the poet); a renewal of "le fonds pensant" of humanity (by studying the past and evoking ancient gods); a complete adherence to the credo of "l'art pour l'art".

Although he considered "la Beauté sensible" as a prerequisite in art, nevertheless, he insisted, the work of art must be at the same time an intellectual creation. All real poetry should contain a philosophy, whether it be hope, aspiration, or a definitive renunciation of human identity. His own work was carried out with a markedly intellectual passion, and even in moments of acute existential despair this writer reached out toward an impeccable art containing within itself the immortal dream of beauty.

c. Form and style of Leconte de Lisle's verse.

Not only was the subject matter of his Greek poems borrowed directly from Pindar and other antique poets, but

⁴⁹ This particular concept of art as offering the key to human survival is one of the underlying themes in the poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam (as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis).

the very technique of his poems often preserves characteristic methods used by his ancient masters. In "Hélène" and "Les Erinnyes" Leconte de Lisle reintroduced the classical chorus, and in his ode "Kybèle" we find the strophe, antistrophe, and epode.

As already mentioned, Leconte de Lisle was an artist who was constantly preoccupied with the demands of form. He was endowed with a feeling for true symmetry of contour, and, in his hands, a poem represented a block of marble to be shaped and hewn until its proportions were perfect.

The sonorous beauty of Leconte de Lisle's poetry results in a magical effect which leaves the reader overwhelmed by form rather than subject. In many of his poems this poet was apparently less concerned with thought than with line, colour and sound, resulting in 'word-symphonies' of resounding beauty. Nevertheless, although the poetic preoccupations of this writer were those of the School of Art, his good taste and self-restraint prevented a display of the unfortunate virtuosity which characterized the work of several of his fellow-Parnassians.

The architecture of his poems — of carefully proportioned symmetry — is made up of massive lines, basically simple in contour. The poet did not hesitate, in order to ensure the cohesion of the verse, to make the 'joints' so solid that they are visible. He used heavy conjunctions and

extended phrases, with this cohesive framework often creating an effect of immobility and a degree of 'raideur':

Je ne quitterai point Sparte aux nombreux guerriers,
Ni mon fleuve natal et ses roses lauriers,
Ni les vallons aimés de nos belles campagnes
Où danse et rit encor l'essaim de mes compagnes, 50
Ni la couche d'Atride et son sacré palais.

Leconte de Lisle's rhymes are rich, often sumptuous, especially when he places at the end of his lines the vocalic names of the Greek gods:

Et, s'élançant du sein des grottes de Nérée, 51
Suivent la belle Ino, compagne vénérée.

Le puissant Héraklès, fils de Zeus et d'Alkmène,
Qui déploie en tous lieux sa force surhumaine. 52

Thanks to the rhythm of his verse, the long, sonorous vowels are lengthened still more and resound strongly, constituting an important euphonic tool. The antique names, put into circulation, create a melodious quality of sounds, intensified by the plastic deployment of these words by the poet:

Le léger Méléagre, appui de Kalydon;
Boutès à qui Pallas d'un glaive d'or fit don;
Pélée et Télamôn, Amphiôn de Pallène,
Et le bel Eurotos cher au Dieu de Kyllène;
Le cavalier Nestôr, et Lyncée aux grands yeux
Qui du regard pénètre et la terre et les cieux, 53

50 Leconte de Lisle, "Hélène", Poèmes antiques, p.103.

51 "Niobé", ibid., p. 143.

52 "Khirôn", ibid., p. 191.

53 Ibid., p. 191 - 192.

His enumeration of these names adds to the metrical beauty of the verse because of their harmony and novelty — a boon in a poetic language like French, which is deprived of short and long syllables:

Chantez l'immortel Zeus, jeunes Okéanides
Qui vous jouez en rond sur les perles humides,
Kéto, Kallirhoé, Klymène aux pieds charmants,
Kymathoé, Thétis, Glaucé, Kymatolège,
Elektre au cou d'albâtre, Eunice aux bras de neige,⁵⁴
Reine des bleus palais sous les flots écumants!

This onomastic cascade of names is often accompanied by such patronymic periphrases as "fils d'Hypériôn", "fils de Kronos", "fils d'Aristée", etc. Geographical enumeration of ancient Greek toponyms also lends a historical or legendary atmosphere to his poems:

O cité de Tyndare! O rives de mon fleuve,
.....
Salut, ô mont Taygète, ô grottes, ô vallées, ⁵⁵

Ni la riche Milet qu'habitent les Iônes,
Ni Syracuse où croît l'hélichryse aux fruits jaunes,
Ni Korinthe où le marbre a la blancheur du lys,
N'ont vu fleurir au jour d'égale à Thestylis. ⁵⁶

His poetry abounds with pre-eminently classical imagery: l'étalon, les cerfs, les colombes, les ramiers, l'abeille, la cigale; le laurier, le myrte, l'asphodèle, le cyprès, l'hyacinthe, la mélisse, l'anémone, etc.

⁵⁴ Leconte de Lisle, "Niobé", Poèmes antiques, p. 149.

⁵⁵ "Hélène", ibid., p. 114 - 115.

⁵⁶ "Thestylis", ibid., p. 221.

In addition to being a master of the exigencies of metre, rhythm, and rhyme, Leconte de Lisle showed particular imagination in his choice of tropes:

La Nuit divine, enfin, dans l'ampleur des cieux clairs,
Avec sa robe noire aux plis brodés d'éclairs,
Son char d'ébène et d'or, attelé de cavales
De jais et dont les yeux sont deux larges opales,
.
Sa guirlande étoilée et l'écharpe des nues,
Descendit dans les mers des Dévas seuls connues . . . 57

Many of his epithets reveal a strong antique flavour: la grappe féconde, la violette sombre, l'hyacinthe pâle, la mélisse odorante, le cytise amer, le lin chaste, as well as la pourpre de Phrygie, casque d'airain, agrafes d'argent, lin d'Egypte and épée aux clous d'or. In this way, Leconte de Lisle evokes aspects of primitive nature in fluid effects of light and freshness, resurrecting vanished images, forms, and landscapes, and reviving them in their pristine grace.

Alexandrine verse predominates in his antique verses, and in one of the most beautiful passages in "Le Réveil d'Hélios", dedicated to the radiant sun, brilliant alexandrines reflect its glory:

Le Jeune Homme divin, nourrisson de Délos,
Dans sa khlamyde d'or quitte l'azur des flots;
De leurs baisers d'argent son épaule étincelle
Et sur ses pieds légers l'onde amère ruisselle. 58

p. 47. 57 Leconte de Lisle, "Cunacépa", Poèmes antiques,

58 "Le Réveil d'Hélios", ibid., p. 137.

The odes of Leconte de Lisle are patterned on those of Pindar, whose verse represents the true voice of Doric poetry. In the extremely supple metric of his poetry, Pindar treated a great variety of themes in grave, epic fashion. His style was characterized by the use of strikingly extended metaphors, periphrases, vivid epithets and strong impressions of the visible world. His poetry describes the overpowering beauty of nature — the blaze of sunlight and precious gold, the flashing of storms:

Στρ. α'

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἰοπλοιάμων
 σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾷς ἀκούει μὲν Βάσις, ἀγλαΐας
 ἀρχᾶ,
 πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν,
 ἀγησιχόρων ὁπότεν προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχης ἐλελιζο-
 μένα.
 καὶ τὸν αἶχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις
 ἀενάου πυρός. εὕδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, ὠκεῖαν
 πτέρυγ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάζαις,

59

(ΠΥΘΙΟΝΙΚΑΙ Α')

(Pythian Ode I, "To Hiero the Aetnaean",
 strophe 1, 1-10)

59 Pindar, Olympian and Pythian Odes, by B. L. Gildersleeve, Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, Publisher, 1965, p. 59.

In the subordination of personal sentiment to picturesque representation, in his love for striking form, objectivity, and plasticity, we see Leconte de Lisle as a direct poetical heir of the great Pindar. The colour and sonority of the French Parnassian's poetic language, the melody and richness of his rhyme, the harmonious line of his verse — all these elements reflect a true Greek sense of form. Leconte de Lisle's vividly depicted ancient landscapes and his finely polished poetic style were, in turn, to serve as classic models — as a source of artistic guidance and inspiration to contemporary and succeeding neo-Hellenic writers.

3. Transmission of the Parnassian preoccupation with form and objectivity to the Russian Acmeist group.

Just as the French Parnassians, reacting against their Romantic antecessors, sought to subordinate personal 'fancies' to an impersonal, aesthetic tradition, so the Russian Acmeists, appearing in the first half of the second decade of the twentieth century, presented themselves as an artistic reaction against the "mystical obscurity" of their immediate predecessors, the Russian Symbolists.

Members of this group included three leading "Craftsmen of the Word"⁶⁰, Nicolas Gumilyov, Anna Akhmatova, and

⁶⁰ As they were designated in L. I. Strakhovsky's work entitled Craftsmen of the Word. Three Poets of Modern Russia (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1949).

Osip Mandel'shtam, as well as S. Gorodetsky, M. Zenkevich, V. Narbut, I. Odoevtseva, G. Ivanov, G. Adamovich, and N. Otsup. As foremost theoreticians and poets of the Acmeist programme, Gumilyov and Mandel'shtam were initially guided by the aesthetic traditions of the French Parnasse, and it is their work, in particular, which is discussed in this chapter. (Anna Akhmatova's exquisitely personal poetry, although Sappho-like in its classic simplicity and brevity, does not reveal any strongly discernible influence of the French Parnassian credo, and is therefore not treated in the present study).

The mouthpiece for this new literary trend, the periodical Apollon, under the direction of S. Makovsky, stated explicitly the determination of Acmeism to replace "sickly melancholy" with a strong and vital art form.

Мы будем бороться за сильное и жизненное искусство
 за пределами болезненного распада духа . . .

announced the editorial staff in its first issue in January, 1913.

In this issue, two articles were published which were to become the programme of the newly-formed Acmeist school: "Наследие символизма и акмеизм" by Nicolas Gumilyov, and "Некоторые течения в современной русской поэзии", by Serge Gorodetsky. In the former article, Gumilyov pointed out that the Acmeists, like their models, the French Parnassians, would seek a freer form of verse in order to shake off the

'fetters' of established metrical forms:

. . . Подобно тому, как французы искали новый, более свободный стих, акмеисты стремятся разбивать оковы метра пропуском слогов, более чем когда либо вольной перестановкой ударений, и уже есть стихотворения, написанные по вновь продуманной силлабической системе стихосложения . . . 61

Gumilyov stressed the indebtedness of the Acmeist programme to the literature of Western Europe in general, and, in particular, to the influence of such writers as Shakespeare, Rabelais, François Villon, and Théophile Gautier:

Всякое направление испытывает влюбленность к тем или иным творцам и эпохам. Дорогие могилы связывают людей больше всего. В кругах, близких к акмеизму, чаще всего произносятся имена Шекспира, Рабле, Виллона и Теофиля Готье . . . Каждое из них — краеугольный камень для знания акмеизма, высокое напряжение той или иной его стихии. 62

Shakespeare, said Gumilyov, revealed to us the inner world of man, whereas Rabelais treated the outer or physiological side of man. Villon dealt with the essence of life itself — love, vice, death, and immortality.^{62a} To Théophile Gautier, Gumilyov attributed the revelation of earthly life, presented in faultless artistic form. "Теофиль Готье для этой жизни нашел в искусстве достойные одежды безупречных форм".

61 Н. С. Гумилев, "Наследие символизма и акмеизм", Аполлон, С. Петербург, № 1, январь, 1913, стр. 42 - 43.

62 Там же, стр. 44 - 45.

62a In his article on François Villon (II, p. 343 - 351), Mandel'shtam lauds the medieval dynamism of this writer, contrasting it with the sterile rhetoric of many of his contemporaries of the XV century.

The union of these four aspects was to be the aim of the Acmeist school,⁶³ forming a credo which would emphasize plasticity in craftsmanship, as well as a return to realism and to the substance and beauty of this world.⁶⁴

Serge Gorodetsky's article developed still further Gumilyov's concept of an objective, realistic art:

. . . Борьба между акмеизмом и символизмом, если это борьба, а не занятие покинутой крепости, есть, прежде всего, борьба за э т о т мир, звучащий, красочный, имеющий формы, вес и время, за нашу планету Землю
У акмеистов роза опять стала хороша сама по себе, своими лепестками, запахом и цветом, а не своими мыслимыми подобиями с мистической любовью или чем 65
нибудь еще.

Even ugliness could be beautiful!:

. . . не только хорошо все уже давно прекрасное, но и уродство может быть прекрасно. После всяких неприятий мир бесспорно принят акмеизмом, во всей совокупности красот и безобразий. 66

The essential difference between the Symbolist and Acmeist schools lay particularly in the question of style.

63 This ill-assorted grouping of Shakespeare, Rabelais, Villon and Gautier, as cornerstones of Acmeism, received sharp criticism from Briussov, as well as from modern critics such as Weidle and Struve.

64 Maximilian Voloshin commenting in Apollon (No. 4, 1910) on the plasticity of the images in Henri de Regnier's "Les medailles d'argile" stressed this necessity for transition from symbolism to a strict realism.

65 С. Городецкий, "Некоторые течения в современной русской поэзии", Аполлон, № 1, 1913 г., стр. 48.

66 Там же.

The Russian Symbolists, heeding the exhortations of the French poet Verlaine, laid particular stress on "la musique encore et toujours", as well as on "rien que la nuance".⁶⁷ The Acmeists, however, repeating the arguments of Gautier, took a firm contraposition:

Создание тем прекрасней,
Чем взятый материал
Бесстрастней: —
Стих, мрамор иль металл. 68

This emphasis upon the shaping and moulding of rebellious, resistant material is evident in the forementioned article of Gumilyov:

. . . акмеистом труднее быть чем символистом,
как труднее построить собор, чем башню. А один
из принципов нового направления — всегда идти 69
по линии наибольшего сопротивления.

In the poetry of Gautier, Gumilyov saw the precise manifestation of the 'spontaneity' and first-handed 'Adamism' extolled by the Acmeists. Gumilyov's own poetry presents many parallels, also, to the virile, colourful verse of Leconte de Lisle. Like their French models, Gumilyov and his fellow-Acmeists, as objective literary architects, applied themselves with dedication to the workmanship of 'impassive' material.

67 Paul Verlaine, "Art poétique", Jadis et Naguère, Paris, Crès et Cie, 1921, p. 29-30.

68 Н. Гумилев, "Искусство", Переводы из Теофиля Готье, Избранное, Париж, Librairie des cinq continents, 1959, стр. 227.

69 Н. Гумилев, "Наследие символизма и акмеизм", Аполлон, С. Петербург, № 1, стр. 43.

Technical principles governing Acmeist versification consisted of: pictorial-sculptural elements in the presentation of images; precision and restraint in descriptions; clarity and solidity of compositional structure. The dominating principle was that of dexterous craftsmanship in the representation of thoughts and feelings.

Like the Parnassians (and their common ancestor, the Greeks), the Acmeists strove toward a concrete realization — a palpable crystallization — of the poet's idea. These poets sought reality not so much in subjects of everyday life, but in the word as such, that is, in a fusion of the 'ideal' and the 'real' (слово - плоть). In Hellenic fashion, they attempted to minimize the distinction between things (as being real), and ideas (as being incorporeal). It followed from this that the 'word-object' could be animate, and ideas — incarnate.

In Greek art, Hegel perceived a perfect balance of the 'ideal' and the 'real', of the infinite and the finite. By virtue of idealizing the sensuous, poetry could present the whole world of the human spirit:

Der Ton wird dadurch zum Wort als in sich
artikulierte Laute, dessen Sinn es ist, Vor-
stellungen und Gedanken zu bezeichnen . . . 70

The poetry of Mandel'shtam, in particular, is characterized by this conscious return to the Greek Weltgefühl of Word-Psyches, and incarnate or 'fleshed-out' ideas.

70 G.W.F. Hegel, "Entwicklung des Ideals zu den besonderen Formen des Kunstschönen", Ästhetik, Band 1, Frankfurt am Main, Europäische Verlagsanstalt GmbH, Berlin, 1955, p. 94. (The italics in the above quotation occur in the text itself).

4. Implementation of the Acmeist Credo in the
poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam.

Osip Emilievich Mandel'shtam (1891 - 1938), in his article, "On the Nature of the Word", spoke of the tangible link between Russian nominalism or terminology and the Hellenic philological tradition:

Слово в эллинистическом понимании есть плоть
деятельная, разрешающаяся в событие . . . Ни один
язык не противится сильнее русского назывательному
и прикладному назначению. Русский номинализм, то
есть, представление о реальности слова, как такового,
животворит дух нашего языка и связывает его с эллинской
филологической культурой не этимологически и не
литературно, а через принцип внутренней свободы,
одинакого присущей им обоим. 71

Placing stress on the "word as such", and on precise logic in poetical construction, this poet created his own linguistic instrument to transmit his extremely sensitive feelings and impressions.

On the surface, Mandel'shtam's poetry appears impersonal, almost impenetrable at times. The laconism of his architectural poems evokes a rarefied atmosphere, a severe objectivity in the poet's perception of the world. However, as previously pointed out, this studied detachment was very characteristic of Alexandrine art, where art was elevated and exalted, often remote from the material aspects of human existence. Like his Parnassian predecessors, notably, Gautier and Leconte de Lisle, this poet

71 О. Мандельштам, "О природе слова", Собрание сочинений, том второй, Inter-Language Literary Associates, New York, 1966, стр. 288.

cultivated, in his early verse particularly, the disinterested quality and objective restraint of antique models.

The classical influence is visible throughout his work, not only in thematics and imagery, but also in tone, rhythm, and metrics. In the following verse, for example, we are aware of a stately progression of lines and internal harmony, completely in rapport with its Homeric content:

Бессонница. Гомер. Тугие паруса.
Я список кораблей прочел до середины:
Сей длинный выводок, сей поезд журавлиный,
Что над Элладю когда-то поднялся.⁷²

Seeking, like Théophile Gautier, to sculpture verse from "le bloc résistant", Mandel'shtam reverently employed words as "building stones" in the construction of carefully balanced verse structures.^{72a} Significantly, his first volume of poetry is entitled Stone.

Mandel'shtam's erudition permitted a keen historical penetration of antiquity; the meditative, almost static, atmosphere of many of his poems is reminiscent of classical landscapes in ancient poetry. In conjuring up visions of Hellas, he presents us with vividly authentic fragments of the antique world.

His descriptions of contemporary architecture reflect the grandeur of Greek design and frieze décor. Admiring the

72 O. Мандельштам, Камень, Собрание сочинений, том 1, Inter-Language Literary Associates, Вашингтон, 1964, стр. 48.

72a A 'lapidary' style, in which each element is polished and hefted for balance (see Prof. Clarence Brown's The Prose of Osip Mandelstam, Princeton Univ. Press, 1965, p. 57).

architectural-sculptural symmetry of Saint-Sophia he writes;

Прекрасен храм, купающийся в мире,
И сорок окон — света торжество;
На парусах, под куполом, четыре 73
Архангела прекраснее всего.

The transpositions of art which figured so largely in
the poetic aspirations of Gautier are also evident in the
plastic effects of Mandel'shtam's verse:

Есть целомудренные чары —
Высокий лад, глубокий мир,
Далеко от эфирных лир
Мной установленные лары.

У тщательно обмытых ниш
В часы внимательных закатов
Я слушаю моих пенатов 74
Всегда восторженную тишь.

As with Gautier, the theme of death permeates much of
the poetry of Mandel'shtam:

На стекла вечности уже легло 75
Мое дыхание, мое тепло.

Мы смерти ждем, как сказочного волка,
Но я боюсь, что раньше всех умрет
Тот, у кого тревожно-красный рот 76
И на глаза спадающая челка.

В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем, 77
Где властвует над нами Прозерпина.

Петербург! я еще не хочу умирать: 78
У тебя телефонов моих номера.

73 Мандельштам, "Айя-София", Камень, Собрание
сочинений, стр. 23.

74 Там же, стр. 5.

75 Там же, стр. 6.

76 Там же, стр. 27.

77 Там же, стр. 61. (Tristia)

78 "Ленинград", Стихотворения, Собр. соч., стр. 144.

Mandel'shtam feared contemporary reality. His poetry is not so much a direct reflection of life but a reflection of its representation in literary or artistic works of art like the cathedrals of Saint Sophia and Notre Dame, the plays of Racine, and the paintings of Monet and Van Gogh. In this poet there clearly lay a deep love of culture — not merely ancient, but world culture.⁷⁹

Mandel'shtam perceived world history and civilization in its perpetual circulation. Consequently for him Petersburg remained 'Petropolis', and the superficial 'truth' or 'reality' of actual life concealed a deeper reality, accessible only through extra-temporal recognition. In his poetry there exists a constant contrast between the fragility of present human existence and the eternal span of time and life in general.

Unlike Marcel Proust, Mandel'shtam did not employ an affective approach in his search for "le temps perdu".^{79a} With Mandel'shtam, it was a matter of intellectual pleasure and perception rather than a mystical and subjective impression — a concrete and objective approach to the Absolute, rather than a purely emotional one. Historical intuition played a most significant rôle in Mandel'shtam's Weltanschauung, and a deep intellectual passion and love of aesthetic beauty pervaded his creative work.

⁷⁹ Victor Terras, "Classical Motives in the Poetry of Osip Mandel'stam", The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol. X, No. 3, 1966, p. 254.

^{79a} (As discussed in the present writer's Master's thesis, Proust et Mandel'shtam à la recherche du temps perdu, Univ. of British Columbia, April, 1963).

5. An Acmeist Counterpart of Leconte de
Lisle: Nicolas Gumilyov.

N. C. Gumilyov (1886-1921) played a particularly significant rôle in the Acmeist movement both as theorist and as poet. He was an avowed admirer of clarity and artistic impassivity in art. Following the tenets of his Parnassian precursors in France, he firmly asserted that poetry was a craft and a "pure art", and as such should be completely independent and apolitical. Striving toward "вещность" (the 'thing' in itself) in his poetry, Gumilyov sought an objective of palpable 'things' as a vehicle for the expression of his thoughts and feelings.

However, Gumilyov (like Leconte de Lisle) revealed many traces of a strong Romantic heritage: his poetic world is intense and virile, filled with love for nature and mankind. We see in the poetry of this poet a fortitude and an optimism very similar to the courage and moral strength which characterize the verse of Leconte de Lisle. Both these poets clung, in moments of despair, to the ideal of an art based on the beauty of their visible world. Both judged social faith inefficacious and searched for God and harmony in a return to the primitive stages of nature and man.

Much of their poetry is devoted to the description of luxuriant jungle settings and stately beasts of prey. The African poetry of Gumilyov presents many parallels to the Poèmes barbares of Leconte de Lisle. We see in their poetry

a "звериность", that is, a biological pull toward life, as well as a fervent admiration for nature and all earthly creatures.

In two poems, coincidentally entitled "Jaguar", Gumilyov and Leconte de Lisle contemplated this menacing animal through the eyes of artists. Not only do they present this beast of prey in its sinuously majestic form but they also endeavour to penetrate its primitive soul and the natural disposition which preordains its predatory rôle:

Dans l'acajou fourchu, lové comme un reptile,
C'est l'heure où, l'oeil mi-clos et le mufle en avant,
Le chasseur au beau poil flaire une odeur subtile,
Un parfum de chair vive égaré dans le vent.

Ramassé sur ses reins musculeux, il dispose
Ses ongles et ses dents pour son oeuvre de mort;
Il se lisse la barbe avec sa langue rose;
Il laboure l'écorce et l'arrache et la mord. 80

In another poem, "Le Rêve du Jaguar", the poet accepts this function of predator as an integral quality of the jaguar:

C'est là que le tueur de boeufs et de chevaux,
Le long des vieux troncs morts à l'écorce moussue,
Sinistre et fatigué, revient à pas égaux. 81

We see a similar philosophical acceptance of the rôle of this predacean in Gumilyov's "Jaguar":

80 Leconte de Lisle, "Le Jaguar", Poèmes barbares, Paris, Librairie Alphonse Lemerre, 1929, p. 209.

81 Leconte de Lisle, "Le Rêve du Jaguar", Ibid., p. 216.

Странный сон увидел я сегодня:
Снилось мне, что я сверкал на небе,
Но что жизнь, чудовищная сводня,
Выкинула мне недобрый жребий.

.

И к людскому крался я жилищу
По пустому сумрачному полю
Добывать полночную пищу,
Богом мне назначенную долю. 82

Similarly, man is unable to evade his own mortal destiny:

Не спасешься от доли кровавой,
Что земным предназначила твердь. 83

The spectacle of the exotic landscapes of Leconte de Lisle and Gumilyov, with their flashing light and colours, full of perfume, movement, and sound, leaves the reader impressed by the vivid descriptive power of these two poets. We find ourselves in sympathy with their philosophical and accepting attitude toward the primeval instincts of nature's creatures.

Both poets felt strongly that our particular human fate, with its sorrows and disillusionment, could be attenuated through the contemplation of the forces and beauty of the world which surrounds us. Their poetry resembles Greek poetry in that it attempted to place itself directly before nature,

82 Н. Гумилев, "Ягуар", "Романтические цветы", Стихи 1903-1907 гг., Собрание сочинений, том первый, под редакцией Г. П. Струве и Б. А. Филиппова, Издательство книжного магазина Victor Kamkin, Inc., Вашингтон, 1962, стр. 69.

83 "Выбор", там же, стр. 55.

portraying her in her pristine charm and ingenuity and trying to reconcile that which is graceful and soulful with that which is passionate — in other words, loving all manner of life which is wholesome and energetic, and, above all, simple and spontaneous. Both Leconte de Lisle and Gumilyov, along with many of their fellow Parnassians and Acmeists, endeavoured to make of their verse a true mirror and faithful echo of all around them as viewed through the prism of a first-hand, Adam-like perception of life and the universe.

6. Significance of Greek antiquity for these
neo-classicists.

In summing up the principal traits which linked the Acmeists with their immediate precursors, the French Parnassians, namely: (1) artistic craftsmanship as modelled on antique art
(2) the cult of beauty
(3) the credo of "l'art pour l'art"

it should be stressed that the significance of Hellenic antiquity for these two literary movements was not simply as a model, but as a "living seed".⁸⁴ Classical art lived on in the poetry of these neo-Hellenists, serving the creation of new works of art which would, in their turn, serve as patterns for posterity.

⁸⁴ Tadeusz Zieliński, Our Debt to Antiquity, London, Rutledge and Sons, 1909, i-viii.

The French Parnassians and the Russian Acmeists, like their ancient masters, showed a strong, spontaneous empathy for the life of external nature. They presented their central ideas in lucid, sculptured outlines, attempting to dispense with all ornament which might confuse or obscure their line of thought. It was art which presented itself as the chief aim of these neo-classicists, and in their burnished verse they employed all the resources of verse and language in order to express in lasting form their exalted visions of beauty and eternity.

Particular emphasis will be given in this dissertation to the considerable literary contribution of the Acmeist poet Mandel'shtam. In his implementation of architectural-sculptural poetic devices, vivid imagery, and harmonious, rhythmic perfection patterned on antique models, this poet played a most significant rôle in the perfecting of artistic form. It is owing to the painstaking artistic efforts of Osip Mandel'shtam that the literary credo of the Russian Acmeists and that of their direct predecessors, the French Parnassians, continue to be perpetuated in the poetry of many Soviet Russian poets who have since revealed themselves to be worthy successors of these assiduous verbal craftsmen of France and Russia.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Among those who drew upon the Acmeists' doctrine and example were N. Tikhonov, N. Asseev, as well as V. Sayanov, B. Slutsky, the Constructivist I. Sel'vinsky, and many other neoterici and epigones.

CHAPTER II

MANDEL'SHTAM'S HELLENISM AS MANIFESTED IN HIS POETIC STYLE

The effect of antique influence upon Mandel'shtam's poetic style⁸⁶ was not a superficial hellenization but the expression of an inner hellenism which this poet believed was already latent in the Russian language. This modernist poet stressed above all the relationship of the Russian tongue and that of the ancient Greek. The effect of this bond is strongly visible not only on the content or motifs of his verse, but also on the form and artistic technique which he employed. Mandel'shtam was never an adherent of the theory of absolute originality on the part of the poet; he believed that each writer should begin to create by initially recognizing within himself the enduring traits of great models of the past.

We do not find in his work grandiose frescoes which have been externally imposed, nor do we find comparisons and allegories which are not organically linked with the basic text. The Parnassian techniques of Maikov, Fet, and Briussov were not those of Mandel'shtam — especially the virtuosity of Briussov, whose polished verses ranged from dionysian voluptuousness to the most abstract concepts (using symbols as

⁸⁶ In the Aristotelian sense of the word 'style', that is, a distinctive manner or technique of writing.

aesthetic signs in his almost mathematical verbal system, Briussov's poetry remains, in the opinion of many critics, essentially scholarly):

Я посещал сады Ликеев, Академий,
На воске отмечал реченья мудрецов,
Как верный ученик, я был ласкаем всеми, 87
Но сам любил лишь сочетанья слов.

In the poetry of his contemporary, Viacheslav Ivanov, we find a notably deeper mystical perception and emotional depth:

И с твоего кремля, как древле, Мельпомена
Зрит, Эвий, скорбная, волшебный круг пустынь 88
И Тартар, дышащий под вертоградом плена.

To this Symbolist poet Mandel'shtam freely acknowledged the indebtedness of the Acmeists: " . . . сам Вячеслав Иванов много способствовал построению акмеистической теории . . . " 89

Mandel'shtam resembles Pushkin in the pure, clear, intellectual quality of his poetry, while a spiritual affinity with Batiushkov and Tiutchev is discernible in the profoundly philosophical bent of his poetry. Above all, we see a vivid correspondence with the poetic strivings of Innokenty Annensky, who wished to resurrect in Russia the ancient soul of Hellas:

87 Valery Briussov, "I", Modern Russian Poetry, An Anthology with verse translations, ed. by Vladimir Markov and Merrill Sparks, Great Britain, MacGibbon & Kee Ltd., 1966, p. 32. 88 Viacheslav Ivanov, ibid., p. 132.

89 О. Мандельштам, "О природе слова", Собрание сочинений, т. 2, стр. 299.

Меж золоченых бань и обелисков славы
Есть дева белая, а вокруг густые травы.

Не тешит тирс ее, она не бьет в тимпан⁹⁰
И беломраморный ее не любит Пан.

Mandel'shtam was completely in sympathy with the strong inner integrity which characterized the creative work of Annensky:

"Урок творчества Анненского для русской поэзии не эллинизация,⁹¹
а внутренний эллинизм" . . .

Similarly, in Mandel'shtam's own poetry, the profound essence of antique art is preserved, although the original stamp of the poet himself is predominant. We see throughout a^{92a} remarkable fusion of form and human values achieved through the supple resources and rhythms of his own national idiom:

А флейтист не узнает покоя —
Ему кажется, что он — один,
Что когда-то он море родное
Из сиреневых вылепил глин. ⁹²

(Стихотворения, 1937. Воронеж.)

Mandel'shtam's early verse, in particular the collection Stone, is characterized by a slow, stately movement and a cool elegance of form. Just as we perceive a true Hellenism of the spirit in his poignant contemplation of the transience of mortal existence, similarly, the poet's emotions are chaste and restrained throughout and are expressed in an objective,

⁹⁰ Innokenty Annensky, "Pace", Modern Russian Poetry, ed. by Markov and Sparks, p. 122.

⁹¹ О. Мандельштам, "О природе слова", там же, стр. 295.

⁹² О. Мандельштам, "Флейты греческой тэта и йота", Собрание сочинений, т. 1, стр. 252.

^{92a} See footnote 93a on following page.

laconic fashion. A strong sense of proportion and harmony, an epigrammatic conciseness of expression, as well as a masterful handling of rhythmic and language reveal Mandel'shtam as a poet in the best traditions of classical literature, where there has always existed a perfect rapport between content and form. 93a

In his Philosophy of Fine Art, Hegel viewed art and poetry as exclusive forms in which Greek artists could bring to life and expression the ideas which were fermenting in themselves. The classical (and not symbolic) art form represented the appropriate free embodiment of the poet's Idea in a shape which was uniquely adapted to the notional concept itself:

... Als Auflösung dieses gedoppelten Mangels ist die klassische Kunstform die freie adäquate Einbildung der Idee in die der Idee selber eigentümlich ihrem Begriff nach zugehörige Gestalt, mit welcher sie deshalb in freien, vollendeten Einklang zu kommen vermag. Somit gibt erst die klassische Form die Produktion und Anschauung des vollendeten Ideals und stellt dasselbe als verwirklicht hin... 93

Because of its clarity, the classical type of art could comprehend the true content of Art and present us with the complete Ideal in a concretely realized form;

93 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Entwicklung des Ideals zu den besonderen Formen des Kunstschoenen", Asthetik, (Zweiter Teil), Band 1, p. 84.

93a Form, that is, in the sense of the structure into which the elements of an experience are organized (G. Gestalt, as opposed to content, Inhalt).

. . . Klar nämlich ist das klassische Ideal dadurch, dass es den wahren Inhalt der Kunst, d.i. die substantielle Subjektivität, erfasst und damit eben auch die wahre Gestalt findet, die an sich selbst nichts anderes ausspricht als jenen echten Inhalt; so dass also der Sinn, die Bedeutung keine andere ist als diejenige, welche in der äusseren Gestalt wirklich liegt, indem sich beide Seiten ⁹⁴ vollendet entsprechen . . .

Similarly, in Mandel'shtam's ability to contain the general in the concrete, we see a conscious return to the Hellenic Weltgefühl as a natural condition of the poetic world. ^{94a} Like the Greeks, he strove toward an art representing a perfect interpenetration of ideal content and sensible form.

1. Mandel'shtam as theoretician of the
Acmeist credo.

Osip Mandel'shtam was not only a practising Acmeist in his work but was equally deserving of the designation of able theoretician of the Acmeist school. In several literary articles he laid particular stress on "the word as such", insisting that Logos for the Acmeists played as vital a rôle in their poetic creation as did music for the Symbolists. In "The Morning of Acmeism" he postulates ~~clearly~~ this vital Cult of the Word:

. . . Медленно рождалось "слово, как таковое".
Постепенно, один за другим, все элементы слова

⁹⁴ Hegel, "Entwicklung des Ideals zu den besonderen Formen des Kunstschoenen", op. cit., p. 304.

^{94a} German idealistic philosophy, esp. Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel, exerted a considerable influence on Russian intellectual circles.

втягивались в понятие формы, только сознательный
смысл, Логос, до сих пор ошибочно и произвольно
почитаются содержанием. От этого ненужного
почета Логос только проигрывает; Логос требует
только равноправия с другими элементами слова
. . . Для акмеистов сознательный смысл слова,
Логос, такая же прекрасная форма, как музыка 95
для символистов. (Статьи по литературе и рецензии,
не собранные в книги.)

In "On the Nature of the Word" and "Culture and the
Word" (articles published in the book On Poetry in 1928),
Mandel'shtam emphasized the Hellenistic character of the
Russian language and the necessity of freeing Russian verse
from the strictures of rhetoric. This, he asserted, could be
done only by reinstating the antique conception of the Word as
"a Psyche, a live soul, freely choosing its own sweet body":

Русский язык — язык эллинистический. В силу
целого ряда исторических условий, живые силы эллин-
ской культуры, уступив запад латинским влияниям и
не надолго загаживаясь в бездетной Византии,
устремились в лоно русской речи, сообщив ей само-
уверенную тайну эллинистического мировоззрения,
тайну свободного воплощения, и по э т о м у
русс к и й я з ы к с т а л и м е н н о 96
з в у ч а щ е й и г о в о р я щ е й п л о т ь ю.

(О поэзии)

This again brings to mind Hegel's statement that poetry is
separated from the content of consciousness — in other words,
poetry is a universal art of the mind which has become free in

95 О. Мандельштам, "Утро акмеизма", Собрание
сочинений, том второй, Inter-Language Literary Associates, N.Y., 1966,
стр. 363.

96 "О природе слова", там же, стр. 287.

its own nature. This art form represents a truer, more genuine representation than a merely natural sensible thing, "because its existence is not the finite self-external existence of the 'detached' object perceived and 'understood' in everyday thinking as qualified and related within a context of other finite objects, but the moment of external objective reality (Wirklichkeit) which the Idea gives itself".⁹⁷ (Hegel defines the above "finite objects" as the mere stones of a cathedral, the pigments on a canvas, or the audible words of a poem).

Mandel'shtam's concept of the Word-Psyche as an independent, disinterested entity presents a striking parallel to the above notion, namely, that poetry does not depend for its realization upon external sensuous matter:

Разве вещь хозяин слова? Слово Психея.
Живое слово не обозначает предмета, а свободно
выбирает, как бы для жилья, ту или иную пред-
метную значимость, вечность, милое тело. И
вокруг вещи слово блуждает свободно, как душа 98
вокруг брошенного, но не забытого тела.

(О поэзии, 1928)

While Mandel'shtam concurred that an understanding of 'Acmeism' necessarily contained within itself an understanding of classicism, he did not insist that the former adhere to

⁹⁷ Hegel, "Art", "Philosophy of Spirit II" (quoted from The Philosophy of Hegel, by G.R.G. Mure, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 185).

⁹⁸ О. Мандельштам, "Слово и культура", Собрание сочинений, т. 2, стр. 268.

classical tenets in a narrow and uncompromising fashion:

В поэзии нужен классицизм, в поэзии нужен эллинизм, в поэзии нужно повышенное чувство образности, машинный ритм, городской коллективизм, крестьянский фольклор . .

. . . О, чудовищная неблагодарность: Кузмину, Маяковскому, Хлебникову, Асееву, Вячеславу Иванову, Сологубу, Ахматовой, Пастернаку, Гумилеву, Ходасевичу — уж на что они не похожи друг на друга, из разной глины. Ведь это всё русские поэты не на вчера, не на сегодня, а навсегда . . .

. . . вся современная русская поэзия вышла из родового символического лона. 99
(О поэзии, 1928)

. . . Акмеистический ветер перевернул страницы классиков и романтиков, и они раскрылись на том самом месте, какое 100
всего нужнее было для эпохи . . .
(Там же.)

As an Acmeist theoretician, Mandel'shtam considered that the distinction and strength of Acmeist poetry lay in its style, rather than in a distinctive world outlook or innovative ideas:

. . . Не идеи, а вкусы акмеистов оказались убийственны для символизма . . .

. . . Под'емная сила акмеизма в смысле деятельной любви к литературе, ее тягестям, ее грузу — необычайно велика, и рычагом этой деятельной любви и был именно новый вкус, мужественная воля к поэзии и поэтике, в центре которой стоит человек, не сплюснутый в лепешку лжесимволическими ужасами, а как хозяин у себя дома, истинный символизм, окруженный символами, то есть, утварью, обладающей и словесными представлениями, 101
как своими органами.

(О поэзии, 1928.)

99 "Выпад", там же, стр. 270, 272.

100 "О природе слова", там же, стр. 300.

101 там же, стр. 299.

Mandel'shtam considered Acmeism to be not only a literary but a social phenomenon in Russian history. Poetry had, therefore, a moral obligation to view man at the centre of all existence, as an individual who is stronger and more steadfast than the material world which surrounds him. In Mandel'shtam's own poetry we see attention and concern given to human welfare, values and dignity — all the traits of a dedicated humanist.

In view of the thoroughness with which this writer expounded his critical views with regard to the basic aims of Acmeism, it is interesting to determine the methodology by which he incorporated these same concepts in his own creative work. In Mandel'shtam's hands, poetry became a "quintessence of literature" — "la perfection marmoréene" so sought after by his Parnassian predecessors. His poetry is expressed in 'mythology', and in his art, as in Greek art, the divine is not merely symbolized but perfectly embodied. The infinite for him was not remote, abstract, or unreal — only the infinite could be present, concrete and real.

It was in the human form that Greek art gave the spiritual world its full expression. Hegel points out that Fate is a moment of spirit where, in the Greek aesthetic religion, it passes into the various gods of Olympus and the nether world:

...Wo die Kunst jedoch in ihrer höchsten Vollendung vorhanden ist, da enthält sie gerade in ihrer bildlichen Weise die dem Gehalt der Wahrheit entsprechendste und wesentlichste Art der Exposition. So war bei den

Griechen z.B. die Kunst die höchste Form, in welcher das Volk die Götter sich vorstellte und sich ein Bewusstsein von der Wahrheit gab. Darum sind die Dichter und Künstler den Griechen die Schöpfer ihrer Götter geworden, d.h. die Künstler haben der Nation die bestimmte Vorstellung vom Tun, Leben, Wirken des Göttlichen, also den bestimmten Inhalt der Religion gegeben . . . 102

For Hegel, the Greeks were the only pure artists, and with the advent of Christianity, art ceased to be the dominating form of spirit.¹⁰³ (The divine is still expressed in an ancillary art, but is represented in inward devotion, rather than in tranquil aesthetic vision).

For Mandel'shtam, however, Hellenic art remains a powerful, indestructible force in man's continuing cultural development:

Эллинизм — это сознательное окружение человека утварью, вместо безразличных предметов, превращение этих предметов в утварь, очеловечение окружающего мира, согревание его тончайшим телеологическим теплом. 104

(О поэзии, 1928)

It is a system in the Bergsonian sense of the word, liberating man from the dehumanizing effect of contemporary hardships:

Эллинизм, — это система в Бергсоновском смысле слова, которую человек разворачивает вокруг себя, как веер явлений, освобожденных от временной зависимости, со- подчиненных внутренней связи через человеческое я. 105

(Там же)

102 Hegel, "Die Stellung der Kunst im Verhältnis zur Religion und Philosophie", Ästhetik, p. 109. (Erster Teil)

103 G.R.G. Mure, The Philosophy of Hegel, p. 200.

104 О. Мандельштам, "О природе слова", там же, стр. 295.

105 Там же, стр. 296.

Mandel'shtam's own poetry abounds with symbols employed as tools. With the Logos, or reason incarnate, he builds up an organic poetry — a living poetry of the 'word-object'. His mythical deities and imagery, far from being superficial ornamentation, serve as major motifs or 'idea-carriers', embodying in markedly Hellenic fashion the content motivating his lyrics.

In studying Mandel'shtam's poetic craftsmanship, we are struck by the harmonious classical style in which many of his verses are structured. Striving, as did the Greek ancients, toward a perfect balance of content and form, Mandel'shtam skillfully combined his compositional elements in a plastic embodiment completely adequate to the spiritual content of his poetry.

2. Classical structuring of Mandel'shtam's verse:
tone, genre, metre, verse-patterns, language.

a. Tone.

The initial tone of this poet's verse is one of sonorous discourse, virtually without any raising or lowering of the voice. We see throughout his early poetry, in particular, a slow, ceremonial tempo, rich in spiritual and intellectual content but at the same time characterized by a cool aloofness and detachment:

В столице северной томится пыльный тополь,
Запутался в листе прозрачный циферблат,

И в темной зелени фрегат или акрополь
Сияет издали, воде и небу брат. 106
(Камень, 1913.)

Historical intuition and culture play a significant part in this writer's Weltanschauung and an intellectual passion and love of aesthetic beauty pervades his creative work. His rapturous visions are often fixed in the static attitudes and frozen design of antique art:

И как новый встает Геркуланум,
Спящий город в сияньи луны,
И убогого рынка лачуги,
И могучий дорический ствол. 107
(Tristia, 1918)

И холодком повеяло высоким
От выпукло-девического лба,
Чтобы раскрылись правнукам далеким 108
Архипелага нежные гроба.
(Tristia, 1919)

Огромный парк. Вокзала шар стеклянный.
Железный мир опять заморожен.
На звучный пир в элизиум туманный 109
Торжественно уносится вагон.
(Стихотворения, 1921)

Узор отточенный и мелкий,
Застыла тоненькая сетка,
Как на фарфоровой тарелке
Рисунок, вычерченный метко, 110 (Камень, 1909)

Much of his quiet, cool poetry exudes the pale radiance of the classical world.

106 О. Мандельштам, "Адмиралтейство", Собрание сочинений, том первый, стр. 29.

- 72. 107 "Когда в темной ночи замирает", там же, стр. 71.
108 "На каменных отрогах Пиерии", там же, стр. 74.
109 "Концерт на вокзале", там же, стр. 95.
110 "На бледно-голубой эмали", там же, стр. 5.

In the following excerpt, very reminiscent of a stylized Greek landscape, we are aware of silence and a certain stasis in the empty sea and the 'soundless' choir of birds:

Слух чуткий парус напрягает,
Расширенный пустеет взор
И тишину переплывает
Полночных птиц незвучный хор.¹¹¹
(Камень, 1910)

It was not (as was the case with Gautier and Leconte de Lisle) the picturesque outward appearance of antiquity which appealed to Mandel'shtam, but its tragic depth. In his verse we see a darker, harder world, where fate is a dominant factor and man's brief existence is chaotic. Understandably, this poet was no optimist — his own difficult life circumstances precluded this.¹¹² (In fact, the menacing atmosphere and constant political persecution suffered by many writers during the twenties and thirties found general expression in notes of pessimism, fear, and anguish.) A predominant mood of Mandel'shtam's verse is one of sadness and constant anxiety, however masked these emotions were by a classical restraint in tone:

Нам ли, брошенным в пространстве,
Обреченным умереть,
О прекрасном постоянстве
И о верности жалеть! 113
(Камень, 1915.)

111 О. Мандельштам, "Слух чуткий парус напрягает", там же, стр. 9.

112 Mme Mandel'shtam's memoir, Hope Against Hope, is a moving account of the persistent subjugation of intelligentsia through terror and bribery, and, in particular, the harassment suffered by her husband and herself.

113 Мандельштам, "О свободе небывалой", там же, стр. 48.

While many of his classical forerunners and contemporaries sang the ephemeral or erotic pleasures of the senses and the visible loveliness of the Hellenic pagan world, Osip Mandel'shtam lamented in poignant tones the fact of man's mortality:

Мы в каждом вздохе смертный воздух пьем,
И каждый час нам смертная година.
Богиня моря, грозная Афина,
Сними могучий каменный шлем. 114

(Tristia, 1916)

The accents of Mandel'shtam's Muse are often those of apprehension and despair. A melancholy elegaic strain appears in a neo-Pindaric ode in the Tristia cycle, entitled "The Twilight of Liberty":

Прославим, братья, сумерки свободы, —
Великий сумеречный год.
В кипящие ночные воды
Опущен грузный лес тенет.
Восходишь ты в глухие годы,
О солнце, судия, народ. 115

(Москва, май 1918)

A note of irony^{115a} becomes plainly manifest in a later poem where he queries the capricious century:

Кого еще убьешь? Кого еще прославишь?
Какую выдумаешь ложь?

114 "В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем", Собрание сочинений, стр. 61.

115 "Сумерки свободы", там же, стр. 72.

115a (Greek eironeia, or manner of speech of early Greek comedian, the eirone or 'underdog', revealing a mocking intent and a tendency to perceive life in terms of the incongruities that exist between appearance and reality).

То ундервуда хрящ: скорее вырви клавиш —
И щучью косточку найдешь; 116

(Стихотворения, Книга 1928 г.
Развел "1921-1925", 1924.)

We hear notes of increasing fear and anguish in these later verses which reveal the painful consciousness of the poet as contemporary reality presses in on him. His tragic lamentation is no longer moderated by the classical restraint of the earlier cycles, Stone and Tristia:

Петербург! я еще не хочу умирать:
У тебя телефонов моих номера. 117

(Стихотворения несобранные в книги
стихов автора и неопубликованные,
Декабрь, 1930. Ленинград.)

Помоги, Господь, эту ночь прожить:
Я за жизнь боюсь — за Твою рабу —
В Петербурге жить — словно спать в гробу. 118
(Январь, 1931)

The desolate sadness in Mandel'shtam's poetry is augmented by the movement and measure of his verse, which is completely attuned to the emotional and spiritual intensity of the poetic content. He does not always contain his tragic verse in the strict confines of classical meters: his syllabo-tonic patterns yield to verse in which it is difficult, if not impossible, to discover a syllabo-tonic basis. His rhythms become harsher, less fluid. The lines of his poetry begin to differ considerably in length, and in the absence of a regular metrical structure, these rhythmic factors come to the fore in a not too irregular distribution

116 Мандельштам, "1 января 1924", там же, стр. 113.

117 "Ленинград", там же, стр. 144.

118 "Помоги, Господь, эту ночь прожить", стр. 146.

of stresses line by line, with intervals carefully balanced:

Полночь в Москве. Роскошно буддийское лето.
С дроботом мелким расходятся улицы в чоботах узких
железных.
В черной оспе блаженствуют кольца бульваров,
Нет на Москву и ночью угомону. (1931) 119

— ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
— ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
— ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
— ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —

The poetry of Mandel'shtam does not display the open eroticism which characterizes much of the poetry of antique models as well as that of later epigones. Perhaps only a very few poems may be considered as 'impassioned' amatory outbursts;

Я больше не ревную,	И, словно преступленье,	
Но я тебя хочу,	Меня к тебе влечет	
И сам себя несущу я	Искусанный, в смятении,	120
Как жертву палачу.	Вишневый нежный рот.	
	(Tristia, 1920)	

Nevertheless, it is not so much an erotic declaration of love, but fear and pain of loss felt by a lover, which is etched clearly and poignantly in the above poem.

Even though the emotion in Mandel'shtam's later verses appears heightened, it nevertheless remains under the control of the intellect. The characteristic tone of his poetry

119 О. Мандельштам, "Полночь в Москве", там же, стр. 155.

120 "Я наравне с другими", там же, стр. 89.

is predominantly reflective. There is an autumnal quality in the gravity of the poet's utterance, akin to the tempered dignity and tenderness which we find in Sappho and Simonides:

Целый день сырой осенний воздух
Я вдыхал в смятении и тоске;
Я хочу поужинать, и звезды
Золотые в темном кошельке! 121

(Камень, 1912)

ἄστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάωναν
ἅφ' ἀπυκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἶδος
ὅποτα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπηι 122
γᾶν ()

(Sappho, frag. 34)

Ἄ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐκ ἀπόρως γεύει τὸ παρὸν μόνον,
ἀλλ' ἐπέρχεται
πάντα θεριζομένα. 123

(Simonides, frag. 46)

The critical, intellectualist strain of Simonides is reflected in the controlled timbre of Mandel'shtam's work.^{123a} From time to time, however, an inherent joie de vivre in the latter poet surmounts his personal setbacks, and the tone of his poetry is then reminiscent of the more ringing tones of

121 O. Мандельштам, "Золотой", Собрание сочинений, т. 1, стр. 21.

122 Sappho, frag. 34, Lyrica Graeca Selecta, ed. by D.L. Page, Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 105.

123 Simonides, frag. 46, "The Muse's Harvest", Greek Melic Poets, by H. W. Smyth, New York, Biblo and Tannen, 1963, p. 62.

123a In his "Conversation about Dante" (II, p. 437), Mandel'shtam describes timbre as a structural basis, similar to the alkalinity or acidity of a chemical mixture: it is a sound-colouring which reflects acoustically the subject matter of a poem.

"honey-smiling" Sappho¹²⁴ of whom he sings with elation:

Бежит весна топтать луга Эллады,
Обула Сафо пестрый сапожок,
И молоточками куют цикады,
Как в песенке поется, перстенок. 125

The poet presents a rhapsodic vision of Greek islands, blessed with peace:

Где не едят надломленного хлеба,
Где только мед, вино и молоко,
Скрипучий труд не омрачает небо,
И колесо вращается легко. 126

We often see in the poetry of Mandel'shtam a combination of Apollonian joy in the contemplation of beauty, and Dionysian intoxication. These two spirits are coupled in his work in traditionally Hellenic fashion, reinforcing each other through a mysterious union into harmonious, integral artistic creations, or as Nietzsche in his Birth of Tragedy describes this Apollonian-Dionysiac duality:

. . . so dass wir hier, wo diese gleichsam durch den Geist der Musik beschwingt und emporgetragen war, die höchste Steigerung ihrer Kräfte und somit in jenem Bruderbunde des Apollo und des Dionysus die Spitze ebenso wohl der apollinischen als der dionysischen Kunstabsichten anerkennen mussten. . . 127

To this "fraternal union" Nietzsche ascribes the continuous evolution of art, culminating, in the case of lyric poetry, in an efflorescence of music in images and ideas.

124 'Ιόπλον' ἄγνα μελλιχόμεινε Σάπφει, (E Alc. 124, Sa. 119)

125 O. Мандельштам, "На каменных отрогах Пиерии", Собр. соч., стр. 74.

126 Там же, стр. 75.

127 Friedrich Nietzsche, Die Geburt der Tragödie, Werke in Drei Bänden, Erster Band, München, Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 129.

b. Genre.

In its pure form, the epic occupies a negligible place in Mandel'shtam's work. To this genre belongs his Old French epos, "The Sons of Aymon", based on a fragment from the geste "Doon de Mayence":

Пришли четыре брата, несхожие лицом,
В большой дворец-скворешник с высоким потолком.
Так сухи и поджары, что ворон им каркнет "брысь". 128
От удивленья брови у дамы поднялись.

(Переводы и подражания, 1923)

In this same category we may place a poem in translation by Mandel'shtam from the epic tale of the Georgian poet, Vazha Pshavela. It extols the virtues of the hero, Gogotur, who although possessing 'bogatyr'-like strength, is gentle and peace-loving by nature:

Приподнялся бедный Апшина,
Посиневший, весь в слезах:
.
Гоготур, дай поцелую в лоб
За чудесный подвиг ласковый". — 129
Обнялись, упрочили союз.

(Переводы и подражания, 1923)

The major portion of Mandel'shtam's poetry, even his verses dedicated to historical personages, are of a clearly expressed lyrical character. Nevertheless, the lyric of this

128 "Сыновья Аймона", Собрание сочинений, стр. 310.

129 "Гоготур и Апшина", там же, стр. 322.

writer is penetrated with elements of the epos (particularly the antique Greek epos) not only in theme, but in tone, comparisons, metaphors, epithets, etc:

Similes:

- "Как раковина без жемчужин" 130
 "Но, как медуза, невяская волна" 131
 "Я так же беден как природа
 И так же прост как небеса,"

 Как птиц полных голосов" 132

Metaphors:

- "Природа — тот же Рим. . ." 133
 "Посох мой, моя свобода," 134
 "Верность плакала в ночи" 135
 " . . . Прозрачная весна
 В зеленый пух Петрополь одевает" 136

Conventional epithets:

- "Божье имя," 137
 "как сказочного волка" 138

-
- 130 О. Мандельштам, Собрание сочинений, "Раковина", стр. 15.
 131 "Мне холодно. Прозрачная весна...", там же, стр. 61.
 132 "Слух чуткий парус напрягает," там же, стр. 10.
 133 "Природа — тот же Рим и отразилась в нем", стр. 40.
 134 "Посох", там же, стр. 42.
 135 "О свободе небывалой", там же, стр. 48.
 136 "Мне холодно. Прозрачная весна", там же, стр. 61.
 137 "Образ твой, мучительный и зыбкий", стр. 18.
 138 "От легкой жизни мы сошли с ума", стр. 27.

"Поговорим о Риме — <u>дивный</u> град!"	139
"Богиня моря, <u>грозная</u> Афина,"	140
"над <u>черною</u> Невой"	141
"За мыс <u>туманный</u> Меганом, И <u>черный</u> парус возвратится"	142

Recurrent formulae:

"Поедем в Царское Село! Поедем в Царское Село! "	143
"Твоих, Кассандра, губ, твоих Кассандра, глаз,"	144
"За то, что я руки твои не сумел удержать, За то, что я предал соленые нежные губы, Где милая Троя? где царский, где девичий дом?"	145

Introduction of supernatural characters:

"Останься пеной, <u>Афродита</u> ,"	146
"Священной палицей <u>Геракла</u> "	147
" <u>Всюду</u> <u>Бахуса</u> службы"	148
"Уже босая <u>Делия</u> летит!"	149
" <u>Святого Духа</u> крепость"	150
"Летают <u>Валькирии</u> "	151

139	"Поговорим о Риме — дивный град", там же, стр. 35.
140	"В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем", стр. 61.
141	"Соломинка", там же, стр. 59.
142	"Еще далеко асфodelей", там же, стр. 65.
143	"Царское село", там же, стр. 20.
144	"Кассандре", там же, стр. 67.
145	"За то, что я руки твои не сумел удержать", стр. 87.
146	"Silentium", стр. 9.
147	"Зверинец", стр. 56.
148	"Золотистого меда струя из бутылки текла", стр. 64.
149	"Tristia", там же, стр. 73.
150	"В хрустальном омуте какая крутизна!", стр. 75.
151	"Летают Валькирии, поют смычки", там же, стр. 35.

In structure, Mandel'shtam's verses belong chiefly to the lyric genre. They are for the most part strophic, and not in continuous lines of the same metrical structure. They are often 'logaoedic', that is, written not in continuous feet of the same metrical length, but in some combination of dactylic and trochaic rhythms, iambic and anapaestic, etc.

The deep commitment so necessary for true lyrical expression can be keenly felt in his poetry, despite an apparent aloofness of temper. A master of language, Mandel'shtam handled lyric utterance with skill and precision, attaining an extraordinary coalescence of sound, rhythm and imagery, thus creating a vehicle ideally suited to the lyric expression of his thoughts and feelings:

Нет, никогда ничей я не был современник,
Мне не с руки почет такой.
О как противен мне какой-то соименник, 152
То был не я, то был другой.

(Стихотворения, 1924)

Я вздрагиваю от холода —
Мне хочется онеметь!
А в небе танцует золото — 153
Приказывает мне петь.

(Камень, 1912.)

152 О. Мандельштам, "Нет, никогда ничей я не был современник", стр. 113.

153 О. Мандельштам, "Я вздрагиваю от холода — ", стр. 16.

In the two foregoing examples, we sense the strong restraint of emotion on the part of the poet. The first stanza, especially, reveals an intensive underlying anguish in the poet's rejection of contemporaneity^{153a} — he does not wish to be identified with his troubled times. In the second excerpt, however, the poet's alienation and withdrawal are overcome by the seductive beauty of a golden sky which summons him to sing and rejoice.

In these two stanzas we see implicitly reflected Mandel'shtam's own strong personal ambivalence, which at times prompts him to disassociate himself altogether from present realities while, at other times, urges him to live this earthly life to the fullest, despite all its disillusion and reverses.

While his own age constitutes a period of tragic upheaval, nevertheless, for Mandel'shtam, nihilism for Russia is a "separation from the word". It is the word-object, embodied form itself, which is the central sun of the whole system and the master of chaos. Mandel'shtam removes poetry and culture from a temporal perspective and insists upon the 'classical' as the central element of his poetry. Material things are not to be disassociated from their spiritual and holy beginnings. Just as the soul, for Mandel'shtam, is contained in the material, similarly he envisions Eternity contained in time, in contemporaneity.

153a cf. the author's desperate cry in The Egyptian Stamp: "Lord! Do not make me like Parnok! Give me the strength to distinguish myself from him." (transl. by Clarence Brown, in The Prose of Osip Mandelstam, Princeton Univ. Press, 1965, p. 171.)

c. Metre.

In Mandel'shtam's poetry we see many metres which, in the framework of the tonic-syllabic system, exist chiefly with the help of tension or severance. Rather than being the indifferent result of the many tonic metres he employs, the number of unstressed syllables in his verse holds tremendous significance. Not only do they produce variety and a feeling of innovation, but they distinctly reproduce the impression of Greek lyric metre:

Родство с античной поэзией намечается уже в "Камне", достигает расцвета в "Tristia" и далее не покидает поэзии Мандельштама до самого ее погружения в "летейскую стужу" замалчивания. Уже при первом внимательном чтении ясно, что это сходство обусловлено отнюдь не только содержанием и лексикой, что свое основное выражение оно находит в ритмике и звучании стиха. 154

Although his verses do not constitute in themselves imitations of generally-accepted antique models, nevertheless his poetic rhythmic are dynamically linked with these models. In Mandel'shtam's metrical system, although the basic unit of measure is the accented and non-accented syllable, he nonetheless looked upon the accent in the Russian language as a

154 Ирина Бушман, "Поэтическое искусство Мандельштама", Институт по изучению СССР, Мюнхен, 1964, стр. 35-36.

quantitative element. In his article, "Notes on Chénier", Mandel'shtam stated his view that it is time which is the vital component of the alexandrine:

Александрийский стих восходит к антифону, то есть к переключке хора, разделенного на две половины, полагающие одинаковым временем для из'явления своей воли. . . . Время — чистая и неприкрашенная субстанция александрийца. Распределение времени по желобам глагола, существительного и эпитета составляет автономную внутреннюю жизнь александрийского стиха, регулирует его дыхание, его напряженность и насыщенность. 155

The above lines support his contention that the alexandrine harks back to ancient antiphonic or responsive singing of the chorus.

This quantitative aspect figures largely in his own verse:

Есть иволги в лесах, // и гласных долгота
В тонических стихах // единственная мера.
Но только раз в году // бывает разлита
В природе длительность, // как в метрике Гомера.

Как бы цезурю // зияет этот день:
Уже с утра покой // и трудные длинноты;
Воли на пастбище, // и золотая лень
Из тростника извлечь // богатство целой ноты. 156

Here the caesura acts as a braking device¹⁵⁷ by means of which the poet obtains the rhythmic grouping best suited to his particular

155 "Заметки о Шенье", Собрание сочинений, т. 2, стр. 337.

156 "Есть иволги в лесах, и гласных долгота", там же, т. 1, стр. 38.

157 Particularly in the first two lines, where the hemistichs are rhymed. This use of internal rhyme strengthens the caesura significantly. (In this poem, the day "yawns like a caesura" — the long notes of the shepherd's reed and the orioles' song, and the length of vowels in tonic versification — the day's lazy tempo is reminiscent of the slow, measured movement of the quantitative Homeric hexameter). (See V. Terras, op. cit., p. 258).

purpose — in this case, to procure a slow, measured sonority attuned to the subject of the poem: a long, lazy summer's day.

The poet consciously chose words and combinations of words in which the quantitative nature of the stress is felt very clearly, yet where the power of the stress element is definitely diminished.

С веселым ржанием пасутся табуны,
И римской ржавчиной окрасилась долина;
Сухое золото классической весны
Уносит времени прозрачная стремнина. 158
(Камень, 1915.)

U — | U — | UU || U — | UU | U — |
U — | U — | UU || U — | UU | U — | U
U — | U — | UU || U — | UU | U — |
U — | U — | UU || U — | UU | U — | U

It is obvious from this example that Mandel'shtam obtained variation in his rhythmic through the strategic use of pyrrhic feet. For Mandel'shtam, the metre consisted not of a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, but of an even stretch of separated groups of words in time. (In this he differed from many poets, who, in their imitations of antique metres, assiduously replaced the long syllables of the Greek with stressed syllables, and the short, with unstressed.) This explains the special character of his^{158a}

158 "С веселым ржанием пасутся табуны," Собрание сочинений, т. 1, стр. 49.

158a Competent critics, among them, Tynyanov and Mochul'sky, have remarked on the 'ancient' quality of Mandel'shtam's poetry. (V. Terras, op. cit., p. 264-265). Ryszard Przybylski, in his "Arkadia Osipa Mandelsztama", Slavia orientalis, XIII (p. 253) remarked on this poet's return to the ancient molpē or musicality of poetry.

rhythmics, and it is this isochronism, particularly, which gives an antique Aeolian flavour to his versification. In the poem quoted, we see (as in Aeolic verse) an essential similarity between lines of varying lengths, as well as an invariable nucleus. There are perceptible 'holds' in tempo so that one phrase occupies the same time in performance as another:

. .	" пасутся табуны "	
. .	" окрасилась долина; "	(temporally equivalent units)

Although the passage may be divided into feet (in this case, iambi), nevertheless the vital rhythmical unit consists of phrases and suitable cadences. The phrase in Mandel'shtam's verse represents (as it does in Greek metre), an organic unit of measurement. This pensive, meditative rhythm is in itself a tool in the realization of the poet's contemplation, and as such, represents an important component in his stylistic approach.

Another example, showing an even more distinctive rhythmic treatment (in its digression from the metrical 'norm'), is very reminiscent of antique thematics:

Сестры — тяжесть и нежность — одинаковы ваши приметы. 159
Медуницы и осы тяжелую розу сосут.
(Коктебель, 1920.)

159 "Сестры — тяжесть и нежность — одинаковы ваши приметы", там же, стр. 76.

These two lines, excerpted from a poem written in a basic anapaestic metre, illustrate the rhythmical deviations which are so prevalent in Mandel'shtam's syllabo-tonic system. However, (as I. Bushman points out), this isochronal treatment is no innovation in Russian versification — on the contrary, isochronism constitutes an organic element in Russian folk poetry such as the 'bylina', and has consistently appeared in the 'dol'niki' of Russian poets. Bushman, in describing Mandel'shtam's work on his rhythmics, calls him "a painstaking gardener" who achieves unusual results through grafting onto the wilding of the 'dol'nik' his own native metrical system of versification.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the poem from which these lines were taken represents, in its entirety, a subtle interblending of antique and Russian phonetic patterns. It reflects Mandel'shtam's continuous preoccupation with the observance of a stable equilibrium between ancient Greek sonority and the acoustic elements peculiar to his own language. For him, Hellenism was an integral component and tool in his poetic arsenal; he stressed the strong inner bond between ancient and modern poetry, yet always insisted on the individuality of the latter:

Так в поэзии разрушаются грани национального, и стихия
одного языка перекликается с другой через головы пространства
и времени, ибо все языки связаны братским союзом, утвержда-
ющимся на свободе и домашности каждого, и внутри этой свободы
братски родственны и по-домашнему аукаются. 161

¹⁶⁰ Ирина Бушман, там же, стр. 40.

¹⁶¹ О. Мандельштам, "Заметки о Шенье", Собрание сочинений, т. 2, стр. 342.

Of the traditional classical metres in Mandel'shtam's prosodic treatment, it is the iambic which occupies first place. His iambics, however, were often modulated: for him, the pure, clear-cut iambic was too loud and resounding—ill-suited to the low-keyed tone of his poetry. He most often adapted this metre in his four to six-foot verses, frequently adding an unstressed syllable for rhythmical variation (as was the norm in Russian verse);

Качают шаткий "мир" смутяны, 162

U — | U — | U — | U — | U

Отравлен хлеб и воздух выпит. 163

U — | U — | U — | U — | U

In combination with regular four-foot lines, the extra unstressed syllable not only offered variety but also moderated the pace of the movement:

Как тень внезапных облаков,
Морская гостя налетела
И, проскользнув, прошелестела
Смущенных мимо берегов. 164

U — | U — | U U | U — |
U — | U — | U U | U — | U
U U | U — | U U | U — | U
U — | U — | U U | U — |

162 О. Мандельштам, "О этот воздух, смутной пьяный", Собрание сочинений, т. 1, стр. 76.

163 "Отравлен хлеб и воздух выпит", там же, стр. 34.

164 "Как тень внезапных облаков", там же, стр. 10.

164a It should be noted, however, that there is no real agreement among prosodists as to the validity of 'feet' as rhythmic units in Russian poetry. (James Bailey, in his article, "The Basic Structural Characteristics of Russian Literary Meters" (Jakobson-Festschrift, 1968, p. 17-34) stresses the persistence of the dol'nik in Russian verse, alongside the classical meters).

Another device employed by Mandel'shtam to obtain a slow-measured sonority was that of the caesura. His six-foot iambs, constituting almost ideal Alexandrine verse, show a stable centre caesura which at once enriches the simpler pattern of the metre, and at the same time holds the regularly recurring beat of the foot from monolithic control of the movement of the line:

Ладья воздушная// и мачта-недотрога, 165

Воли на пастбище,// и золотая лень 166

Я в Риме родился,// и он ко мне вернулся;¹⁶⁷

Шумела мельница,// и в песнях урагана 168

Прозрачная звезда,// блуждающий огонь, 169

Я в хоровод теней,// топтавших нежный луг,¹⁷⁰

Природа — тот же Рим,// и, кажется, опять
Нам незачем богов // напрасно беспокоить:
Есть внутренности жертв, // чтоб о войне гадать, 171
Рабы, чтобы молчать, // и намни, чтобы строить!

165 "Адмиралтейство", там же, стр. 29.

166 "Есть иволги в лесах, и гласных долгота", стр. 38.

167 "С веселым ржанием пасутся табуны", стр. 50.

168 "В тот вечер не гудел стрельчатый лес органа", стр. 67.

169 "На страшной высоте блуждающий огонь," стр. 70.

170 "Я в хоровод теней, топтавших нежный луг", стр. 90.

171 "Природа — тот же Рим о отразилась в нем.", стр. 40.

We find the caesura not only in Mandel'shtam's six-foot iambics but constantly in five-foot lines, and occasionally in four-foot iambics (where it may appear in one line, but not necessarily in another):

Six-foot lines:

Куда плывете вы? // Когда бы не Елена,
Что Троя вам одна, // ахейские мужи? 172

Five-foot lines:

Но я боюсь, // что раньше всех умрет 173

Звезда с звездой // — могучий стык, 174

Квартира тиха, // как бумага — 175

Four-foot lines:

О этот воздух, // смутой пьяный 176

о- / о - / + // - о / - о

(caesura facilitated by insertion of extra syllable)

На черной площади Кремля! 177

(no caesura)

The trochee, another classical metre employed by Osip Mandel'shtam, often appears in five-foot lines, along with a

172 "Бессонница. Гомер. Тугие паруса", стр. 48.

173 "От легкой жизни мы сошли с ума", стр. 27.

174 "Звезда с звездой — могучий стык", стр. 107.

175 "Квартира тиха, как бумага", стр. 182.

176 "О этот воздух, смутой пьяный", стр. 76.

177 Там же.

caesura:

Образ твой, // мучительный и зыбкий,
.
Божье имя, // как большая птица, 178

However, in four-foot trochaic verse (as in the four-foot iambic) the caesura is much less stable:

Может, // мне всего дороже
but: Напряженно дышет грудь . . . 179

While the rhythmic pattern in ternary verse is usually close to the metrical scheme, in Mandel'shtam's poetry truly regular dactyls and anapaests are rare. These basic metres are often replaced — in the case of the anapaest, by the iambic, and in the case of the dactyl, by the trochee, and in both, by unaccented tribrachs:

Regular Дикая кошка — армянская речь — 180
dactyl: — UU| — U U| — UU| —

Dactyl С важностью глупой, насупившись, в митре бобровой 181
and trochee: — UU| — UU| — UU| — UU| — U

С миром державным я был лишь ребячески связан,
Устриц боялся и на гвардейцев смотрел исподлобья. 182
— UU| — UU| — UU| — UU| — U
— UU| — U| UUU | — UU| — UU| — U
(unaccented tribrach)

178 "Образ твой, мучительный и зыбкий", там же, стр. 17-18.

179 "Душный сумрак кроет ложе", стр. 11.

180 "Дикая кошка — армянская речь", стр. 142.

181 "С миром державным я был лишь ребячески связан",
стр. 145.

182 Там же.

The amphibrach in Mandel'shtam's verse, however,
shows more regularity:

"Морожено!" Солнце. Воздушный бисквит.
Прозрачный стакан с ледяною водою.
И в мир покояда с румяной зарею,
В молочные Альпы мечтанье летит.¹⁸³

```

U — U | U — U | U — U | U —
U — U | U — U | U — U | U — U
U — U | U — U | U — U | U — U
U — U | U — U | U — U | U —

```

It should be noted that the 'logaoed', or combination of binary and ternary metres, did not represent an innovation on the part of Mandel'shtam. Imitations of antique metres, which were attempted in Russia from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth (latterly, in the poetry of Fet and Polonsky in particular) often culminated in accentual verse. Blok may be considered the creator of modern accentual verse in Russia; other poets, among them Akhmatova, Gumilyov, Esenin and Mayakovsky, developed and consolidated the work of Blok.^{183a}

Mandel'shtam's frequent deviations in his syllabic-accentual verse, namely, the combining in one and the same line of binary and ternary metres, gave way to an increasing implementation of accentual verse. This type of verse, based on stress, offered Mandel'shtam greater possibilities for both quantity and tempo, for its rejection of syllable counting

¹⁸³ O. Мандельштам, "Морожено!", там же, стр. 39.

^{183a} B. O. Unbegaun, Russian Versification, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1966, p. 88-89.

had the effect of enriching the verse considerably.¹⁸⁴

Metrically speaking, his verse began to disappear altogether, with lines of very different lengths making their appearance, along with an increasingly unstable number of stresses. This free verse, or "rhythmic prose" of Mandel'shtam's, is well illustrated in the following example:

Так,
Нашедший подкову
Сдувает с нее пыль
И растирает ее шерстью, пока она не заблестит,
Тогда
Он вешает ее на пороге,
Чтобы она отдохнула,
И больше уж ей не придется высекать искры из кремня.¹⁸⁵

```

|
|  —  —  —  —
|  —  —  —  —
|  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —
|  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —
|  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —
|  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —  —

```

In the above poem, "The Horseshoe Finder", it will be noted that the stanza (which belongs essentially to the syllabic-accentual tradition) has lost its importance. In this purely accentual verse, it is very difficult to discover any syllabic-accentual basis at all: many different cadences are combined in the same line; there are unstressed intervals of one, two, and three syllables; the total number of syllables in each line varies considerably — from one to seventeen.

In the absence of a uniform metrical structure, the poetic character of the verse is maintained by means of rhythmic factors: firstly, lines two and three contain six syllables each, — while lines four and eight demonstrate a total of seventeen

¹⁸⁴ Roman Jakobson, O cheshskom stikhe preimushchestvenno v sopostavlenii s russkim, Providence, Brown Univ. Press, 1969, xvi.

¹⁸⁵ "Нашедший подкову", там же, стр. 106.

syllables each; secondly, a careful syntactical arrangement whereby the lines form small semantic groups; thirdly, a transfer of the syntactical break (enjambement), notably, from the third line to the middle of the fourth. The word itself thus receives progressive emphasis, and it was precisely the increasing preponderance of the word in Mandel'shtam's later poetry which gave rise to considerable criticism of 'abstruseness' or impenetrability ('заумь'), and 'obsessive' phonic repetition ('акустика').

Nevertheless, this pronounced ^{186a}word autonomy in the verse of Mandel'shtam revealed a consummate skill of acoustic phrasing which maintained the rhythmic cohesion of the verse. Its effect could, of course, be greatly enhanced by the manner of its recitation.¹⁸⁷ As we see in the undernoted example of this 'free verse' of accentual poetry, the different lengths of the lines derive precisely from the care of the poet to make the rhythmic structure of the line conform to its syntactical structure:

Одни
на монетах изображают льва,
Другие —
голову;
Разнообразные медные, золотые и бронзовые лепешки
С одинаковой почестью лежат в земле.
Век, пробуя их перегрызть, оттиснул на них свои зубы.
Время срезает меня, как монету,
И мне уж не хватает меня самого. ¹⁸⁶
(Москва, 1923.)

186 "Нашедший подкову", там же, стр. 106.

186a A marked word autonomy is also characteristic of Mayakovsky's verse (See Roman Jakobson, O cheshskom stikhe preimushchestvenno v sopostavlenii s russkim, Providence, Brown Univ. Press, 1969).

187 (See footnote on next page).

From the foregoing, we see how meticulously Mandel'shtam paid attention to the quantitative value of the stress.¹⁸⁷ As he emphasized in his articles, he regarded the stress element in the Russian language as based to a considerable extent on the alternation of long and short, rather than accented and unaccented, syllables. His frequent substitutions of one metric foot for another, his numerous pyrrhics, slurred accents, hypermetrical stresses, and enjambements all represent clear-cut devices in the production of special rhythmic effects. As we shall see, these metrical contrivances were complemented by Mandel'shtam's equally painstaking attention to the phonetic structure of his verse. He undertook all this experimentation with a fixed purpose — that of a rapprochement and synthesis of elements pertaining to both antique and Russian versification.

d. Verse-patterns.

In early classical Greek, of course, rhyme was a rare convention. Although we do find rhyme in Mandel'shtam's verse, it is extremely innocuous and almost insignificant. Owing to the exceptional sonority of his verses, the dearth of original rhyme goes almost unnoticed by the reader, but, as I. Bushman points out, under this apparently casual indifference to rhyme there is a system:^{187a} Mandel'shtam was keenly aware of the extent to which many of the leading contemporary poets (Pasternak, Mayakovsky, Bal'mont, Briussov)

¹⁸⁷ In Hope against Hope, Nadezhda Mandel'shtam makes several references to her husband's manner of 'interpretative' reading. He used his poetic text as a conductor uses a score, carefully observing the vowel quantity and timbre of voice required by the phonic arrangement of his verse. Other poets in their memoirs or reminiscences (e.g. G. Ivanov, M. Tsvetaeva, I. Odoevtseva) noted that Mandel'shtam 'sang' his verses with full-throated melodic shrillness.
^{187a} И. БУШМАН, Там же, стр. 47.

cultivated rhyme but he felt that a striking rhyme might turn attention to the end of the lines. He obviously strove toward a 'dying down' of the sound, a withdrawal into quiet harmony more in keeping with the low-keyed tone of the lines themselves. These innocuous rhymes, therefore, constitute an organic part of his careful phonic arrangement, and may be considered a 'classical' ^{190a} trait.

For the most part, the rhyme in Mandel'shtam's verse is of the alternating type:

О, маятник душ строг,	a
Качается, глух, прям,	b
И страстно стучит рок	a
В запретную дверь к нам . . . 188	b

It is sometimes an encircling rhyme:

Звук осторожный и глухой	a
Плода, сорвавшегося с древа,	b
Среди немолчного напева	b
Глубокой тишины лесной . . . 189	a

Only rarely does he employ the scheme of rhyming pairs:

Запечатлеется на нем узор,	a	(two-line stanzas)
Неузнаваемый с недавних пор.	a	
Пускай мгновения стекает муть —	b	190
Узора милого не зачеркнуть.	b	

188 О. Мандельштам, "Сегодня дурной день", стр. 14.

189 "Звук осторожный и глухой", стр. 3.

190 "Дано мне тело — что мне делать с ним", стр. 6.

190a While there is obviously no 'Hellenic' influence in Mandel'shtam's use of rhyme, nevertheless this important compositional ingredient will be considered here in its organic function as an integral part of Mandel'shtam's poetic structuring.

Ни о чем не нужно говорить,	a	
Ничему не следует учить,	a	(quatrain)
И печальна так и хороша	b	
Темная звериная душа:	b	
191		

Usually in his quatrains there is an alternation of
masculine and feminine rhymes:

Душный сумрак кроет ложе,	(женская рифма)
Напряженно дышет грудь . . .	(мужская рифма)
Может, мне всего дороже	(женская рифма)
Тонкий крест и тайный путь.	(мужская рифма)
192	

More rarely, we observe masculine rhymes throughout:

Сегодня дурной день,	
Кузнечиков хор спит	
И сумрачных скал сень	193
Мрачней гробовых плит.	

Purely feminine rhymes are much more infrequent:

Я на прогулке похороны встретил	
Близ протестантской кирки, в воскресенье.	
Рассеянный прохожий, я заметил	194
Тех прихожан суровое волнение.	

Mandel'shtam did not always employ consonantal
rhymes. Rhymes similar to the undernoted are often in evidence:

<u>гладела</u>	-	<u>окаменела</u>
<u>темно</u>	-	<u>оно</u>
<u>мы</u>	-	<u>тьмы</u>
<u>урод</u>	-	<u>народ</u>

-
- 191 "Ни о чем не нужно говорить", стр. 7.
192 "Душный сумрак кроет ложе", стр. 11.
193 "Сегодня дурной день", стр. 13.
194 "Лютеранин", стр. 22.

Many of his rhymes are merely grammatical:¹⁹⁵

<u>поют</u>	-	<u>отдают</u>
<u>осязать</u>	-	<u>сказать</u>
<u>заметишь</u>	-	<u>ответишь</u>

In his later poems the line endings are often imperfectly rhymed, and the unrhymed verse line (белый стих) makes its appearance:

Человеческие губы,
 которым больше нечего сказать,
Сохраняют форму последнего сказанного слова,
И в руке остается ощущение тяжести,
Хотя кувшин
 наполовину расплекался,
 пока его несли домой.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ According to an account by G. Adamovich, ("Несколько (слов о Мандельштаме", Воздушные пути, Альманах 2, стр. 94.)

the poet S. Esenin is purported to have shouted at a poetry reading given by Mandel'shtam in Moscow: "Вы не поэт, у вас глагольные рифмы!"

¹⁹⁶ O. Мандельштам, "Нашедший подкову", стр. 106.

Unrhymed or blank verse, although considered foreign to the tradition of learned poetry in Russia, was deemed compulsory in the imitations of ancient verses, particularly of the hexameter and elegiac couplet which prevailed in the second half of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth.¹⁹⁷

It is significant, however, that Mandel'shtam evidently felt that some presence of rhyme (even that which was toned down and almost imperceptible) was essential to his phonetic pattern, and we see in his poetry only isolated instances of unrhymed verse.

Rather than seeking innovations in rhyme, Mandel'shtam obtained variety through an internal modulation of vowels, and contented himself with only a lightly reverberating terminal harmony. This manipulation of vocalic sounds played an important semantic-rhythmic rôle and provided a syntactical rhythm internally, as well as at the end of the lines:

Нежнее нежного

Белее белого¹⁹⁸

Над гнойной книгой, над глиной дорогой¹⁹⁹
В огромной комнате над черною Невой,²⁰⁰
Далеко в шалаше голоса.²⁰¹ . .

197 B. O. Unbegaun, Russian Versification, p. 152.

198 O. Мандельштам, "Нежнее нежного", там же, стр. 4.

199 "Лазурь да глина, глина да лазурь," стр. 141.

200 "Соломинка", стр. 59.

201 "Золотистого меда струя из бутылки текла", стр. 64.

The use of consonant patterns as a rhyming device also plays a part in the phonic arrangement of his verses. In the following examples, we are presented with numerous murmuring sibilants:

Смутно-дышащими листьями
Черный ветер шелестит
И трепещущая ласточка
В темном небе круг чертит. 202

За гремучую доблесть грядущих веков,
За высокое племя людей
Я лишился и чаши на пире отцов,
И веселья и чести своей 203

Ученый плащик перчит злоба,
А чепчик черным красовит.
.
Клевещет жердочка и планка,
Клевещет клетка сотней спиц — 204

From the sampling presented in this section devoted to the rhyming system of Mandel'shtam, we may readily discern a conscious striving toward a fullness of sound-patterns through the conventional rhyme-schemes as well as through internal vowel modulation and consonance. Through melody Mandel'shtam still further enforced the antique effects of his poetry.^{204a}

202 "Смутно-дышащими листьями", там же, стр. 14.

203 "За гремучую доблесть грядущих веков", стр. 148.

204 "Когда щегол в воздушной сдобе", стр. 219 - 220.

204a Hegel stressed that the musical factor of rhyme recompensed modern poetry for the loss of the ancient quantity.

e. Poetic language.

As has been already emphasized, a distinctive characteristic of the poetry of Mandel'shtam is its relative stasis or lack of movement. This deliberate suspension of activity is achieved not only through the slowing-down of the pace of his verse (as indicated in the section on metre), but also through his fastidious choice of the various parts of speech.

For example, the rôle played by verbs in his poetry is a studied one. In his early poetry, particularly, the predicate is of indeterminate form: passive and abstract, rather than active and concrete.

Дано мне тело — что мне делать с ним, 205

И бирюзовая вуаль
Небрежно брошена на стуле. 206

Как раковина без жемчужин,
Я выброшен на берег твой. 207

Окружена высокими холмами, 208

А смертным власть дана любить и узнавать. 209

We see many verbs employed in the infinitive form:

Только детские книги читать,
Только детские думы делать,
Все большое далеко развезать,
Из глубокой печали восстать. 210

205 "Дано мне тело -- что мне делать с ним", стр. 6.

206 "Медлительнее снежный улей", стр. 8.

207 "Раковина", стр. 15.

208 "Феодосия", стр. 79.

209 "Я слово позабыл, что я хотел сказать", стр. 81.

210 "Только детские книги читать", стр. 3.

The verb appears frequently in participial forms:

И тихий звук
Неунывающих
Речей, 211

Неутомимый маятник качается 212

Мелькающий на выцветших листьях, 213

Verbs appear in the interrogative, imperative and
subjunctive forms, rather than in the direct indicative mood:

Что мне делать с птицей раненой? 214

Будьте так любезны, разменяйте —
.....
Только мне бумажек не давайте, — 215

Какая линия могла бы передать 216

О если бы вернуть и зрячих пальцев стыд, 217

The element of action in the verb is weakened, not only grammatically, but through other means. As I. Bushman points out, we see verbs indicating condition, feeling, and

211 "Нежнее нежного", там же, стр. 4.

212 "Когда удар с ударами встречается", стр. 8.

213 "Пешеход", стр. 18.

214 "Скудный луч холодной мерю", стр. 12.

215 "Золотой", стр. 21.

216 "В хрустальном омуте какая крутизна!", стр. 75.

217 "Я слово позабыл, что я хотел сказать", стр. 81.

perception, far more frequently than action verbs: 218

Я чувствую непобедимый страх 219

Но я люблю на дюнах казино,

.

Люблю следить за чайкою крылатой! 220

Я так и знал, кто здесь присутствовал незримо: 221

Мы боимся, мы не смеем
Горю царскому помочь. 222

Я не знаю, с каких пор
. 223
Я хотел бы ни о чем . . .

Impersonal verbs also present another means of evasion
of action:

Мне хочется онеметь! 224

Уже светло, 225

Как трудно раны врачевать! 226

Нам незачем богов напрасно беспокоить: 227

218 И. Бушман, там же, стр. 51.

219 О. Мандельштам, там же, стр. 18, "Пешеход".

220 "Казино", стр. 19.

221 "Мы напряженного молчанья не выносим —", стр. 29.

222 "Как этих покрывал и этого убора", стр. 55.

223 "Я не знаю, с каких пор", стр. 99.

224 "Я вздрагиваю от холода —", стр. 16.

225 "Старик", стр. 24.

226 "Отравлен хлеб и воздух выпит.", стр. 34.

227 "Природа — тот же Рим и отразилась в нем",
стр. 40.

In one of his poems there exists a complete stanza without any verb whatsoever:

Нежнее нежного
Лицо твое,
Белее белого
Твоя рука,
От мира целого
Ты далека,
И все твое —
От неизбежного. 228

It should be observed that in Mandel'shtam's later poetry the verb-forms assume a rôle of increasing importance and become more dynamic:

Он дирижировал кавказскими горами
И машучи вступал на тесных Альп тропы,
И озираячись, пугливыми шагами
Шел через разговор бесчисленной толпы, — 229

День бушевал, как день бушует. 230

Зашумела, задрожала, 231

The nouns used by Mandel'shtam constitute the chief means of imagery. As well as noun-things, we find a great many nouns denoting activity, state, condition, quality, and other abstract meanings:

228 "Нежнее нежного", там же, стр. 4.

229 "А. Белому", стр. 193.

230 "Грифельная ода", стр. 108. (The verbum finitum is particularly dominant in this poem).

231 "Зашумела, задрожала", стр. 175.

В сознании минутной силы,
В забвении печальной смерти. 232

Паденье — неизменный спутник страха,
И самый страх есть чувство пустоты. 233

Храня молчанье и приличье. 234

Сухое золото классической весны
Уносит времени прозрачная стремнина. 235

The adjective, also, plays a significant rôle.
It exists in great variety, from the most commonplace:
"западный ветер", "солнце желтое", "О пальцы гибкие",
"огромный парус", "три скамейки", "жестокая зима", "в темной
ночи", "на длинной палке", "белый, белый снег", "осенний
сумрак", "легкий дым", и.т.д.

to the most extraordinary and unexpected epithets:

Я блуждал в игрушечной чаще 236
И сумасшедших скал колючие соборы 237
Слудяной перепончатый лес. 238
Разорванный, скрипичный воздух слит. 239
Прозрачная весна 239a

-
- 232 "На бледно-голубой эмали", стр. 5.
233 "'Паденье — неизменный спутник страха," стр. 19.
234 "Аббат", стр. 46.
235 "С веселым ржанием пасутся табуны", стр. 49.
236 "Отчего душа так певуча", стр. 15.
237 "В хрустальном омуте какая крутизна!", стр. 75.
238 "Ветер нам утешенье принес", стр. 101.
239 "Концерт на вокзале", стр. 95.
239a "Мне холодно. Прозрачная весна", стр. 61.

The 'ancient' quality in Mandel'shtam's poetic art (as noted by critics Tynyanov, Mochul'sky, and Bushman) is further intensified by his lexical sources. A great deal of his poetic vocabulary is derived from ancient mythology which serves to augment the solemn atmosphere already inherent in the rhythmic and general manner of utterance.

In the following sampling of invocations to ancient deities, it is not simple ornamentation which strikes the reader, but a sense of the genuine emotion underlying each lyric:

Останься пеной, Афродита,
И слово в музыку вернись,
И сердце сердца устыдись,
С первоосновой жизни слито! 240

Note the tautness of restrained feeling in the poet's address to Cassandra:

Я не искал в цветущие мгновенья
Твоих, Кассандра, губ, твоих, Кассандра, глаз,
Но в декабре — торжественное бденье —
Воспоминанье мучит нас!

И в декабре семнадцатого года
Всё потеряли мы, любя:
Один ограблен волею народа,
Другой ограбил сам себя . . . 241

Декабрь 1917.

His poetry is pervaded by a keen historical and

240 "Silentium", там же, стр. 9.

241 "Кассандре", стр. 67.

universal grief:

Богиня моря, грозная Афина,
Сними могучий каменный шлем.
В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем,
Здесь царствуешь не ты, а Прозерпина. 242
1916.

Much of his vocabulary evokes visions of antiquity, and these words constitute in themselves integral structural units which act in an auxiliary capacity to the leading motifs of his poetry. A sampling of some of these words in context reveals the poet's deployment of these 'building-stones' in the artistic structuring of his poetry:

Золотое руно, где же ты, золотое руно?
Всю дорогу шумели морские тяжелые волны
И покинув корабль, натрудивший в морях полотно, 243
Одиссей возвратился, пространством и временем полный.

Нерасторопна черепаха-лира,
Едва-едва беспалая ползет,
Лежит себе на солнышке Эпира, 244
Тихонько грея золотой живот.

С розовой пеной усталости у мягких губ
Яростно волны зеленые роет бык,
Фыркает, гребли не любит — женолюб, 245
Ноша хребту непривычна, и труд велик.

242 "В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем", там же, стр. 61.

243 "Золотистого меда струя из бутылки текла", стр. 64.

244 "На каменных отрогах Пиерии", стр. 74.

245 "С розовой пеной усталости у мягких губ", стр. 97.

Thus, proportion is of the utmost importance in Osip Mandel'shtam's poetic utterance. The various parts of speech are assembled and balanced in systematic fashion, resulting in a complete harmony of rhythmic, syntactical and linguistic elements. This regular rhythmic-syntactic structuring of his stanzas produces a uniformity in the intonational movement, that is, in the melodics of the verse. Mandel'shtam was at all times concerned with the organic quality of his poetry and the final synthesis of his internal image and his verbal craftsmanship is most harmonious.

An observation made by the late Professor Renato Poggioli aptly capsulizes this ability of Mandel'shtam to capture the essence of existence in the poetic medium: ". . . to embalm forever the worm of life within that amberlike matter which is the very substance of his poetry . . . "246 The critic here refers to the superb lyric in which the poet offers to his loved one a gift of honey which has been transformed into sunlight by dead bees:

Возьми на радость из моих ладоней
Немного солнца и немного меда,
Как нам велели пчелы Персефоны.

Не отвязать неприкрепленной лодки,
Не услыхать в меха обутой тени,
Не превозмочь в дремучей жизни страха.

Нам остаются только поцелуи,
Мохнатые, как маленькие пчелы,
Что умирают, вылетев из улья.

246 Renato Poggioli, The Poets of Russia, 1890-1930, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 312.

Они шуршат в прозрачных дебрях ночи,
Их родина — дремучий лес Тайгета,
Их пища — время, медуница, мята.

Возьми ж на радость дикий мой подарок,
Невзрачное сухое ожерелье
Из мертвых пчел, мед превративших в солнце. 247

(Ноябрь 1920.)
(Tristia)

Since the poem quoted above illustrates many of the points which have been raised with regard to Mandel'shtam's poetic style, it warrants a close analysis, representing, moreover, an excellent example of the classical Greek spirit which pervades his poetic art. We shall therefore examine this poem in its purely compositional aspect, without dwelling on the antique motifs which also constitute an integral component in the structuring of these verses. (A detailed scrutiny of these important motifs will be undertaken in Chapter III).

The general structure of this poem illustrates the proportion and harmonics of Mandel'shtam's poetic art:

Возьми на радость
. (first stanza)
.

Возьми ж на радость . . .
. (last stanza)
.

Tone:

"Возьми на радость из моих ладоней" ,

The opening line of this lyric already sets a mood of quiet contemplation. The approach is low-keyed and restrained: the poet offers a little honey, a little sun — a modest gift which will suffice for the gratification of his friend.

We hear a note of negation and of resignation in the second stanza:

Не отвязать . . .

Не услыхать . . .

Не превозмочь . .

In the third stanza, the poet reflects in melancholy fashion that only kisses are left to them, which will perish like small, shaggy bees upon leaving the hive. These 'bee-kisses' rustle in the limpid labyrinths of the night. They are sustained by time, lungwort, and mint.

A poignant note, as well as a quiet elation, can be sensed in the poet's appeal to accept his unattractive necklace of dried bees — bees which have perished while transforming honey into sunlight. (The bees, of course, represent words, the honey — poetry, the sunlight — immortal beauty).

Genre:

This poem represents a classic example of Mandel'shtam's favourite genre: a lyric form permeated with elements of the

epos — in this instance, the antique Greek epos.

The poem is in the form of an address or supplication. We sense a remoteness, an almost oratorical element, rather than an intimately personal involvement on the part of the poet. The emotional content is cool and controlled by the poet's intellect: learned references are made to the mythical Persephone and to the primeval forest of the mountain, Taygetos, where Persephone's 'bees' feed on time, lungwort, and mint, to produce a dark, wild honey.²⁴⁸

Each simile and metaphor is chosen to embellish the idea or leading motif:

. поцелуи,
Мохнатые, как маленькие пчелы,

Их пища — время, медуница, мята.

(with Time (Χρόνος) as one of the vital ingredients of honey-poetry)

The recurrent formulae of the epic are also present:

Возьми на радость . . .

.

Возьми ж на радость . .

Немного солнца и немного меда,

²⁴⁸ Not the proverbial sweet honey of Mt. Hymettos, points out Nils Åke Nilsson ("Osip Mandel'shtam and his poetry", Scando-Slavica, Tomus IX, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1963, p.37-52.)

Не отвязать . . .

Не услыхать . . .

Не превозмось . .

Их родина — . . .

Их пища — . . .

The image or 'conceit' (without the derogatory connotation of this latter term) of the transformation of honey into sunlight by Persephone's sacred bees is lengthily developed — in fact, it occupies the whole poem, with a lesser conceit of 'bee-kisses' (which represent the moulding of the poet's words by the bees into poetry — words, or 'word-souls', which are then transformed into 'sunshine').

This particular genre is admirably suited to the poetic interpretation of Mandel'shtam. It is eloquent, belonging in tradition to the declamatory style of Derzhavin and Tiutchev, and evokes vividly the internal image of the poet himself.

The poetic 'I' of this lyric is subordinated to a lofty, detached level. The poet's personal intuition is reinforced by his intellect, and in this way, his work of art serves to crystallize the essence of his inner vision or idea. It is the work of art which is all-important to Mandel'shtam: his prime objective lies in transforming the historical or temporal into the eternal or extra-temporal. We sense in his poetry a metaphysical experience perceived through the metamorphosis of intellectual contemplation and identification with

both the past and the universal. At the same time, this poet never ceased stressing the logical and concrete nature of the work of art, and his poetic vehicle reflects at all times an unceasing preoccupation with form.

Metre:

In studying the prosodic treatment in this poem, we observe that it is written in Mandel'shtam's preferred classical metre — the five-foot iambic — with an unstressed syllable added at the end of each line:

Возьми на радость из моих ладоней
Немного солнца и немного меда,
Как нам велели пчелы Персефоны.

◡ — | ◡ — | ◡ ◡ | ◡ — | ◡ — | ◡
 ◡ — | ◡ — | ◡ ◡ | ◡ — | ◡ — | ◡
 ◡ — | ◡ — | ◡ — | ◡ ◡ | ◡ — | ◡

Revealing himself in many of his critical articles as a capable theoretician of versification, Mandel'shtam gave constant attention to both rhythmic and metre. In the poem under discussion we note not only the additional unstressed syllable at the end of each line, but also numerous pyrrhic feet within the lines themselves. These not only provided variety in the regular metrical pattern but also served to slacken the pace of the verse. In this way, as already pointed out in this chapter's larger section on metre, Mandel'shtam achieved the slow-moving stateliness and measured pace which is so characteristic of his poetic art.

The rhyme-scheme in this poem (as in Mandel'shtam's poetry in general), plays a secondary rôle insofar as line endings are concerned. However, similar assonant sounds provide a marked euphonic-rhythmic pattern, as is apparent from the harmony and resonance of the following:

Возьми на радость из моих ладоней
Немного солнца и немного меда,
Как нам велели пчелы Персефоны.

In Mandel'shtam's phonic arrangement of the third stanza, we see similar consonant patterns used as a rhyming device. Through the repetition of several sibilant consonants, harmonics simulating the rustling of bees are obtained:

Они шуршат в прозрачных дебрях ночи,
Их родина — дремучий лес Тайгета
Их пища — время, медуница, мята.

With the exception of the last line in the third stanza, all the endings are in feminine rhyme. These low-keyed endings, together with internal unstressed syllables and frequent pauses, all tend to produce the effect of a slow, quiet harmony and a classical serenity completely in keeping with the elevated ideological content.

Poetic language:

The verbs employed in this poem also reinforce the antique landscape effect of stillness and languor:

"Возьми" "возьми ж" (imperative mood)

"Не отвязать . . ."

"Не услыхать . . ." (infinitive mood)

"Не превозмочь . . ."

"неприкрепленной"

"вылетев" (participial constructions)

"превративших"

One verb is impersonal:

"Нам остаются . . ."

Only three verbs are in the direct indicative mood:
(however, none of these represents any sort of energetic activity)

"велели"

"умирают"

"шуршат"

Many abstract nouns are to be found in Mandel'shtam's
verse, and in this particular lyric we find the following:

"на радость", "в дремучей жизни", "страха", "время".

Other nouns have an ephemeral quality:

"немного солнца и немного меда", "неприкрепленной лодки"
"обутой тени", "в прозрачных дебрах ночи", "сухое ожерелье
из мертвых пчел", as well as "родина" and "пища".

Possessing somewhat more substance are the small, shaggy bees,
but even these become lifeless upon leaving the hive.

An antique aura of somnolence and suspended activity prevails throughout — redolent of mint, lungwort and time. This lyric emanates the radiance of primeval Greece where the presence of Persephone can be felt on the sun-drenched slopes of Mount Taygetos in the Peloponnesos. Bees hum and rustle in the primeval forest, perishing as they transform honey into sunlight. It is in this way that the futility of life is dissipated by the loving work of art. It is this immortal gift which the poet offers to his friend.

Mandel'shtam's assiduous strivings toward harmony and proportion in his poetry represent a completely classical technique. The spirit of Hellenism in his work is focussed on the use of the word as a creative tool in the artistic interpretation of the surrounding world. The lyrics of this poet serve, moreover, as a vehicle of prophetic vision wherein he, like his ancient models, endeavours to penetrate to the essence of things and to eternal truths.

Just as in his prosodic workmanship and general poetic style Mandel'shtam strove toward a reincarnation of antique form, so (as will be outlined in Chapter III) he aspired to a reappropriation of antique culture in his poetry:

Поэзия — плуг, взрывающий время так, что глубинные
слои времени, его чернозем оказываются сверху.
Время вспахано плугом и роза землю была.
Так и поэт не боится повторений и легко пьянеет
классическим вином. 249

Mandel'shtam's lyric could be described as an "orchestral form": a subtle blending of varied metres, free verse, and internal rhyming devices. Far from being 'opaque' or incoherent, each poem is essentially an organic unit, with each part performing a definite function in relation to the whole. The metrical composition is not haphazard; it is artistic, being based on definite principles of musical form. His poetry is not made up of metrical feet but of rhythmic units which are the constituent elements of his verse.

Except where the metre repeats itself, the poet assembles the various rhythmic elements with a view to obtaining a complete coincidence of rhythm and idea. His phrases must be taken together as components of a single musical sentence — that is to say, the natural rhythm is dictated by the sense of the words. A markedly syntactical rhythm is particularly evident in the poem, "Полночь в Москве":

Полночь в Москве. Роскошно буддийское лето.
С дроботом мелким расходятся улицы в чоботах
узких железных.

В черной оспе блаженствуют кольца бульваров,
Нет на Москву и ночью угомону.²⁵⁰

(Май - 4 июня 1931.)

Here, semantic units take the place of purely musical rhythm.

250 О. Мандельштам, "Полночь в Москве", там же, стр. 155.

"Mandel'shtam's poems may be called polyphonic verbal compositions", comments V. Terras, "with a multidimensional (rhythmic, architectonic, euphonic, synaesthetic, emotional and intellectual) expressive effect".²⁵¹ These poems are characterized by a delicate balance of structure and movement, line and colour, ideas and motifs, intellectual and emotional elements — in short, the ideal in poetry, as stressed by Theophil Spoerri in his analytic work, Der Weg zur Form: "Sinn und Bewegung und Bild klingen in der Poesie zusammen".²⁵²

For Spoerri, poetic language is balanced precariously between that which is within, and that which is without. It is simultaneously an expression of the soul and an impression of the world. Its inmost core, however, is to be found in the idea or spiritual meaning behind man's existence:

. . . Nun werden wir hingerissen durch die Gewalt der
Bilder, den Rhythmus der Linien, die Leuchtkraft der
Farben, die unendliche Spannung des menschlichen
Schicksals.

The living Word, continues Spoerri, is a 'happening' in life, a ringing movement, a music which accompanies with its melody the eternal flow of life and the fluctuations of the soul.

Finally, this brings to mind Mandel'shtam's emphasis on the Hellenistic nature of the Russian language, and his insistence on the reinstatement of the antique conception of the Word as a 'Psyche', a live soul — a truly organic fusion of the 'ideal' and the 'real' (слово - плоть).

²⁵¹ Victor Terras, op. cit., p. 253.

²⁵² Theophil Spoerri, "Das Gedicht", Der Weg zur Form, Hamburg, Druck J. J. Augustin Glückstadt, 1954, p. 23 - 28.

CHAPTER III

GREEK THEMES AND MOTIFS IN MANDEL'SHTAM'S VERSE

As well as existing in the verbal composition of his verse, Mandel'shtam's multi-dimensional or polyphonic treatment extends to his subject-matter. Emotional, intellectual and aesthetic elements are closely intertwined, producing a complex expressive effect very reminiscent of the complicated system of associations and contrasts characteristic of the poetry of Pindar. A synthesis of national and classical elements in the modern lyrics of Mandel'shtam is crystallized, as in Pindar and Alkaios, in a series of organic poems which reflect moments of recognition at their strongest intensity.

If one accepts the definition of a 'theme' as a conceptual element which is concretized in dynamic motifs (or idea-carriers),²⁵³ then, apart from the lyric poet's 'I', we perceive several main themes in the poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam: the idea of man's helplessness before fate, and his yearning for immortality; a feeling of reverence toward pristine beauty; the notion of the power of love and desire; a dichotomous attitude toward spring; and, above all, the poet's joy and consolation in the enduring work of art. All these themes, as well as many of the recurring motifs in his poems, are of ancient provenance.

253 Sophie Irène Kalinowska, Les motifs décadents dans les poèmes d'Emile Verhaeren, étude précédée d'un essai sur la théorie du motif littéraire, Wroclaw, 1967, p. 44-69, and a summation on p. 76:

"on a défini le motif littéraire comme une unité-limite structurale, en fusion indissoluble de son élément idéal général et des porteurs concrets de celui-ci, sensoriels, imaginatifs, émotionnels et appétitifs."

Mandel'shtam's inner visions or experiences, and the motifs which exteriorize them, constitute the real framework of his poetic universe. In his poetry we find serious thought welded with powerful imagery, and it is this perfect fusion which results in the poet's creative act.

Professor Paul Wyczynski, in examining the relationship between poetic themes and motifs,^{253a} likens it to the organic relationship which exists between the roots and the trunk and branches of a tree: "C'est dans le monde de l'expression que le thème poétique trouve sa preuve, pareil à la sève des racines épanouie dans les branches."^{253b}

This analogy may be readily applied to Mandel'shtam's poetic art, wherein his themes are brought to fruition in a wealth of expressive motifs.

His motifs or images (often derived from Greek myths) serve to embody large ideas and thus bring them into the range of daily experience. These solid, compelling forms give immediate and striking relevance to issues troubling the poet, enabling him to confront these personal or national problems through a contemplation of world history in its constant renewal.

253a Paul Wyczynski, III, "Thématique", "Introduction de l'Oeuvre d'Emile Nelligan, Emile Nelligan, Ottawa, Editions Fides, 1967, p. 63 - 106.

253b Ibid., p. 65.

Rather than isolating Mandel'shtam's leading motifs and those which acted in a supplementary capacity as concrete carriers of the poet's main ideas, a sampling will be given in this chapter of several Greek-inspired poems, with each being viewed as an integral whole. Only in this way will it be possible to observe the strikingly organic nature of each of these synthetic word-structures.

Osip Mandel'shtam's Hellenism manifested itself not only in the darker undertones of the ancient Greek conception of man's subjection to inexorable fate, but also in a Dionysiac delectation of beauty and an irrepressible love of life. There is a joy in poetic creativity in the aesthetic classical tradition of Pushkin: "Блажен, кто знает сладострастье / Высоких мыслей и стихов . . ." ²⁵⁴

Through his poetic art, Mandel'shtam aspired to a higher order and harmony, a liberation from chaos and from the tyranny of the earthly duration of time. Facing a world in flux, a dynamic reality of contradictions and tensions, this poet, through his personal vision, attempted to create an illusion of balance in human existence and of immortality of the human soul. ^{254a}

254 Александр Сергеевич Пушкин, "Жуковскому", Сочинения Александра Пушкина, Юбилейное издание пушкинского комитета, Berlin, Speer & Schmidt, 1937, p. 70.

(In his clarity of thought and radiant, flexible expression, Pushkin was most akin to the Greeks).

254a For Mandel'shtam, Hellenism offered the 'tools' for the humanization of the world around him. We observe in his work both a 'lofty' and a 'homely' Hellenism, comments Lydia Ginzburg, in "Поэтика Осипа Мандельштама", "Известия Академии наук СССР", том XXXI, Издательство "Наука", 1972, вып. 4, стр. 309-327.

1. Idea of man's impotence before fate:
his constant striving for immortality.

A crucial theme in Mandel'shtam's poetry consists of the contrast between the brevity and fragility of human existence and the eternity of time and life beyond their earthly limitations.

In some of his early poems the poet's fear of reality is sublimated in unreal, fantastic imagery. He perceives the menacing eyes of toy wolves in tinsel-like forests,²⁵⁵ or it is an inexpressible sadness which gazes upon him with hyperbolically huge eyes.²⁵⁶ People and objects are wrapped in a dream-like, often bizarre fairy-tale atmosphere.

- a. Juxtaposition of motifs of soul and dolphin in perilous passage through life.

A strong pathos pervades the description in "Ни о чем не нужно говорить",²⁵⁷ a poem describing the difficult journey of the soul through the terrifying shoals of life: "И печальна так и хороша / темная звериная душа". A concrete or strongly expressive motif is provided in the classically Greek image of a dolphin (to which the Psyche is likened): "И плывет дельфином молодым / по седым пучинам мировым" ... In early Greek lore this marine animal, sacred to Poseidon, symbolized swiftness, dexterity and great intelligence.

255 О. Мандельштам, "Сусальным золотом горят", стр. 3.

256 "Невыразимая печаль", стр. 6.

257 "Ни о чем не нужно говорит", стр. 7 - 8.

Apollo was said to have assumed the form of a dolphin when seeking founders for his cult on the island of Delos:

. . . αὐτὰρ δ' τοῖσι συνήντετο Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων·
ἐν πόντῳ δ' ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφῖνι ἐοικώς
νηὶ θεῇ, καὶ κεῖτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε. 258

(Hymn III - "To Pythian Apollo",
lines 399 - 401)

In a sepulchral epigram, Archias mourns a dolphin:

Οὐκέτι παφλάζοντα διαίτσω βυθὸν ἄλμης
δελφίς . . . 259

(Archias, Epigram 214)^{*}

Like this dolphin, which has been hurled ashore by the sea-waves, so the soul is in imminent peril as it navigates "по седым пучинам мировым".

The classical theme of an implacable fate is the dominating notion of the poem "Когда удар с ударами встречается". In his poetry Pindar often spoke of Destiny, which he considered all-powerful and unalterable. Man's fortune depended solely upon the will of the Gods themselves. (It is interesting to

258 Hymn III - "To Pythian Apollo", The Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homeric, The Loeb Classical Library, ed. by T.E. Page and W.H.D. Rouse, with an English translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, London: William Heinemann; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914, p. 352.

259 Archias, Epigram 214, Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library, ed. by E. Capps, T.E. Page, W.H.D. Rouse, London: Wm. Heinemann, 1917, p. 120.
*(attributed to either Archias of Antioch or of Mytilene).

260 "Когда удар с ударами встречается", там же, стр. 8.

note that Pindar's gods were of unflinching morality, whereas those of Homer were often capricious and vengeful).

b. Motifs of Moerae and distaff of Fate.

Mention of the three Destinies, or Moerae, and the distaff of Fate was frequently made in antique poetry, and, more particularly, of Clotho, who carried the spindle and spun the "thread of life":

ἤλασεν εἰς Ἀχέροντα διὰ πλατὺν κῆμα καμόντων,
Μοῖρα, λινονκλώστου δεσπότις ἡλακᾶτης· 261

Mandel'shtam also speaks of the "spindle of fate":

Торопится и грубо остановится,
И упадет веретено —
И невозможно встретиться, условиться, 262
И уклониться не дано.

(lines 5 - 8)

cf. Antipater's "On Sappho": . . . ὦ τριέλικτον
Μοῖραι δινεῦσαι νῆμα κατ' ἡλακᾶτας, 263

Hesiod presented man's fate as fixed from birth by both Fates and Furies:

καὶ Μοῖρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο νηλεοπόινους,
. αἵ τε βροτοῖσι
γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθὸν τε κακὸν τε, 264

(Theogony, lines 217 - 219)

261 "On Erinna", 12, Sepulchral Epigrams, op.cit., p. 10.

262 O. Мандельштам, там же, стр. 8.

263 Antipater of Sidon, "On Sappho", 14, Sepulchral Epigrams, p. 10.

264 Hesiod, Theogony, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homeric, p. 94.

2. Reverence for primeval beauty.

In "Silentium,"²⁶⁸ we perceive an apparently paradoxical juxtaposition of primeval silence and the logos. The poet implores the divine Aphrodite to remain in her state of pristine beauty: "Останься пеной, Афродита,".

a. Motif of Aphrodite — symbol of pristine grace.

This primary motif, based on the classical myth of the 'foam-sprung' goddess, finds many counterparts in the classics, as, for example, in the Theogony of Hesiod:

ἐκ δ' ἔβη αἰδοίῃ καλὴ θεός, ἀμφὶ δὲ ποίῃ
 ποσσὶν ὑπο ῥαδινοῖσιν ἄέξετο· τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην
 (ἀφρογενέα τε θεὸν καὶ εὐστέφανον Κυθήρειαν)
 κικλήσκουσι θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι, οὐνεκ ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃ
 θρέφθη, ἅτῃρ Κυθήρειαν, ὅτι προσέκυρσε
 Κυθηροῖς.

(Κυπρογενέα δ', ὅτι γέντο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ· 269
 ἥδε φιλομνηδέα, ὅτι μνηδῶν ἐξεφαάνθη.) (lines 194 - 200)

and in Sappho's "To Aphrodite":

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ', Ἀφρόδιτα,
 παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε· 270

One of the most celebrated deities of the ancients, Aphrodite was revered as the goddess of beauty and as queen of laughter.

268 O. Мандельштам, "Silentium", там же, стр. 9.

269 Hesiod, Theogony, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, p. 92.

270 Sappho, "To Aphrodite", Book I, The Poems of Sappho, transl. by J.M. Edmonds, London: William Heinemann, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922, p. 182.

For Pindar, Aphrodite represented one of the principal divinities of the Hellenic Olympus. Inspired by the "severe Muse of the hymn", his imagination found the most noble language:

Ἀκούσατ' ἢ γὰρ ἐλικνώπιδος Ἀφροδίτας
ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων
ἀναπολίζομεν, 271

(Pindar, Pythian VI, 1-2)

ὑπέδεκτο δ' ἀργυρόπεζ' Ἀφροδίτα
δάλιον ξεῖνον θεοδμάτων
ὀχέων ἐφαπτομένα χερὶ κούφα· 272

(Pindar, Pythian IX, 8-11)

ρίμφα παιδείους ἐτόξευνον μελιγάρυας ὕμνους,
ὅστις ἐὼν καλὸς εἶχεν' Ἀφροδίτας
εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν. 273

(Pindar, II, Isthmian Odes,
6-8)

When Pindar sings the happy life, celebrating youth, beauty, and love through the power of Aphrodite, he seeks to

271 Pindar, Pythian VI, "For Xenocrates of Acragas", The Odes of Pindar, Loeb Classical Library, ed. by T.E. Page and W.H.D. Rouse, with introduction and English translation by Sir John Sandys, London: William Heinemann; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1915, p. 248.

272 Pindar, Pythian IX, "For Telesicrates of Cyrene", op. cit., p. 272.

273 Pindar, Isthmian II, "For Xenocrates of Acragas", op. cit., p. 448.

prove that all things essential to man's happiness come from the gods, and, in particular, from Aphrodite and her constant attendants, the three Graces: Euphrosyne (Joy), Aglaia (Brilliance), and Thalia (bloom of life).

b. Motif of primeval 'muteness'.

The following lines provide the key to many of the poetic aspirations of Mandel'shtam:

Останься пеной, Афродита,
И слово в музыку вернись,

("Silentium", lines 13-14)

The invocation to Aphrodite to "remain as foam" is followed by a supplication to the word to return to its primeval state: that of harmony and melody. As a symbol of the regenerative force of nature, Aphrodite, above all, is empowered to animate the word-soul and to endow the poet's verse with a resonant intensity parallelling the crystal notes of pristine 'muteness':

Спокойно дышат моря груди,
Но, как безумный, светел день,
И пены бледная сирень
В мутно-лазоревоm сосуде.

Да обретут мои уста
Первоначальную немоту,
Как кристаллическую ноту,
Что от рождения чиста!

("Silentium", lines 5-12)

The imagery of a quiet sea and the dazzling brilliance of the day is classical, as is the description of the pale-lilac foam in the lacklustre azure vessel. These topoi serve to reinforce the main motif of a primeval beauty wherein muteness reigns.

c. Soundless choir of night birds.

A similar juxtaposition is to be found in the striking paradox of a 'soundless' choir which is presented in the poem, "Слух чуткий парус напрягает": ²⁷⁵

И тишину переплывает
Полночных птиц незвучный хор.

This motif of music juxtaposed with silence again finds expression in "Смутно-дышащими листьями": ²⁷⁶

Отчего так мало музыки
И такая тишина?

Many of Mandel'shtam's poems are built up on contrasts and paradoxes like the above examples. In the poem "1914" ²⁷⁷ we are similarly presented with an antithetic analogy — on the one hand, between Solon's appeal to the Athenians to

275 "Слух чуткий парус напрягает," там же, стр. 9.

276 "Смутно-дышащими листьями", стр. 14.

277 "1914", стр. 43.

(In Tristia, the date given is "1916")

liberate Salamis:

ἔομεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου
ἡμερτῆς, χαλεπὸν τ' αἴσχος ἀπωσόμενοι. 278

(lines 1 - 3)

and, on the other hand, with a plea on the part of the poet himself to the new Hellas — Europe — to repulse the encroachment and blandishments of the islanders of Britain:

Собирались эллины войною
На прелестный остров Саламин, — (lines 1-2)
.....
О Европа, новая Эллада,
Охраняй Акрополь и Пирей! (lines 9-10)

He warns of the danger presented by their treacherous gifts — a forest of uninvited ships!

Нам подарков с острова не надо — (lines 11-12)
Целый лес незваных кораблей.

1914.

A poem in which Mandel'shtam's exalted Apollonian vision is vividly revealed is that entitled: "Бессонница. Гомер. Тугие паруса." ²⁷⁹ Here the poet evokes a dazzling antique scene inspired by the Iliad of Homer.

278 Solon, Book 1, Elegies, Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreonta, vol. 1, ed. by J.M. Edmonds, London, William Heinemann Ltd., New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1931, p. 116.

279 О. Мандельштам, там же, стр. 48 - 49.

3. Notion of power of love and desire.

Love is the moving force of this poem. The poet refers to Homer's "catalogue of ships",²⁸⁰ and envisions the crane-like wedge of their procession into foreign waters — all in the name of love . . . "всё движется любовью". (line 9)

This power of love and desire is often stressed in ancient classical works:

. . . ἡδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
 λυσιμελής, πάντων δὲ θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
 δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν. 281

(Hesiod, Theogony, 120 - 122)

Ἔρος δηῦτέ μ' ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει 282
 γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον,

(Sappho)

τῇ δ' Ἔρος ὠμάρτησε καὶ Ἴμερος ἔσπετο καλὸς
 γεινομένη τὰ πρῶτα θεῶν τ' ἐς φύλον ἰούσῃ.
 ταύτην δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς τιμὴν ἔχει ἡδὲ λέλογχε
 μοῖραν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
 παρθενίους τ' ὄαρους μειδήματά τ' ἐξαπάτας τε 283
 τέρψιν τε γλυκερὴν φιλότητά τε μελιχλὴν τε.

(Hesiod, Theogony, 200 - 205)

280 Homer, Iliad, Book II, lines 494 - 877.

281 Hesiod, Theogony, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica, p. 86.

282 Sappho, Poems of Alcman, Sappho and Ibycus, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1945 (no pagination) (approx. p. 52).

283 Hesiod, Theogony, op. cit., p. 94.

a. Motif of Helen of Troy and her power to inspire love.

Helen's power to inspire love is well brought out in the words of the three elders as they observe her bemusedly from the Trojan wall:

“οὐ νέμεσις Τρῳάς καὶ ἑσπέρημιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιγῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν”²⁸⁴
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν . . .”

(Iliad, III, 156 - 158)

b. Auxiliary motifs.

Supporting motifs are to be found in such characteristically Greek appellations and topoi as: Homer, taut sails, the catalogue of ships, a 'crane-like' procession, Hellas, sea-foam, Helen, Troy, the Achaeans, the churning, black sea. A flock of cranes as a classical topos occurs frequently, for example, in the Iliad itself:

.... , ὄρνιθες ὤς,
ἦύτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,
αἴ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,
κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
ἄνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι”²⁸⁵

(Iliad, III, 2 - 6)

The concluding image of the black sea crashing into the steep promontories is to be found in innumerable ancient

²⁸⁴ Homer, Ilias, The Original Iliad, II, 191-193, p. 34.

²⁸⁵ Homer, ibid., III, 2-6, p. 28.

sources:

οὐκέτι δὲ σπιλάδεσσι περικλασθεῖσα θάλασσα
ἔμπαλιν ἀντωπὸς πρὸς βάθος εἰσάγεται. 286

(Agathias Scholasticus, 3 - 4)

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχέϊ κῦμα θαλάσσης
ὄρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον Ζεφύρου ὑπο κινήσαντος·
πόντῳ μὲν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μέγала βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας
κυρτὸν ἰδὼν κορυφοῦται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἄλδος ἄχνην. 287

(Homerus, Ilias, Book IV,
422-426)

4. Concept of perpetuity in life.

Two poems with similar leading themes are "Мне холодно.
Прозрачная весна" 288 and "В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем" 289

In these poems, Mandel'shtam garbs his experience of apprehension on the eve of the revolution (both poems were written in 1916) in images of classical history and mythology.

Mandel'shtam perceived world history in its perpetual circulation, with the result that Petersburg becomes "Petro-
polis". 289a Trapped under the pressure of a new reality of apocalyptic upheaval, the poet views the waves of the Neva as

286 Agathias Scholasticus, A Greek Garland, a Selection from the Palatine Anthology, Greek text with translation by F.L. Lucas, London, Cohen & West Ltd., 1949, p. 42.

287 Homerus, Ilias, The Original Iliad, IV, 422-426, p. 68.

288 О. Мандельштам, "Мне холодно. Прозрачная весна", стр.61.

289 "В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем", стр. 61.

289a The designation 'Petropol' had already been employed by Pushkin in his "Bronze Horseman".

threatening 'Medusas', while a 'transparent' or unreal spring shrouds the capital in downy green. Not even the shimmering clusters of stars can dispel the constant menace of the dark waves:

Мерцают звезд булавки золотые,
Но никакие звезды не убьют
Морской волны тяжелый изумруд. 290

(lines 8 - 10)

(compare with:

αἰεὶ δὲ βρομέοντα, καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι, θαλάσσης
ὁ τλήμων αἶψα δοῦπον ἀπεχθόμενον. 291

(Archias of Byzantium, lines 5 - 6)

The nature-morte quality of Petersburg-Petropolis, as well as the spring, is phantom-like and grotesque. The citizens breathe 'deadly' air, and each hour is mortal and calamitous. Uneasiness and fear of death pervades both these poems.

- a. Motif of Proserpina (Persephone) - symbol of renewal of nature.

In desperation, the poet calls upon Proserpina, the goddess of Spring, to throw her protection over his beloved Petropolis.^{291a} At the same time, he rejects the aegis of Athena, the awesome deity of War. For the poet, Proserpina symbolizes the renewal of nature and perpetuity of life, just as many classical poets envisaged in this dichotomous mythical figure the

290 O. Мандельштам, "Мне холодно. Прозрачная весна", стр. 61.

291 Archias of Byzantium, A Greek Garland, p. 48.

(lines 5-6)

291a The concept of Persephone as a giver of Life, no less than of Death, was very strong among the Greeks (see Günther Zuntz, Persephone, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1971, p. 413.)

negative aspects of life resolved with the positive. Describing the radiant return of the goddess from the dark land of Hades, Sappho writes: "I heard the footfall of the flower spring . . ." ²⁹²

b. Antipode of Persephone and Aphrodite: Athena.

Athena, on the other hand, in her "каменный шлем", is represented in numerous classical sources as 'awesome' and 'war-like'. In these ancient texts (as in Mandel'shtam's poem) she is presented as the antithesis of such benevolent deities as Persephone and the 'golden' Aphrodite:

κούρην τ' αἰγιδόχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην·
οὐ γάρ οἱ εὖαδεν ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης,
ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἔδον καὶ ἔργον Ἀρης,
ὕμῃναί τε μάχαι τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν. ²⁹³

("To Aphrodite", 8-11)

Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπτολιν ἄρχομ' αἰδεῖν,
δεινὴν, ἣ σὺν Ἀρηϊ μέλει πολεμήϊα ἔργα
περθόμεναί τε πόλῃες αὐτῇ τε πτόλεμοί τε, ²⁹⁴

("Hymn to Athena", 1-3)

292 Quoted from Edith Hamilton's Mythology, New York, The New American Library of World Literature, 1953, p. 54.

293 "To Aphrodite", The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, translated by F. L. Lucas, Cambridge at the University Press, 1948, p. 10.

294 XI, "Hymn to Athena", The Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, p. 436.

c. Supplementary motifs.

The 'fireflies' mentioned in Mandel'shtam's poem in connection with the speeding automobiles along the river-shore, as well as the 'dragon-flies' and 'steel-like beetles' are common topoi, forming a veritable swarm of insects in the Greek anthology, as does the group which includes the cicada, grasshopper, locust, cricket, etc.

ὤκεῖτα γάρ, οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου μυίας 295
οὕτως ἃ μετὰστασις.

(Simonides, Frag. 22, 2 - 3)

φεύγετε κανθαρίδες· λύκος ἄγριος ὑμῶν διώκει 296
(38A, Averting Songs)

In this latter fragment we hear the poet warning the beetles to flee from the 'wolfish' spider (probably a venomous arachnid species) which preys on other insects.

A languorous Dionysian rapture pervades the poem
"Золотистого меда струя из бутылки стекла" . 297 The poet
savours ecstatically a moment of personal identification with
the antique past and with the returning Odysseus, "sated with
time and space".

295 Simonides, Frag. 22, Dirges, Lyra Graeca II, ed. by E. Capps, T.E. Page, W.H.D. Rouse, newly ed. by J.M. Edmonds, London: William Heinemann, N.Y.: Putnam's Sons, 1924, p. 290.

296 38A, Book V, Averting Songs, Lyra Graeca, III, p. 542.

297 О. Мандельштам, "Золотистого меда струя из бутылки стекла", стр. 63 - 64.

The atmosphere in this poem is truly Greek and abounds in classical imagery: "Золотистого меда струя", "в печальной Тавриде", "Всюду Бахуса службы", "Мимо белых колонн", "сонные горы", "В каменистой Тавриде наука Эллады", "Елена", "золотое руно", "морские тяжелые волны", "корабль", "полотно", "Одиссей возвратился, пространством и временем полный".

We sense the poet's search for joy behind the appearances.

There is a colourful, sensual element in these verses. The days are lazy and trundle past like heavy barrels. In a brownish-hued garden beyond the white columns, vines grow in 'curly-headed' rows. Rust-coloured strips of cultivated golden earth intersect the rocky Taurian slopes. In a white room the poet finds silence, "standing like a spinning-wheel". The air reeks of vinegar, paint, and fresh wine in the cellar.

The lines of this poem resound with the recurrent breaking of sea-waves: "Всю дорогу шумели морские тяжелые волны" as Odysseus returns once again to the unchanging shores of his native Greece.

In the imagery mentioned above, we find a favourite topos of the ancients — the distaff:

παρθένε καλλιπάρηιε κόρη δ' ἐμή, ἴσχε συνεργόν
ἡλανάτην, ἀρκεῦν κτῆμα πένητι βίωι, 298

(193 - 194)

298 Antipater of Thessalonica, Epigram XXI, Anthologia Graeca, The Garland of Philip and some Contemporary Epigrams, ed. by A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, Cambridge, the University Press, 1968, p. 26.

Γλύκη μαῦτερ, οὐ τοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον . . . 299

5. Notion of the 'death-aspect' of spring. (Sappho)

300

The poem, "Еще далеко асфоделей / Прозрачно-серая весна", takes up once again one of the underlying ideas of "Мне холодно". and "В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем", namely, the association of spring with death.

A bitter-sweet tonality found constant expression in ancient sources with regard to love and nature.³⁰¹ One may consider, for example, the idyllic picture of spring presented by Ibykos, which is cruelly shattered by the sudden onslaught of the North Wind:

Ἥρι μὲν αἶ τε Κυδώνιαι
μαλίδες ἀρδόμεναι ῥοᾶν
ἐκποτάμων ἵνα Παρθένων
ἡᾶπος ἀκήρατος, αἶ τ' οἶνανθίδες
αὐξόμεναι σκιέροισιν ὕφ' ἔρνεσιν
οἶναρέοις θαλέθοισιν . . .
(ἀλλ' ἔ(θ' ὑπὸ στεροπᾶς φλέγων
Θρηϊνίος βορέας αἴϊσσω
παρὰ Κύπριδος ἄζαλέαις μανίαισιν ἐρεμνὸς
ἀθαμβῆς
ἐγγρατέως πέδοθεν σαλάσσει
ἀμετέρας φρένας.

302

(Frag. 1)

299 Sappho, Poems of Alcman, Sappho, Ibycus (unpaged)

300 O. Мандельштам, "Еще далеко асфоделей", стр. 64-65.

301 James J. Wilhelm, The Cruellest Month, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965.

302 Ibycus, Frag. 1, The Poems of Ibycus, Lyra Graeca, ed. by J.M. Edmonds, 1924, p. 84.

In Mandel'shtam's verse, also, spring is referred to in this ambivalent manner — as a time for flowers and rejoicing, as a time for mourning and death. Why, the poet asks, do we think of death when it is spring — a time for dancing and pleasure? Why decorate the tombs with black roses? He observes wryly that in the land of Hades, there will be no "lovely, sun-tanned hands".

Notwithstanding his horror of death, the funeral of the bard is foretold in the burial urn, the black ship of fate, the bird of wailing, and the black flag of memories trailing behind the cypress craft. The poet's soul lingers wistfully over the seashore on the promontory where the amulet of his happiness is buried.

a. Spring flower of the dead.

All the flowers so beloved of the Greeks: the crocus, the narcissus, the purple hyacinth — although lighting up the darkness of early spring — nevertheless carry in their heady scents a whiff of the mouldering grave. One of the favourite spring blooms of the chthonic deities, the asphodel, is the prime symbol of this 'death-aspect' of spring. In Greek mythology the asphodel represented the flower of the dead, and grew in profusion in the meadows of Hades:

. . . ψυχῇ δὲ ποδώκεος Αἰανίδαο
φοῖτα μακρὰ βιβῶσα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, 303
(lines 538 - 539)

303 Homerus, Odyssey, XI, The Odyssey of Homer, Books I - XII, text by G.H. Palmer, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884, p. 394.

. . . , αἶψα δ' ἔκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
 ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων, 304

(Homer, Odyssey, Book XXIV, 13-14)

Here, in the fields of asphodels, the shades of heroes wander
 disconsolately, awaiting their final judgement.

b. Black sail.

The ship with a black sail easily finds a counterpart
 in classical sources:

. . . διδὲ καὶ μέλαν ἱστίον ἔχουσιν, ὥς ἐπὶ
 συμφορᾷ προδήλῳ, τὴν ναῦν ἔπεμπον

 κελεύσας
 ὑποστρέφοντα σωζομένου τοῦ θησέως ἐπάρασθαι
 τὸ λευκόν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ μέλανι πλεῖν καὶ ἀποση-
 μαίνειν τὸ πάθος. 305

(Plutarch, "Theseus", XVII, para. 4)

c. Bird of mourning.

The topos of the bird of "death and mourning" is similar-
 ly common in classical ornithomancy. Hearing a large black bird
 screaming overhead, the warrior in Timotheus' "The Persians"
 senses that his end is near:

(τοσαῦ)τ' ἔφα σ(αθ)ρ(ῶς, ὑπὲρ κεφαλ)άντε
 κερραγ(υῖαν εἶδεν ὄ)ρνιν κελαι(νάν,) 306
 (lines 56 - 57)

304Homerus, Odyssey, XXIV, ed. by D. B. Monro, Oxford,
 The Clarendon Press, 1901, p. 263.

305 Plutarch, "Theseus", XVII, para. 4, Plutarch's Lives,
 Vol. I, The Loeb Classical Library, ed. by T.E. Page and W.H.D.
 Rouse, London: Wm. Heinemann, 1914, p. 34.

306 Timotheus, Frag. 19, "The Persians", Lyra Graeca,
 Vol. III, newly ed. by J.M. Edmonds, p. 312.

A mother, like the mournful holy bird of spring, the halcyon, bewails her son at his tomb:

. . . ὅν περὶ Προμηθεὺς
μήτηρ, λυγρῇ ὄρνιθι πότμον εἰκέλη,
αἰαῖ κωκύει τὸν ἔδν γόνον ἥματα πάντα,
λέγουσα τὸν πρόωρον ὥς ἀπέφθιτο. 307

(Phalaecus, Epigram 27)

d. Persephone.

As in the poem, "В Петрополе прозрачном мы умрем", Persephone is regarded in this poem as a symbol of the renewal of life after death: "Как Персефона, в легкий круг" (line 6). The poet's soul, like the mythical Persephone, will undergo a migration to the land of Hades, and, subsequently, a return to life with the renewal of spring on earth.

The notion of the transmigration of souls is an important classical theme and has many ancient counterparts. In Pindar, for example, the doctrine of metempsychosis is developed several times. Pindar believed that, following the death of the body, the soul was judged in Hades. If considered guiltless in its earthly life, it passed on to the Elysium. Then it was required to return twice to the earth and suffer two more deaths of the body. Finally, Persephone released it from its detention

307 Phalaecus, Epigram 27, Greek Anthology, Vol. 5, p. 18.

below, from whence it returned to the earth to inhabit the body of a king, a hero, or a sage. One of Pindar's verse fragments describes Persephone washing ancient soil from the souls, and at the end of nine years, sending these souls up to the sun to be reborn in the form of illustrious men:

οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὕπερθεν ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτεϊ
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν· 308

(Pindar, frag. 133(98))

The souls were now liberated from their wanderings, and could proceed forthwith to the Islands of the Blest.

6. Love of human reason, liberty, and justice.

a. Motif of the "foundering ship of state".

In Mandel'shtam's poem, "Сумерки свободы",³⁰⁹ the poet's sorrow and despair resound dolefully as he bewails the "twilight of freedom". In this poem we see a distinct parallel with Alkaios' "foundering ship of state", with both poets bemoaning the distressed conditions in their respective nations.

The Lesbian poet Alkaios nourished a vigorous hatred for oppression and for all tyrants in the making. The state

308 Pindar, Frag. 133(98), "Dirges", The Odes of Pindar, including the Principal Fragments, The Loeb Classical Library, ed. by T.E. Page and W.H.D. Rouse, introduction by Sir John Sandys, London: Wm. Heinemann, N.Y.: the Macmillan Co., 1915, p. 590.

309 О. Мандельштам, "Сумерки свободы", стр. 72.

is referred to metaphorically in his verse as a ship thrashing through heavy weather and engulfing waves:

XX

Ἄσυννέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,
τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ὄν τὸ μέσσον
νᾶϊ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνῃ·

χείμωνι μοχθεῦντες μεγάλῳ μάλα·
πὲρ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἱστοπέδαν ἔχει,
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἦδη
καὶ λάκιδες μέγαλαι κατ' αὐτό·

χόλαισι δ' ἄγκονναι.

XXI

τὸ δηῦτε κῦμα τῶν προτέρων ὕνω
στείχει, παρέξει δ' ἄμμι πόνον πόλυν
ἄντλην, ἐπεὶ κε νᾶος ἔββα· 310
νή(ατα).

(Alkaios, frags. XX, XXI)

A similar fate appears to be in store for the fatherland of the modernist poet:

310 Alcaeus, Fragments XX and XXI, "Longer Fragments", The Songs of Alcaeus, ed. by James Easby-Smith, Washington, W.H. Lowdermilk and Company, 1901, p. 66.

Прославим роковое бремя,
 Которое в слезах народный вождь берет.
 Прославим власти сумрачное бремя,
 Ее невыносимый гнет.
 В ком сердце есть, тот должен слышать, время, 311
 Как твой корабль ко дну идет.

(Tristia, 1918)

Minor motifs which accentuate the atmosphere of turmoil which accompanies the foundering are the seething waters at night: "В кипящие ночные воды", and the disappearance of the sun: "Не видно солнца". The song of the swallows is stilled by the warring legions (cf. the swallow topos which appears in a very ancient folk song welcoming spring):

ἤλθ', ἤλθε χελιδὼν
 καλὰς ὥρας ἄγουσα
 καὶ καλοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς
 ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκὰ
 καὶ πρὶ νῶτα μέλαινα. 312

("The Rhodian Swallow-song", No. 20)

The silencing of the swallows is accompanied by the "twilight of freedom". The poet's country, represented by the endangered ship, is rocked by waves of adversity which threaten to submerge it, plunging its people into chaos and doom.

311 О. Мандельштам, "Сумерки свободы", стр. 72.

312 Ritual folk-song No. 20, Other Ritual Songs, Lyra Graeca, III, ed. by J. M. Edmonds, p. 526.

7. The joyous act of recognition and rediscovery in life.

The poem "Tristia" speaks of the sorrows of parting, but one may perceive a strong undercurrent of hope which was so characteristic of the poet. The third stanza, particularly, epitomizes Mandel'shtam's innate joyous philosophy that all that went before will repeat itself — how reassuring to him is this moment of intuitive recognition and anticipation:

Всё было встарь, всё повторится снова, 313
И сладок нам лишь узнавания миг. 1918
(lines 23-24)

Again we see the Pythagorean-like metempsychosis which underlies much of the poetry of Mandel'shtam, and which constituted such a strong sustaining force during the tribulations of the social upheaval which surrounded him.^{314a}

The oxen and the cock mentioned in the first stanzas of the poem are well-known ancient topoi, and present a sharp contrast of shade and light (a chiaroscuro effect).

The oxen, chewing placidly beneath the trees are a recurrent image in ancient works, as for example, in Adaeus' verse honouring this faithful animal:

Αὔλακι καὶ γῆρα τετραμένον ἐργατίνην Βοῦν
"Ἀλκων οὐ φονίην ἤγαγε πρὸς κοπίδα, 314

Homer, too, mentions the ox in his works, and it is obvious that neither he nor his successors spurned this beast

313 O. Мандельштам, "Tristia", стр. 73 - 74.

314 Adaeus of Macedonia, Greek Garland, A Selection from the Palatine Anthology, p. 74.

314a This poet's consistent rejection of 'evolution' or 'progress' (e.g. "Vokrug naturalistov") could be considered a 'classical trait.'
(111 n 200)

as too lowly for mention in their artistic work:

οὐδέ σευ ἐκ καλᾶμων κερααὶ Βόες ἀδὺ μέλισμα
δέξονται . . . 315

(Erycias, Epigram 174)

The cock, in ancient Greece, was sacred to the Sun and to all the deities of light. He was beloved of Ares because of his bravery and pugnacious vigilance, and sacred, as well, to Aesculapius, the god of healing and medicine.

In the following epigram, the poet Anyte mourns the death of his favourite:

Οὐκέτι μ' ὥς τὸ πάρος πυκιναῖς πτερύγεσσιν ἐρέσσω
ῥοσεις ἐξ εὐνῆς ὄρθριος ἐγρόμενος· 316

(Anyte, Epigram 202)

Simonides refers to the cock as a "delightsome-voiced chanticleer":

Ἰμερόφων' ἀλέκτορ 317

(Simonides, Frag. 81)

Once again we meet with the distaff motif, as the poet remarks how he loves the whirr of the loom and the spindle. So, too, the Greeks eulogized the sacred household

315 Erycias, Epigram 174, "On Therimachus", Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, II, p. 99.

316 Anyte, "On a Cock", Epigram 202, Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, II, p. 114.

317 Simonides, Lyra Graeca, (Frag. 81), p. 328.

tasks:

. . . ὥς δὲ γυναῖκες
 ἰστῶν τεχνῆσαι· περὶ γάρ σφισι δῶκεν Ἀθήνη
 ἔργα τ' ἐπίστασθαι περικαλλέα καὶ φρένας ἐσθλὰς.³¹⁸

(Homer, VII, 109 - 111)

Κερκίδα τὰν ὀρθρινά, χελιδονίδων ἅμα φωνᾷ,
 μελομένην, ἰστῶν Παλλάδος ἀλκυόνα,³¹⁹

(Antipater of Sidon,
 Epigram 159)

8. Notion of divination.

Divination played an important rôle in the legends of Apollo, for example, in the case of his gift of unconvincing prophecy to Cassandra.

In Mandel'shtam's final stanza of "Tristia" we see this classical Greek preoccupation assigned to women, whereas human fate is determined not in wax, but in bronze, on the battlefield by men:

Не нам гадать о греческом Зребе,
 Для женщин воск, что для мужчины медь.
 Нам только в битвах выпадает жребий,
 А им дано гадаю умереть.³²⁰

This concluding antithesis recalls the bidding of Hector to Andromache to return to her household tasks, while he goes off

³¹⁸ Homer, Book VII, The Odyssey of Homer, ed. by G.H. Palmer, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884, p. 220.

³¹⁹ Antipater of Sidon, The Dedicatory Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. I, ed. by W. R. Paton, p. 380.

³²⁰ O. Мандельштам, "Tristia", p. 73 - 74.

to do battle;

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα νόμιζε,
 ἱστόν τ' ἡλακᾶτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
 ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει
 πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, τοὶ Ἰλίου ἐγγεγάασιν. 321

(Homer, Iliad, VI, 490-493)

9. Joy offered by the enduring work of art.

One of the richest of Mandel'shtam's poems in terms of ancient Greek imagery is the one entitled: "На каменных отрогах Пиерии". A rhapsodic joy pervades the entire poem as the poet describes a spring festival in ancient Hellas, and the inspiration of national bards by the dancing Muses:

На каменных отрогах Пиерии
 Водили музы первый хоровод,
 Чтобы, как пчелы, лирики слепые 322
 Нам подарили ионийский мед.

a. Honey-poetry.

The poets are likened to bees, their poetry — to Ionian honey. These motifs were ever-present in early Greek lyrics, as, for example, in the reference to the poetess Erinna as a maiden 'honey-bee':

Παρθενικὰν νεάοιδον ἐν ὕμνοπόλοισι μέλισσαν
 Ἥρινναν, Μουσῶν ἄνθεα δρεπτομένην, 323

321 Homerus, The Iliad of Homer, I, ed. by W. Leaf, M.A. Bayfield, London, Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1931, p. 140.

322 O. Мандельштам, "На каменных отрогах Пиерии", стр. 74 - 75.

323 Leonidas or Meleager, "On Erinna", No. 13, Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. II, p. 10.

The Lesbian Sappho, when pressed, yielded honey:

ἐν Σάπφῳ τὸδ' ἀμελγόμενος μέλι τοι φέρω. 324

(Anon. Fragments, no. 49)

Antipater of Sidon eulogized the 'melody' of the bees:

οὐ μέλος εἰσαΐων φθέγγαιό κεν, ὥς ἀπὸ Μουσῶν
ἐν Κάδμου θαλάμοις σμῆνος ἀπεπλάσατο. 325

(Epigram 34)

while Antipater of Thessalonica versified in similar vein, describing the bees moulding the lips of Pindar with honey:

οὐδὲ μάτην ἀπαλοῖς ξουθὸς περὶ χεῖλεσιν ἔσμός
ἔπλασε κηρόδετον, Πίνδαρε, σεῖο μέλι. 326

(Antipater of Thessalonica,
LXXV, 489 - 490)

b. Auxiliary motifs.

The bitter-sweet tonality of the ancient spring, already referred to in the sampling of poems, is again alluded to with regard to the chill of the spring morning, and the cold underground source which waters the oaks. The cruelty of spring is accentuated by a description of the killing of hens, the stretching of ox-hides, and the vulnerability of the tortoise as he is pounced upon while sunning himself on the rocks. Spring's positive qualities are represented in the colourful shodding of Sappho, the happy, industrious hum of the cicadas,

324 Anon. Fragments (Sappho or Alcaeus), No. 49, Lyra Graeca, Vol. III, newly ed. and transl. by J.M. Edmonds, 1927, p. 438.

325 Antipater of Sidon, "On Pindar", Epigram 34, Sepulchral Epigrams, op. cit., p. 22.

326 Antipater of Thessalonica, LXXV, The Garland of Philip, op. cit., p. 58.

the rustle of grasses, and the intoxicating scent of lungwort.

The cicada, in ancient literature, represented the voice of nature:

ἦ χί σε καὶ Ζεφύροιο τινασσομένη πίτυς αὖραις
θέλξει, τεττίγων εἰσαΐοντα μέλος, 327
(Anon., lines 3 - 4)

Also represented frequently in ancient literature is its close relative, the cricket. The death of one of these insects is sung by Leonidas of Tarentum:

. . . τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὸν-
ἀκρίδα, τὴν εὖσαν τὸ πρὶν ἀκανθοβάτιν,
διπλοῦς ἐς λυκάβαντας ἐφίλατο τὴν καλαμῖτιν,
ὕμνιδίῳ χρησαμένην πατάγῳ· 328
(Leonidas of Tarentum)

The tortoise, warming its golden underside in the sunshine of Epeiros, is mentioned in connection with the invention of the lyre:

ἔνθα χέλυν εὐρὼν ἐκθήσατο μυρίον ὄλβον·
Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα χέλυν τεκτῆνατ' ἀοιδόν· 329
IV - "To Hermes",
(lines 24 - 25)

327 Anonymous, A Greek Garland, A Selection from the Palatine Anthology, p. 52.

328 Leonidas of Tarentum, ibid., p. 2.

329 IV - "To Hermes", the Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, p. 364.

In the last stanza of his poem "На каменных отрогах Пиерии", Mandel'shtam mentions the hallowed isles of the Archipelago where honey, wine and milk replace wretched daily bread, and where life is free and untrammelled by earthly cares. As indicated by Professor Terras in his article on the classical motifs of Mandel'shtam, this last stanza is very reminiscent of Pindar's paeon to the Isle of the Blest:³³⁰

. . . ἔνθα μακάρων
 νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες
 αὔραι περιπνέουσιν· ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει,
 τὰ μὲν χερσὸθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων, ὕδωρ δ'
 ἄλλα φέρβει,
 ὄρμοισι τῶν χέρας ἀναπλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνους
 ἐπ. δ'
 βουλαῖς ἐν ὀρθαῖσι Ῥαδαμάνθυος,

331

(Olympian II, 71 - 83)

Their heads wreathed in garlands, the inhabitants live in tranquility under the righteous laws of Rhadamanthos. Gentle ocean breezes waft the scent of flowers (cf. "пахнет медуница")^{332a} (line 27)

Owing to a striking similarity in imagery with "На каменных отрогах Пиерии", we should consider at this point another poem of Mandel'shtam's, "Возьми на радость из моих ладоней".³³²

330 Victor Terras, op. cit., p. 261.

331 Pindar, Olympian II, The Olympian Odes, The Works of Pindar, ed. by L.R. Farnell, London, Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1930, p. 13.

332 O. Мандельштам, "Возьми на радость из моих ладоней", стр. 84.

332a See Ryszard Przybylski's description of mythic space in his "Arkadia Osipa Mandelsztama", Slavia orientalis, XIII, p. 243-262.

This poem begins in a quiet, restrained tone of joy as the poet offers his personal gift of 'honey-poetry'. Although the poet is resigned to the reality of a world in flux:

Не отвязать неприкрепленной лодки,
Не услыхать в меха обутой тени,
Не превозмочь в дремучей жизни страха.

(lines 4 - 6)

nevertheless, he senses the power of the work of art as a means of liberation from the mortal condition:

Возьми ж на радость дикий мой подарок,
Невзрачное сухое ожерелье
Из мертвых пчел, мед превративших в солнце.

(lines 13 - 15)

Honey, and its fermented derivative, hydromel or mead, have long been equated with death and, at the same time, with rebirth: . . . "la boisson d'immortalité, l'Hydromel - *médhu des Indo-Européens . . . 333

In the bees' nourishment of lungwort, mint, and Time, we see a striking oxymoron of bitter and sweet qualities. Time, as an ingredient, puts the honey-poetry in its proper historical perspective.

The bees, presented as transformed "shaggy kisses", are perhaps associated with a recurring Greek image of bees playing about the lips of great poets, and moulding on them their "wax-bound honey" (cf. Antipater of Thessalonica, p. 129). Just as

333 W. A. Borgeaud, "Hibernica: Echu - Echoch, Echoid - Echdach, Temair", Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, Band 6 (1971) Heft 1, p. 40-44.

the bees die, so do words themselves, having been pronounced. However, prior to perishing and forming a necklace of dead 'bee-words', they have transformed their 'honey', that is, the essence of the words, into sunshine — into immortal poetry.³³⁴

10. Fear of death and oblivion.

With respect to the two poems, "Когда Психея-жизнь
спускается к теням"³³⁵ and "Я слово позабыл, что я хотел сказать",³³⁶ Victor Terras observes that these are related 'contrapuntally', presenting, as it were, "two sides of a coin: the first is the image, the second, its metaphoric development, the 'legend'".³³⁷ The first poem describes the sensations of the bewildered soul immediately following death, and its fearful journey to the nether world.^{337a} Its counterpart, the second poem, has as its focus the failure of the poet to grasp a word which he sought. This word, like the lost soul in the first poem, retreats to the realm of shadows, to oblivion. The poet's intuition or joyous "act of recognition" is frustrated, as the word-soul, unborn and sterile, vanishes forever.

The minor motifs or imagery in both poems are very much in the Greek tradition. The winged psyche, like a blinded

³³⁴ Nils Åke Nilsson, "Osip Mandel'shtam and his poetry", Scando-Slavica, p. 37 - 52.

³³⁵ "Когда Психея-жизнь спускается к теням", стр. 80.

³³⁶ "Я слово позабыл, что я хотел сказать", стр. 81.

³³⁷ Victor Terras, op. cit., p. 261.

^{337a} Critic Mochul'sky commented on the strange, unusual music which resounds in this poem, together with an ancient and ceremonial language similar to the language of Pindar (see Vol. I of Mandel'shtam's collected poems, p. 365).

swallow, gropes its way through unknown, phantom-like woods. Lost in the shadows of this unreal forest, it presents an ambiguous image, associated, as it usually was in ancient lyrics, with the joy and exuberance of spring:

ὅταν ἦρος ὥρα κελιδῆ χελιδών. 338

(Stesichorus, frag. 38)

and, at times, with its keening sorrow: a Locrian folk song (frag. 2) contains dark, melancholy passages related to the appearance of the swallow in spring.

Hesiod presents the swallow as the "shrilly wailing daughter" of Pandion, a king of Athens, who died of sorrow following the transformation of his daughters into these birds:

τὸν δὲ μέτ' ὀρθογόνῃ Πανδιονίδι ὥρτο χελιδών
ἐς φάος ἀνθρώποις, ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο. 339

(Hesiod, Works and Days, 568-569)

³⁴⁰
The confusion of the little soul in Mandel'shtam's poem upon crossing the Styx, finds an antique counterpart in which the dread ferryman is exhorted to lend a sympathetic hand to a forlorn ghost who shrinks from setting foot on the dread

338 Stesichorus, Frag. 38, Lyra Graeca, Vol. II, (newly ed. by J.M. Edmonds), p. 52.

339 Hesiod, Works and Days, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica, p. 44.

340 A feminine soul (as it was in the Greek concept).

shore of the Styx:

πλάζει γὰρ τὸν παῖδα τὰ σάνδαλα· γυμνὰ δὲ θῆναι
ἔχνια δειμαίνει φάμμον ἔπ' ἡονίην. 341

(Zonas of Sardis, lines 5 - 6)

The grieving souls making the crossing are required to pay their fare (often, an obol) to the formidable boatman:

"Αἶδος ὦ νεκυηγέ, κεχαρμένε δάκρυσι πάντων,
ὅς βαθὺ πορθμεύεις τοῦτ' Ἀχέροντος ὕδωρ,
εἰ καὶ σοὶ βέβριθεν ὑπ' εἰδώλοισι καμόντων
ὀλκός,
. φέρω . . , καὶ σοὶ ναυτιλίας ὀβολόν. 342

(Archias*, Epigram No. 68,
"On Diogenes")

In Mandel'shtam's poem, the little psyche offers a honey-cake in payment for safe crossing.³⁴³ Numerous references to honey-cakes as offerings for favours occur in ancient texts, as, for example, in the following verse of Rufinas:

Ἀγχιάλου ῥηγμῖνος ἐπίσκοπε, σοὶ τάδε πέμπω
φαιστίᾳ καὶ λιτῆς δῶρα θυηπολίας·
αὔριον Ἰονίου γὰρ ἐπὶ πλατὺ κῦμα περήσω,
σπεύδων ἡμετέρης κόλπον ἐς Εἰδοθέης. 344

(Rufinas, "Γαιτουλίκου")

341 Zonas of Sardis, A Greek Garland, p. 4.

342 Archias, Epigram No. 68, "On Diogenes", Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. II, p. 41 - 42.
*(Archias of Antioch or of Mytilene).

343 Once again we see the 'honey' motif, with its ancient connotation of death, and at the same time, immortality.

344 Rufinas, XVI, Anthology of Rufinas, Anthologae Graecae erotica, ed. by W.R. Paton, London: David Nutt, 1898, p. 11.

In the second poem, "Я слово позабыл, что я хотел сказать", the motif of the blind swallow is repeated, entering, like the winged Psyche of the first poem, into the realm of shades. No birds are to be heard; the immortelle does not bloom. Visible only are the transparent manes of night steeds and an empty boat drifting in a dead river.

The word fades into 'forgetfulness' among a swarm of grasshoppers.^{346a} This topos of the grasshopper, like that of the cicada, cricket, and locust, is particularly prolific in Greek anthology:

Ἀκρίδι καὶ τέττιγι Μυρῶ τόδε θήνατο σῆμα,
λιτὴν ἀμφοτέροις χερσὶ βαλοῦσα κόνιν, 345

(Marcus Argentarius, 364)

The poet fears the wailing and sobbing of the Aonides, the vengeful Nymphs of Boeotia (cf. Pausanias, 9.5, 1f.) He longs for a return of the graphically acute moment of recognition, the ecstasy of poetic intuition which lights up the dark, resounding emptiness of mortal existence.

11. Perception of Time (ΧΡΟΝΟΣ)

The final poem of the sampling presented in this dissertation, namely, "Вот дарносица, как солнце золотое,"³⁴⁶ presents Time as its conceptual element. We have seen, in

345 Marcus Argentarius, 364, The Greek Anthology, II, p. 195.

346 Осип Мандельштам, "Вот дарносица, как солнце золотое," там же, стр. 85.

346a cf. Plato's Phaedrus, where grasshoppers are described as human beings who died in forgetfulness (always singing, they never thought of eating or drinking as a means of survival).

the poem, "Возьми на радость", how time, along with lungwort and mint, provides the nourishment for the 'honey-poetry' of the 'bee-poet'. Mandel'shtam perceived time concretely, that is, through his senses — he saw it, heard it, smelled it, and even felt its constricting pressure:

Век мой, зверь мой, кто сумеет
Заглянуть в твои зрачки . . . 347

На стекла вечности уже легло
Мое дыхание, мое тепло. 348

У вечности ворует всякий,
А вечность — как морской песок: 349

И меня срезает время,
Как скосило твой каблук. 350

Кто время целовал в измученное темноты —
.

Он будет вспоминать, как спать ложилось время
.

Кто веку поднимал болезненные веки —
.

Он слышит вечно шум, когда взревели реки
Времен обманных и глухих. 351

He likens the century to a wolf-hound which leaps on his shoulders:
(a 'cutthroat' wolf century)

Мне на плечи кидается век-волкодав, 352

347 О. Мандельштам, "Век", там же, стр. 102.

348 "Дано мне тело — что мне делать с ним", стр. 6.

349 "В таверне воровская шайка", стр. 30.

350 "Холодок щекочет темноты", стр. 98.

351 "1 января 1924", стр. 111.

352 "За гремучую доблесть грядущих веков", стр. 148.

The foregoing examples reveal Mandel'shtam's intense preoccupation with questions of time and eternity. His extremely sensitive Bergsonian perception of Time is interwoven throughout his poetry. Like Bergson, he viewed time as a continuous flow, a temporal whole, without differentiation into distinct parts. Both distinguished between real time or duration (la durée réelle) and the mathematical view of time. For him, as for Bergson, all reality was a manifestation of the élan vital — the reality and moving principle of individual life and of the cosmos as a whole.

With respect to Hellenic counterparts, it should be noted that Time (ΧΡΟΝΟΣ) played an important rôle in the poetic art of Pindar. For him, Time represented not a simple abstraction, but a true divinity. In the fragment of one of his hymns (Frag. 10 (Bergk.)), he refers to Time as "the most powerful of the fortunate".

Mandel'shtam, also a mythologue, strives to 'materialize' his vivid conception of time. In his poetry we are presented with concrete images which embody his visions of 'reality' — Saint Sophia and Notre Dame, for example, constitute symbols of earthly eternity.^{352a} Unwilling, like Marcel Proust, to accept the superficial 'reality' of actual life, Mandel'shtam similarly searched for a deeper reality through intense contemplation of contemporary phenomena and through 'privileged' moments of extra-temporal recognition.

352a N. A. Nilsson, "Osip Mandel'shtam's Poem The Admiralty," Scando-Slavica, XVII, 1971, p. 21-26; "Osip Mandel'shtam and his poetry," Scando-Slavica, IX, 1963, p. 37-52.

Like Plato and his followers, Mandel'shtam devoted himself to the attainment of the Divine through the 'miracle-working' medium of poetry. The Platonic artist, seeking to reproduce the ideal in concrete form, became a conscious 'philosopher-craftsman'. If this artist happened to be among the particularly gifted, his work was believed to transcend the temporal order and to enter into a realm of a linked past, present, and future. He drew upon enduring well-springs of inspiration, and, in this way, produced works of universal human significance.

According to Plato, transcendental idealism ensured physical realism. The soul, with its transcendental insight, was essentially 'prior' to the motions of the space-time world. In the Phaedrus, we are presented with the universal Hellenic view that art is divine in origin. Art was regarded as a gift of Apollo and the Muses, and the artist had only to submit himself, with all his trained powers of expression, to the divine influence. Exalted and inspired, the artist was magically transported to that which is beyond. Endeavouring to represent the reality of the 'idea', a great artist would attain a beauty which was not merely mimetic or transitory, but a beauty which would be both permanent and absolute: "for the most part the myth is the vision of a poet whose images are not disguised doctrine but spring from a non-rational intuition..."³⁵³

³⁵³ Plato's Phaedrus, transl., with introduction and commentary by R. Hackforth, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1969, p. 72.

The word-soul thus regains its divine purity through the poet's intense contemplation of the Form of Beauty.

A similarly vital rôle was assigned by Plotinus to the "returning upon oneself". Unity of the soul with the Absolute was possible only through a mystical union or vision. The artist had only to concentrate on giving himself back to the Divine:

. . . any skill which, beginning with the observation of the symmetry of living things, grows to the symmetry of all life, will be a portion of the power There which observes and mediates the symmetry reigning among all beings in the Intellectual Cosmos. ³⁵⁴

It followed that all music, poetry and other forms of art would be, in effect, the earthly representation of art forms already existent in the Ideal Realm. In the field of arts and crafts all that was relevant to the needs of human nature were to be found in the Absolute Man, and, before that, the Absolute-Soul. ³⁵⁵

This vital Hellenic concept was at the very core of Mandel'shtam's aesthetic, and his poetry was the realization of an intense inner experience, expressing with power and pathos feelings and ideas which the world at large can clearly recognize as its own:

Богослужения торжественный зенит,
Свет в круглой храмине под куполом в июле,
Чтоб полной грудью мы вне времени вздохнули
О луговине той, где время не бежит. ³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ Plotinus, The Enneads, v. 9, translated by Stephen MacKenna, London, Faber and Faber Limited, London, 1969, p. 441.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 442.

³⁵⁶ О. Мандельштам, "Вот дарносица, как солнце золотое", там же, стр. 85.

An all-pervading sense of beauty and a sane and harmonious conception of the relation between Man and Nature as well as between Man and God characterized the Greek genius, and particularly that of the Hellenic period. Mandel'shtam displayed a natural affinity with the mind and temper of these ancient Greeks, and we see throughout the themes and motifs of his poetic art flashes of luminous and rapturous insight.

Mandel'shtam's ideas, embodied as they are in concrete and expressive myth form, are pregnant with the very spirit of ancient Greece. His own particular brand of Hellenism was an integral part of his being. It sprang naturally from his own spiritual depths, and the influence of ancient poetic art served to strengthen the bent of his own intuitive genius.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever"

This particularly relevant line from John Keats' "ENDYMION" sums up a predominant notion in ancient Greek art which was to be re-echoed throughout the creative efforts of many modern neo-classical schools. As has been stressed in the present analysis, the worship shown by the ancients toward Beauty in art found adherents among lyric writers of both the French Parnassian and Russian Acmeist movements.

Théophile Gautier, constantly stressing, as did his antecessors, that the aesthetic sense by which we appreciate the beautiful is completely independent of our moral judgement and intellect, formulated his well-known theory of art for art's sake. One of his poems, itself entitled "L'Art", illustrates his strong conviction in the indestructibility of a noble work of art. In his own skillful representation of outward forms, Gautier fixed his ideas in the most intractable material possible so as to preserve his art for all time.

Leconte de Lisle, also, continued to propagate in his work the antique passion for beauty. His classical models inspired him with a desire and need for absolute perfection of form. Throughout his poetry we perceive the interior contemplation of his Greek ideal, and his verse is redolent of Doric rhythmical

beauty — a virile, powerful verse form. Eternal beauty, above all, is celebrated in his poetry, and his Hellenic pantheism is clothed in brilliant colours and vibrating melodies. This beautiful plasticity of form reproduces authentically the effects furnished him by Hellenic genius. Although his art cannot be said to completely revivify Greek art, it is nevertheless a superbly consummated art form.

The Greek influence is visible in Leconte de Lisle's subjects as well as in his methodology. His recourse to age-old myths is understandable, as classical mythology was filled with thought, feeling and distilled experience. It had already been shaped by artists into tangible creations of ineffable beauty and pathos. With mythology as his base, Leconte de Lisle explored new areas of thought and feeling, with the significance of his works being greatly enhanced by the long perspective of time separating him from his anterior models.

The creation by the Greeks of a wonderful language, full of nice distinctions and nuances, stimulated the efforts of both the Parnassian and Acmeist groups who whole-heartedly engaged in meticulous and lengthy preparation of the verbal element of their versification. The poetry of many of their members resounded harmoniously with antique timbre owing to a painstaking search for just the right acoustic quality in their word phrasing. The ancients exerted a salutary chastening influence on the choice of epithets, comparisons, and classical allusions of many of these writers, instilling a desire for severe and scrupulous

self-restraint.

Like the ancient Greeks, the Parnassians and Acmeists loved nature for her own sake, and not as a "veil of the unseen" (as did the Symbolists). Nicolas Gumilyov, like his Parnassian counterpart, Leconte de Lisle, created poetry of intense colour and virility based on the beauty of the visible world. Both Leconte de Lisle and Gumilyov endeavoured to confront nature in its Adam-like state, and to convey its primeval beauty in the most expressive and enduring resources of verse. Much of Mandel'shtam's poetry recalls the beauty of Attic sculpture in its serene and passionless repose, but this poet often revealed a vivid and spontaneous sympathy for the beauty of external nature.

Wladimir Weidle, in his Les abeilles d'Ariste, refers to the pure poetry of the Parnassians, and to that of Osip Mandel'shtam of the Acmeist group, as a "quintessence of literature". He notes, however, that the latter poet goes even further in eliminating from his verse all that is 'non-poetry'. There is little rhetoric in Mandel'shtam. His contrapuntal verbal compositions resemble the intricate expressive effects of Pindar and the Aeolic poets. Each word has a significance transposed from the ordinary world to the poetic world — from the plane of reality to that of the spirit: a conscious return to the Greek conception of word-souls. Beauty in poetry for Mandel'shtam was a cult — poetry was his unique aim and the focus of his existence.

Many poets have approached the Greek ideal in their exquisite skill but have departed from it in a lack of spontaneity and sincerity, in their avoidance of genuine emotion or contemplation. Osip Mandel'shtam was not one of these. Although virtuosic in his architectonic techniques, he possessed at the same time the depth and unaffected directness of his Greek masters. The perfection of his personal style does not lie in brilliant constellations of words but in an organic union of clear, original thinking with lucid and harmonious phrasing.

In Mandel'shtam's art, as in Greek art, the 'ideal' is concretely embodied. His poetic world consists of a fine balance of the 'ideal' and the 'real', of the 'infinite' and the 'finite'. His mythical divinities are not ornamental devices but represent ideas incarnate. His words become word-souls — a logical and concrete approach to the Absolute.

In studying the classical craftsmanship with which this poet's verses are constructed, one notes the adroit balancing of various compositional elements, producing a cohesive tension similar to that which characterizes the work of Greek genius. Most of his poetry is of a lyrical character but this lyricism is penetrated with Greek epic elements in its tone, similes, metaphors, epithets, recurrent formulae, etc. In general structure, however, his verses clearly belong to the lyric genre, being for the most part strophic and often logaoedic.

The initial tone of Mandel'shtam's verse is one of solemn discourse and grave reflection, akin to the autumnal quality evident in the poetry of such ancients as Simonides. From time to time, however, Mandel'shtam's inherent élan flashes through in whimsical fashion, reminiscent of the gayer, more capricious accents of Sappho and Anakreon.

A majestic tempo pervades Mandel'shtam's early verse, which is generally held in the regular confines of classical metrics. Although his basic unit of measure is the accented and unaccented syllable, nevertheless, in his rhythmic the power of the accented stress element is significantly diminished and the quantitative nature of the stress is clearly felt. For Mandel'shtam, metre consisted not of a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, but of even stretches of separated groups in time. This very special character of his rhythmic, namely, an Aeolic isochronism, gives a perceptibly antiquarian ring to his versification.

Mandel'shtam employed many traditional classical metres in his prosodic system such as iambic, trochaic, dactylic, anapaestic, amphibraic, etc. He often introduced a caesura and numerous pyrrhic feet to augment or reinforce the slow-measured sonority of his classical verse. In Mandel'shtam's later poetry, however, we find metres differing greatly from the types which regulate the flow of his earlier poetry. His frequent deviations in his syllabic-accentual verse, such as the combination in one and the same line of binary and ternary metres, led inevitably

toward purely accentual verse. Metrically speaking, his verse ceded to free verse forms, with lines of very different lengths and an unstable number of stresses.

The poetic character of Mandel'shtam's later verse is maintained through the use of a careful syntactical arrangement wherein the lines form balanced semantic groups, as well as through the implementation of acoustic phrasing designed to promote rhythmic cohesion of the verse. Mandel'shtam's painstaking phonic arrangement was undertaken with one purpose: that of the rapprochement and synthesis of prosodic elements existent in both antique and Russian poetic art.

Conventional rhyme-schemes are employed in his early verse, but this rhyme is innocuous and subdued, implementing the effect sought, namely, that of a 'dying down' of sound at the end of each line, and a quiet harmony more suited to the poet's reflective contemplation. However, he achieved a remarkable fullness of sound through the euphony of internal vowel modulation, and in this way the antique effect is reinforced through melodic, as well as through rhythmic devices.

Mandel'shtam's ingenious treatment of poetic language intensifies the lofty atmosphere already attained through his rhythmic and internal harmony. We find a wealth of lexical elements which waft a distinctly antique aroma through his verses. Much of his vocabulary taken from mythology evokes vivid images of antiquity, but these words constitute in themselves integral structural elements which act in a vital supportive

capacity to the leading motifs, or 'idea-carriers' of his poetry. The sampling provided in the second chapter of this dissertation reveals his skillful handling of these 'building-stones' in the artistic structuring of poems. This poet's obviously painstaking efforts toward harmony and proportion represent an authentically classical approach to poetic art. The classical spirit permeates his style to a degree of complete attunement with the prevailing themes and motifs of his verse.

Mandel'shtam's distinctly polyphonic treatment of versification — consisting in carefully balanced rhythmic, architectonic, verbal, and euphonic effects — extends also to his subject-matter, in which emotional, intellectual, and aesthetic elements are closely intertwined. This complex synthesis is strongly reminiscent of the complicated blending of national topics and aesthetic ideals visible particularly in the works of Pindar and Alkaios. To sum up, his poems are characterized by a delicate balance of structure and movement, line and colour, ideas and motifs, intellectual and emotional elements — the ideal in poetry, as expounded by Theophil Spoerri in his work, Der Weg zur Form.

Mandel'shtam's underlying ideas or subjects are given vivid and concrete expression through a hierarchy of motifs carefully selected as 'idea-carriers'. The poet took many of his leading and supplementary motifs from Greek mythology: the human soul, for example, in its hazardous voyage through life and death, is likened to a dolphin buffeted by the cruel

shoals of the sea. The spindle of Fate, and the Fates and Furies, all represent the poet's inner conception of the inevitability of predestination. Aphrodite and Persephone serve as powerful symbols of perpetuity in life, of a return to primeval harmony as a constant source for self-renewal. "Remain as foam, Aphrodite", implores the poet, in his longing for pristine harmony and melody. Many such motifs and images of Hellenic provenance give vivid expression to Mandel'shtam's intrinsically Greek aspirations.

Imagery of the sea plays a major rôle in his poetry, as it did in that of his precursors, the French Parnassians, and their mutual artistic ancestors, the ancient Greeks. Various topoi support and reinforce the main motifs: waves, like threatening Medusas, black sea churning at the foot of rocky promontories, ships with taut sails, sandy shores, etc.

Mandel'shtam's 'reality' is a mirrored reality, viewed through the prism of his own erudition and experience. Modern events and the apprehension inspired by them in the poet are garbed in images of classical history and mythology. He perceived world history in its perpetual circulation and, in one of his poems written on the eve of the revolution he earnestly invokes Persephone (Proserpina) to throw her protection over his beloved 'Petropolis'.

A particular attitude of this neo-classical poet regarding the duality of spring is a most striking counterpart of the bitter-sweet tonality which we find in a great deal of

ancient literature when love and spring are sung. The association of spring with death is a characteristically Greek conception — a time for love and rejoicing and a time for death and mourning. The asphodel epitomizes this particular death-aspect of spring: blooming in the springtime fields of Greece, it is also to be found in profusion in the fields of Hades, where shades await their final judgement. The cruel north wind symbolizes the treacherous nature of the spring season, bringing, as it does, lightning and shrivelling cold. The halcyon, or holy bird of spring, is at the same time a bird of weeping and death. Even the swallow, one of the most ancient harbingers of spring, is often presented in this strangely ambivalent manner.

Mandel'shtam's classical theme of the transmigration of souls is a notion which finds many ancient counterparts, for example, in Pindar's doctrine of metempsychosis, as portrayed in his "Isle of the Blest". Persephone was regarded by both Pindar and Mandel'shtam as the symbol of rebirth — a return to life with the renewal of spring on earth. Many of Mandel'shtam's verses reveal fear and sorrow, but this poet's innate joyous philosophy flashes through from time to time, particularly in his strong belief that all in nature, like Persephone, renews itself:

All was before, all will return reviving
And recognition be our one brief bliss.

("Tristia", 1918)

This intense joy finds a particular expression in Mandel'shtam's motifs representing the immortal work of art. Poets are likened to bees — poetry to honey (which has long been equated with both death and rebirth: Indo-European *médhu), — such images were ubiquitous in early Greek lyrics, where we find recurring references to bees moulding poets' lips with honey. Just as the bees die as they leave the hive, so do words, once they have left the poet's lips, but, before perishing, the sacred essence of the words, like that of the bees, has been transformed into honey-poetry, namely, an art form of durability and a source of eternal felicity.

All these motifs reveal Mandel'shtam's profound interest in the universal questions of eternity and immortality. In a truly Platonic fashion, Mandel'shtam applied himself to the attainment of the Divine through the magic of the Word. Like the Platonic artist, who sought to reproduce the 'ideal' in concrete form and thus aspire to a beauty which would be both permanent and absolute, Mandel'shtam similarly believed that the work of art could transcend the temporal and spatial order and enter into a realm of a bonded past, present, and future. The word-soul would thus regain its pristine beauty. Eternity for Mandel'shtam, of course, was linked with the primeval life, and in his poetry we see a constant contrast between the ephemerality of present human existence and the eternal span of time and life in general. His poetry reveals throughout an unrelenting conviction that worldly reality holds the promise of a greater reality.

In an attempt to find symbols of eternity in his surrounding tenuous realm of 'reality', Mandel'shtam introduced the material forms of stones and buildings. St. Sophia, for example, is for him a concrete symbol of this earthly eternity. Giving the impression of upward flight, the Admiralty Building, also, appears to conquer solidity and the laws of physical nature. Similarly, Notre Dame, although an earthbound object of reality, offers a dual aspect of immobility and flight, creating the illusion of solidity struggling with weightlessness. All these buildings contain the promise of spiritual beauty and celestial freedom.

To recapitulate, it might be said that Mandel'shtam considered art as a 'miracle-working' element of immense power which could loosen the bonds of the three dimensions which fetter man. The artist through the magic of his art (whether he builds with stones or with words) has the power to create works of beauty and immortality. In other words, a continued reincarnation of form and a reappropriation of time and culture through poetry ensures the removal of this poetry from its temporal perspective: poetry alone can heave up time in such a way that the deeper layers of time emerge.

Seeking to keep his poetic distance from the new and intrusive 'reality' of his era, Mandel'shtam observed these contemporary phenomena with an attitude of quasi-detachment, and even, at times, trenchant irony. In the apocalyptic upheaval of a revolution, Mandel'shtam made art and poetry his main concern.

Bewildered and fearsome, he wandered through contemporary events seeking "the word without meaning" — not the words of speeches and proclamations, but the disinterested word of poetry, which alone offers hope of human survival. With the world in constant flux and everything adrift, only art, he felt, had the power to offer solidity. Mandel'shtam considered that poetry lived on in historical perspective because it is moved by love — not love in the narrow sense of the word — but an ardent emotion conceived by the senses and the intellect. To his readers the poet accordingly offers his unique gift of joy — the immortalized expression of his intense inner experience: idealism cast in a new plastic mould.

Like the great epic and lyric poets of Greece, this modernist poet grasped the fundamental issues of life and portrayed with deep sensitivity the tragic facets of man's mortality. We sense in the poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam the tense thrill and striving toward an ideal of classical beauty which is empowered to console man with the everlasting splendour of pure artistic form:

Когда его художник милый
Выводит на стеклянной тверди,
В сознании минутной силы,
В забвении печальной смерти.
("На бледно-голубой эмали")

This poet's Hellenism consisted in a genuine ecstasy at the sight of all that is beautiful. The Hellenic stimulus was at all times a natural and creative force in his poetic art. Without an acute awareness of Mandel'shtam's profoundly classical roots, it is hard to understand and appreciate the subtly distilled essence of his Greek-inspired verse.

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Part I of this volume is devoted to the Hesiodic and Homeric hymns of the 8-7th centuries B.C. From Homer's epic fictions, Hesiod turned to homely truths, the virtues of peace, hard work, honesty and thrift. With all his realism, Hesiod remained a Greek, sensing the loveliness as well as the harshness of nature.

Part II of Greek Poetry covers the period from Archilochos to Alexander, and we find in this section translations from Semonides, Alkaios, Simonides, Solon, Pindar, and many others. These works provide pertinent examples of the Greek gift for subtlety and simplicity, plainness and dignity, and the consistently tense yet unadorned style.

Maas, Paul, Greek Metre, translated by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, 116 p.

A detailed survey of the numerous Greek metres. It was of particular value to this thesis in that it gives much attention to the impeccable artistic methods of the Greeks. Imitation of many of these devices by the Parnassians and Acmeists resulted in an unusual plasticity of versification and a pure, musical tonality.

Mackail, J.W., "The Lyric Poets", Lectures on Greek Poetry, Longmans, Green and Co., 1910, p. 83-138.

This well-presented series of lectures provides both general and detailed information regarding the Greek lyric poets. It was particularly useful as a source of reference in the introductory section of this thesis.

Martin, Emile, Essai sur les rythmes de la chanson grecque antique, Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1953, 365 p.

Stages of the development of lyricism are discussed here, as is the quantitative nature of Greek rhythm.

Méautis, Georges, Pindare le Dorien, Paris, Editions Albin-Michel, 1962, Neuchâtel (Suisse), Editions de la Baconnière, 1962, 474 p.

Méautis points out that Pindar represents simultaneously an epoch, a city, and a race. Thanks to this great poet, we are acquainted with the glorious era of Hieron and Theron. In Pindar's work is reflected the Doric ideal, impregnated with a sublime vision of religion similar to its expression in the sculptures of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Oates, Whitney Jennings, and Murphy, Charles Theophilus, Greek Literature in Translation, New York, David McKay Company, Inc., 1967, xvi-1072 p.

In this publication the authors have sought to present total units, rather than short selections from larger wholes. The editors have divided Greek literature into different categories, among which the first includes Homer. Other categories present representative works in various fields, but it is the concluding section of the book which is of specific value to this thesis, devoted as it is to the didactic poetry of Hesiod, the hymns of Homer, the satire of Semonides, the pastoral poetry of Theocritus, the lyric and reflective poetry of Alcman, Sappho, Solon, Simonides, Pindar, and many others.

Paulys, A.F., Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag, 1964, J.B. Metzlerscher Verlag, 1894-1963, in 24 vols.

-----, Supplement, ed. by Georg Wissowa, Stuttgart, J.B. Metzler, (1903 -).

This most comprehensive collection was a constant source of reference with regard to the classical motifs discussed in the present study.

Raven, D.S., Greek Metre, An Introduction, London, Faber and Faber, 1968, 127 p.

Discusses two main types of Greek verse: stichic and lyric, as well as structure, basic rhythms, and principles of quantity.

Rose, H.J., A Handbook of Greek Literature, London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1950, viii-454 p.

Reliable source for orientation and preliminary understanding of Greek literature.

Séchan, Louis, et Delebecque, Edouard, Essai de Stylistique Grecque, Publications des annals de la Faculté des Lettres, Aix-en-Provence, No. 30, 1961, 199 p.

Examines use by the Greeks of concrete notions, as well as abstract ones, thus giving clarity and substance to thought.

Thompson, George, Greek Lyric Metre, Cambridge at the University Press, 1929, vii-164 p.

This study stresses the need for a sense of rhythm and poetry in order to grasp the principles of Greek metre. The significance of rhythm in Greek poetry is developed at length. Various types of rhythm are discussed: Doric, Ionic, Aeolic, Anacreontic, etc.

Zielinski, T., Our Debt to Antiquity, London, Rutledge & Sons, 1909, viii-240 p.

A collection of lectures delivered by Prof. Zielinski of St. Petersburg University in 1903. They place particular stress on the importance of classical tradition in Russia.

D. PRIMARY PARNASSIAN SOURCES:

Chénier, André Marie, Oeuvres complètes, texte établi et annoté par Gerard Walter, Paris, Editions de la Nouvelle revue française, 1950, xxxix-1005 p.

-----, Oeuvres poétiques de André Chénier, précédées d'une étude sur André Chénier par Sainte-Beuve. Nouvelle édition mise en ordre et annotée par M. Louis Moland, Paris, Garnier frères, 1878-79, 2 vols.

Gautier, Théophile, Complete Works, transl. and ed. by F.C. de Sumichrast, N.Y., Bigelow Smith, 1910, 12 vols.

-----, Emaux et camées, Paris, G. Charpentier, 1881, 228 p.

-----, Emaux et camées, Paris, G. Charpentier, 1902, 228 p.

-----, Emaux et camées, Paris, Garnier, 1943, lxxx-347 p.

-----, Poésies complètes, Paris, Charpentier, 1896, 2 vols.

-----, Poésies complètes, Paris, Charpentier, 1910, 2 vols.

-----, Poésies complètes de Théophile Gautier, publiées par René Jasinski, Paris, Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1932, 3 vols.

Leconte de Lisle, Charles Marie René, "L'Apollonide", Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, Editeur, 1888, 80 p.

-----, Derniers Poèmes, "L'Apollonide", Paris, A. Lemerre, 1895, 305 p.

-----, Hésiode, Hymnes Orphiques, etc., traduction nouvelle par Leconte de Lisle, Paris, A. Lemerre, 1893, 367 p.

-----, Oeuvres de Leconte de Lisle, Paris, A. Lemerre, 1929, 4 vols.

Verlaine, Paul, "Art poétique", Jadis et Naguère, Paris, Crès et Cie, 1921, p. 29-30.

E. SECONDARY PARNASSIAN SOURCES:

Bernès, Henri, "Le 'Quain' de Leconte de Lisle et ses origines littéraires", Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, Paris, 1911, No. 8, p. 485-502.

Author Bernès traces the genesis of Leconte de Lisle's Cain back to the famed hero of antiquity, Prometheus. De Lisle's Cain is presented as a more knowing and more sensitive person than was Aeschylus' hero.

Berthon, Henry Edward, Nine French Poets, 1820-1880, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1930, lxxiv-298 p.

A particularly helpful introduction to this work deals with the structure of French verse.

Brown, I.H., Leconte de Lisle: a study on the man and his poetry, New York, AMS Press, 1966, xiii-270 p.

Canat, René, La Renaissance de la Grèce antique, (1820-1850), Paris, 1911, vii-291 p.

The Parnassian movement of the nineteenth century is traced back to its beginnings in this comprehensive study.

Cassagne, A., La Théorie de l'art pour l'art chez les derniers romantiques et chez les premiers réalistes, Paris, Dorbon, 1959, ix-487 p.

This work presents a general view of the development of this theory.

Desonay, Fernand, Le rêve Hellénique chez les poètes parnassiens, Louvain: Librairie universitaire, 1928, xxxii-429 p. (Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie, ser. 2).

This assessment of the Hellenic inspiration among the Parnassian poets is a most important source for the present thesis. In Section I, French Parnassian poetry is discussed; in Section III, Desonay treats the Hellenic influences evident in the poetry of Leconte de Lisle.

Ditchy, Jay Karl, Le thème de la mer chez les parnassiens Leconte de Lisle et Hérédia, Paris, "Les Belles-lettres", 1927, vi-118 p.

In considering the works of the principal representatives of the Parnassian school, Ditchy stresses that the theme of the sea holds a predominant place. De Lisle attributed to the sea the awakening of his poetic inspiration, and this natural element plays a rôle throughout his Poèmes antiques. In his poems we perceive the sea of the classical writers, together with all the conventional classical epithets and invocations, for example, to Poseidon, and to Aphrodite, arising from the sea foam.

Flottes, Pierre, "Brèves remarques sur le vocabulaire de Leconte de Lisle", in Mélanges de philologie, d'histoire et de littérature offerts à Joseph Vianey, Paris, 1934, p. 441-446.

Not only did Leconte de Lisle search diligently for the most picturesque word and the most applicable epithet but in his verse nothing was left to chance. The whole movement of his verse gives the impression of complete unity; the music of his language is the perfect accompaniment to his ideas. His 'marble-like' poems reveal his devotion to his antique models.

Henry, Stuart Oliver, French essays and profiles, New York, E.P. Dutton & Co., 1921, viii-334 p.

Among his various profiles of French authors, this writer presents us with a reliable and perceptive analysis of the poetic legacy of Leconte de Lisle.

Ireson, J.C., "Leconte de Lisle and the ideal in external nature", in Currents of Thought in French Literature, Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1965, p. 67-87.

Contemplation, for Leconte de Lisle, was productive of great satisfaction. In the natural world he intuitively discerned a beauty associated with the universal and the ultimate.

Kramer, C., André Chénier et la poésie parnassienne, Paris, H. Champion, 1925, 300 p.

A study of the profound influence of Chénier and the inspiration which he gave to Leconte de Lisle.

Lanson, G., Histoire de la Littérature française, Paris, Hachette, 1928, p. 1059-1065.

A source of much assistance in this project, particularly Chapter III, dealing with V. Hugo and the Parnasse, and the poetry of the Parnassians themselves.

Lemaître, Jules, Les Contemporains, t. II, Paris, Boivin et Cie, (1903 -), 8 tomes, (1899 - 1918).

Volume II of this collection throws much light upon the Doric element in Leconte de Lisle's austere and powerful verse.

Maugis, Henri, La Poésie de Leconte de Lisle, Montrouge, Imprimerie du Commerce, 1926, ii-78 p.

Contains essential material for a complete comprehension of the work of Leconte de Lisle. Maugis points out that in the Poèmes antiques Leconte de Lisle celebrated the Greece of all ages: prehistoric Greece with "Niobé", the Greece of Hellenic thought with "Khirôn", Alexandrine Greece with "Hypatie", the intelligent, artistic Greece with "L'Apollonide" (ending with an evocation of the chaste and majestic chorus of the Muses). Leconte de Lisle preferred to the voluptuous Greece of Gautier

and Théodore de Banville, a lovely, chaste Greece, one of picturesque riverbanks and hills, with choirs dancing on white mountains. Leconte de Lisle was a lyric poet in the classical sense: he loved human reason, liberty, justice, and glory, and expressed in his poetry the intimate sentiments of mankind.

Parton, James, A Book of French Poetry, Boston, Osgoode and Company, 1872, xxii-515 p.

Deals with French poetry since 1500. Selections of French poetry are arranged in this work according to themes. Two sections are particularly relevant: that on the vocation of poets, the other, on classical themes.

Priou, Jules, Leconte de Lisle, un tableau synoptique de la vie et des oeuvres, Paris, P. Seghers, 1967, 192 p.

Review of the works of Leconte de Lisle, together with illustrative selections.

Peyre, Henri, "What Greece means to Modern France", Historical and Critical Essays, University of Nebraska Press, 1968, p. 100-112.

Evaluation of the Greek legacy in modern French literature.

Schaffer, Aaron, Parnassus in France, Currents and Cross-currents in nineteenth-century French Lyric Poetry, Austin, The University of Texas, 1929, x-291 p.

This book traces the development indicated, beginning with the Romantic period, and ending with the Symbolist period. Chapter III discusses Théophile Gautier and his aesthetic theory. Chapter V deals with the work of Leconte de Lisle and his disciples. Indicates much pertinent bibliography.

Spronck, Maurice, Les artistes littéraires; études sur le 19^e siècle, Paris, C. Levy, 1889, 353 p.

This work is concerned with the artistic qualities of Théophile Gautier and Leconte de Lisle (among other writers), and assesses the particular importance of these two poets in the Parnassian movement.

Rudler, Madeleine G., Parnassiens symbolistes et décadents, Esquisse historique, Paris, A. Messein, 1930, p. 79-82.

Author Rudler examines French poetry of the nineteenth century from both a historical and a critical point of view. A useful source of reference.

"L'antiquité dans l'oeuvre de Leconte de Lisle", Littérature Française, publiée sous la direction de Joseph Bedier et Paul Hazard, Tome second, Paris, Librairie Larousse, 1949, p. 333. Concise assessment of antique influence in Leconte de Lisle's poetic art.

F. PRIMARY ACMEIST SOURCES:1. Книги и статьи Осипа Мандельштама:

Мандельштам, О., "Камень", Петербург, Изд-во "Акме", 1913, 95 стр.

-----, "Камень, Первая книга стихов", Москва, Госиздат, 1923, 95 стр.

-----, "Стихотворения", "Воздушные пути", 3, 1963, стр. 19-23.

-----, "Собрание сочинений", под редакцией и вступ. статьями Г. П. Струве и Б. А. Филиппова, Изд. им. Чехова, Нью Йорк, 1955, 414 стр.

-----, "Собрание сочинений", в трех томах, под редакцией Г. П. Струве и Б. А. Филиппова, вступ. статьи Кларенса Брауна, Г. П. Струве и Э. М. Райса, Вашингтон, Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1964-66, 3 vols.

-----, "Собрание сочинений", том третий, вступ. статья проф. Юрия Иваска, Никиты Струве и Бориса Филиппова, New York, Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1969.

-----, "О природе слова", Харьков, Изд. "Истоки", 1922.

-----, "О поэзии", "Сборник статей", Изд. "Academia", 1928, 97 р.

2. Книги и статьи других акмеистов:

Городецкий, Сергей, "Некоторые течения в современной русской поэзии", "Аполлон", № 1, 1913 г.

Гумилев, Николай, "Наследие символизма и акмеизм", "Аполлон", С.-Петербург, 1913, № 1, стр. 42-46.

-----, "Искусство", "Переводы из Теофиля Готье", "Избранное", Париж, Librairie de Cinq Continents, 1959, 227 р.

-----, "Письма о русской поэзии", "Аполлон", Петроград, 1914 г. № 1-2, 1923.

Гумилев, Н., "Собрание сочинений", в четырех томах, под редакцией Г. П. Струве и Б. А. Филиппова, Вашингтон, Издательство книжного магазина Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1962 - 1964.

-----, "Собрание сочинений", в четырех томах, под редакцией Г. П. Струве и Б. А. Филиппова, том четвертый, со вступ. статья В. В. Вейдле, Вашингтон, Издательство книжного магазина Victor Kamkin, Inc., 1968, xxxvi-654 p.

G. SECONDARY ACMEIST SOURCES:

Бурлаков, Н., Пелисов, Г., Уханов, И., "Русская литература XX в.", Москва, Гос. учебно-педагог. изд-во, 1961, 214 стр.

A somewhat biased view of the 'decadents' of the twentieth century who followed the theory of "art for art's sake". In the opinion of these critics, the writings of the Acmeists revealed excessive subjectivity.

Бушман, Ирина, "Поэтическое искусство Мандельштама", Мюнхен, Институт по изучению СССР, 1964, 73 стр.

The analysis of Irena Bushman of Mandel'shtam's artistic style is original and useful. This survey of the prosodic and linguistic devices employed by the Acmeist poet provided a constant source of reference for Chapter II of the present thesis.

Верковский, Н., "Текущая литература", статьи критические и теоретические, Москва, Изд. "Федерация", 1930, 109 стр.

Good general source of information which touches on the literary quality and nature of Mandel'shtam's work.

Владиславлев, И. (Гулбынский), "Литература великого десятилетия, 1917 - 1927", том 1, Москва, Госиздат, 1928.

(Microfiche, 6 cards)

Helpful from the point of view of providing a detailed survey of literature in Russia during the decade of 1917-1927.

"Воздушные пути", Альманах 1-4, Нью Йорк, редактор-издатель Р. Н. Гринберг, 1960.

Excellent source of critical articles throwing additional light on the careers and literary output of Mandel'shtam and his fellow-Acmeists.

Brown, Clarence, The Prose of Osip Mandelstam, Princeton Univ. Press, 1965, viii - 201 p.

Mandel'shtam's prose, like his poetry, reveals a search for personal identity in the face of contemporary events. This is particularly evident in Prof. Brown's sensitive translations of The Noise of Time and The Egyptian Stamp.

Жирмунский, В. М., "Задачи поэтики", "Вопросы теории литературы", 'S-Gravenhage, Mouton, 1962, 356 p.

Victor Zhirmunsky, one of the most prominent members of the Formalist group of critics, presented moderate and objective views in his literary criticism. He interested himself in questions of poetical style in a teleological manner, concerning himself chiefly with the final aesthetic effect obtained by the poet.

-----, "Преодолевшие символизм", "Русская мысль", № 12, Москва, 1916.

In this article, Zhirmunsky evaluated the work of the Acmeist poets and designated them as worthy continuers of the Pushkinian tradition.

Кузмин, Михаил, "О прекрасной ясности", "Аполлон", январь, 1910 г.

-----, "Письма о русской поэзии", "Аполлон", № 2, 1912 г.

In the foregoing two articles, Kuzmin helped to formulate the credo of the Acmeists and indicated a means of overcoming the ascendancy of the Symbolist tradition.

Carlisle, Olga, Poets on Street Corners, adapted by Stanley Kunitz,

Competent translations are provided in this anthology, among them, several poems of Mandel'shtam's.

Dunham, Vera S., "Poems about Poems: Notes on Recent Soviet Poetry", Slavic Review, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, March, 1965.

This article was helpful in assessing the extent of the Acmeist influence up until the present day.

A Book of Russian Verse, transl. by C.M. Bowra, London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1943, 118 p.

Bowra's translation of an important passage in the poem "Tristia" has been used in Appendix I to this thesis.

Lowell, Robert, "Poems by Osip Mandel'shtam", The Atlantic Monthly, vol. 211, No. 6, 1963, p. 63-68.

Mr. Lowell's adaptations of Mandel'shtam's poems are very close in tone and content to the original, and have been helpful in compiling Appendix I.

Lurje, Artur, "Детский рай", "Воздушные пути", Альманах 3, стр. 161-172.

Stresses Mandel'shtam's love for concrete reality and his empathy for words per se.

Mandelstam, Nadezhda, Hope against Hope, A Memoir, transl. by Max Hayward, with intro. by Clarence Brown, N.Y., Atheneum, 1970, 397p.

Not only is this a moving exposé of living conditions under Stalin — it is a vindication of Mandel'shtam's belief that life should be savoured and is worthwhile even in the vicissitudes of history.

Mickiewicz, Denis, Phoebus Apollo or Musagetes: the position of Apollon in Russian Modernism, Yale University, (Ph.D. thesis), 1967, vii - 271 p.

A section of this thesis dealing with Mandel'shtam's treatment of objective reality was of particular relevance to the present thesis.

Nilsson, Nils Åke, "Osip Mandel'shtam and his poetry", Scando-Slavica, Tomus IX, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1963, p. 37-52.

-----, "Osip Mandel'shtam's Poem The Admiralty", Scando-Slavica, XVII, 1971, p. 21-26.

These articles proved most relevant. They discuss Mandel'shtam's classical landscapes and deal with 'time' as the food of poetry (i.e. putting the latter in its proper historical perspective). Buildings like St. Sophia, Notre Dame, and the Admiralty Building are for Mandel'shtam concrete symbols of earthly eternity.

Poggioli, Renato, The Poets of Russia, 1890-1930, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960, xix-383 p.

A detailed study of poets and their work as noted in the title. Professor Poggioli's depth of analysis makes this book a necessary research item.

Ранович, А. Б., "Эллинизм и его историческая роль", ответственные редакторы: В. Н. Дьяков и Я. А. Ленцман, Москва, Изд-во Акад. наук, СССР, 1950, 381 стр.

This book deals with the historic rôle of Hellenism and its rich legacy to Western literature.

Strakhovsky, L.I., Craftsmen of the Word. Three Poets of Modern Russia, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1969, 114 p.

-----, "Osip Mandel'shtam, Architect of Words", Russian Review, I, 1948.

Two "in depth" studies of the particular approach of the three leading Acmeists to their craft of the Word. The latter item was of special value to this thesis, in that it deals with Osip Mandel'shtam's skill in the architectonic structuring of his poetry.

Тарановский, Кирилл, "Стихосложение Осипа Мандельштама (с 1908 по 1925 год) ",

International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics, V, 1962, Mouton & Co. - 'S - Gravenhage, p. 97 - 123.

Detailed analysis of Mandel'shtam's metrics. K. Taranovski has demonstrated, for example, that 2/3 of Mandel'shtam's verses are iambic, 1/6, trochaic, and 1/6 consists of the remaining metres. This distribution applies, of course, to the early period of the poet's creative work, that is, from 1908 to 1925.

Struve, Gleb, Introduction to the Collected Works of Osip Mandel'shtam, New York, Chekhov Publishing House, 1955.

Struve, G., and Philippoff, B., introduction to Mandel'shtam's Collected Works, Washington, Inter-Language Literary Associates, 1964.

In addition to the significant contribution made by these two authors in the compilation of Mandel'shtam's complete works, the above-noted introductory sections assist greatly in understanding the difficult Muse of this poet.

Terras, Victor, "Classical Motives in the Poetry of Osip Mandel'shtam", The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol. X, No. 3 (1966), p. 251-267.

Victor Terras' insight into the classical motivations (both Greek and Latin) of Mandel'shtam's poetic art, as projected in the above article, was a primary source of inspiration throughout the present thesis. Many of the bibliographical references indicated therein proved indispensable (particularly in Chapter III which deals with the Hellenic motifs of Mandel'shtam).

Weidle, Wladimir, Les abeilles d'Aristée, essai sur le destin actuel des lettres et des arts, Paris Gallimard, 1954, 343 p.

Mandel'shtam's contrapuntal verbal compositions, Weidle asserts, are strongly reminiscent of the intricate counterpoint rhythms of Pindar and the Aeolic poets. According to Weidle, each word in Mandel'shtam's verse has a significance transposed from the ordinary world to the poetic world — from the plane of reality to that of the spirit. Beauty for Mandel'shtam was a cult, and his poetry is a pure poetry: a true "quintessence of literature".

Yarmolinsky, Avrahm, Russians: then and now, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1961, 1963.

These incisive translations make Mandel'shtam's poems more accessible to Western readers. One of these adaptations is included in Appendix 1; it is very close to the original.

Zavalishin, Vyacheslav, Early Soviet Writers, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1958, ix-394 p.

A useful source of both general and detailed information concerning the development of the Acmeist movement.

Modern Russian Poetry, "Osip Emilyevich Mandelstamm", ed. by V. Markov and M. Sparks, Great Britain, MacGibbon & Ker Ltd., 1966, p. 282-323.

Several translations in Appendix 1 of this thesis are taken from this comprehensive anthology.

Вейдле, Владимир, "О последних стихах Мандельштама", "Воздушные пути", 2, Нью Йорк, 1961, стр. 70-86.

This article pertains to Mandel'shtam's later poetry.

Przybylski, Ryszard, "Arkadia Osipa Mandelsztama", Slavia orientalis, XIII, p. 243-262.

Treats "mythic space" in Mandel'shtam's verse.

H. REFERENCE SOURCES — RUSSIAN VERSIFICATION:

(employed for general reference only)

Жирмунский, В. М., "Введение в метрику. Теория стиха", "Вопросы поэтики", VI, Л., 1925, 286 стр.

Тимофеев, Л. И., "Проблемы стиховедения", "Материалы к социологии стиха", М., 1931, 232 стр.

Томашевский, Б. В., "Русское стихосложение", "Метрика", "Вопросы поэтики", II, Петроград, 1923, 156 стр.

Шкловский, В., "О поэзии и заумном языке", "Поэтика", "Сборники по теории поэтического языка", Петроград, 1919, 28 стр.

Эйхенбаум, Б. М., "Мелодика русского лирического стиха", Петроград, 1922, 199 стр.

Unbegaun, B. O., Russian Versification, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1966, vi - 161 p.

Bailey, James, "The Basic Structural Characteristics of Russian Literary Meters", Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson by his Students, Slavica Publishers, 1968, p. 17 - 34.

Bailey points out that dol'niki have existed in Russian literary verse alongside classical meters since the 18th c., when classical meters were introduced. Acute hearing and rhythmical perception of poets have led them constantly to explore seemingly hidden aspects of classical meters: older, even archaic forms have been revived.

Taranovski, Kiril, "Русские двудольные размеры", Ruski dvodelni ritmovi, I - II, Belgrade, 1953, p. 333 - 351.

-----, "The Identity of the Prosodic Bases of Russian Folk and Literary Verse", For Roman Jakobson, The Hague, 1953, 553 - 558.

Deal at length with theoretical problems relevant to Russian verse.

Halle, Morris, "Zirmunskij's Theory of Verse: A Review Article", SEEJ, XII, 1968, p. 213 - 218.

I. MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES:

Baring, Maurice, Landmarks in Russian Literature, London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., and New York, Barnes & Noble Inc., 1960, xii - 210 p.

A most relevant observation to the present thesis is Baring's assertion that the characteristics of both Russian poetry and Russian music are Greek, despite other influences. In poetry such as that of Pushkin we see a strong sense of balance and proportion blended with a rooted common sense "which reminds the reader of Greek art". He adds that Russian poetry resembles Greek poetry in its absence of ornament, its beauty of structure, of rightness and simplicity.

Borgeaud, Willy A., "Hibernica: Echū - Echoch, Echoid - Echdach, Temair", Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, Heidelberg, Band 6 (1971) Heft 1, p. 40-44.

In this article Prof. Borgeaud comments upon the Indo-European equation of honey with death, and at the same time, with rebirth. This concept, so recurrent in Greek literary works, is re-echoed in several of Mandel'shtam's poems.

Fränkel, Hermann Ferdinand, Wege und Formen früh-griechischen Denkens, München, C.H. Beck, 1960, xxii - 376 p.

Traces evolution of the Greek spirit from its origins.

Гинзбург, Лидия, "Поэтика Осипа Мандельштама", "Известия Академии наук СССР", Серия литературы и языка, том XXXI, издательство "Наука", 1972, вып. 4, стр. 309-327.

The well-known critic, L. Ginzburg, emphasizes that Hellenism for Mandel'shtam was not only a nourishing medium but also a source of beauty. However, this Hellenism leaves its stamp on all phenomena of life — it is expressed not only in the lofty citizenship of "The Twilight of Freedom", but also in his depictions of everyday life, e.g., where the tennis player is likened to an Attic soldier who loves and honours his opponent. The Hellenism in "Tristia", continues Ginzburg, consists in a beautiful form chosen by the poet to describe the flow of time and of death and of love.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, "Entwicklung des Ideals zu den besonderen Formen des Kunstschönen", Ästhetik, Band 1, Frankfurt am Main, Europäische Verlagsanstalt GmbH, Berlin, 1955, (Zweiter Teil, p. 295-583).

In Greek art, Hegel perceived a perfect fusion of the 'ideal' and the 'real', of the 'infinite' and the 'finite'. This concept is most pertinent to the present study of Mandel'shtam's poetic art in that we see a conscious return by the Acmeist poet to the Greek Weltgefühl of incarnate ideas and animate things. The "word as such" constitutes a delicate balance (слово-плоть).

I. MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES (Cont'd):

Jakobson, Roman, O cheshskom stikhe preimushchestvenno v sopostavlenii s russkim, Providence, Brown University Press, 1969, xix - 118 p.

The section dealing with Mayakovsky's verse and its marked word autonomy is of direct relevance to the present study.

Kalinowska, Sophie Irène, Les motifs décadents dans les poèmes d'Emile Verhaeren, étude précédée d'un essai sur la théorie du motif littéraire, Wroclaw, 1967, 215 p.

There are varying definitions of the term 'theme' and its relation to the 'motif' element. For the purposes of this thesis, the definition most applicable is that of the 'theme' as a conceptual element concretized in the 'motif', that is, the latter serves as an all-important idea-carrier.

Mansuy, M., "L'imagination du Bachelard, théoricien de l'imagination", L'Information littéraire, 1965, Paris, Baillière et fils, éditeurs, p. 54-63.

Contrary to Bergson, who considered the élan vital as a durée continue, Bachelard views 'becoming' as discontinued and alternative, made up of successes and failures, progressions and pauses. The Bachelardian imagination descends into the depth of substances — through his interest in substances, Bachelard is led to substantialize even abstract notions, e.g. "nocturnal matter" for "obscurity".

Mure, G.R.G., The Philosophy of Hegel, Oxford Univ. Press, 1965, x-207 p.

A concise and helpful elucidation of Hegel's aesthetic concepts.

Nietzsche, Friedrich, Die Geburt der Tragödie, Werke in Drei Bänden, Erster Band, München, Carl Hanser Verlag, 1966, 134 p.

In this work Nietzsche discusses the Apollonian-Dionysiac duality which characterized much of Hellenic art. This same "fraternal union" of Apollonian contemplation and joy, along with Dionysian intoxication, is visible in the lyric verse of Mandel'shtam — culminating in harmonious and integral artistic wholes.

-----, Ecce homo and the Birth of Tragedy, transl. by Clifton P. Fadiman, N.Y., The Modern Library, 1927, x - 340 p.

Pépin, Jean, Mythe et Allégorie, Aubier, Editions Montaigne, 1958, p. 81-485.

I. MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES (Cont'd):

-----, Dante et la Tradition de l'Allégorie, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1971, 153 p.

In the foregoing works, Pépin makes important distinctions between the frequently confused terms: myth, allegory, and symbol. The author remarks that many ancient texts did not distinguish between allegory and symbol, and this assimilation of the symbol and the allegory continued well into the Middle Ages. Pépin treats myth as a totality of history and culture, representing a concrete expression of reality in images.

Plato's Phaedrus, translated, with introduction and commentary by R. Hackforth, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1969, vii-172 p.

Plotinus, The Enneads, translated by Stephen MacKenna, London, Faber and Faber Limited, London, 1969 (V.9).

The Platonic artist, seeking to reproduce the ideal in a concrete form, believed that his work could transcend the temporal order and enter that of the universal and eternal. In a similarly inspired fashion, Mandel'shtam applied himself to the attainment of the Absolute through the linguistic medium of poetry.

Пушкин, Александр Сергеевич, "Сочинения Александра Пушкина", Юбилейное издание пушкинского комитета, Berlin, Speer & Schmidt, 1937, 1091 p.

Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von, Introduction à la Philosophie de la Mythologie, tome I, Paris, Aubier, Editions Montaigne, 1946, x-307 p.

One of Schelling's main conclusions on the subject of myths is that it is theogony which constitutes the kernel or principal element of all mythology. The myths then arise from the linking of a particular historical event with a certain divinity. The source of these theogonies is to be found, not so much in the imagination of poets or other inventive individuals, but in the soul or human conscience. Rather than representing subjective creations, these theogonies are actually the objectivation of that which is experienced in the collective soul.

Schuhl, Pierre-Maxime, Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949, xxiii-382 p.

Schuhl discusses at length the dual quality of the Greek soul with its opposition of positive and mystical tendencies. Through reason or the logos the Greek philosophers sought to transcend this opposition and realize the unity which lies behind all things. It is language which permits us to arrive at a true knowledge of reality.

I. MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES (Cont'd):

Spoerri, Theophil, Der Weg zur Form, Dasein und Verwirklichung des Menschen im Spiegel der eurapäischen Dichtung, Hamburg, Druck J.J. Augustin Glückstadt, 1954, 171 p.

To Theophil Spoerri a poem represented a precarious balance between the interior and exterior worlds: it was simultaneously an expression of the inner soul and the outer world. Similarly, for Mandel'shtam, the 'living Word' (Logos) signified a perfect interpenetration of ideal content and sensible form.

Vernant, Jean Pierre, mythe et pensée chez les grecs, études de psychologie historique, Paris, François Maspero, 1966, 314 p.

Reason, for the Greeks, was not to be sought in the transformation of nature but to be formed through techniques such as language, art, law, politics, rhetoric, etc. (For Greek thought, nature represented the domain of 'l'à-peu-près', to which could not be applied either measure or rigorous reasoning.)

Wyczynski, Paul, "Thématique", III, "Introduction de l'Oeuvre d'Emile Nelligan", Emile Nelligan, Ottawa, Editions Fides, 1967, p. 63-106.

In this study the relationship is posed between themes and motifs in art, and the organic connection between the roots and trunk of a tree. In Mandel'shtam's art this organic function between themes and motifs constitutes (to use Prof. Wyczynski's metaphor) "la vraie charpente de l'univers poétique".

Zuntz, Günther, Persephone, Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1971, 413 p.

Kybele, the Mother Absolute, represents the eternal vis vitalis persisting vis-à-vis the irrevocable transientness of all creatures. The concept of Persephone as a giver of Life, no less than of Death, was very strong among the Western Greeks. This myth constitutes a complete and profound image and interpretation of existence and its continual renewal.

Zuntz' study of Greek amulets is of particular interest and is of relevance to one of the poems discussed in the present study. Gold lamellae were often deposited in graves (with gold symbolizing perpetuity in life), and their inscriptions were intended to provide direction and comfort to the departing soul. A common inscription was a plea to Persephone for her favour toward the suppliant in the nether world.

Fränkel, Hermann, "Man's 'Ephemeros' Nature According to Pindar and Others", XII, Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. LXXVII, Lancaster, Penn., 1946, p. 131-145.

Applied to man in general, the term 'ephemeros' reflects the thesis that inconstancy is inherent in human nature. The idea of the passive and pliable self was a major element in the general feeling of human helplessness (ἀμνηχανία).

APPENDIX 1

English translations of Russian passages

(All translations by A.M. Iverson,
unless otherwise indicated).

Footnote Page

61 29

. . . Just as the French sought a new, freer verse, so the Acmeists are endeavouring to break the fetters of metre through the omission of syllables rather than by means of some sort of rearrangement of stresses, and there are already verses in existence which have been written according to a newly conceived syllabic system of versification . . .

62 29

Each trend becomes enamoured of some or other authors and epochs. Beloved tombs unite people more than does anything else. In circles close to Acmeism one hears most often the names of Shakespeare, Rabelais, Villon and Théophile Gautier . . . Each of these writers is a corner-stone for a knowledge of Acmeism, a source of high tension in this or that verse.

65 30

. . . The struggle between Acmeism and Symbolism, if it can be considered a struggle and not an occupation of an abandoned fort, is above all a struggle for this world — vibrating, colourful, possessing form, weight and time — a struggle for our planet Earth . . . For the Acmeists a rose became once again beautiful for itself, for its petals, its scent and colour, and not because of fancied resemblances to mystical love or to anything else.

66 30

. . . and not only is that good which has long been considered beautiful, but even ugliness has its charms. After all its misfortunes, the world is accepted without question by Acmeism — in all its totality of beauty and disgrace.

68 31

The creation of a beautiful work of art
is more readily achieved
through an impassive material:
verse, marble, or metal.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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69	31
----	----

. . . it is more difficult to be an Acmeist than to be a Symbolist, just as it is more difficult to construct a cathedral than a tower. But one of the principles of this new movement is to always follow the lines of greatest resistance.

71	33
----	----

The Word, in its Hellenistic sense, is a living flesh, declaring itself in the event . . . No other language resists more strongly than does the Russian a fixed nomenclature. Russian nominalism, that is, its notion of the reality of the word as such, gives life to our language and links it with the Hellenic philological culture — not etymologically, nor in a literary sense, but through the principle of an inner freedom which is manifested equally in both.

72	34
----	----

Insomnia. Homer. And sails drawn tight.
I've read half-through the catalog of ships:
That long-extended flock, that flight of cranes
Which once rose over Hellas to the sky.

(Modern Russian Poetry, An Anthology with verse translations, ed. and with an introduction by Vladimir Markov and Merrill Sparks, Great Britain, MacGibbon & Kee Ltd., 1966, p. 291)

73	35
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Beauteous is the temple, bathed in peace,
And forty windows — an exultation of light;
Beneath the dome, in full flight,
Four archangels, surpassing all.

74	35
----	----

Chaste spells exist —
A lofty harmony, profound peace,
Far from ethereal lyres
Are my established lares.

Footnote Page

74 35 (cont'd):

In well-scrubbed corners
In the pensive hours of sunset
I harken to the ever-rapturous
Silence of my penates.

75 35

My breathing and my warmth have been impressed
Upon the windows of unendingness.

(Leonid I. Strakhovsky, Craftsmen of the Word: Three Poets of Modern Russia, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, p. 85.

76 35

We await death, like a fairy-tale wolf,
But I fear that he will die first of all,
He, who has the entrancing mouth,
And the fringe of hair falling over his eyes.

77 35

In translucent Petropolis we shall die,
Where over us rules Proserpina.

78 35

St. Petersburg, say that I need not die yet:
You still list the number of my telephone.

(Adapted by Rose Styron, in Olga Carlisle's Poets on Street Corners, New York, Random House, p. 139.)

82 39

Today I had an unusual dream:
I dreamt that I sparkled in the sky,
But life, that monstrous procuress,
Had cast for me an evil fate.

Footnote

Page

82 39 (cont'd):

On a deserted, gloomy plain
From humans I hid my abode,
To stalk my midnight repast,
To fulfill my God-appointed destiny.

83 39

Inevitable is the bloody fate
Implacably assigned to earthly creatures.

87 43

I visited the groves: academies, lyceums.
I wrote down on the wax wise speeches that I heard...
A loyal student there, all treated me with kindness,
But I loved only their groupings of words.

(Valery Briussov, "I")

(Modern Russian Poetry, An Anthology with verse translations,
by Vladimir Markov and Merrill Sparks, p. 33)

88 43

And from your citadel, Evius, Melpomene
Who grieves can see again the deserts' magic circle
And Tartarus breathing gardened captivity.

(Viacheslav Ivanov)

(Modern Russian Poetry, translations by Markov and Sparks, p. 133.)

89 43

. . . Viacheslav Ivanov himself contributed greatly to the formulation of the Acmeist theory.

90 44

With gilded baths and glory's obelisks to bound her,
A stone-white girl stands — with tall, thick grass
 around her.

Footnote Page

90 44 (cont'd):

Her thyrsus gives no joy; her tambourine won't stir;
Even white-marbled Pan is not in love with her.

(Innokenty Annensky, "Pace")

(Modern Russian Poetry, transl. by Markov and Sparks, p. 123)

91 44

The lesson which Russian poetry learned through
Annensky's creative work was not that of Hellenization, but an
inner Hellenism . . .

92 44

But the flutist knows no peace,
It seems to him that he is alone,
That he once carved out his native sea
From lilac-coloured clays.

95 46-47

. . . The "word as such" came slowly into being. Gradually,
one after the other, all the elements of the word gathered to-
gether into some notion of form, but the conscious sense of the
word, the Logos, has up until now been erroneously and arbitrarily
considered the content. Owing to this needless honour, the Logos
loses out; all that the Logos requires is an equal standing with
other elements of the word . . . For the Acmeists the conscious
sense of the word, namely, the Logos, constitutes a beautiful
form which is as important to them as is music for the Symbolists.

96 47

The Russian language is a Hellenistic language. Owing to
a whole series of historical conditions, the living forces of the
Hellenic culture (having yielded the West to Latin influences and
flaring up only for a short while in childless Byzantium) turned
to the Russian language, communicating to it the self-assured secret
of the Hellenistic world-outlook, its secret of incarnation at will,
— and it is precisely in this way that the Russian language became
a vibrant and articulate flesh.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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98	48
----	----

Is the thing really master of the word? The word is a Psyche. The living word does not designate an object, but chooses freely as its dwelling this or that significance, this or that substance, its own sweet body. The word hovers around the thing freely, like a soul hovers over an abandoned, but not forgotten, body.

99	49
----	----

Classicism is necessary in poetry, as is Hellenism, a heightened sense of imagery, a machine-like rhythm, urban collectivism, peasant folklore . . .

. . . O monstrous ingratitude: toward Kuzmin, Mayakovsky, Khlebnikov, Aseev, Viacheslav Ivanov, Sologub, Akhmatova, Pasternak, Gumilyov, Khodasevich — really so unlike one another, from different clay. All the same, these are Russian poets belonging not to yesterday, nor to today, but to eternity . . .

. . . all contemporary Russian poetry emerged from the familial bosom of Symbolism.

100	49
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. . . The Acmeist breeze riffled the pages of the classics and the romantics, unearthing the Acmeists at the very place most necessary to the epoch . . .

101	49
-----	----

. . . Not ideas, but style, proved fatal for Symbolism . . .

. . . The increasing power of Acmeism in the sense of an active love for literature, its weight, its burden, was extraordinarily great, and a key factor in this active love was precisely a new style, a fearless approach toward poetry and poetics — in the centre of which is Man, not flattened like a cake by pseudo-symbolic horrors, but a master in his own house — a true symbolism, surrounded by symbols, that is, utensils, possessing philological notions as organs.

104	51
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Hellenism — this is a conscious encirclement of man with utensils, instead of indifferent articles, the conversion of these articles into tools, the humanizing of the surrounding world, warming it with the most delicate teleological warmth.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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105	51
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Hellenism — this is a system, in the Bergsonian sense of the word, which man deploys around himself like a fan of events which are liberated from temporal bondage, subordinated to an inner causation through the human self.

106	52-53
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In the northern capital the dusty poplar languishes,
A translucent dial-plate entangled in the foliage,
And in the murky green, a frigate or an acropolis
Shines from afar — a brother to sea and sky.

107	53
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And Herculaneum will rise anew,
A sleeping city in the radiance of the moon,
And the hovels of the wretched market-place,
and the mighty Doric column.

108	53
-----	----

A lofty chill wafted
From the prominent maidenly brow,
In order to reveal to remote descendants
The dear graves of the Archipelago.

109	53
-----	----

An enormous park. The glass sphere of the station.
The iron world is again bewitched.
To a noisy feast in a misty Elysium
The carriage ceremoniously speeds away.

110	53
-----	----

The delicate netting has settled
Into a diminutive pattern,
As on a china plate, a tracery,
minutely engraved.

FootnotePage

118 56

My God, help me to live through this night.
I fear for my life, my life, your slave —
Living in Petersburg is to sleep in a coffin.

(Adapted by Robert Lowell, taken from O. Carlisle's Poets on Street Corners, p. 147)

119 57

It is midnight in Moscow. A splendid Buddhist summer.
The streets resound with sharp strokes of iron shod boots,
A ring of boulevards shines blissfully in smallpox black,
There is no tranquillity in Moscow at night.

120 57

I am no longer jealous,
But I desire you,
And I make my way about
Like a hangman's prey.

And, as if it were a crime,
I am attracted to you
By your bitten, in confusion,
Tender, cherry mouth.

121 58

All day I breathed the raw autumn air
In confusion and in yearning;
I wish to dine, and in a dark purse
The gold of the stars beckons.

125 59

Spring hastens to tread the fields of Hellas,
Sappho shods herself in colourful style,
The cicadas throb, like little hammers,
And the little ring sings, as in the ditty.

FootnotePage

126

59

Where wretched bread does not exist,
Only honey, wine, and milk,
Hard labour does not cloud the sky,
And the wheel will turn like silk.

128

60

To a palace with a lofty dome,
Arrived four brothers, unlike in mien,
So wizened and burned, the raven croaked 'shoo'
And the ladies, marvelling, raised their brows.

129

60

Raising himself, poor Apshina,
Blue in visage, wept and pleaded:
Gogotur, please kiss my forehead
To mark your wondrous, tender deed —
They embraced with warmth — the bond was sealed.

130

61 Like a pearl-less shell. . .

131

61 But like a Medusa, the Nevsky wave . . .

132

61 I am poor as nature
I am plain as the sky,
.

Like the voices of midnight birds.

133

61 Nature is Rome itself . . .

134

61 My staff, my freedom,

135

61 Faithfulness wept in the night. . .

136

61 . . . A transparent spring
Clothes Petropolis in pale green down,

137

61 Holy name,

138

61 Like a fairy-tale wolf . . .

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>	
139	62	Let's talk about Rome — a <u>marvellous</u> city!
140	62	Goddess of the sea, <u>menacing</u> Athena,
141	62	. . . over the <u>black</u> Neva . . .
142	62	Beyond the <u>misty</u> promontory of Meganom, That is a <u>black</u> sail returning . . .
143	62	Let us go to Tsarskoe Selo! Let us go to Tsarskoe Selo!
144	62	Your, Cassandra, lips; your, Cassandra, eyes,
145	62	Because I could not hold your hands, Because I betrayed your tender, salty lips, Where is beloved Troy? where is the royal, the maiden's, dwelling?
146	62	Remain as foam, <u>Aphrodite</u> !
147	62	The sacred club of <u>Heracles</u>
148	62	Everywhere the services of <u>Bacchus</u>
149	62	Already bare-footed <u>Delia</u> flies!
150	62	. . . the fortress of the <u>Holy Ghost</u> ,
151	62	The <u>Valkyries</u> fly . . .
152	63	No, never, with no-one, was I a contemporary, I never had such an honour bestowed on me, Oh, how repugnant to me is such a namesake, It was not I — it was another.
153	63	I shiver with cold — I wish to remain silent! But in the sky gold dances — It beckons me to sing.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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154	64
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Kinship with ancient poetry already makes its appearance in Stone, reaches its acme in Tristia, and does not later forsake Mandel'shtam's poetry even at the point of immersion into the "Lethean deep-freeze" of suppression. It is already evident from the first careful reading that this likeness is by no means dependent only upon content and lexic, but that a basic manifestation is to be found in the rhythmic and sound of the verse.

155	65
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Alexandrine verse can be traced back to the antiphon, that is, to the responsive exchange of the chorus, divided into two halves, with equal time at their disposal for the expression desired . . .

. . . Time is the pure and unadorned substance of the alexandrine. The distribution of time through the channels of the verb, the noun, and the epithet, constitutes the autonomous inner life of alexandrine verse, regulates its breathing, its tension, and its saturation.

156	65
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Orioles live in the elms, and in classical verse
The length of the vowels alone determines the measure.
Once and once only a year nature knows quantity
Stretched to the limit as in Homer's meter.

O this is a day that yawns like a caesura:
Serene from the start, almost painfully slowed.
Oxen browse in the field, and a golden languor
Keeps me from drawing a rich, whole note from my reed.

(Adapted by Stanley Kunitz, publ. in Olga Carlisle's Poets on Street Corners, p. 127)

158	66
-----	----

The herd grazes, with joyous neighing,
The vale is tinted with Roman rust.
The transparent chute of time carries off
The dry gold of the classical spring.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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159	67
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Sisters — heaviness and tenderness — your markings
are the same.

Bees and wasps suck the heavy rose.

(Modern Russian Poetry, transl. by Markov and Sparks, p. 299).

161	68
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Thus, in poetry national boundaries are done away with, and elements in one language respond to those in another through the heads of space and time; for all languages are bound together in a fraternal union, strengthening themselves freely and characteristically, and within this freedom these tongues are related in a brotherly fashion and respond to one another without ceremony.

162	69	The shaky 'world' of trouble rocks,
-----	----	-------------------------------------

163	69	Bread is poisoned and there is no air.
-----	----	--

164	69	Like the shadow of sudden clouds, The sea visitor swooped down, And, stealing along, rustled up Disturbed ones along the shores.
-----	----	---

165	70	Aerial vessel and inviolate mast,
-----	----	-----------------------------------

166	70	Oxen at pasture, and golden languor . . .
-----	----	---

167	70	I was born in Rome, and it has returned to me;
-----	----	--

168	70	The mill resounds, and in the hurricane's songs
-----	----	---

169	70	Transparent star, flaming comet,
-----	----	----------------------------------

170	70	I, in a round dance of shades, stamping the delicate meadow,
-----	----	---

Footnote

Page

171 70

Nature is Rome itself, and it seems again
We should not disturb the gods needlessly!
Sacrificial viscera will tell of war,
Slaves, to keep silence, and stones, to build!

172 71

Where are you sailing to? Were there no Helen, Achaeans, then what would Troy be to you?

(Modern Russian Poetry, Markov and Sparks, p. 291)

173 71

But I fear that, before all others, will die . . .

174 71

Star with star — mighty junction,

175 71

The room is quiet, like paper —

176 71 O this air, trouble-intoxicated,

177 71 On the black square of the Kremlin!

178 72

Your image, tormenting and inconstant,

The holy name, like a huge bird,

179 72

The breast strains to breathe . . .
It may be, that dearest of all to me

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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180	72
-----	----

A wild cat — the Armenian language —

181	72
-----	----

But how could I sulk in the foolish beaver miter of a
bishop. . .

182	72
-----	----

I spoke with a child's gibberish to authority,
I was afraid to eat oysters,
I looked at guardsmen out of the corner of my eye.

(Robert Lowell, "Poems by Osip Mandelstam", The Atlantic Monthly, vol. 211, No. 6, 1963, p. 65.

183	73
-----	----

"Everything's frozen!" The sun. Pie-in-the-sky.
A transparent glass filled with ice water.
And in a world of chocolate with red evening glow,
My fancy takes me to the frosted Alps.

185	73
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So,
The horseshoe finder
Blows the dust from it,
Rubs it with wool till it shines,
And then
Hangs it over the threshold
So that it can rest
And no more have to strike the flint.

(Modern Russian Poetry, Markov and Sparks, p. 314-315)

186	75
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Some
on coins portray a lion,
Others —
a head;

Footnote Page

186 75 (cont'd):

Various copper, gold, and bronze tablets
With like honours lie in the earth.
The era, trying to gnaw them in two, left the marks of its
teeth on them.

(Modern Russian Poetry, Markov and Sparks, p. 315)

188 77

O, the severe pendulum of souls,
It swings, implacable, unswerving,
And fate knocks insistently
On a door forbidden to us.

189 77

The cautious, muffled sound
of fruit, falling from the tree,
Amidst the unceasing melody
a forest silence reigns.

190 77

Their pattern will be set in rigid rhymes
Unrecognizable from recent times.

And let the moment's turbidness flow down —
The lovely pattern's lines it could not drown.

(Transl. by L. I. Strakhovsky, Craftsmen of the Word, p. 88.)

191 78

One need not speak of anything,
It is futile to study anything,
And both sad and beautiful
is the unfathomable, savage soul:

192 78

A sultry gloom obscures the bed,
The breast must strain to breathe . . .

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>	
193	78	Today is a loathsome day, The choir of grasshoppers sleeps, And the overhang of gloomy cliffs Holds more menace than tombstones.
194	78	I encountered a funeral while on a stroll, Near the Protestant Church — it was Sunday. Casually sauntering by, I noticed The parishioners' extreme agitation.
196	79	Human lips, which will say nothing more, Preserve the form of the last uttered word, And in the hand remains a sensation of weight, Although the pitcher spilled out half, while it was carried home.
198	80	Tender than tender Whiter than white
199	80	Over the mouldering book, over the road of clay
200	80	In a huge room, overlooking the black Neva,
201	80	Far away, in a hut, voices . . .

Footnote Page

202 81

The black wind rustles
sluggishly blowing leaves,
And a trembling swallow
circles in the gloomy sky.

203 81

In the name of the higher tribes of the future,
in the name of their foreboding nobility,
I have had to give up my drinking cup at the family feast,
my joy too and my honor.

(Transl. by Robert Lowell, "Poems by Osip Mandelstam", The Atlantic Monthly, vol. 211, p. 64).

204 81

Malice peppers his learned feathers
And his little cap flaunts its black.
The little perch and lath calumniate,
As does the cage with a hundred spokes.

205 82

A body's given me — what then to do with it.

206 82 And a turquoise-coloured veil
carelessly thrown on the chair.

207 82 Like a pearl-less shell
I am thrown on your shore.

208 82 Encircled by steep hills,

209 82 And to mortals has been given the power
to love and to know.

Footnote

Page

210

82

Only children's books to read,
Only children's thoughts to cherish,
All that's great to cast adrift,
And from endless grief to perish.

(Transl. by L. I. Strakhovsky, Craftsmen of the Word, p. 92)

211

83

And the low murmur
of unrancorous
conversations,

212

83

The untiring pendulum swings

213

82

Flashing in the fading foliage

214

82

What am I to do with a wounded bird?

215

82

Be so kind, give me change, —

Only don't give me paper money, —

216

What line could transmit

217

82

Oh, if one could only recover even the shame
of sighted fingers.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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219	84
-----	----

I feel an insurmountable fear . . .

220	84
-----	----

But I love the casino on the dunes,
I love to follow the flight of the wingèd gull,

221	84
-----	----

I thus knew who was invisibly present:

222	84
-----	----

We fear, we do not dare
To help the royal sorrow.

223	84
-----	----

I do not know from when

 I would like . . . about nothing

224	84
-----	----

I wish to remain silent:

225	84
-----	----

It is already daylight,

226	84
-----	----

How difficult it is to doctor wounds!

227	84
-----	----

There is no point in our disturbing the gods in vain!

FootnotePage

228

85

Tenderer than tender
Your face,
Whiter than white
Your hands,
From the whole world
You are far,
And all yours —
From the inevitable.

229

85

He directed the symphony of the Caucasus,
And, waving, marched on the narrow Alpine paths,
And, looking around, with fearful steps
Strode through the conversations of numberless crowds.

230

85

The day raged, like a day rages.

231

85

It murmured, it trembled,

232

86

In the recognition of momentary strength,
In the oblivion of grievous death.

233

86

A fall — unfailing companion of fear,
And fear itself is a feeling of emptiness.

234

86

Preserving silence and decorum.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
235	86
The transparent chute of time carries off the dry gold of the classical spring.	
236	86
I wandered about in a <u>toy</u> thicket	
237	86
And the <u>prickly</u> cathedrals of the <u>insane</u> cliffs	
238	86
The <u>webbed mica</u> forest.	
239	86
The <u>violin-torn</u> air outpoured	
240	87
Remain as foam, Aphrodite! Word, become again music, And, heart, take shame from another heart which originated in a pristine life.	
241	87
I did not seek, in better times, Cassandra, your lips, Cassandra, your eyes, But in December — a solemn vigil — We are tormented by reminiscence!	
And in December of the seventeenth year, While loving, we lost all: One was robbed by the will of the people, Another was robbed by himself.	

FootnotePage

242

88

Goddess of the sea, menacing Athena,
 Remove your great stone helmet.
 In transparent Petropol' we shall die,
 Where not you, but Proserpina, reigns.

243

88

Golden fleece, where are you, golden fleece?
 All the way along the heavy sea-waves seethed,
 And leaving his ship, with its well-worn sails,
 Odysseus returned, replete with space and time.

244

88

Sluggish tortoise-lyre,
 Toeless, barely crawls along,
 Stretches out in the Epiorean sunshine,
 Tranquilly warms his golden underside.

245

88

With the rosy froth of fatigue on his soft lips,
 Fiercely the bull burrows through the green waves;
 He snorts — he does not like the crests — woman-lover,
 Straining his spine — his task is great.

89-90

247

Take for joy from my outstretched palms
 A little honey and a little sun
 As we were implored by the bees of Proserpine.

No one can loose a boat that is unmoored.
 No one can hear the shadow shod in fur.
 One cannot track down fear in the dense forest of life.

We are left only with kisses,
 Prickling like tiny, fuzzy bees
 Which die, having left the hive.

In the translucent underbrush of night they rustle ...
 Their homeland: Taygeta's impenetrable wood,
 Their nourishment: clover, and mint, and Time.

Footnote Page

247 89 (cont'd):
 -90

Take for joy, then, my wild present,
This simple necklace of dry dead
Bees who turned their honey into sun.

(Adapted by Rose Styron, taken from O. Carlisle's Poets on Street Corners, p. 135.

249 97

Poetry is a plough, heaving up Time so that its deep
layers, its black earth layers, appear on top . . .
Time was tilled by the plough, and the 'rose' was the
earth . . .

So, also, the poet does not fear recapitulation, and
becomes easily intoxicated on the wine of classicism.

250 98 (See translation for footnote 119)

254 101

Blissful is he who knows the voluptuousness
of elevated thoughts and lofty verses . . .

257 102

One need not speak of anything . . .

262 104

It quickens, halts abruptly,
And the spindle falls —
Impossible to meet with it, to come to terms,
And it cannot be evaded.

105 (omitted)

And still more swiftly
Fly the poisoned darts
From the hands of bold savages . . .

FootnotePage

108

Remain as foam, Aphrodite!
And, Word, become music again,

("Silentium", lines 13-14)

108

And my lips find
A primeval silence,
Like a crystal note,
Pure since birth!

("Silentium", lines 9-12)

109

And across the silence sails
A soundless choir of midnight birds

109

Why is there so little music
And such silence?

110

The Hellenes prepared for war
On the lovely island of Salamis, —

.

O Europe, the new Hellas,
Guard the Acropolis and Piraeus!

110

Gifts from the isle we do not need —
A forest of uninvited ships.

279

110

"Insomnia. Homer. Taut sails".

288

113

"I'm cold. The transparent spring. . . "

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>	
289	113	"In transparent Petropolis we shall die"
290	114	But stars can never mortally transfix the heavy emerald of the sea water. . . ("The air strikes chill. Transparent Spring") (lines: 8 - 10)
(Russians: then and now, ed. by Avrahm Yarmolinsky, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1961, 1963, p. 218)		
297	116	"From the vial flowed a stream of golden honey" "A stream of golden honey", "in melancholy Tauris", "Bacchus' services everywhere", "Past white columns", "somnolent mountains", "In rocky Tauris the science of Hellas", "Helen", "golden fleece", "heavy sea-waves", "ship", "canvas sail", "Odysseus returned, sated with space and time".
300	118	"Still far off is the transparent-grey spring of asphodels"
309	122	"The Twilight of Freedom"
311	124	Let's glorify the destined burden Which the people's leader tearfully assumes. Let's glorify the sombre burden of power. Its unbearable yoke. He who has a heart, O time, Must hear your ship sinking to the depths.
(Modern Russian Poetry, Markov and Sparks, p. 297)		

FootnotePage

313

125

All was before, all will return reviving,
And recognition be our one brief bliss.

(Transl. by C. M. Bowra, A Book of Russian Verse, p. 118)

320

127

Wax is for women what bronze is for men.
We, who cannot prophesy of Erebus,
Only in battle dare confront our fate
But their gift is to die while telling fortunes.

(Adapted by Kunitz, taken from O. Carlisle's Poets on Street
Corners, p. 129)

322

128

On the stony spurs of Piraeus
The Muses conducted the first round dance,
So that, like bees, the blind lyric bards
Could present us with sweet Ionian honey.

332

131

"Take for joy from my outstretched palms"

335

133

"When Psyche-Life sinks into the realm of shades"

336

133

"I forgot the word, which I wanted to say"

346

136

"There is a bearer of gifts, like a golden sun"

FootnotePage

347 137

My age, my beast, who will be able
To look into the pupils of your eyes . . .

348 137 (See footnote 75)

349 137

Everyone steals from eternity,
But eternity is like the sand of the sea:

350 137

And time has left its mark on me,
Just like your worn-down heel.

351 137

He who has kissed time on its worn-out pate —
.

He will recall how time went off to sleep
.

He who has raised the sick eyelids of the century —
.

He listens eternally to the roar of the rivers
Of deaf and treacherous times.

352 137

This cutthroat wolf century has jumped on my shoulders,

(Transl. by Robert Lowell, "Poems by Osip Mandelstam", in
The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 211, No. 8, p. 64)

153 (Conclusion)

While the dear artist
Crystallizes the design,
Conscious of momentary strength,
Oblivious to grievous death.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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356	140
-----	-----

The solemn zenith of divine service,
Light in the round temple under a dome in July,
So that, chests inflated and beyond time, we breathe
the air of meadows where time does not fly.

APPENDIX 2

English translations of Greek passages

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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21	13
----	----

. . . thus beneath great-hearted Achilles his whole-hooved horses trampled corpses and shields together; and with blood the axletree below was sprinkled and the rims that ran around the car . . .

(Iliad XX, The Iliad of Homer, done into English prose by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E. Myers, London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., New York, St. Martin's Press, 1965, p. 372, lines 498-500).

30	17
----	----

Now the sun was newly beating on the fields as he climbed heaven from the deep stream of gently-flowing Ocean . . .

(Iliad VII, The Iliad of Homer, Lang, Leaf and Myers, p. 125, 421-423.)

34	18
----	----

But when the daughter of Dawn, rosy-fingered Morning, shone forth . . .

(Iliad XXIV, The Iliad of Homer, Lang, Leaf and Myers, p. 452, 788-789).

35	18
----	----

Now Morning saffron-robed arose from the streams of Ocean . .

(Iliad XIX, The Iliad of Homer, Lang, Leaf and Myers, p. 355, 1-2).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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36	18
----	----

Nor would he be unaware of the Dawn when she arose over the sea and shores . . .

(Iliad XXIV, The Iliad of Homer, p. 430, 12-13).

59	26
----	----

Behold the gold, this lyre: you, Apollo's wealth in common
With the Muses (their hair inwoven violet): harkens
Dance, the source of festival, while
Poets yield to rhythms
You so finely flashing
Fashion, yours the step in prelude
To the chorus — you who quench the lightning's spear
of ever-flowing fire: sleeps
The eagle, swift wings folded,
Upon the staff of Zeus,

(Pythia I, Selected Odes, translated by C.A.F. Ruck and W.H. Matheson, Ann Arbor, the University of Michigan Press, 1963, p. 161, lines 1-10)

122	58
-----	----

The stars hide away their bright faces around the beautiful moon, when she is full and most radiant over the earth . . .

(Sappho and Alcaeus, an introduction to the study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry, by Denys Page, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 139).

123	58
-----	----

The Muse moves onward, gathering all things to her harvest;
prithee stay her not.

(Mackail, J.W., "The Lyric Poets", Lectures on Greek Poetry, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1910, p. 83-138)

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
258	103

But Phoebus Apollo met them; in the open sea he sprang
upon their swift ship, like a dolphin in shape, and lay there,
a great and awesome monster.

(Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, Loeb Classical Library,
with English translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, London:
William Heinemann, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914, p. 353).

259	103
-----	-----

No longer, dolphin, darting through the bubbling depths of
the salty brine . . .

261	104
-----	-----

Fate, mistress of the distaff that spins the thread, prodded
thee over the wide lake of the dead to Acheron . . .

263	104
-----	-----

. . . O, Ye Fates, twirling the triple thread on the spindle. . .

(Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. II, transl. by
W. R. Paton, p. 11).

264	104
-----	-----

. . . and the Destinies and ruthless avenging Fates . . . who
give men at their birth both evil and good to have . . .

(Theogony, transl. by H. G. Evelyn-White, p. 95).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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269	106
-----	-----

. . . and came forth an awful and lovely goddess, and grass grew up about her beneath her shapely feet. Her gods and men call Aphrodite, and the foam-born goddess and rich-crowned Cytherea, because she grew amid the foam, and Cytherea because she reached Cythera, and Cyprogenes because she was born in billowy Cyprus, and Philommedes because she sprang from the members.

(Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, with an English translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, London: Wm. Heinemann, N.Y.: The Macmillan Co., 1914, p. 93-94).

270	106
-----	-----

Aphrodite, splendour-throned immortal, wile-weaving child of Zeus, to thee is my prayer.

("The Poems of Sappho", Lyra Graeca, Vol. I, translated by J.M. Edmonds, London, Wm. Heinemann, 1922, p. 183).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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271	107
-----	-----

Listen! for, in very deed, are we once more ploughing the field of bright-eyed Aphrodite or of the Graces . . .

(VI - "For Xenocrates of Acragos" (winner in the chariot-race, 490 B.C.), The Odes of Pindar, The Loeb Classical Library, English translation by Sir John Sandys, London: Wm. Heinemann; N.Y.: Macmillan Co., 1915, p. 249).

272	107
-----	-----

And silver-footed Aphroditê welcomed the Delian guest, while with light hand, she touched the car of workmanship divine . . .

(IX - "For Telesicrates of Cyrene", The Odes of Pindar, translated by Sir John Sandys, p. 273).

273	107
-----	-----

. . . lightly shot forth their honey-sweet songs in honour of their loves whensoever one fair in form had that precious bloom which turneth the thoughts to Aphrodite on her beauteous throne.

(II - "For Xenocrates of Acragas", Isthmian Odes, translated by Sir John Sandys, p. 449)

(273 - 278)

278	110
-----	-----

Let us away to Salamis, to fight for a much-longed-for isle, and put away from us dishonour hard to bear.

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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281	111
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. . . and Love, who is most beautiful among immortal gods, Love that relaxes the limbs, and in the breasts of all gods and all men, overcomes their reason and prudent counsel.

(Theogony, transl. by Bank (Davies), James, The Works of Hesiod, Callimachus and Theognis, London, Henry G. Bohn, 1856, p. 8.

282	111
-----	-----

Eros, melter of limbs, whirls me on again,
a bittersweet, inescapable reptile.

283	111
-----	-----

And her Eros accompanied and fair Desire followed, when first she was born and came into the host of the gods. And from the beginning this honour hath she, obtained by lot among men and immortal gods, the amorous converse of maidens, their smiles and wiles, their sweet delights, their love and blandishments.

(Bank (Davies), James, The Works of Hesiod, Callimachus and Theognis, p. 12).

284	112
-----	-----

"Small blame is it that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans long suffer woes for such a woman. She is wondrously like the immortal goddesses in feature . . . "

(The Original Iliad, ed. by Robinson Smith, p. 35).

285	112
-----	-----

. . . like birds, even as the shrieking of cranes mounts up before the sky. They flee the winter and insufferable rain, flying in chorus toward the streams of Oceanus, bearing death and destruction to the race of Pygmies . . .

(The Original Iliad, ed. by Robinson Smith, p. 29).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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286	113
-----	-----

No more around the headlands the surges crash in thunder,
Then backward flung go swirling out to the deep again.

("Spring Sailing", A Greek Garland, translated into English
verse by F. L. Lucas, p. 43).

287	113
-----	-----

As when on the loud-resounding shore the waves of the
sea are driven in close succession beneath the flaw of the
west wind — out in the open sea it first takes its crest,
and then breaking on the beach it bellows mightily, coming
to a head about the promontories and spewing afar the foam
of the sea —

(Homer, The Original Iliad, ed. by Robinson Smith, p. 69)

291	114
-----	-----

And, ever wretched that I am, even among the dead the
hateful roar of the billows sounds in my ears.

(The Greek Anthology, II, 278, transl. by W. R. Paton, p. 153).

293	115
-----	-----

First is the daughter of Zeus who holds the aegis,
bright-eyed Athene; for she has no pleasure in the deeds of
golden Aphrodite, but delights in wars and in the work of Ares,
in strifes and battles and in preparing famous crafts.

(V. - "To Aphrodite", The Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, The Homeric
Hymns and Homerica, transl. by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, p. 407).

FootnotePage

294

115

Of Pallas Athene, saviour of the city, I begin to sing.
Dread is she, and with Ares she loves deeds of war, the sack
of cities, and the shouting and the battle . . .

(XI - "Hymn to Athena", Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homeric,
transl. by H. G. Evelyn-White, p. 437.)

295

116

For swift is change — nay, not even so swift the changing
course of the wide-winged fly* . . .

(* apparently, the dragon-fly)

(Frag. 22, Dirges, Lyra Graeca II, transl. by J. M. Edmonds,
p. 291.)

296

116

Away with you beetles; a fierce 'wolf'* is after you.
(* this 'wolf' probably being some kind of venomous spider).

298

117

"Pretty maiden, my little girl, keep your distaff as your work-
mate, a possession that suffices for the life of poverty . . ."

(Epigram XXI, "A Dying Man's Advice to his Daughter", Anthologia
Graeca, The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams,
ed. by A.S.F. Gow and D. L. Page, Cambridge, the Univ. Press,
p. 25).

299

118

"No longer can I draw the shuttle through your loom, sweet
mother!"

(Poems of Alcman, Sappho, Ibycus, rendered from the Greek by Olga
Marx and Ernst Morwitz, unpagged).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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302	118
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'Tis but in Spring the quince-trees of the Maids' untouched garden grow green with the watering rills from the river, and the vine-blossoms wax 'neath the mantling sprays of the vines . . . and like the Northwind from Thrace aflame with the lightning, comes with a rush from the Cyprian, with shrivelling frenzies gloomy and bold, and with masterful power agitates me from the bottom of my heart.

(The Poems of Ibycus, Lyra Graeca, Vol. II, transl by J.M. Edmonds, p. 85).

303	119
-----	-----

. . . and the spirit of the swift-footed Alakides departed with long strides across the field of asphodel, . . .

(The Odyssey of Homer, XI, English version in rhythmic prose by George Herbert Palmer, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884, p. 395).

304	120
-----	-----

. . . and soon they came to the mead of asphodel where dwell the souls, the phantoms of men outworn.

(The Iliad and the Odyssey, The Complete Works of Homer, done into English Prose by S. H. Butcher and Andrew Lang, New York, The Modern Library, 1935, p. 366).

305	120
-----	-----

. . . therefore they sent the ship with a black sail, convinced that their youth were going to certain destruction; . . . ordering him, if he returned with Theseus safe, to hoist the white sail, but otherwise to sail with the black one, and so indicate the tragedy.

(XVII, "Theseus", Plutarch's Lives, Vol. I, Loeb Classical Library, with Eng. transl. by Bernadotte Perrin, London: Wm. Heinemann, N.Y.: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1914, p. 35).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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306	120
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So spake he, in broken accents, when overhead he heard the
scream of a black and baeleful bird.

(Frag. 19, "The Persians", Lyra Graeca, Vol. III, transl. by J.M. Edmonds, p. 313).

307	121
-----	-----

. . . and by it his mother, Promethis, like in her tragedy
to the mournful bird halcyon, bewails evermore her son, calling
'ai ai', telling how he perished before his time.

(Ep. 27, XIII, Greek Anthology, Vol. V, transl. by W.R. Paton,
p. 19).

308	122
-----	-----

But, as for those from whom Persephone shall exact the penalty
of their pristine woe, in the ninth year she once more restoreth
their souls to the upper sunlight . . .

(Frag. 133(98), "Dirges", The Odes of Pindar, including the
Principal Fragments, transl. by Sir John Sandys, p. 591).

310	123
-----	-----

The quarrelling winds perplex me. On this side
One wave rolls up, on that a different tide,
And the black ship, whereon we sail
Shifts with the shifting of the gale.

We are exhausted by the fearful blast:
Round the mast's foot the bilge is rising fast.
And all the sail is thin and worn,
With great holes gaping, rent and torn.

(The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation, ed. by T. F. Higham and C.M. Bowra, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1950,
p. 199-200).

FootnotePage

312

124

See! see! the swallow is here!
 She brings a good season, she brings a good year;
 White is her breast and black her crest;
 See, the swallow is here.

(No. 20, Book II, Other Ritual Songs, Lyra Graeca, ed. by J. M. Edmonds, p. 526).

314

125

His yoke-ox, growing feeble with age and years of ploughing,
 Alcon its master pitied, and saved from the blood-stained knife.

("The Pensioned Ox", A Greek Garland, A Selection from the Palatine Anthology, transl. by F. L. Lucas, p. 75).

315

126

Nor shall the horned kine listen again to the sweet music
 thou didst make . . .

(Epigram 174, "On Therimachus", Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, transl. by W. R. Paton, p. 99).

316

126

No longer as of old, shalt thou awake early to rouse me from
 bed, flapping rapidly thy wings . . .

(Epigram 202, Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. II, transl. by W. R. Paton, p. 115).

317

126

Delightsome-voiced chanticleer . . .

(Lyra Graeca, Frag. 81, transl. by J.M. Edmonds, p. 329).

FootnotePage

318

127

So are the women practised in the loom, for on them in large measure Athene has bestowed skill in fair works and noble minds.

(The Odyssey of Homer, Book VII, transl. by G. H. Palmer, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884, p. 221).

319

127

. . . her weaving-comb, the halcyon of Pallas' loom, that sings in the morning with the swallows . . .

(Epigram No. 159, The Dedicatory Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. I, with Eng. transl. by W. R. Paton, p. 381).

321

128

But do thou, going home, take care of thy own works, thy web and distaff, and command thy maids to perform their task; but war shall be a care to all the men who are born in Ilium, and particularly to me.

(The Iliad of Homer, transl. by Theodore A. Buckley, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857, p. 119).

323

128

As Erinna, the maiden honey-bee, the new singer in the poet's quire, was gathering the flower of the Muses . . .

("On Erinna", 13, Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, transl. by W. R. Paton, p. 11).

324

129

From Sappho pressed is this honey that I bring thee . . .

(Lyra Graeca, Vol. III, transl. by J. M. Edmonds, p. 439)

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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325	129
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. . . whose melody when thou hearest thou wouldst exclaim that a swarm of bees from the Muses fashioned it in the bridal chamber of Cadmus.

("On Pindar", Epig. 34, Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, transl. by W. R. Paton, p. 23).

326	129
-----	-----

. . . it was not for nothing, Pindar, that the whistling swarm moulded its wax-bound honey about your tender lips.

327	130
-----	-----

Where the pine tree, shaken by the breath of Zephyr, will charm you, whilst you listen to the song of the cicadas.

328	130
-----	-----

Me, her singing locust, that used to walk on thistles, a thing that looked like a straw, she loved and cherished for two years, because I made a melodious noise.

(Greek Anthology, II, transl. by W. R. Paton, p. 113)

329	130
-----	-----

. . . he found a tortoise there and gained endless delight. For it was Hermes who fashioned a singer from the tortoise.

331	131
-----	-----

. . . there
winds sweep from the Ocean
across the Island of the Blessed. Gold flowers to flame
on land in the glory of trees; it is fed in the water,
whence they bind bracelets to their arms and go chapleted
under the straight decrees of Rhadamanthys . . .

(Olympia 2, The Odes of Pindar, transl. by Richmond Lattimore, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947, p. 7).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
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338	134
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. . . when the swallow babbles in the Springtide.

(Frag. 38, Lyra Graeca, transl. by J. M. Edmonds, p. 53).

339	134
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After him the shrilly wailing daughter of Pandion, the swallow, rose to the light for men when spring was just beginning.

341	135
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For his sandals make the little one stumble; he fears to place his bare feet on the sand of the beach.

342	135
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O Boatman of Hades, conveyor of the dead, delighting in the tears of all, who dost ply the ferry o'er this deep water of Acheron, though thy boat be heavy beneath its load of shades . . . I carry . . . the obol, thy fare.

("On Diogenes", Epigram No. 68, Sepulchral Epigrams, The Greek Anthology, Vol. II, p. 41-42).

344	135
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Near the sea, at the edge of the shore, I visit thee,
I offer honey-cakes and prayers, sacrificial gifts;

Tomorrow I shall cross the vast billows of the Ionian sea,
Hurrying home to Idothea's breast.

(Rufinas)

345	136
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Myro made this tomb for her grasshopper and cicada,
sprinkling this poor dust over them both. . .

APPENDIX 3

English translations of German passages

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
70	32

. . . and this is how sound develops into the Word, as essentially articulate voice, whose intention it is to indicate ideas and thoughts . . .

(G.W.F. Hegel, Part III, The specific arts: poetry, The Philosophy of Fine Art, p. 119).

93	45
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The classical art-type solves both these difficulties (i.e., the two-fold defect of symbolic art). It is, in fact, the free and adequate embodiment of the Idea in the shape which, according to its notional concept is uniquely appropriate to the Idea itself. The Idea is consequently able to unite in free and completely assonant accord with it. For this reason the classical type of art is the first to present us with the creation and vision of the complete Ideal, and to establish the same as realized fact.

(G.W.F. Hegel, Vb, Introduction, The Philosophy of Fine Art, transl. with notes, by E.P.B. Osmaston, Vol. I, London, G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1920, p. 104-105).

94	46
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And this clarity of classical art consists in this that it comprehends the true content of Art, in other words substantive subjectivity, and thereby discovers at the same time the true form, which essentially expresses nothing less than this genuine content, so what it appears to mind, the significance that is of it is just that, which is veritably expressed in the external form, both the ideal aspect and the plastic shape being entirely adequate to each other . . .

(G.W.F. Hegel, Second Part, "Evolution of the Ideal in the Particular types of Fine Art, The Philosophy of Fine Art, Vol. II, p. 15).

<u>Footnote</u>	<u>Page</u>
102	50-51

At the same time where art is found in most exalted perfection, in that case no doubt it unfolds in plastic guise the mode of exposition most adequate and essentially necessary to the content of the truth accepted. Among the Greeks, for example, Art was the highest medium under which the community conceived its gods, and became conscious of truth. For this reason we may justly say that the poets and artists of Greece created the gods of their people . . . The truth of this artistic production is rather to be found in this, that art and poetry were the exclusive forms in which these creative artists could bring to life and expression the ideas which fermented in themselves.

(G.W.F. Hegel, First Part, "The Idea of Fine Art or the Ideal", The Philosophy of Fine Art, Vol. I, p. 140).

127	59
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. . . so that here, where this art was as if winged and borne aloft by the spirit of music, we had to recognize the highest exaltation of its powers, and consequently, in the fraternal union of Apollo and Dionysus, the climax of the Apollonian as well as of the Dionysian artistic aims.

(Friedrich Nietzsche, Ecce Homo and the Birth of Tragedy, (Fadiman), New York, The Modern Library, p. 332-333).

252	99
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The sense, the movement, and the image ring out together in poetry. . .

99

Now we shall convey through the power of images, the rhythm of lines, and the light-energy of colours, the infinite tension of human fate.

APPENDIX 4

ABSTRACT OF

Adaptation of the Hellenic Legacy in the Poetic Art of Osip Mandel'shtam¹

Particular attention is given in this dissertation to the significant impact of ancient Greek models upon two modern neo-classical schools: the French Parnassians and the Russian Acmeists. In these two literary trends, the literature of antiquity lived on as a strong compelling force and as a seed for the development of new and original lyric expression.

In considering the chief characteristics which linked the Russian Acmeists with their immediate classical precursors, the French Parnassians, we observe above all a poetic universe in which the vigorous beauty and reality of this earthly world hold the promise of a greater reality — the reality and moving principle of individual life and of the cosmos as a whole. For the writers of these two groups, art was considered as an element of enduring strength which in its substance could transcend the transitory nature of human existence. Like their Hellenic and later Greek models, the Parnassians and Acmeists strove toward an ideal of classical beauty which could offer solace and joy to man through the everlasting splendour of perfect art forms — in brief, a "plastic idealism".

¹ Anne M. Iverson, doctoral thesis presented to the Department of Slavic Studies of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, December 1972, xxii-220 p.

As formulators and implementors of the Parnassian credo, Théophile Gautier and Charles Marie René Leconte de Lisle stressed the independent value of beauty and art — the aesthetic, rather than the utilitarian aims of literature. Choosing ancient Greece as the ultimate in artistic perfection, these adherents of "l'art pour l'art" advocated the development of a vivid plastic style employing all the resources of language and versification in order to fix their ideas in indestructible art forms.

Following the tenets of their immediate Parnassian models, the Acmeists Nicolas Gumilyov and Osip Mandel'shtam sought to chisel and sculpt 'recalcitrant' verbal material in a similar classical fashion, with utmost attention being given to line, colour, and sound. In their poetry we perceive vital Hellenic attitudes, as well as a strong sense of proportion and harmony in composition. A perfect rapport between content and form is one of the most salient traits in the painstakingly structured verse of these two modernists.

As Acmeist theoretician, Mandel'shtam considered that the distinctive strength of Acmeist verse lay in its style rather than in the presentation of a different world outlook. In examining Mandel'shtam's own poetic craftsmanship, one is struck by the skill with which this poet combined his compositional elements in a plastic verse form. A master of language, Mandel'shtam handled his lyric utterance with painstaking precision, attaining an extraordinary coalescence of sound, rhythm and imagery which was ideally suited to convey the thought content.

Mandel'shtam laid particular emphasis upon the Hellenistic nature of the Russian language and continually insisted on the reinstatement of the antique conception of the Word as a 'Psyche', a living word-soul, which would ensure the fusion of the 'ideal' and the 'real'. With the Logos as his chief creative tool, he created solid word-structures constituting tangible crystallizations of his profound intuitive experience. He saw the action of the artist as a visionary and interpretative action, a creative act. Sense perception and the abstractions formed through this were tensely combined in his own art forms.

Mandel'shtam's multi-dimensional or polyphonic treatment was evident in his subject-matter as well as in his poetic style. In his poems we see emotional, intellectual, and aesthetic elements in a complex interaction. Through his poetic art Mandel'shtam aspired to a higher order and harmony, a liberation from earthly 'reality' in the magical suspension of human time. This poet discerned beyond the external aspect of nature a beauty that was not finite, and a universal spirit promising great joy.

The prevailing ideas in Mandel'shtam's poetry were given concrete expression through many ancient classical motifs, or 'idea-carriers'. We discern strikingly Greek notions such as the helplessness of man before fate and his constant yearning for immortality; a reverence for primeval beauty; the power of love and desire; the concept of perpetuity or self-renewal in life; the association of spring with death; love of human reason, liberty, and justice; the moment of intuitive recognition; the

notion of divination; the eternal consolation of the enduring work of art; and the ancient reverence for Time and Eternity.

All these ideas find personification or embodiment in main and auxiliary motifs such as Greek deities or classical images. The Moerae, for example, represent predestination; Aphrodite is the symbol of original beauty; Persephone symbolizes renewal in life; Athena augurs war and strife. Supporting motifs consist of such Hellenic imagery as the churning black sea, Medusa-like waves, sailing-ships, flocks of cranes, meadows of asphodel, and many others.

Mandel'shtam's great joy in the contemplation of a beautiful work of art finds expression in his motif of 'honey-poetry', this honey being equated simultaneously with the death of the 'bee-words' and its own transformation into the 'sunshine' of immortality — in other words, the transmutation of the temporal into the timeless.

The sampling of verses presented in this thesis reveals the remarkable organic unity which characterizes Mandel'shtam's poetry. The power of his art lies in its concreteness: his ideas are incarnated in the mythology of his poetry wherein the thought is indissolubly linked with the image.

In his ideal balance of content and form, we perceive the vital Hellenic stimulus which is at the very focus of Mandel'shtam's aesthetic. It is precisely this fusion of intellectual and spiritual apprehension with an ingenious craftsmanship which endows his poetry with a genuinely integral Hellenism.